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HISTORY

OF

THE COVENANTERS

IN

SCOTLAND.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, &C.

[*William Sime*]

~~~~~  
"Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled  
"A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws"  
~~~~~

IN TWO VOLUMES

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TO
THE REVEREND
THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.
THE DISTINGUISHED BIOGRAPHER OF THE REFORMERS,
AND HISTORIAN OF THE REFORMATION
FROM POPERY,
IN SCOTLAND, ITALY, AND SPAIN,
THE FOLLOWING ATTEMPT
TO RECORD THE HEROIC RESISTANCE
OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS
TO ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL TYRANNY,
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,
IS, WITH HIGH REGARD FOR HIS PRINCIPLES AND TALENTS,
NO LESS THAN FOR HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

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P R E F A C E.

IN offering to the Public the following History of the Covenanters, the Author disclaims any wish to supersede the study of those more copious volumes which have furnished the materials of his own. On the contrary, he is persuaded, that in order to obtain an enlarged acquaintance with this or with any branch of history, a patient examination of those elaborate works which were designed to illustrate it is indispensably necessary. And such an exercise, in the case of every one who can command sufficient leisure, and whose mind has been kindled by the interest of the subject, will be found much more attractive than it is too often supposed to be irksome and laborious. In former times, those venerable volumes which contain the records of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland constituted the staple reading of the most respectable classes of the people, whose minds, by this means, became not only stored with the memorable events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but imbued also with those lofty principles which these events tended at once to form and to develope.

But it is not to be disguised, that a considerable change has taken place, both in the general taste for reading, and in the circumstances by which that taste is affected. And is there not some reason to apprehend, that amidst the multitude of books which are crowding forward upon the public notice, the solid acquirements in the knowledge of history are

in danger of being displaced by a more miscellaneous, but far more superficial literature?

To recall, in some degree, the general attention to an epoch, the most deeply interesting in the annals of Scotland, by furnishing an epitome of its history for the use of those who either have not access to the larger works on the subject, or leisure for their perusal, is the leading object which the Author has in view in the present publication.

In those who avow an attachment to the cause of Presbytery, nothing can be more inconsistent than ignorance of those arduous struggles by which its safety and independence were secured. For, separate from the fact, which cannot be controverted, that the Covenanters did really form the body of men who possessed the only true religion and solid worth which existed in Scotland at the time, is it not also a very striking consideration, that the great objects for which these patriots, confessors, and martyrs, suffered and shed their blood, were the very principles afterwards embodied in those standards of the Presbyterian Church which were prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in pursuance of the solemn league and covenant? And can any one who professes to appreciate the value of those religious privileges, now enjoyed by the people of Scotland, remain contentedly in a state of indifference as to the transactions of such a period, and the history of those heroic men, "whose blood," as has been justly said, "watered the plant of renown," of which "succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruits."

To those who profess to have no favour for Presbytery, and no reverence for the principles on which it is founded, or who may have even been

accustomed to look with a jealous and scornful eye upon the simple religious institutions of Scotland, there are many reasons for recommending the study of the History of the Covenanters. For, after every possible allowance has been made for the influence of natural prejudices, there are many indications that the derision which is oft-times expressed proceeds from a total ignorance, or an entire misapprehension of the origin, genius, and character of that against which it is directed,—a circumstance which may very possibly have been aggravated by certain unwarrantable encroachments which, in this matter, a licentious spirit of fiction and parody has not scrupled to make on the province of history. To check this scoffing tendency, and to dissipate the delusion from which it springs, nothing more is necessary, in every candid and reflecting mind, than a little sound information as to the facts of the case, and a just estimate, founded upon such information, of the real character of those distinguished men, who stood forward in the transactions of the times.

But besides this, there is a view of the subject of a more general and commanding nature, to which we cannot but advert. Not only is the struggle for their personal and public rights, which was maintained by the Scottish Covenanters, invested with a character that it holds in common with the noble resistance on a wider scale, which was afterwards made to the spirit of arbitrary power and the tyranny of King James, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the chief instruments in preparing the way of the great national and political revolution, to which, not more universally than justly, has been appropriated the name of “glo-

rious." "Their standards on the mountains of Scotland," to use the language of an author already quoted, "indicated to the vigilant eye of William, that the nation was ripening for a change."

If this be the case, and such the interest that is associated with the subject, the Author trusts that he may be discharged from the necessity of making any further apology for the present work, in which he has endeavoured, from authentic sources, to present to the public a condensed narrative of the important events of the period which intervened betwixt the rise of the Covenanters and the Revolution in 1688.

HISTORY

OF THE

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction—abolition of popery, and establishment of presbytery in Scotland—hostility of James VI. to Presbyterianism—steps taken by that monarch to introduce Prelacy—his arbitrary proceedings—Charles I. determines to support Episcopacy—arrogance and severity of the bishops—efforts of the Presbyterians to prevent the overthrow of their church—proceedings of parliament—Edinburgh erected into a separate bishopric—state of the Scottish church—a liturgy and book of canons imposed on the nation—objectionable nature of these publications—proclamation for reading the liturgy in Edinburgh—tumult in St. Giles' Cathedral on its introduction—the order for its use suspended by the council—Charles peremptorily enjoins it to be persevered in—supplication of the Presbyterians against it—tumult in Edinburgh.

THE Reformation from Popery was not effected in Scotland without an arduous struggle. Opposed as the government then was to Protestantism, the Scottish reformers found it necessary to unite in various solemn bonds or covenants, for maintaining and promoting the interests of true religion, as well as for their own mutual defence;* and being emi-

* One of these bonds was subscribed at Edinburgh, on the 3d of December, 1557, soon after Mary of Guise, the queen regent, began to show her antipathy to the Reformation. Another, dated Perth, May 31, 1559, was

nently favoured by Divine Providence, the whole system of popery was at length completely abolished, and Presbyterianism was established and acknowledged throughout the country. The house of Stuart beheld, however, the change with dismay, and left no means untried to prevent the work of reformation from being carried to perfection: For although James VI. publicly declared that the church of Scotland was "the sincerest and purest kirk in the world," he no sooner ascended the throne of England, than he marred its beauty, and, in a great measure, overturned its constitution." So early, indeed, as the year 1572, "the name and office of archbishop and bishop" were imposed on the church, by a partial convention held at Leith; (Cald. p. 49, &c. Spots. p. 258,) and notwithstanding the General Assembly, in 1580, declared that "these offices had no warrant in the word of God," yet the antipathy of James to Presbyterianism remained unaltered,

entered into from a well grounded mistrust of the regent's sincerity; and a third, called "the last band at Leith," dated April 27, 1560, was formed when the regent had fortified Leith, and was endeavouring to enslave the nation by means of French troops. The "First National Covenant," which was drawn up by John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was signed by the king and his household on the 28th of January, 1580, and shortly afterwards by all ranks in the kingdom.

and he used every effort to establish Episcopacy, though detested by the nation, on its ruins.

In vain did the Scottish ministers remonstrate against the unhallowed proceedings of their monarch. In 1606 James declared himself head of both church and state; restored the bishops to their ancient honours, dignities, prerogatives, and livings; compelled the presbyteries and synods to receive "constant moderators," who were to be either bishops or their dependents; and in 1610 established courts of high commission, for the purpose of taking cognizance of the conduct and sentiments of all who were obnoxious to the prelates. In short, he scrupled not to declare it to be his intention completely to abolish presbytery in Scotland. Nor were his efforts altogether unsuccessful. In an assembly held at Perth in 1618, the following five articles were carried by a majority of the members chiefly through intimidation:—"Kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private communion; private baptism; confirmation of children; and the observance of festivals."* These articles

* The festivals at this time selected to be observed in Scotland, were, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension day, and Pentecost. Spots. p. 539.

were ratified by a small majority in parliament in 1621, to the inexpressible grief of all who wished the "prosperity of Zion" in their native land.

Having thus obtained the sanction of law, the bishops enforced conformity to the obnoxious statutes with a high hand. Many faithful ministers, as well as private Christians, were suspended, imprisoned, or banished for refusing to sacrifice their conscience, their religion, and their liberties at the shrine of prelatic authority. Nor were the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops displeasing to the king. On the contrary, he urged them to prosecute the same infamous work without mercy; congratulating them on the sanction which their persecution of the Presbyterians had received from the legislature; "so that hereafter," says he in a letter to them, "that rebellious, disobedient, and seditious crew must either obey, or resist God, their natural king, and the law of the country. It resteth therefore to you," he adds, "to lose no more time in procuring a settled obedience to God and to us. The sword is put into your hands; go on therefore to use it, and let it rest no longer." (Cald. p. 785. Spots. p. 542.) Being thus encouraged, the prelates continued

the persecution in one form or another, until the death of James, which took place on the 23d of March 1625, when his son Charles I. was raised to the throne.

On the accession of this monarch, the Presbyterians imagined that they would obtain some mitigation of the oppressions to which they had been subjected by his father. But, instead of affording any relief, Charles determined not only to support Episcopacy in Scotland, but to reduce the Scottish church to a still nearer resemblance to the church of England. The bishops were accordingly raised to greater power than they had hitherto enjoyed, which, instead of using with moderation, they exercised with the utmost stretch of severity, and uniformly acted as if determined to goad the people to rebellion. Conformity in every point to their lordly mandates, however unscriptural or odious, was enforced with a rigour to which the very enemies of these persecuted Presbyterians in the present day would scorn to submit. Small in comparison as was the number of nonconformist ministers at that period, there was, however, a distinguished company of faithful witnesses, who never yielded to the tyrannical and impious man-

dates of Charles and his satellites. Among others, the names of Robert Bruce, John Row, Richard Dickson, Thomas Hogg, John Livingston, David Dickson, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Douglas, George Gillespie, and Robert Blair, deserve to be mentioned, as having fearlessly opposed the overthrow of the Scottish church. (Livingston's Life, p. 9.)

The efforts of these and of other famous contenders for Presbyterian doctrine and church government were not only comparatively of little avail,* but proved the means of entailing on themselves the united persecution of the government and the prelates. No suffering, however, could induce them to abandon a cause which they firmly believed to be the cause of God, neither did they ever give themselves up entirely to despair; and

* Though their efforts to check the domineering spirit of their oppressors, and to free the church from the bondage under which she groaned, were as yet unavailing, let it not be imagined, that even at that distressing period, they altogether laboured in vain. By means of Mr. Livingston, a remarkable awakening was experienced at a communion at the kirk of Shots in 1630; and shortly afterwards the same effects were felt at Stewarton, Irvine, and Galloway. The conversions which then took place are attested by all credible historians of that period; and whatever may be thought of them now, if historical truth can be relied on, they were eminently the work of the Spirit of God.

when every other method seemed to fail, they betook themselves to fasting and prayer—weapons which, in the issue, proved the destruction of their stoutest foes. (Crookshank's Hist. Introd. p. 31. Stevenson's Hist. vol; i. p. 90.) "The ministers," says Bishop Guthrie, "laboured to increase the number of their proselytes every where, and that not without success, especially in Fife and in the western parts, whereunto a way, which they then begun, proved very conducive; and this it was: They kept a fast upon the first Sabbath of every quarter, whereof there was no public intimation, save that the ministers did privately desire so many of their flock, as from time to time they could draw over to their party, to join in it; and upon those days of fasting, they used, in their doctrine, to hint at the danger of religion by prelacy and the dependencies thereof; and in their prayer to supplicate for remedy with a blessing upon all good means which providence should afford for that end; by which course they prevailed much upon the commons. But that which advantaged them more was the turning of certain noblemen to their side; for besides that the generality of the nobility

was malcontented, there were by this time observed to be avowed owners of their interest, in Fife, the Earl of Rothes and Lord Lindsay; in Lothian, the Earl of Lothian and Lord Balmerino; and in the west, the Earls of Cassilis and Eglinton, and Lord Loudon; which accession rendered them very considerable." (Guth. Mem. p. 9.)

In the meantime, Charles determined to visit Scotland in person, along with the imperious Laud, bishop of London. "Three important affairs," says Rapin, "required his presence there. 1. He had a mind to be crowned;* 2. He intended to hold a parliament to procure money; 3. He designed to take some measures there for the execution of a project long since formed, to reduce the kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity with the church of England, and entirely ruin Presbyterianism. To this end it was that he took Laud with him." (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 288.) Charles accordingly left London on the 17th of May, and entered Edinburgh on the 15th of June, 1633; and on the 18th he was crowned at Holyroodhouse, by Spotswood,

* Although Charles had been proclaimed King of Scotland in 1625, he did not receive the crown of that ancient kingdom till 1633.

archbishop of St. Andrews, with all popish formality. On the day following the parliament was convened, when a sum of money was voted to Charles, much larger than had ever been granted to any Scottish monarch. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, the king found it much more difficult, however, to carry his point. Two acts had been passed during the reign of James, one declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative, and the other giving him the power of prescribing the apparel to be worn by magistrates and churchmen; which two acts the lords of the articles now embodied in one. Startled at the idea of giving power to the king to dress up the ecclesiastics in any habit, however popish, which he might think proper, great opposition was made by the parliament to this part of the act being passed into a law. "I have sworn with your father and the whole kingdom," said Lord Melville to Charles, "to the Confession of Faith, in which the innovations intended by these articles were abjured." (Row, p. 281.) The king, however, remained inflexible, and pulling a list from his pocket, he exclaimed, "I have your names here, and I shall know to-day, who will and who will not do me service."

Notwithstanding these tyrannical proceedings, a majority in the parliament voted against the obnoxious act; but the clerk reported that it was carried in the *affirmative!* a statement, which though challenged by the Earl of Rothes, was sustained by the king, who denied the earl a scrutiny, unless at the peril of his life. (Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 29. Crawford, p. 24.)

This base and unconstitutional deed of the monarch, together with his refusal to redress any of the grievances of which the ministers and people complained, when presented before him by humble petition, excited the just indignation of all ranks in the nation; and when he left Scotland not long afterwards, he departed without having given satisfaction to any except the prelates. (Balfour, p. 465.) For the further extension of Episcopal rules, Charles at the same time erected Edinburgh into a separate bishopric, which was conferred on William Forbes, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. The new bishop enjoyed his dignity only about two months and a half, and was succeeded by David Lindsay, bishop of Brechin. Previously to his death, however, Bishop Forbes violently

urged the nonconformist ministers and people to observe the Episcopalian ceremonies, nay, declared that if his life were spared, he would either make the best of them content to communicate kneeling, or abandon his office. (Stevenson, vol. i. p. 124.)

On the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, which took place shortly after the king's arrival at London, Laud was advanced to the primacy, and entrusted with the management of all ecclesiastical matters in both kingdoms. Having accordingly framed articles for the service of the chapel royal, Laud obtained an order from Charles to send them to Scotland as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in that kingdom. The liturgy was to be read twice a day, with the choir, the communion received kneeling, and the dean was ordered to use the surplice whenever he officiated in public, and to enforce the observance of the stated festivals. To sum up the misery of the Scottish church, the prelates and their coadjutors the conforming ministers, having abandoned the doctrines of the Reformation, preached to the people nothing but the worst species of Arminianism, while some of them evinced no small partiality for popery. Not

only was their own moral conduct in general a disgrace to any profession, but they could not endure to see genuine piety exemplified in any individual; and they therefore rid themselves of many of the holiest and most eminent ministers in the country* by a summary process and sentence of deprivation before their high commission court. Their ambition, too, was unbounded, eagerly grasping at all, and being put in possession of many offices of state; and aspiring after greater authority than they yet enjoyed, they obtained a warrant from the crown to erect in every diocese, inquisitorial courts, subordinate to the court of high commission, where the most flagrant injustice and oppression were practised with impunity. (Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 37.)

But though little else than the ruins of Presbyterianism now remained in Scotland, yet the king and his restless prelates determined to deprive the nation of the very last remains of their religion. For this purpose he ordered the bishops to prepare a liturgy and a book of canons, similar to those which were

* Among these were Robert Glendinning, William Dalgleish, Walter Greig, and Samuel Rutherford.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 140.

used in England; a measure not only highly impolitic and dangerous, but one which, as we shall afterwards see, proved fatal to the interests of that bigoted monarch, and was the means of razing to its foundations that unhallowed fabric, the cope-stone of which he imagined would be laid by the introduction of his favourite book of common prayer. (Crawford, p. 31.)

The book of canons, which was compiled by the bishops of Ross, Galloway, Dunblane, and Aberdeen, was first published, and having been revised by Laud, was sent to Scotland in 1635, with an order under the great seal, commanding its implicit and universal reception. All this was done without the sanction of any church court; the royal authority alone being deemed sufficient to control the consciences and to alter the religion of a whole nation: and, that this is no libel on the publication in question, will appear evident if we briefly examine the matter it contained.

The canons affirmed the king's authority in ecclesiastical affairs to be the same as that exercised by the kings of Judah, and laid under the sentence of excommunication ail who presumed to call in question his abs-

lute power. They subjected to a similar sentence all who should dare to impugn the doctrines contained in the book of common prayer,* or the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, &c. No minister was allowed to omit the ritual pointed out in the liturgy, neither to offer up an extempore prayer to God, whatever might be his own feelings, or the situation in which he was placed. National or general assemblies were prohibited unless called by the king's authority; and no private meetings were to be held by the ministers for expounding the Scriptures, or ecclesiastical business discussed, except in the houses of the prelates. The churches were to be furnished with baptismal fonts and altars; and to assimilate the church of Scotland as much as possible to the church of Rome, sacramental confession, absolution, and other popish doctrines were unblushingly maintained in this precious piece of prelatical composition. No teacher was allowed to instruct youth without license from a bishop, and no book was permitted to be printed without undergoing an inquisitorial examination. And, to sum up all, no

* This book, it will be kept in mind, was not yet published.

person was allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function unless he affixed his signature to these canons. (Stevenson, vol. i. p. 158. Collier's Hist. vol. ii. p. 763.)

The liturgy followed in 1637, and was the production chiefly of the bishops of Ross and Dunblane. In substance it was the same as that used in the English church; but in many points it approximated much nearer to the Romish ritual. For example, the doctrines of baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, and prayers for the dead, were not unobscurely taught in it, and these were incorporated with a multitude of unscriptural and ridiculous ceremonies, mingled with apocryphal lessons.* Such were the books attempted to be palmed on the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and insultingly declared to be a compendium of the acts of the General Assembly! Such is the work which Hume styles an "*inoffensive* liturgy," given to the Scottish nation by "the mild, the humane Charles!!" Let the reader judge for himself.

Easter-day, 1637, was by proclamation

* The lessons from the apocrypha were not however, so numerous as in the English liturgy; there being more passages of Scripture from both Testaments.

appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburg; but so formidable was the opposition which appeared likely to be made to this new species of worship, that the day which had been fixed for its introduction was allowed to pass. A new order from Charles for its immediate observance having been obtained, however, by the bishops, the 23d of July was appointed for the liturgy being read in all the churches of the city, and the Sabbath preceding for giving intimation to the people. During the week after this intimation was given, the greatest agitation prevailed throughout the metropolis, and the strongest marks of disapprobation were manifested at the conduct of the bishops, on whom the inhabitants laid the blame of all their grievances.

When the memorable 23d arrived, the new service was performed in the Greyfriar's church amidst groans and lamentations. The greatest crowd, however, resorted to St. Giles's cathedral,* where were assembled the privy council, the lords of session, and the magistrates of the city. The congregation remained quiet till the

* These were the only two churches in Edinburgh in which the liturgy was attempted to be introduced.

dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, commenced reading the service ; but scarcely had he finished the first sentence ere an old woman of the name of Janet Geddes started up, and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it at his head, exclaiming, “ Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug ?” Her example was immediately followed by others, and the confusion soon became universal. Afraid of his life, the dean left his surplice and fled ; upon which Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, took possession of the pulpit, and endeavoured to restore tranquillity. Instead of listening, however, to his exhortations, he was assailed with every missile which came to hand. The greater part of the rioters being at length expelled by the magistrates, the service was again attempted to be performed : but so outrageous were the people without doors that a single word could not be heard by those within. When the bishop left the church he was assaulted in the street by an infuriated populace, and narrowly escaped falling a martyr to his favourite liturgy. Although all this took place without any preconcerted plan, and originated entirely with the lower orders of the people, yet so general was the indignation

against Episcopacy and its abettors, that the spark which was then kindled was soon blown into a flame, which the government itself found it impossible to quench. (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 5, 6. Burnet's Mem., p. 32. Row, p. 305. Naphtali, p. 138.)

In consequence of this disturbance, the privy counsel issued an order, forbidding all tumultuous meetings on pain of death; and the city itself was laid under an Episcopal interdict, by which all public worship was suspended for a month. So determined indeed were the bishops to press the liturgy on the nation, notwithstanding what had taken place, that they resolved to compel every parish, according to a former order, to purchase two copies. For refusing to comply, Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, James Bruce of Kingsbarns, and George Hamilton of Newburn, were, at the instigation of the bishops, charged by the chancellor to purchase the prescribed copies under a penalty. In his own name and in those of his brethren, Mr. Henderson presented a supplication to the privy council, praying for a suspension of the charge, and giving his reasons in detail. Other ministers throughout the country copied his example; and notwith-

standing the solicitations of the bishops, the council found it necessary to declare, that "the charge required only the purchase, but not the use of the liturgy," to defray the expenses of printing; and for the present they suspended the order for its being read in the churches. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 7.) At the same time the council wrote to the king, informing him of the decided antipathy of the people of Scotland to the service book, and expressing their own fears of the consequences, were rigorous measures resorted to, in order to enforce its reception.

Instead of listening to the prudent suggestions of the council, the king returned an answer full of invective, censuring them for their lenity, charging them with cowardice and remissness in his service, and commanding immediate compliance with his former order regarding the implicit adoption of the liturgy. Previously, however, to this haughty letter being received by the council, a vast number of other supplications had been laid before them; and twenty noblemen, a considerable number of barons, nearly a hundred ministers, and eighty-two commissioners from burghs and parishes, were waiting the result. (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 199.) No sooner

were the contents of the king's letter divulged, than a decided stand was made by the numerous supplicants against injunctions so arbitrary and unreasonable. They accordingly concentrated all their petitions in one, which, as it shows the moderation and loyalty, as well as the earnest desire of these oppressed Presbyterians to enjoy their religious opinions in peace, we shall give here.

“Unto your lordships, humbly means and shows, we, noblemen, barons, ministers, burghers, and commons, occasionally here present, being most desirous to testify our loyalty to our dread sovereign, and to give obedience to his majesty's royal commandments; and considering that this new book of common prayer, which all his majesty's subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, by open proclamation, are commanded to receive with reverence, as the only form to be used in God's public worship in this kingdom, and the contraveners to be condignly censured and punished, is introduced and urged in a way which this kirk has never been acquainted with, and containeth very many material points contrary to the acts of our national assemblies, his majesty's laws of this kingdom, and to the religion and form of worship estab-

lished and universally practised to the great comfort of all God's people, his majesty's subjects, since the reformation, which may tend to the great disquieting of their consciences, and to the hinderance of that harmony and comfort which, from the influence of his majesty's government, all do pray for and still expect: We do therefore in all humility supplicate, that your lordships, out of your care of religion, so seriously recommended to your lordships by his majesty, and your compassion on our present case, would be pleased fully to represent to his majesty these and the like considerations known to your lordships, that this affair of so great importance may not appear to his majesty a needless noise, but, as it is indeed, the very desire of our hearts, for the preservation of true religion amongst us, which is dearer to us than our lives and fortunes; and if this be refused, we humbly crave a hearing of our just grievances before your lordship's conclusion, that by your lordship's counsel, some way may be found whereby we may be delivered from the fear of this and all other innovation in this kind, and may have the happiness to enjoy the religion as it hath been, by the great mercy of God, reformed

in this land, and is authorized by his majesty who (we pray) may long and prosperously reign over us." (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 201, &c.)

This joint petition was presented to the council by the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, and by the council it was committed to the Duke of Lennox, who was an eye-witness of the whole transaction, to be laid before his majesty. At the same time the council informed the petitioners, that as soon as the king's answer was received, they would immediately be made acquainted with its contents. With this assurance the petitioners were satisfied; and having returned thanks to the council, they separated and returned to their respective dwellings.

In the meantime the magistrates of Edinburgh, urged on by the provost, who was favourable to the arbitrary measures of government, were obliged to sanction the orders of the prelates for resuming the reading of the liturgy. For this purpose a meeting of the town council was convened on the 22d of September; but the purport of their meeting having previously been divulged, the inhabitants assembled in great numbers, and appearing before the council in a body, overawed them into a promise of joining the

petitioners against the oppressions of which they complained. A petition was accordingly drawn up by the magistrates, and laid before the privy council; and all parties anxiously waited the result of their supplications, an answer to which they expected would be returned by the king in the month of November. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 10.)



CHAPTER II.

The supplicants meet at Edinburgh—they are ordered by the council to leave the city—they draw up a formal complaint against the bishops—another tumult—character of the Presbyterian ministers—great increase of the petitioners—their union—erection of the TABLES—the king's answer to their supplications—conference between the Tables and the council—fruitless attempts to divide the petitioners—the king's proclamation against them—they protest against it—state of the country—renewal of the National Covenant—origin of the COVENANTERS—duplicity of Charles—Hamilton appointed commissioner—his instructions—his conferences with the covenanters—their demands—deceitful conduct of Hamilton—unsatisfactory concessions of Charles—his disgraceful schemes—general assembly at Glasgow—violent proceedings of the commissioner—overthrow of Prelacy, and complete restoration of Presbyterianism.

ALTHOUGH the greater part of the Presbyterians had left Edinburgh, in the expectation that no answer would be returned to their petitions till the 15th of November, yet their leaders still remained in the city. Nor

was this unnecessary: for shortly afterwards notice was given to the citizens, that they might expect an answer on the 18th of October. Suspecting this to be a new scheme of government to separate the town of Edinburgh from the other petitioners, expresses were immediately despatched to every part of the country, requesting a full attendance of the petitioners on the day appointed by the privy council. So universally was this summons obeyed, that, according to bishop Guthrie, "besides the increase of noblemen who had not been there formerly, there were few or no shires on the south side of the Grampian hills, from which came not burghers, ministers and commons." (Guth. Mem., p. 27.)

Having given into the council supplications against the liturgy from upwards of two hundred parishes, the petitioners divided themselves into separate bodies, of noblemen, ministers, and commons, each of which met privately, to ascertain more fully the minds of one another, regarding the evils of which they complained. These meetings were uniformly opened with prayer; after which, the various objections to the service book were heard and considered. But while

they were thus employed, proclamations were issued, by order of the king, removing the council and the courts of justice to Linlithgow, and commanding all the petitioners to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, on pain of being declared rebels. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 18.)

This measure, as impolitic as it was arbitrary, instead of disuniting the petitioners, as was intended, produced the very opposite effect. They determined not only to oppose the liturgy with as great unanimity as ever, but to draw up a formal complaint against the bishops as the authors of all the calamities which had come upon the church. This complaint was framed by the Earl of Loudon and David Dickson, and was subscribed by twenty-four noblemen, several hundreds of gentlemen, ministers, and commissioners of burghs, and shortly afterwards by every town in Scotland except Aberdeen. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 20.)

While the complainers were thus engaged, the citizens, chiefly females, enraged at the proclamation, besieged the house where the town-council was assembled, and demanded them to appoint commissioners to join with the rest of the country in their supplication

and complaint ; and to restore their ministers, Rollock and Ramsay, with Henderson a reader, who had been suspended for their opposition to the liturgy. Intimidated by this formidable band of matrons, the magistrates acceded to all their demands, nominating three of their number to concur with the other petitioners, and promising to restore the suspended ministers to their charges. Completely satisfied with these concessions, the crowd were quietly dispersing, when several of the females, meeting the Bishop of Galloway on the street, who, it was alleged, wore a crucifix of gold under his coat, laid hold on him and proceeded to use him with no small degree of violence. Being rescued from his perilous situation by several gentleman who happened to witness the affray, the bishop took refuge among the members of the privy council : but the crowd following him, besieged the council chamber and demanded that both he and the provost should be delivered up into their hands. Unable to extricate themselves from the unpleasant situation in which they were now placed, the council applied to the magistrates for assistance ; but they being in an equally awkward predicament, the council at length

found it necessary to solicit the assistance of the very noblemen whom they had so lately commanded to leave the city. Being thus freed from their assailants, the council issued a proclamation forbidding all meetings of the inhabitants, but permitting the nobles to remain in the city twenty-four hours longer. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 20. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 225. Rapin, p. 301.)

Unintimidated by all the threatenings and disregarding all the repulses which they had received, the petitioners still determined to oppose in a legal manner the late innovations. Their leaders were men of wisdom, integrity and piety, whose sole object was the present and everlasting benefit of the people: and while they never ceased to strive against oppression and tyranny, they were the means of checking immorality and of promoting genuine godliness throughout the country. We are aware that the majority of historians have censured, if not decidedly condemned, their rigid and uncompromising opposition to every thing which seemed to savour of disobedience to the law of God; and even those who are deemed most impartial consider the terms, *puritans*, *enthusiasts*, *fanatics*, &c., as being their just

and incontrovertible designation. But until these authors can show that the Presbyterians of that age aimed at a greater degree of purity than the word of God enjoins, or that they were more enthusiastic for the doctrines and law of Christ than were the apostles or the primitive believers, we must say, that these names—as nearly allied to infidelity as they are to scurrility—are as inapplicable to them as they would have been to him who enjoined all professors of Christianity to “look diligently lest any man should fail of the grace of God, and lest any root of bitterness should spring up to trouble them, and thereby many be defiled.” (Heb. xii. 15) Personal, family, and public humiliation, with solemn fasting for sin, prayer for the influences of the Holy Spirit, diligent study of the Scriptures, firm belief in the doctrines, and implicit obedience to the injunctions of Christ, were the themes on which the ministers uniformly dwelt; all which being exemplified in their own lives, produced the most salutary and beneficial effects among the people. Nor were they, amidst all their opposition to usurpation and tyranny, disloyal to their sovereign. The peculiar situation in which they were placed

rendered it necessary that they should act a decided part; yet all their petitions and supplications were couched in language most becoming; and even when afterwards they were compelled to proceed to greater lengths, it was not without a struggle, while the blame rested not on them, but on their unreasonable and lawless oppressors.

The short period which the privy council had granted to the nobles to remain in Edinburgh was not suffered to pass unimproved. They held a meeting that very evening in Lord Balmerino's lodgings, and after encouraging each other to continue their united opposition to the service book, they agreed to assemble again in as numerous a body as possible, on the 15th November, the day on which the return of the king's answer to their supplications was expected.

The number of petitioners who resorted to Edinburgh on the day appointed was much greater than on any former occasion, in consequence, says Guthrie, of "the ministers thundering so from the pulpits," (Guth. Mem., p. 31.) New accessions to the cause were also made from among the nobles, one of whom, the Earl of Montrose, was by all parties considered a great acquisition. In

the meantime, the council, who had met at Linlithgow on the 14th, adjourned the diet to Edinburgh, where, finding so vast a multitude, they began to feel some degree of alarm. They wrote, therefore, to the nobles, endeavouring to persuade them that their meeting so frequently, and in such numbers, was "informal, disorderly, and illegal." But while the noblemen vindicated their meetings from being contrary either to law or to justice, and showed that the numbers who were convened, could occasion no disorder, being divided into different companies, and transacting all their business within doors, they at the same time expressed their readiness to choose a few noblemen, two gentlemen for each county, one minister for each presbytery, and one burghess for each burgh, as commissioners for the whole body, to await the return of the king's answer (Baillie, vol. i. p. 23.) To this proposal the privy council agreed, and thus unintentionally, gave their sanction to the formation of an authority quite unprecedented in the kingdom.

Agreeably to this arrangement, commissioners were immediately chosen from the general body of the supplicants, who, from

their division into four different classes, according to their rank, were denominated the TABLES. Finding, however, from the tardy manner in which the government acted, that it would be inconvenient as well as unnecessary to retain the whole of the commissioners in Edinburgh, a committee of four from each table was appointed to reside in the city to watch over and conduct the business of the numerous petitioners, with full powers to convene the whole body in cases of necessity;* after which the people quietly dispersed and returned to their respective habitations.

*Although the bishops plainly perceived that a storm was gathering around them, yet, instead of endeavouring to avert its fury by timely concessions, they, in general, acted the same domineering and insolent part that they had done hitherto, enforcing, where it could be done with impunity, the use of a book which was held in almost universal de

* The members of this standing committee were as follows:—The Earls of Rothes and Montrose, Lords Lindsay and Loudon; the lairds of Keir, Cunninghamhead and Auldbar; James Cochrane and John Smith late baillies of Edinburgh; the provost of Culross; James Cunningham, minister of Cumnock, and Thomas Ramsay, minister of Dumfries.—Baillie, vol. i. p. 27.

testation.* Nor did Charles act a wiser part. He commissioned, indeed, the Earl of Roxburgh to convey his answer to the supplications of his Scottish subjects, but, as if sporting with their feelings, as well as regardless of the consequences to himself, he gave the earl despatches, which he could not but know would never restore tranquillity. The proclamation issued when these despatches were received by the privy council, after expressing the resentment of the monarch at the tumult of the 18th of October, which he affirmed to be not only barbarous and insolent, but the cause of his delay in returning an answer, thus proceeds: "Yet as his majesty abhors all superstitions of popery, so he will ever be most careful that nothing be allowed within his majesty's dominions but that which shall tend to the advancement of religion, as it is presently professed within this his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland." Although the phrase "the religion presently professed," was a mean artifice, evidently intended to refer to prelacy with all its grievances, and received as such by the Presbyte-

* Wedderburn, bishop of Brechin, even took pistols in his pocket to the pulpit in case of resistance, and read the liturgy to a few before the usual hour of public worship.

rians, yet the Tables, professing to consider it as the king's sentiments in favour of presbytery, turned his own weapons against himself, and now pleaded the royal edict against the detested innovations. (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 302. Stev. Hist., vol. ii. p. 237.)

In vain did the council endeavour, either to bribe or to separate them. At a meeting of that body held on the 9th of December in the Holyroodhouse, the noblemen, who had again returned to Edinburgh, together with commissioners from the Tables, were invited to a conference. Here Traquair, the treasurer, expatiated on the king's condescension, and strongly insisted on the necessity of their being satisfied with his majesty's concession, to give up the use of the liturgy, which, he said, was evidently implied in the late proclamation. But the petitioners were not to be imposed upon so easily. They plainly perceived, that in the proclamation there was no security whatever for their enjoying the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and they, therefore, now insisted, not only on the formal and open renunciation of the service book, but on the suppression of the book of canons and court of high commission. The council, finding all

their artifices to be ineffectual, as a last resource determined to divide the supplicants, by recommending that each county should petition separately: But here too they failed, the commissioners resolutely resolving to unite in one joint petition against grievances of which *all* complained. Agreeably to this resolution, the commissioners again presented their united supplication, to the council at Dalkeith, who, after several fruitless attempts to evade receiving their complaints, found it necessary to promise them a hearing on the 21st of December. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 28. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 248.)

On the day appointed, the commissioners appeared before the council, now composed only of laymen, and renewed their complaints against the service book and the bishops, which they enforced in speeches at once pathetic and convincing. Before they left the council, Traquair exhorted the ministers to instruct the people to be loyal to their sovereign, and not to entertain harsh thoughts of him concerning matters of religion. To which James Cunningham, minister of Cumnock, replied, "Our consciences and our hearers were our witnessess, that we endeavoured to carry ourselves suitably in this respect,

neither had we ever a thought to the contrary ; but his majesty was wronged, after the manner that Ahasuerus was wronged by Haman, and we are looking to see the way of the Lord's righteousness in his appointed time." The council then assured the commissioners that they had their cause at heart, but being prohibited by his majesty from interfering further at present, they requested them to wait patiently till new instructions were received from court. (Crawford, p. 97. Bailie, vol. i. p. 29.)

The council having faithfully represented the state of Scotland to Charles, and plainly pointed out to him the necessity of making some concessions to the petitioners, the king ordered Traquair to repair to London. Previous to his arrival, however, Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the court of session, had completely prejudiced the king's mind against the Presbyterians ; and being assisted in his infamous counsels by Laud and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Traquair found that all his laudable efforts to undeceive his sovereign produced no effect. On the contrary, Charles ordered the treasurer immediately to repair to Scotland with a proclamation, which in the meantime he was to

keep a profound secret, vindicating the bishops, enforcing the liturgy, and prohibiting meetings of any kind to petition against the late innovations. Notwithstanding the secrecy of Traquair's instructions, the Tables received intelligence of their purport previous to his return to Edinburgh. They however waited on him to hear what answer he had to give from his majesty to their petitions; but all they could obtain was, an advice to avoid meeting in such numerous bodies. The alarm was therefore immediately given to all the petitioners in every corner of the kingdom, with injunctions to them to attend the commissioners in the present critical state of affairs.

The council was to meet at Stirling on the 20th of February, 1638, to receive the despatches of the court from Traquair; but perceiving the multitudes who from every quarter were assembling in Edinburgh, and learning that deputies from the petitioners were to proceed to Stirling to watch their movements, they sent for several of the commissioners, and endeavoured to persuade them to do nothing till the proclamation was published. According to the general opinion which then prevailed, even a royal edict was

nullified, or at least suspended in its operations, if timely met by a legal protest. The commissioners, therefore, aware of the danger to which they were exposed, expressed their determination to proceed, whatever consequences might ensue. Perceiving their fixed resolution, Traquair asked them, what they intended to do after they did assemble? "To give in a declinature," they replied, "against the bishops." "But that will be refused," said Traquair. "Then, upon the council's denial of justice," rejoined they, "we will protest for remeid, and have immediate recourse to his majesty with our supplications." "I doubt," added Traquair, "if they will be received by the king." "We will, however, do our duty," they replied, "and commit the event to God, who is wise in counsel and excellent in working, and sufficiently able to protect his own cause and our just proceedings." (Baillie, vol. i. p. 42. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 2.)

The meeting at Stirling being fixed for the following Tuesday, the petitioners appointed four or five of their number to proceed to that town on Monday, the rest of the commissioners resolving to follow. But Traquair, in order to prevent their meeting, left Edin-

burgh very early on Monday morning along with Roxburgh, with the intention of publishing the proclamation before their arrival. In this, however, he was again disappointed. For the Tables, having received information of their abrupt departure, immediately despatched Lords Lindsay and Hume after them, who outriding them, arrived in Stirling previous to the issuing of the proclamation. No sooner, therefore, did the herald appear at the market cross, and publish the royal edict, than these two lords, with a notary, solemnly protested against it, and affixed a copy of their protest to the cross. Similar precautions were used in every other place where the proclamation was published. (Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 732.)

It was now evident to all parties that affairs were hastening to a crisis. Charles had not only absolutely refused to redress the grievances of his Scottish subjects, but prohibited them from laying before him any further supplications of a similar import. To be denied liberty to lay their complaints by humble petition at the foot of the throne, was depriving the Presbyterians of all remainder of liberty; and can any true friend, either to his king or his country, after witnessing all

this oppression and tyranny, condemn these men, for refusing again to put their necks under the yoke? or stigmatize them as rebels for taking more decisive steps to rescue their nation from the iron grasp of monarchial and prelatical usurpation?

Accordingly, finding that all their efforts to obtain deliverance from the evils of which they so justly complained, were of no avail, the leaders of the Presbyterians resolved to take other measures, which they trusted would effectually unite all the friends of religion and liberty throughout the country. This was the renewing of the national covenant, which had been sworn by king James and his household in the year 1580, and by persons of all ranks in 1581, 1590, and 1596, and ratified by several acts of parliament. In addition to the original covenant, all the innovations which had been lately introduced were explicitly condemned in this new bond; and while its adherents bound themselves by oath to resist all these or similar encroachments on their religious liberties, and to defend each other in maintaining the true religion, they also engaged to defend the king in the preservation of religion, liberty and law. But while we would refer

the reader to the covenant itself, we cannot avoid transcribing the following nervous defence of this interesting bond, condemned indeed by too many in gross ignorance, as given by Aikman. "This bond," says that impartial historian, "was only reverting to the principles recognised at the Reformation, and restoring the constitution then established. When a king wantonly tramples upon all his subjects hold sacred, he himself breaks the bond of allegiance, and they have a right, if they have the power, to unite and reclaim what has been tyrannically torn from them. The legality, with regard to form, is all that can be urged against the national covenant; and the best lawyers of the day, and even Hope, the King's advocate, pronounced the proceedings of the Covenanters legal. They had precedents, acts of parliament, and the repeated sanction of royalty, for such associations; and their obligations to obey the king and defend his person, are as explicitly stated as any other obligation in the covenant. It is true, this is linked with the preservation of religion, liberty, and law; but what other obedience would any upright prince require? Should they have pledged their support to the mon-

arch in opposition to all these? To this much vilified bond every Scotchman ought to look with as great reverence as Englishmen do to the Magna Charta. It was what saved the country from absolute despotism, and to it we may trace back the origin of all the successful efforts made by the inhabitants of Britain in defence of their freedom, during the succeeding reigns of the Stuarts." (Aikman's Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 452, 453.)

The day appointed for swearing the covenant in Edinburgh was the 1st of March, a day which was also set apart for solemn fasting and prayer. The people resorted in vast numbers to the Greyfriar's church, where the covenant being read, and earnest prayer offered up to God by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, the nobles, gentry, ministers and commons, with uplifted hands, and tears streaming from their eyes, vowed, in the presence of God, faithfully to observe all its stipulations, and then affixed to it their signatures with the utmost joy.* The solemn dedi-

* The original copy of the covenant was written on a very large skin of parchment, of the length of four feet, and depth of three feet eight inches, and is so crowded with names on both sides, that there is not the smallest space left for more; and it appears that when there was but little room left on which to sign, the subscriptions were shortened by only inserting the initial letters of

cation of themselves to the Lord, and to the promotion of his cause, by so many thousands of every rank and age, was truly affecting; and while it inspired the friends of the covenant with renewed vigour, it completely destroyed all the remaining hopes of their prelatical oppressors. "Now," exclaimed the Archbishop of Glasgow in despair, "all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down." (Guth. Mem. p. 35.) The Tables immediately afterwards transmitted copies of the covenant to every part of the country; and by the end of April, nearly the whole of Scotland, excepting courtiers, papists, prelates, and a few of the conforming clergy, chiefly in Aberdeen, cheerfully attached to it their signatures. (Livingston's Life, p. 22. Row, p. 329.) Such is the origin of the COVENANTERS.

Appalled at the determined spirit thus manifested by the nation in defence of their rights, both civil and religious, the privy council ventured again to solicit his majesty to take the grievances of the Covenanters into consideration, and to grant them such conces-

the Covenanters' names, which the margin and other parts are so full of, and the subscriptions so close, that it would be a difficult task to number them."—Maitland's Hist., p. 86.

sions as he should judge proper. They also appointed Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, lord justice clerk, to proceed to London, to give the king a faithful account of all that had taken place in Scotland. The representations of the council prevailed so far with Charles, as to induce him to send for Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lord Lorn, to assist with their counsels in devising measures for restoring tranquillity to that kingdom.

While the king and his counsellors were engaged in these deliberations, several presbyteries ordained ministers without acknowledging the bishops, removed their constant moderators, and restored the suspended ministers to their respective charges. The people, too, who had been long oppressed and tyrannized over by the prelates and their dependents, now ventured to show their antipathy to these intruders. In several instances, outrages were committed on the authors of their wrongs, which, however discouraged and inveighed against by their leaders, could hardly be expected, in the present state of the country, not to occur.

In the meantime Charles—having, absurdly enough, determined to endeavour to conciliate the Covenanters, without granting them

deliverance from the grievances of which they complained—appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his high commissioner to proceed to Scotland; and, in a letter to the privy council, ordered all the members to meet him at Dalkeith on the 6th of June. Previous to his arrival, however, the nature of his instructions, which among other things required the Covenanters to abandon the solemn bond they had so lately sworn, had transpired; and despatches were therefore sent to every part of the country, requiring a full attendance of the people in Edinburgh. This order was immediately obeyed, and a day of humiliation and fasting was appointed to be kept by the many thousands who were now assembled in the metropolis. When Hamilton therefore came to Dalkeith, he found that it would be highly imprudent to insist upon that part of his instructions which required the covenant to be relinquished; for even a hint afterwards given concerning that subject, called forth from the complainers a declaration, that “they would as soon renounce their baptism as the covenant.” But while he artfully enough endeavoured to lull their fears, by promising to grant them considerable concessions, he at the same time at

tempted to supply Edinburgh castle with arms and ammunition, and advised Charles to raise troops in order to reduce the Covenanters to obedience by force of arms.* His efforts to convey the military stores, which had now arrived at Leith, to the castle of Edinburgh, were however completely frustrated; and he found it necessary therefore to send them secretly to Dalkeith. Filled with alarm at these hostile indications, the Covenanters, imagining that the Tables were to be blown up, blockaded the castle and placed armed guards at the city gates; and it re-

* With this advice Charles immediately complied; and on the 20th of June he wrote to Hamilton as follows: "My train of artillery, consisting of forty pieces of ordnance, is in good forwardness, and I hope will be ready within six weeks.—I have taken as good orders as I can for securing Carlisle and Berwick.—I have sent for arms to Holland, for 14,000 foot and 2000 horse. For my ships they are ready; and I have given orders to send three for the coast of Ireland immediately, under pretence to defend our fishermen, &c. Thus you may see that I intend not to yield to the demands of those traitors the Covenanters." Again, on the 28th he thus writes, "There be two things in your letter that require answer, viz. the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable covenant. For the first, the telling you that I have not changed my mind in this particular, is answer sufficient; and for the second, I will only say, that so long as this covenant is in force, (whether it be with or without explanation,) I have no more power in Scotland than has a duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer; yet I commend the giving ear to the explanation, or any thing else to win time." Burnet, pp. 59, 60.

quired the utmost prudence as well as artifice on the part of the commissioner to allay the storm which he himself had so injudiciously raised.

Having at length induced the Covenanters to remove the blockade from the castle and dismiss the guards, Hamilton entered Edinburgh with great pomp amidst nearly sixty thousand spectators. At his request, the people were also sent away to their respective homes, after choosing deputies to wait the result of their supplications. With these deputies Hamilton had several conferences, in which he endeavoured either to gain them by flattery or overawe them by threats, to abandon their covenant; but all his efforts were of no avail. Perceiving at length that the commissioner, while thus trifling with them, had no powers to make any concessions in their favour, the deputies drew up a paper containing the following articles, which they circulated as extensively as possible, in order that it might fall into the hands of the privy council:—“1. Seeing that the grievances complained of concern the whole kingdom, the remedies ought to be public and of as large extent. 2. A free general assembly and parliament are only able to procure so

good effects. 3. The bishops could not be their judges until they were lawfully tried and cleared of the crimes laid to their charge. 4. If delays were used, it was desired what advice might be sought concerning the power of calling a general assembly, how they should in the meantime behave with respect to controverted points, and that some lawful course might be thought upon how justice might have free course and frauds be prevented. And, 5. If violence were used for enforcing obedience, that a committee should be chosen to consider what was fit and lawful to be done for the defence of their religion, laws, and liberties." (Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 352.

The avowed determination of the deputies expressed in these articles, induced the commissioner to promise them an answer to their supplications in a few days; but when the time arrived, all the reply he gave them was, an intimation of his intention to proclaim his majesty's declaration. Aware that this was at once to preclude all further applications for relief, as well as a tacit condemnation of their former proceedings, the displeasure of the deputies at this new act of dissimulation may well be conceived. They

therefore boldly informed his grace, that if he persisted in carrying his purpose into effect, they would openly meet the declaration with a protest. The Marquis resolved, however, to proceed, and ordered preparations to be made at the cross for its immediate publication; but on the appearance of a scaffold which was erected for the protestors, surrounded by a numerous guard of gentlemen, he found it prudent to desist. Having then attempted to conciliate them, by promising them, in his majesty's name, a free parliament and a general assembly, he proposed to set off for London to receive further instructions and an enlarged commission; and it was agreed that all further proceedings on either side should be stopped till his return, (Baillie, vol. i. p. 68.)

While the fears of the Covenanters were thus in some measure quieted, Hamilton again appeared at the cross with the heralds on the 30th of June. Afraid of this being a new attempt to publish the declaration, the Covenanters instantly repaired to the spot; but to their agreeable surprise, they found it to be the announcement of the return of the courts of law to Edinburgh. On the day following he set out on his intended journey.

and proceeded as far as Tranent ; but hastily returning, he caused the contested proclamation to be published, expecting that none of his opponents would be present. In this he was, however, sadly disappointed ; for the Tables, ever on the alert, in his presence protested against it, and shortly afterwards gave in their reasons to the privy council. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 69. Stev. Hist. vol. ii. p. 361.)

Hamilton immediately afterwards repaired to London. The preparations of Charles for war had been rapidly carrying forward ; but on the suggestion of the marquis, he agreed once more to try conciliatory measures, yet with a strange infatuation, he refused to grant any of the Covenanters' demands. In order to divide them, it was agreed to set on foot what was called "a king's covenant," namely, that sworn by King James, which, maintaining the religion *then* professed, namely, Presbyterianism, Charles designed to refer to Episcopacy. Hamilton also received instructions to summon, at as late a period as possible, a general assembly, in which the bishops were to be received as members ; and to "yield any thing, though unreasonable, rather than now to break," till a sufficient force was ready to overwhelm the Covenant-

ers in irremediable ruin. (Burnet's Mem. p. 55)

With these instructions Hamilton repaired to Scotland, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 10th of August. Being waited on by the Tables, to hear his majesty's answer to their supplications, the commissioner proposed to them the two following conditions previous to calling a general assembly, viz. "1. That no laymen should have voice in choosing the ministers to be sent from the several presbyteries to the assembly, nor any but the ministers of the same presbytery; and, 2. That the assembly should not go about to determine things established by act of parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to the parliament." These conditions being evidently intended to frustrate the designs of the Covenanters in the calling of an assembly, as well as an innovation on Presbyterian church government,* were not only rejected, but the marquis was distinctly informed that if he still persisted in refusing them redress, they themselves would indict a free assem-

* From the time of the Reformation in Scotland, lay members were considered a constituent part of Presbyterian church courts; as appears from the first Book of Discipline, acts of Assembly 1563; 1568, &c.; nay, when the presbytery of Edinburgh was formed in 1581, 't consisted of fifteen ministers, and "elders out of every kirk."

bly. Alarmed at this intimation, which he conceived to be an encroachment on the royal prerogative, Hamilton requested delay till he again repaired to London; which the Covenanters granted till the 20th of September, on the following conditions, "That the assembly should be free both as to the members of which it should consist, and the matters which should be discussed; and that it should be speedily convened, and in the most convenient place."

On his arrival in London, the marquis informed Charles of the distracted state of Scotland; and urged him either to comply with the demands of the Covenanters, or declare them rebels, and reduce them to obedience by military force. Being still unprepared for war, the king found it necessary to make concessions, which, had they been sincere, or granted at an earlier period, would have at once satisfied his Scottish subjects. These were, the abolition of the court of high commission; the recall of the liturgy and book of canons; the rescinding of the articles of Perth; and the calling of a parliament and a free assembly, before which the bishops, if necessary, might be legally prosecuted. But while all these concessions were contained in

the commissioner's public instructions, he was secretly enjoined to sow discord among the Presbyterians, and to prevent the innovations complained of from being removed. (Burnet's Mem. p. 74. Rush. vol. ii. p. 762.)

When Hamilton arrived in Scotland, he convened the privy council, and intimated the design of Charles to renew the national covenant of 1580. This was at first opposed by several members, but at length acquiesced in with an explanation. The Tables, on the other hand, having embodied that covenant in the one which had so lately been sworn—aware that the clause, “the religion presently professed,” which, in 1580, was intended to refer solely to Presbyterianism, was by Charles meant to comprehend all the innovations subsequently introduced—unanimously resolved to protest against its being subscribed by the nation. Accordingly on the 22d of September, deputies from the Tables waited on the marquis and requested him to delay for two days the proclamation concerning the old covenant, for reasons which they offered to lay before the council. But Hamilton determined to proceed; and therefore ordered a proclamation to be published that same day, requiring all ranks to

subscribe the king's covenant, and indicting an assembly to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh on the 15th of May 1639. The injunction to subscribe the old covenant was immediately met by a protest in all places where it was published; and, notwithstanding the zealous exertions of the commissioner, very few joined the court party, except in Aberdeen. (Stev. Hist. vol. ii. p. 416. et seq. Baillie, vol. i. p. 63.)

The greatest preparations were now made, both by the Covenanters and the commissioner, for the meeting of the assembly. In spite of Hamilton and his adherents, lay elders, according to the ancient practice, were admitted members of presbyteries, and allowed to vote in the choice of a commissioner to the assembly; and a ruling elder from each presbytery was likewise returned as a member of the supreme court. In short, by the active measures of the Covenanters, the most zealous friends to the cause were chosen members of the assembly. On the other hand, Hamilton endeavoured to thwart their measures, by procuring an act of council limiting the number of individuals who should repair to Glasgow; and when this

failed, he earnestly pressed the members of the privy council to pass an act, according to his majesty's injunctions, limiting, but not abolishing, Episcopacy. With this, however, they declined to comply; nay, Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, though threatened at his peril, decidedly refused to defend the cause of Episcopacy before the ensuing General Assembly. (Burnet's Mem. p. 92. Baillie, vol. i. p. 87.)

Several days in the beginning of November having been spent in public fasting and prayer, the assembly met on Wednesday the 21st of that month, in the high church of Glasgow. It consisted of one hundred and forty ministers, forty-seven ruling elders, and forty-eight commissioners from burghs and universities. Mr. John Bell, the oldest minister of Glasgow, having preached an appropriate sermon from Rev. i. 12, 13, "I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man," &c., solemnly constituted the assembly in the name of Christ, as the only king and head of the church.* Ham-

* We mean to give an outline only, and that as briefly as possible, of this famous assembly, our limits precluding any thing like a lengthened account of its interesting proceedings. For a minute detail of its

ilton then gave in his commission, which was read and received; he was followed by the several commissioners from presbyteries, burghs, and universities; but the examination of their commissions was deferred till the election of a moderator and clerk. This, according to the design of the government to thwart all the assembly's proceedings, was opposed by the marquis, who insisted on the commissions being examined previous to the choosing of a moderator; and entered his protest against their proceedings when he found that he could not carry his point. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, one of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church, was then chosen moderator, and Archibald Johnston, advocate, clerk.*

After examining the commissions, and transacting some other business of minor importance, a declinature from the bishops was read, in which they refused to acknowledge the assembly as a competent tribunal, chiefly on account of the presence of laymen,

twenty-six sessions, we must refer the reader to Baillie's Letters, or Stevenson's History.

* To Mr. Johnston the assembly were indebted for the recovery of their registers, which they imagined to have been either lost or destroyed. At their third session he produced five volumes, which, with two already in their possession, made the registers of the church complete.

whom they disdainfully held up to scorn, for presuming to sit as judges on the conduct of archbishops and bishops! No sooner was this paper read than the accusers of the prelates took instruments in the clerk's hands, that the bishops had by this deed acknowledged their citation, and that therefore their wilful absence should not be sustained. Against this also Hamilton protested, being determined to support the dignity, and uphold the credit, of the now fallen prelates, whom he uniformly called by the title of "Lords of the clergy!"* The declinature of the bishops being satisfactorily answered by Messrs. Johnston and Calderwood in very lengthened papers, in which the admission of elders as members of assembly was fully established, the moderator put the question, "whether or not this assembly found themselves competent judges of the bishops, notwithstanding their declinature?" But previous to the vote being taken, the commissioner rose and addressed the assembly in the following terms:—"I should, perhaps, have continued a little longer with you, if

* Perceiving that he was unable to control the assembly, Hamilton had already written to Charles to hasten his military preparations, and to obtain by force of arms what was utterly unattainable either by flattery or fraud.

you had not fallen upon a point which doth enforce my deserting you: You are now about to settle the lawfulness of this judicatory, and the competency of it against the bishops, whom you have cited thither, neither of which I can allow, if I shall discharge either my duty towards God, or loyalty towards my gracious and just master. This is a day to me both of gladness and sadness; gladness in that I have seen this assembly meet, and that I shall now, in his majesty's name, make good unto you all his most gracious offers in his royal proclamation: of sadness, in that you who have called so much for a free general assembly, and having one most free in his majesty's intentions granted you, have so handled and marred the matter, that there is not the least shadow of freedom to be discerned in this your meeting; for the former, which is the discharge and performance of your sovereign's gracious promises, let this paper, which I deliver to the clerk to be read, witness it to you all." He then gave to the clerk the king's proclamation, containing the concessions formerly mentioned; which being read, he requested that the assembly might be dissolved, and a new election made agreeably to the wishes of the

king. This being of course refused, the commissioner intimated his determination to depart. In vain did the moderator, Lord Loudon, and the Earl of Rothes entreat him to remain. Having again, without success, insisted on the moderator closing the assembly by prayer, he, in his majesty's name, dissolved the meeting, and prohibited them from transacting any further business. (Burnet's Mem., p. 106. Apologetical Relation, p. 50.)

Against this abrupt and arbitrary proceeding of the commissioner, a protest was given in by the Earl of Rothes, and read by the clerk; and when Hamilton next day issued a proclamation dissolving the assembly under pain of treason, he was met by a similar protest in the public street. In the meantime the assembly, unintimidated by the commissioner's threats, resolved to continue their sittings, and to carry forward the work of reformation. In this resolution they were encouraged by the accession of the Marquis of Argyle and Lord Erskine, the former of whom remained with them till the conclusion of the session, and assisted them in all their deliberations. The assembly then proceeded in their business; and having declared

the six preceding corrupt assemblies, namely those from 1608 to 1618, (Apologetical Relation, p. 51.) which had been overawed by arbitrary authority, null and void, they rescinded the five articles of Perth, condemned the liturgy, book of canons and high commission courts, and in short, completely abolished prelacy, and restored Presbyterianism to its original purity. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 123, et seq. Naphtali, p. 140.)

The next step of the assembly was the trial of the bishops, against whom charges were given in of oppression and tyranny, Arminian and popish doctrines, and the most flagrant disregard to morality, such as adultery, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, bribery, profane swearing, and many other grievous and abominable crimes. (Rush. vol. ii. p. 787.) These charges being clearly proved to the conviction of all, two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four were deposed, and two suspended from their ecclesiastical functions; and a number of unworthy ministers, whose doctrine and conduct gave universal offence, were at the same time either suspended or deposed from the office of the ministry.

Having passed several important acts, such

as one prohibiting any minister from having a seat in parliament, or exercising civil authority; another, approving the late covenant; and a third, determining the power of assemblies to fix their own times and places of meeting, (Row. p. 208, &c.,) the next assembly was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the third Wednesday of July, 1639, and a humble petition ordered to be laid before Charles, requesting his majesty's approbation of the several acts which had been passed by this assembly. The moderator then addressed his brethren in an eloquent and pathetic speech, after which he dissolved the court, by pronouncing the apostolic benediction. "We have now," said he, "cast down the walls of Jericho: Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." "And so," adds Baillie, "we all departed with great comfort and humble joy, casting ourselves and our poor church in the arms of our 'good God.'" (Baillie, vol. i. p. 149.

CHAPTER III.

Charles declares war against the Scots—preparations of the Covenanters—proceedings in the North—Hamilton arrives with a fleet in the Frith—the Covenanters march to the borders—description of the Scottish camp—alarm of the English—a treaty concluded—general assembly—Charles violates the treaty—both sides prepare for war—assembly at Aberdeen—the Covenanters' army enter England—their success—a negotiation commenced—proceedings of the English parliament—treaty concluded—general assembly at Edinburgh—Scottish parliament—Charles visits Scotland—massacre of the Protestants in Ireland—English commissioners arrive in Edinburgh—Solemn League and Covenant framed—it is sworn in both kingdoms.

THE proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow could not but enrage a monarch who had already pronounced its members to be rebels. Instead of viewing himself and his prelatical advisers as the cause of all the disturbances which had taken place in Scotland, he threw the whole blame on the Covenanters; and, like Pharaoh of old, so hardened his heart, that nothing but the destruction of these men—the most loyal but the most oppressed portion of his people—would give him satisfaction. For this purpose, he ordered his military preparations to be carried on with the utmost expedition: and while Huntly was to be assisted in the North with an extensive

naval armament, he himself was to lead a land army of thirty thousand horse and foot into Scotland; (Burnet's Mem. p. 113. Clarendon, vol, i. p. 115, et seq.) to defray the expenses of which, large contributions were made by the English clergy.*

Perceiving the fixed resolution of Charles again to reduce the Scottish nation to the worst species of slavery, the Tables considered it high time to make preparations for their own defence. It is true, that many who had sworn the covenant, hesitated at first to take up arms against their monarch; but, on the issuing of a proclamation by the king, denouncing them as traitors and rebels who intended to invade England, and the publication of a manifesto by the Tables on "the lawfulness of defensive arms,"† the ranks of

* "By the advice of Laud," says Whitelock, "the king nasted his levies of men and money without consent of parliament. And because this was the bishops' war it was held fit that they should contribute largely towards the preservation of their own hierarchy. Accordingly, orders were issued from the council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the other bishops to give largely, which they did, and about £1000, was raised in each diocese by a medium; the doctors of the commons gave £700, and the papists, by directions from the queen, contributed largely."

† This ab e paper, which was drawn up by Mr. Henderson, proves, were proof necessary, that this war was not only lawful on the part of the Covenanters, but forced upon them contrary to their inclinations, and engag d in

the Covenanters' army were soon filled by zealous friends to the cause from every part of the country. Having next circulated declarations in England, vindicating themselves from the calumnies which had been heaped upon them, and assuring their English brethren that they had no hostile intention against them in their present preparations, the Tables made every exertion to put the kingdom in a state of defence. Experienced officers were appointed to train the people to the use of arms; a committee was chosen to reside at Edinburgh to superintend and manage all their affairs; and General Leslie, who had served on the continent under the famous Gustavus, was invited home to take command of the army. In short, throughout the country, the preparations for war were carried on with an alacrity and pious zeal, which might have served as a warning to the tyrannical monarch, who was already involved in disputes with his English subjects, to retrace his unjust and arbitrary steps. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 153.)

But Charles was already on his march to-

for the purpose of preventing "utter ruin and desolation being brought on the kirk and kingdom—on themselves and their posterity."

wards Scotland at the head of a numerous army. Aware, therefore, of the necessity of losing no time in commencing operations, the Covenanters resolved to secure as many of the places of strength in the kingdom as possible, before marching against their invading foes. Accordingly, on the 23d of March, 1639, they attacked and made themselves masters of the castle of Edinburgh; and on the same day, the castle of Dumbarton fell into their hands. Dalkeith house—in which were found the arms and ammunition intended for Edinburgh castle, with the regalia of Scotland—together with Strathaven, Tantallon, and Douglas castles, followed; in short, the only place of strength which remained in the hands of those attached to the government was the castle of Carlaverock. Leith, too, and the opposite coast of Fife, were strongly fortified, and beacons were set up in every shire to alarm the country in case of any sudden invasion. (Guth. Mem. p. 46. Baillie, vol. i. p. 158. Burnet's Mem., p. 115.)

In the north country, however, there were many who, chiefly by Huntly's means, were still disposed to espouse the cause of tyranny. Huntly, having collected a considerable force, fortified Aberdeen, where the chief strength of

the opponents to the covenant lay, and seemed to bid defiance to all the friends of liberty; but, on the appearance of Montrose with eight thousand men, he retired further north. Montrose accordingly entered Aberdeen, and having demolished the fortifications, with a zeal which by no means can be commended, he compelled the refractory inhabitants of that town to attach their signatures to the covenant. (Row, p. 344.) This measure, though perhaps deemed prudent by Montrose, was far from being sanctioned by the Tables, who, according to their own declarations, required all subscribers to that bond to be volunteers. Montrose also, not very honourably, soon afterwards carried Huntly and his son to Edinburgh, where they were confined in the castle till the treaty with Charles. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 160.)

The decisive measures which were adopted by the Covenanters, did not in the smallest degree abate their ardent desires for peace, which, on the contrary, they endeavoured to maintain by laying anew their humble supplications at the foot of the throne. But Charles was inexorable. A fleet with five thousand troops on board, under the com-

mand of the Marquis of Hamilton, had already sailed, and shortly afterwards cast anchor in Leith Roads. The alarm was immediately given to the country by setting fire to the beacons; and before Hamilton could make any use of his fleet, the shores on either side of the Frith were guarded by twenty thousand armed men. Thus pent up, Hamilton sent a fruitless summons to the provost of Edinburgh, to surrender the city and the port of Leith. He then transmitted an order to the town council, requiring them to publish a proclamation from Charles, promising indeed the Covenanters religious liberty, but declaring them traitors and rebels unless they should lay down their arms within eight days. (Burnet's Mem., p. 123.) This mandate the town council refused to obey; and Hamilton's troops being in the meantime reduced to great distress both from want of water, and from the ravages of the small-pox, the fleet was shortly afterwards recalled. Previous, however, to leaving the Frith, Hamilton was requested to procure for the nation a free parliament, the meeting of that assembly, which should have taken place on the 15th of May,

having been prorogued by an order from Charles.*

Notwithstanding their success hitherto, the affairs of the Covenanters at this period seemed to wear a foreboding aspect. The royal army was on its march to the borders; their enemies were again in possession of Aberdeen; the west was threatened by an invasion from Ireland, and the trade of the country was materially injured by the king's fleet. Having therefore betaken themselves anew to fasting and prayer, the leaders of the Covenanters despatched Montrose a second time to the north. The marquis, having entered Aberdeen with four thousand men, first severely punished the faithless inhabitants of that city, and then marched against the Gordons, who had also appeared in arms against the Covenanters. In the meantime Aboyne, who had received a commission from the king, arrived at Aberdeen with nearly four thousand men, and retook that city, the inhabitants of which he found to be as inimical as ever to the covenant, which at his desire they solemnly

* The greater part of the members had assembled in Edinburgh, when they were met by the king's mandate, which they readily obeyed, after appointing Leslie commander in chief of the Scottish army. Baillie, vol. i. p. 166.

abjured. (Row, p. 356. Baillie, vol. i. p. 169.) But on the reappearance of Montrose, who gained a decisive victory over Aboyne, that unhappy city fell once more into his hands, and was saved from being pillaged only by the arrival of despatches announcing the treaty between Charles and his Scottish subjects.

In the meantime the main army of the Covenanters, under General Leslie, had arrived at the borders. Leslie encamped at Dunglass, and Monro, who had collected a considerable number of troops in Dumfries, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright, lay at Kelso. The royal army had pitched at Birks, a plain on the south side of the Tweed, about three miles from Berwick. The approach of the Covenanters filled the English army with so much alarm, that Charles found it necessary to issue a milder proclamation, promising, on a demonstration of their obedience in civil matters, to grant their just supplications, but commanding their army not to approach within ten miles of the royal camp, under pain of being declared rebels. The Covenanters hailed this proclamation as a token of peace, which they still earnestly desired, and implicitly complied with his majesty's injunctions. But

imagining that their obedience proceeded from timidity, Charles, at the suggestion of the excommunicated prelates, published another proclamation, "offering indemnity to all, except a few, who should within eight days lay down their arms, declaring those who would not obey, to be rebels, and setting a price on the heads of their leaders." This proclamation was made at Dunse, and attempted to be published at Kelso by the Earl of Holland, at the head of four thousand men; but on the appearance of Monro and his troops, the English fled in the utmost disorder.* These proceedings at once convinced the Covenanters of the duplicity of Charles, and of his determination to continue hostilities. Leslie, accordingly, having ordered the troops at Kelso to join the main army, marched to Dunse-law, and on the first of June pitched his camp in the very sight of the English. The general committee at Edinburgh also, aware of the state of the army, sent despatches throughout the kingdom requiring new levies of men; and so faithfully were

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 173. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 936. "The English," adds Baillie, "were a great deal more nimble at flying than fighting; and it was difficult to tell whether the arms of their cavalry were more weary with whipping, or their heels with jading, their horses."

their orders attended to, that "the whole country" rose at the call, and hastened to Dunse-law. The appearance of the Scottish camp at this period was truly gratifying, while the exemplary piety, of both officers and men, exhibited a spectacle which we in vain look for among the military in times more modern. "It would have done you good," says Baillie, "to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills as oft as I did.—Our hill was garnished on the top towards the south and east with our mounted cannon. The crowners lay in canvas lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber covered with divot or straw.—Every company had, flying at the captain's tent door, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish arms, and this motto, 'FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT,' in golden letters. Our soldiers were all lusty and full of courage; and grew in experience of arms, in courage, and in favour daily. Had you 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.—For myself, I never found my mind

in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward, for I was as a man who had taken my leave of the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. pp. 175, 178.)

The near approach of the Scottish army, which had now increased to upwards of twenty-four thousand men, so greatly alarmed the English, that they immediately began to entrench themselves; and on the Scots discovering a disposition to advance still nearer, the king at length found it necessary to give them a hint that he wished for peace. So desirous were the Covenanters even yet to come to equitable terms with a monarch who had treated them with so much severity, and over whom they now seemed to enjoy a decided advantage, that they immediately despatched the Earl of Dunfermline, with an humble supplication to his majesty, to deign to listen to their complaints. But though Charles now found himself under the necessity of treating, he resolved first to have his humour a little gratified, by requiring that the proclamation which they had refused to publish in Edinburgh, should be read at the head of the

troops in the Covenanters' camp. This was refused; but in order to show their readiness to gratify his majesty, the proclamation was read with great reverence at the general's table. With this Charles was satisfied; and commissioners on each side were chosen to conclude a treaty. Having received a safe-conduct, the Scottish commissioners proceeded to the English camp; but scarcely were they met in Arundel's tent, before Charles abruptly entered, and demanded to know what were those requests to which they alleged he had refused to listen. This demand called forth an explanation from the commissioners, which Charles ordered them to commit to writing. But though he found himself unable to answer their paper, which vindicated the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow, yet influenced by his base flatterers the bishops, he insisted before proceeding further, on an answer to the three following questions:—"1. Whether his majesty has the sole indiction of the general assembly or not? 2. Whether his majesty has a negative voice in assemblies? And, 3. Whether the assembly may sit after his majesty has, by his authority commanded them to rise?" Having already given him explicit answers

to all these questions, the Covenanters naturally imagined that Charles only wished to gain time; and they therefore resolved that their army should approach within cannon shot of the royal camp. This was sufficient to gain the end which they had in view: For no sooner did intelligence of their intention reach Charles, than he departed from his questions, and hastily concluded a treaty of peace, by which all differences were referred to a general assembly, to be held on the 6th of August, and a free parliament in a fortnight afterwards. The chief articles of this treaty, which, extorted as it was from the imperious monarch, he never intended to fulfil, were, that both armies should be disbanded,—that all the forts and castles taken by the Covenanters should be delivered up to the king,—that the fleet should be withdrawn,—that all fortifications, should desist,—and that all forfeitures should be restored. The articles were signed on the 18th of June, and proclaimed in both camps,* and the

* The Covenanters published a paper of information along with the articles, containing a verbal acknowledgment from Charles of his willingness, not to require any of the Presbyterians to disapprove of, or depart from the Glasgow assembly, which, for state reasons, he had termed in his declaration a "pretended assembly." On the treaty being signed, several of the English humour-

Scottish army was immediately afterwards disbanded, (Baillie, vol. i. p. 183. Row, p. 348. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 941. Apologetical Relation, p. 54.)

But though Charles had signed a treaty which would ultimately have restored tranquillity to Scotland, yet, mortified at being compelled to treat with men whom he had doomed to destruction, he resolved, on the first opportunity, to break his engagements, and, if possible, to throw the odium of violating the treaty on the Covenanters. With this view he appointed Traquair as his commissioner to the General Assembly, with instructions evidently opposed to the liberties of the Scottish church; for though he was to make many concessions, he was ordered, at the close of the assembly, to protest that any concessions made by him with which the king might be dissatisfied, "his majesty should be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." (Rush. vol. iii. p. 949 Burnet's Mem. p. 154.)

The assembly accordingly met at Edinburgh on the day appointed. From com-

ously remarked, that the bishops were discharged in Scotland, neither by the civil law, nor by the canon law, but by Dunse-law. Stev. vol. ii. p. 746.

plaisance to Charles, no reference was made to the Glasgow assembly; but similar acts were passed against all the grievances of which the nation complained; the covenant was renewed, even with the commissioner's sanction, though indeed with a reservation; and the re-establishment of the Presbyterian religion was completely confirmed. "The work of this assembly," says Stevenson, "may be comprised under these four general heads:—1. The condemnation of the corruptions which troubled the church. 2. The report and approbation of the censures which had been inflicted on certain ministers for errors, immoralities, &c. 3. The condemnation of a book entitled, *The Large Declaration, or Manifesto of king Charles*; and, 4. The renovation of the national covenant." (Stev. Hist. vol. iii. p. 776. Naphtali, p. 140.) Having finished their business, the next assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday of July, 1640.

Charles was highly offended at the conduct of his commissioner, in sanctioning the assembly's complete condemnation of Episcopacy, and their renewing of the covenant. When therefore the parliament assembled, Traquair endeavoured to repair his error, by

preventing the ratification of these two acts of assembly; for no sooner did the parliament enter on their consideration, than they were prorogued by order of Charles till June, 1640. (Rush. vol. iii. p. 955.) Against this arbitrary proceeding the members of parliament remonstrated, and appointed deputies to repair to London to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. But Charles, who had made considerable advances in his military preparations, treated the deputies with the greatest indignity, and resolved to carry his base design of enslaving the Scottish nation into effect at the point of the sword. So immovable indeed was his determination to prosecute this Episcopal war, that he arbitrarily imposed taxes on the English nation without consent of parliament, by which he raised a sum sufficient to put him at the head of an army of twenty-one thousand men.

These proceedings of the tyrannical but infatuated sovereign, again roused the Covenanters to a sense of their danger, and the most active preparations were every where made to maintain the religion and liberties of the nation. In the meantime, the parliament which had been prorogued till the 2d of June, 1640, met on the day appointed; and having

ratified the acts of the last assembly, a committee was chosen to raise money, and manage the affairs of the army. These transactions were by Charles declared to be treasonable; but the Covenanters disregarding the menaces of their faithless monarch, assembled their forces, and resolved to march against the invader. (Apologetical Relation, p. 56.)

In order first to quell the disturbances which had again broken out in the north, Monro was sent to Aberdeen with a considerable force. But his severity in that quarter, in forcing subscriptions to the covenant, and plundering the disaffected, gave great offence to the Covenanters in general, (Stevenson, vol. iii. 880,) and can admit of no apology from any historian. Notwithstanding all these commotions, however, the assembly met at Aberdeen, according to appointment on the 28th of July. The chief business before this assembly, which merits notice, was a contest respecting private meetings for prayer and other religious exercises, which some of the more zealous of the members affirmed to be an espousing of independent principles. It had been the practice of many eminent Christians, who, during the

time of Episcopacy, could not conscientiously attend the ministry of the curates, to assemble in private for prayer and religious conference; and being afterwards joined by several Irish refugees, who had fled from the persecution in their own country, a few had been gradually led to break off from the church, and form little societies similar to the English independent congregations. The far greater part of the private meetings, however, were held simply for promoting the spiritual benefit of the members, who remained as firmly attached to the church as ever. The matter was brought before the assembly by Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister of Stirling, whose present hot-headed zeal for presbytery was afterwards transferred to prelacy,* and who insisted on the suppression of all private meetings whatever. In vain did Mr. Samuel Rutherford and Mr. David Dickson contend that private meetings were warranted by Scripture. Having gained a party to his own views, Mr. Guthrie obtained an act to be passed, prohibiting any to be admitted to family worship except the members of the family, and allowing none except

* He accepted of a bishopric after the restoration.

a minister, or expectant approved of by the presbytery, to explain Scripture. This act was highly disapproved of by many of the most eminent ministers in the assembly, but for the sake of peace they submitted to the decision of their clamorous brethren. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 197—201.)

By this time the king was on his march towards the borders, with an army of twenty-one thousand men, by no means hearty in the cause. To oppose his progress, Leslie was despatched with the main body of the Covenanters' army, amounting to about twenty-six thousand, and in the beginning of August, he pitched his camp at Dunse. The Scottish forces lay on the borders for three weeks, improving themselves in discipline, during which time the greatest order and piety were exemplified in every part of the camp. "It is refreshful to remark," says Livingston, one of their chaplains, "that after we came to our quarters at night, there was nothing to be heard through the whole army, but singing psalms, prayer, and reading of Scripture by the soldiers in their several tents." (Livingston's Life, p. 33.) On the advance of the English to Newcastle, the Covenanters, to avoid being invaded in their

own country, broke up their camp, and on the 20th of August entered England. This step was taken, both on account of the difficulty of maintaining for any length of time so great an army, and of the secret assurances which were given them of assistance from their English brethren, who groaned under similar oppressions with themselves. Having therefore published a manifesto on "the lawfulness of their expedition," together with their "intentions" in entering, but not invading England—in which they disclaim all thoughts of taking any of their brethren's property, except for payment, and intimate their desire to unite both kingdoms in the work of reformation—the Scottish army on the 27th, encamped at Newburn, about five miles above Newcastle. Here on the day following, they obtained a complete victory over the king's forces; for though the loss of the English was inconsiderable, yet so effectual was the rout, that the whole fled into Yorkshire, together with eleven thousand men who were quartered in Newcassle. (Clarendon, vol. i. p. 143. Baillie, vol. i. p. 212.) To complete the success of the Covenanters, the same day the garrison in Dumbarton castle capitulated,

and shortly afterwards they obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh.

The day following the victory at Newburn, General Leslie sent a letter to the mayor of Newcastle, assuring him of the friendly disposition of the Covenanters, and desiring the inhabitants to carry on their usual employments without fear, as a guard would be placed in the city for their protection. This letter had the intended effect. For when Leslie, with several officers and the ministers entered Newcastle, they were cordially welcomed, and liberally entertained by the authorities; after which Mr. Henderson preached a thanksgiving sermon in one of the churches. Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields, also fell into the hands of the Covenanters; yet, far from being elated with their success, they still continued to sue for peace. Charles, who was at Northallerton, when he received tidings of the defeat of his army, hastily retreated to York, where he received a new supplication from the much injured Scots, couched in very loyal language, stating their grievances, and praying for relief, together with a settled and lasting peace. (Rush. vol. iii. p. 1255. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 42.) Their petition

would have been instantly rejected, had not the English nobles, in the city of London, and several counties in England, laid before his majesty their own grievances, and earnestly entreated him to conclude a treaty with the Scots. Perceiving at length the general disaffection of the country, notwithstanding the base representations of the court sycophants to the contrary, Charles returned a message to the Covenanters, requiring them to make a specific statement of their demands, but prohibiting the advance of their army; and, to conciliate their English subjects, as he hated parliaments, he summoned a council of nobles to meet at York. (Clarendon, vol. i. p. 148.)

The Covenanters, according to the king's order, transmitted their written requests to Charles, soliciting him, among other things, to ratify the acts of the last parliament of Scotland. Charles at first seemed disposed to continue hostilities, by increasing the number of his forces; but, previous to any further movements on either side, the council of peers assembled at York on the 24th of September. This council having determined to negotiate with the Scots, commissioners from both sides met at Ripon on the 1st of Octo-

ber when a cessation of arms was proposed by the English commissioners. To this proposal the Scots willingly agreed, on condition that until a treaty was fully concluded, an allowance of £40,000 per month should be granted for the support of their army. After some debate in the council, £25,000 were offered and accepted, and the commissioners continued to sit during the month of October, discussing the articles of the treaty, without coming to any conclusion. Finding that many difficulties occurred in this negotiation, the nobles petitioned the king to allow the settling of the treaty to be transferred to London—Charles having at length agreed to summon a parliament—and the Covenanters' army to remain in England until it was concluded. (Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1279, et seq.) With this request his majesty reluctantly complied, and in the meantime a truce was signed, by which all hostilities by sea and land were to cease, and provision was made for payment of the stipulated sum for the maintenance of the Covenanters' forces. The Scottish commissioners immediately afterwards proceeded to London, attended by Messrs. Henderson, Blair, Baillie, and Gillespie, as chaplains, and were received by the

city with the greatest respect. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 215.)

The parliament, which met on the 3d of November, instead of acquiescing in the demands of the king, to grant money for chastising the *rebels*, as he termed the Scots proceeded first to redress the grievances relative to religion of which their own nation complained. The tyranny of the bishops had so disgusted the people, that petitions signed by many thousands were presented to parliament, praying that the whole fabric of Episcopacy might be dissolved; and steps began already to be taken for deposing the bishops and overturning the existing hierarchy. (Clarendon, vol. i. pp. 203, 237.) Perceiving that he could exercise no control over the English parliament, Charles determined to proceed to Scotland, with the view of endeavouring, by large concessions, to separate that kingdom from his too powerful opponents in England. The parliament, on the other hand, afraid of Charles gaining the Scottish army, brought the treaty with the Covenanters to a conclusion in June, 1641, and with a view to the immediate disbanding of their army, paid them a fourth part of their arrears, with the promise of giving

them the remainder in equal moieties within two years; upon which the Scots returned to their own country.*

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at St. Andrews, viz: on the 20th of July, but was afterwards adjourned to Edinburgh. This assembly framed a number of acts relative to the better regulation of church courts and universities; but the act which chiefly merits attention, is one relative to private societies, which completely overturned the decision of the Aberdeen assembly. It is entitled "Act against impiety and schism;" and while it enjoins presbyteries and synods "to watch over all meetings tending to promote error, scandal, schism, and neglect of duties," it at the same time declares, "That the assembly doth find it most necessary to stir up themselves, and to provoke all others, both ministers and people, not only to the religious exercises of public worship, and of private worship in their families, and of every one by themselves apart; but also to the duties of mutual edification,

* By this treaty the Covenanters obtained all for which they had so long petitioned and contended. See *Stev. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 961.

by instruction, admonition, exhorting one another to forwardness in religion, and comforting one another in whatsoever distress, and that in all their meetings," &c. (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 971.)

The Scottish Parliament had met at Edinburgh on the 15th of July, but transacted little or no business till the arrival of Charles, who reached Holyroodhouse on the 14th of August. While he remained in Edinburgh, he conformed in every point, though evidently from policy, to the Presbyterian form of worship. When he appeared in parliament on the 17th, he addressed the members in a speech, which, had it been sincere, or had the promises he made in it been afterwards fulfilled, would have secured him the cordial support of a nation enthusiastically attached to the house of Stuart. But the duplicity of Charles in all his transactions, justly kept awake the suspicions of men who had already experienced the little reliance which could be placed on his most solemn engagements.* With consent of the

* It was with the greatest difficulty that Charles refrained from protesting against the proceedings of this very parliament, before whom he had declared "that he earnestly desired to settle what concerned the religion and just liberties of his native country, and to give his people contentment and a general satisfaction."

king, the parliament appointed an oath to be taken by every member in that and succeeding parliaments, promising to maintain, on the one hand, the Presbyterian religion in purity, and on the other, the authority of the sovereign and the liberties of the people, agreeably to the national covenant. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 325. Naphtali, p. 141.) The treaty with England was then ratified, and several salutary enactments framed, which, while they were acted upon, proved of immense benefit to the nation.

Previous to the rising of the Scottish parliament, a dreadful insurrection broke out in Ireland. The Roman Catholics in that country, having published a declaration bearing that they acted by his majesty's commission under the great seal, and in a letter written by his own hand, commenced a diabolical massacre of the Protestants throughout that kingdom, in which upwards of *two hundred thousand* perished in the course of a few months. The province of Ulster, which was principally inhabited by Protestants, was entirely depopulated by the loss of one hundred and forty thousand of its inhabitants. The tortures employed on this occasion, which are of a nature too shocking to be described,

would surpass all credibility, were they not attested by the most authentic historians.* The Scottish parliament immediately offered ten thousand men to assist the English in suppressing the rebellion; but Charles, who could hardly be persuaded to denounce the murderers in Ireland *rebels*, seemed by no means hearty in the cause. The English parliament, on the contrary, thankfully accepted their offer, and at the same time intimated their belief, that all the commotions in that unhappy country proceeded from the councils of his majesty.

It was at this critical juncture that Charles returned to London, as determined as ever to oppose the proceedings of his English parliament. Immediately on his arrival, the bishops reproached him for yielding to the demands of the Scots, and intimated their suspicions that he might be induced to abolish Episcopacy in England. This unwise step of the prelates still further widened the breach between the parliament, who took part with the Scots, and the bishops, who not only pro-

* Rush, vol. v. p. 416. Whitelock, p. 47. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 41. Brodie, vol. iii. p. 194. It was suspected, not without reason, that the Queen, to whose counsels Charles too easily yielded, had no small hand in this rebellion, and that it was done to assist the royal cause.

cured the expulsion of the latter from the house of lords, but ended in their final overthrow, together with that hierarchy which had been so oppressive to the nation. In short, Charles having preposterously endeavoured to re-establish his now limited authority on the ruins of parliament, by measures equally unwise and tyrannical, (Whitelock, p. 50. Rush. vol. v. p. 474,) both parties took the field, and a civil war followed between the parliamentary forces and the royal army. In vain did the Scots offer to mediate between the king and his parliament; for though the latter thanked them for their kind and seasonable interposition, the haughty sovereign peremptorily forbade them to interfere in the dispute. (Rush. vol. v. p. 474.)

While hostilities were carrying on in England, the General Assembly of the Scottish Church met at St. Andrews on the 27th of July 1642. To this assembly both the king and the English parliament made application for support; but while his majesty's communication conveyed declarations which the Scots knew to be inconsistent with truth, the parliament honestly laid their grievances before the assembly, and intimated their earnest desire to effect a reformation in Eng-

land similar to what had taken place in Scotland. Perceiving at once the benefits that would result to both kingdoms from the abolition of Prelacy in England, a system which had been the source of all their own miseries, and which, from the gross duplicity of Charles, they were aware would be again imposed upon Scotland, whenever the king triumphed over the parliamentary forces, it can be no surprise that the assembly and the Covenanters in general seemed disposed to favour the cause of liberty. In the meantime the assembly, desirous of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, laid the communication of the parliament before his majesty, and earnestly entreated him to grant the request of both nations in regard to uniformity of religion. But Charles, who was determined to support Episcopacy, refused to make any concessions whatever to a parliament over whom he expected shortly to triumph by force of arms. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 337. Rush. vol. vi. p. 398.)

The dreadful commotions in England, which, by means of the king's emissaries, had in part extended to Scotland, induced the Scots, on the refusal of Charles to summon a parliament, to hold a convention of estates.

This convention met on the 22d of June, 1643, but transacted little public business till the arrival of commissioners from the parliament of England. In the meantime the General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 2d of August, and on the 7th of that month, the long expected commissioners arrived at Leith. These commissioners were Sir William Armine, Sir Harry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darnley, Esqs., from the parliament to the estates, and Messrs. Marshall and Nye, the former a Presbyterian, and the latter an Independent minister, from the Assembly of Divines which had met at Westminster,* to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, (Rush, vol. vi. p. 466. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 300.) The commissioners to the estates requested the aid of their Scottish brethren in defending the religion and liberties of both kingdoms; and the commissioners to the assembly, in name of the parliament, solicited a number of the Scottish ministers to be appointed commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, and a league to

* This famous assembly, which was convened by the English parliament, met in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey, on the 1st of July, 1643,—
Reid's Lives

be framed between both nations. After some consultation, both in the convention and assembly, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was framed, which, being approved of by the assembly, and ratified by the estates, was transmitted to London by the commissioners appointed to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.*

It ought to be noticed, that this bond, vilified or misrepresented as it now is by the majority of authors, either through ignorance or malevolence, deserves none of that odium which is so unsparingly cast upon it both by novelists and historians. Let the reader carefully peruse it, and judge for himself. It is true that the covenant binds to the "extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness," but it does not say by the *sword*; nor can any of its calumniators produce one example of a prelate being put to death simply for his adherence to Episcopalian principles. Nay, are not Presbyterians at this present day bound, "according to their several places and callings," to endeavour, by every Scriptural method, to

* These commissioners were Messrs. Alex. Henderson, Robert Douglas, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, ministers; and the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston, elders.

promote "sound doctrine," in opposition to what they conceive to be contrary to the Divine Word; and that although there never had been a covenant sworn in the land? And where, we would ask, was our fathers' error in entering into a covenant, to preserve to themselves and to their posterity after them, their religion, and liberties, unjustly invaded by a tyrant? Is a covenant in itself unlawful? And if not, until the opponents of the covenants then sworn in Scotland, can show that there is contained in them matter opposed either to Scripture or reason, their obloquy and sneers can only be considered as manifesting a spirit as inimical to civil liberty as it is to Christianity.

The Solemn League being sanctioned by the English parliament, and ordered to be taken throughout the nation, was again transmitted to Edinburgh; and, on the 13th of October, it was sworn by the commission of the General Assembly, the estates, and the English commissioners. Copies were afterwards circulated throughout the kingdom, with orders that it should be subscribed by all ranks, under pain of being punished as enemies to religion and the sovereign's authority. This order may appear intolerant;

but, considering the treachery of the Covenanters' enemies, who at this very period were forming plots for putting to death the most eminent of their leaders, it was a measure almost imperative, in order to ascertain the number of their adherents. And this object was speedily attained; for in every parish the people joyfully affixed their signatures to a bond, which, instead of invalidating the National Covenant, as some historians allege,* laid the Covenanters under double obligations to fulfil the vows which they had formerly taken upon themselves. (Baillie, vol. i. p. 393, &c.)

* Hume only displays his ignorance when he says that the Solemn League "effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms." Hist., vol. vi. p. 540.

CHAPTER IV.

Civil war—the Scottish army enters England—barbarous proceedings of Montrose—he is forfeited by the parliament—General Assembly—intrigues of the king—he repairs to the Scottish camp—rejects the proposals of the English parliament—fruitless efforts of the Scots to induce him to comply—he is delivered to the parliament and carried to Holmby house—Westminster Assembly—the English army seize the king's person—he escapes to the Isle of Wight—negotiates with the Scots—the Scottish parliament declares war against England—opposition of the church to this engagement—its ill success—trial and execution of the king—Charles II. proclaimed—he arrives in Scotland—his deceitful conduct—malignants admitted into places of trust—the king's coronation—he solemnly swears the covenants—advances into England—his defeat—Scotland reduced by Cromwell—state of the church during the usurpation—Charles recalled by the English parliament.

It is not our intention to give a detail of the civil wars in England, which ended in the complete discomfiture of the infatuated monarch. It is sufficient to state here, that the Scots, agreeably to their treaty with the English parliament, sent into England, in the beginning of 1644, an army of upwards of twenty-one thousand men, who co-operated with the parliamentary forces in contending for the civil and religious liberties of both kingdoms. While hostilities were thus carrying on in England, Montrose* repaired to the north of

* Montrose, as we have already seen, had carried his zeal in behalf of the covenants to an unjustifiable length;

Scotland, and putting himself at the head of sixteen hundred barbarous Irish, and several Highland clans, who espoused the king's interest, laid waste a great portion of the country, and made the streets of Aberdeen literally to run with human blood. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 65.)

During these commotions, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 31st of May; and, having received from their commissioners a very favourable account of the progress made by the Westminster Assembly in effecting uniformity in religion between the two kingdoms, they confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the commission of the Assembly against Montrose and the other enemies of the covenant. (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1117.) The Scottish parliament, which met in June following, formally ratified the Solemn League, and the treaty with England.*

The miserable state of the country, occasioned by the barbarities of Montrose and but, like all blind zealots, who are devoid of principle, he not only himself deserted the cause which he had espoused, but persecuted those who refused to follow him in his apostasy.

* Various salutary acts were passed by this parliament, which the reader will find detailed in Stevenson's History.

his savage followers, whose atrocities in the north were of a nature the most revolting,* occasioned another meeting of parliament to be held in January, 1645. Though divided on many points, this parliament unanimously forfeited the estates of Montrose and his coadjutors, and ordered an army to be raised to march against these sanguinary enemies to the common cause. The General Assembly which met about the same time with the parliament, drew up addresses both to the parliament and the nation, earnestly calling upon all ranks to defend the principles which they had so solemnly espoused, and to make a decided stand against “the popish, prelatical, and malignant faction,” who, under Montrose, laid waste the country by fire and sword. This Assembly also sent a faithful remonstrance to the king, warning him of the guilt of shedding the blood of so many thousands of his best subjects—of his own irreligion and idolatry—of his encouraging the profanation of the Sabbath—and of refusing to listen to the humble and just requests of

* Even Spalding acknowledges that Montrose “burns and slays through the haill country; and left no house or hold, except impregnable strengths, unburnt; their corn, goods and gear; and left not a four-footed beast alive.” Vol. ii. p. 297.

his people; all which, they assured him, unless speedily repented of, would bring down the vengeance of God upon himself and his posterity. Letters were likewise sent to the Westminster Assembly and their own commissioners in London, encouraging them to proceed in the work of reformation, and approving of the directory for public worship drawn up by that eminent body of divines. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 89, &c.)

In the meantime Montrose continued the war with every species of savage cruelty, in which he proved so successful, (Rush, vol. vii. p. 229,) notwithstanding the opposition of the Covenanters' forces, that marching south, he soon afterwards made himself master of Glasgow. Here, however, he was abandoned by several of the Highland clans, who, satisfied with the plunder which they had already obtained, retired to their native mountains to enjoy the fruits of their depredations. Instead of retracing his steps on the desertion of his followers, Montrose, elated with his past successes, resolved to advance still further south, and enter England as a conqueror. He exultingly wrote to Charles, that he had "gone over the land from Dan to Beersheba;" presumptuously adding, in the

language of Scripture, "Come thou and take the city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name." (Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 59.) But part of the Scottish army being recalled from England, he was completely routed at Philiphaugh, and forced to become a fugitive in the north, where he had lately been so unmerciful a conqueror. (Rush, vol. vii. p. 231. Hind Let Loose, p. 82.)

The defeat of Montrose, on whose success Charles chiefly depended, accelerated the ruin of the king's affairs in England. "Nor did he succeed any better in his attempts to obtain the assistance of the Irish rebels to support his now almost hopeless cause, or to induce either the Independents or Presbyterians, the two prevailing parties in England, to side with him for extirpating each other." In short, after continuing a war as destructive to his own interests as it was to the country in general, till April, 1646, Charles, without any previous arrangements, secretly repaired to the Scottish camp at Newark, (Clarendon, vol. v. p. 16. Rush, vol. vii. p. 267,) in the presumptuous hope that the Covenanters' army would espouse his cause against the English parliament, without his yielding to their claims in regard

to religion. In vain did Mr. Henderson—though now labouring under a disease which terminated in his death*—and other sincere friends both to their king and their country, endeavour to induce the headstrong monarch to yield to the wishes of his subjects in both kingdoms, by receiving the covenant and redressing the grievances of which they complained: Though he had surrendered himself a prisoner at discretion, and was now in one point of view at the mercy of his much injured subjects, he refused to accede to any terms which he imagined were inimical to absolute authority. At this very period, the English sectariest wished to abolish monarchy altogether; but the Scots, still attached to their king, prevailed with the parliament of England to appoint commissioners along with them to offer propositions to Charles, with the view of an accommodation. Among other proposals of minor importance, these commissioners, in the month of July, tendered to Charles the following:—That Episcopacy should be abolished; that his majesty

* Mr. Henderson, in a few days afterwards returned to Edinburgh, where he died on the 12th of August.

† This title, which is used by almost every historian, included, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Antinomians, Ranters, Seekers, &c.

should swear the solemn league and covenant, and give his consent to an act of parliament being passed, enjoining it to be subscribed throughout the three kingdoms; that the reformation of religion, agreeably to the covenant, be settled by parliament in conjunction with the Assembly of Divines; and that the parliaments and assemblies of both kingdoms be authorized to endeavour, according to the covenant, to effect uniformity in religion. (Rush, vol. vii. p. 309.) These proposals were, to the inexpressible grief of the Scots, rejected by the king, nay, such was his inflexibility, that Lord Leven, with an hundred officers on their bended knees, supplicated him in vain to comply with the stipulations of the commissioners.* The Earl of Loudon, in particular, remonstrated with Charles, in language so faithful and plain, that we cannot here avoid giving an extract from his speech:—"The differences between your majesty and your parliament

* "We are," says Baillie, "in very great grief and perplexity. We know not what either to say or do. Many of the king's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself. I fear he will down with him all his posterity and monarchy.—The powerful faction in England desires nothing so much as any colour to cast the king and all his race away."—Baillie, vol. ii. p. 222, 227.

are grown to such a height, that after many bloody battles, they have your majesty with all your garrisons and strongholds in their hands, and the whole kingdom at their disposal. They are now in a capacity to do what they will in church and state; while some are so afraid, and others so unwilling, to submit to your majesty's government, that they desire not you, nor any of your race, to reign any longer over them. But the people are yet unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your majesty's last resolutions. Now, if your majesty shall refuse to assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the houses and in the city, and all England will join against you as one man. They will depose you and set up another government: they will charge us to deliver your majesty to them, and to remove our armies out of England; and upon your refusal, both kingdoms will be constrained to settle religion and peace without you, which will ruin your majesty and your posterity; for if you lose England by your wilfulness, you will not be permitted to come and reign in Scotland. We acknowledge that the propositions are higher in some points than we approve of, but the only way to establish

your majesty's throne is to consent to them at present, and hereafter you will have an opportunity of offering such modifications as you and your parliament shall judge proper." (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1147.)

The decided refusal of Charles to accede to the propositions, so inflamed the parliament that it was with difficulty they were prevented from declaring the throne vacant. The Scots, on the other hand, perceiving the obduracy of Charles, and fearing that the parliament would resort to violent measures, requested payment of their arrears and proposed to disband their army. This was acceded to by the parliament; and after a severe scrutiny of the amount demanded, about one third only of it was offered, and ultimately accepted. The next question was the disposal of the king's person; and, notwithstanding the greatest efforts of the Scots, to preserve him from falling into the hands of the sectaries, they were compelled to give him up to the English parliament. The Scots have most unfairly been held up to scorn, by the majority of authors, for the part which they were forced to take in this transaction. But, if odium is due to any, it is, not to the Scots, but to the English. Could they, it may be asked, have acted otherwise

than they did? The king repaired to them without any agreement; he obstinately persisted in rejecting the proposals of peace which were made to him by both nations; and had the Covenanters either carried him to Scotland, or refused to deliver him up to the parliament of England, which had decreed that "his majesty should be disposed of as they thought fit," they would have acted contrary to their solemn engagements, and entailed upon themselves inevitable ruin.* The king was accordingly conducted to Holmby House, and the Scottish army returned to their own country.

* "If there be any infamy in the transaction," says Aikman, "it belongs to the English—inasmuch as they are more infamous who take advantage of a man's necessities, to constrain him to do a base action, than he who laments it, and yet is forced to comply—they had the power to enforce their demands; the Scots without absolute ruin could not come to extremities; the English knew this, and they had not the generosity to supply the wants of their allies, till they constrained them to submit to the enormous and unjustifiable deductions on their account. They knew that the Scots had not the means of retaining the king without destruction to themselves; and, calculating upon this, they assumed the right, because they had the power, of claiming the king's person. The Scots made every effort they were capable of for preserving the king, and when they could keep him no longer, they obtained for him the best conditions they could—a freedom and an honourable treatment, which he most ungrat-fully made use of to involve them again in war and confusion." Aikman's Hist. vol. iv. p. 264.

During these transactions the Westminster Assembly completed the work which had so long occupied their attention. The Confession of Faith, the Directory for Public Worship, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, were the fruit of their labours, which, after due deliberation, were approved of by the English and Scottish parliaments, and, to the present day, are adhered to in Scotland as the authoritative standards of the national church. Presbytery was at that period established in England, though not to the full extent which the Scots desired; and the Scottish commissioners to the Westminster Assembly returned home with the unanimous thanks of their English brethren.*

Scarcely had the king arrived at Holmby House, and the Scottish army evacuated England, when a misunderstanding arose between the English parliament and the army. Composed of various sectaries as the army now was, who hated both Episcopacy and Presbytery, they not only refused to be disbanded

* The prolocutor, Mr. Herle, in name of the Assembly, "thanked the reverend commissioners for their assistance. He excused the Directory's not being so well observed as it ought; and lamented that the Assembly had not power to call offenders to an account." Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1181.

at the order of parliament, but, seizing the king's person, and advancing to London, they attained the complete ascendancy over both houses. The king was at first courteously treated by the army, and offered conditions much more favourable than those made by the parliament, or than even he himself had any reason to expect, but which, to the astonishment of all, he decidedly rejected.*

Having made his escape from the army, Charles repaired to the Isle of Wight in November, 1647. Here he tampered at one time with the parliament, and at another with the army, without agreeing to the proposals of either, repeatedly declaring, that neither party could subsist without him, and that those whom he abandoned would inevitably be ruined. But his chief dependence rested on the Scots, with whom he secretly intrigued, in the hope of obtaining their assistance and support. Commissioners from Scotland had been sent to the Isle of Wight to

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 50. Rush. vol. vii. p. 231. Although the army had no objections to a moderate Episcopacy, yet Charles insisted that one part of their agreement should be, the complete establishment of the church by law; and when reminded that he had given his consent to abolish Prelacy in Scotland, he replied that "he hoped God had forgiven him that sin."

reason with him on the necessity of coming to some agreement with his parliament. By his artifices he gained several of them, especially Lauderdale and Lanark, to espouse the cause of royalty; and a secret treaty was at length concluded, by which Charles on the one part, was to make several concessions, though by no means to the extent required by the Scottish nation, while the commissioners, on the other, engaged, without any authority, to raise an army for the purpose of restoring him to his throne. (Rush. vol. vii. p. 946. Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1222.)

The commissioners returned to Scotland in February, 1648, and were exceedingly desirous of engaging the nation in behalf of the faithless monarch. The committee of estates and commission of the church had assembled to learn the nature of their communications, which were so unsatisfactory, that the former hesitated, and the latter decidedly opposed the treaty, which, contrary to the terms of the covenant had so unwarrantably been concluded. In spite of the efforts of the commission, however, the parliament of Scotland, which met on the 2d of March, determined, by a majority of votes, to engage in war with England, in order to restore Charles

to his former dignity ; and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed commander-in-chief of the army. (Burnet's Mem. p. 412.) The commission of the Assembly and the minority in parliament, on the other hand, entered their decided protest against an engagement which they deemed to be not only unlawful in itself, but opposed to the covenant as well as to the interests of both nations. (Rush. vol. vii. p. 1114. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 293. Gillespie against Association with Malignants, p. 22, et seq.) The people too, in general, were so exceedingly averse to the war that troops could not be raised without using force. At length, however, Hamilton, with an ill disciplined and comparatively profligate army of about fifteen thousand men, entered England ; but shortly afterwards he and his forces were completely defeated by Oliver Cromwell at Preston.

Scarcely had Hamilton and his dissolute army left Scotland, before the general assembly of the Scottish church met at Edinburgh on the 12th of July. The decided opposition of their commission to what was termed "the unlawful engagement" was unanimously approved of by the assembly, and a strong remonstrance was at the same time given in to

the estates against the war which was now carrying on against England. (Whitelock, p. 305. Informatory Vindication, p. 5.) The noblemen, too, who opposed the engagement, namely, Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Loudon, raised an army in the west country to oppose Munro, who had brought a considerable force from Ireland, in order to assist the Duke of Hamilton. After great exertions, these noblemen succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the country. Munro's forces were by agreement, sent home to Ireland; and Cromwell, who, after Hamilton's defeat, was advancing with an army to invade Scotland, was prevented, by the committee of estates representing to him that the nation, in general had been averse to the late hostile attempt upon England.

The commission of the church, which met at Edinburgh on the 6th of October, appointed the Solemn League to be renewed throughout the kingdom, together with "a solemn acknowledgement of sins and engagement to duties," (See Westminster Con. of Faith, p. 510,) of which the committee of estates unanimously approved. Great efforts were also made to purify the church by the expulsion of unworthy ministers; in which

the commission proved so eminently successful, that "a visible reformation very soon ensued." (Stev. Hist., vol. iii. p. 1285.) The parliament which met on the 6th of January, 1649, not only condemned the engagement, but passed an act against the engagers, ranking them under classes—in consequence of which it received the title of an *act of classes*,—by which they were excluded from all places of public trust. This act, in short, included all who opposed the covenants and the work of reformation.

In the meantime, the king, perceiving the ruin of his affairs both in England and Scotland, turned his attention to Ireland, and endeavoured by a new intrigue again to involve his subjects in confusion and blood. (Brodie, vol. iv. p. 144.) But this artifice having also failed, he at length reluctantly made concessions to the English parliament, which, though not to the extent required, were on the eve of being accepted, when the sectarian army again seized his person, and having violently excluded from parliament those members who opposed their proceedings, they erected a "high court of justice," and determined to bring him to trial. In vain did the nation in general, the Presbyterians,

may, the Independents, and especially the church and parliament of Scotland,* protest against their proceedings. In a parliament selected for the purpose, and overawed by the fanatical army, Charles was condemned to death as a traitor, and beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649. Thus fell Charles I., who, though highly eulogized by many historians, must bear the character of a monarch at once unprincipled and arbitrary. His despotic and lawless measures towards the Scots in particular, who were always his best friends, leave a stain on his memory which no encomiums can ever efface.

When intimation of the king's death reach-

* It is so clearly established by numerous impartial historians, that the Presbyterians had no hand whatever in the king's death, that it is unnecessary to quote authorities. *Two* Independent ministers only concurred in his condemnation; which was effected by the various sectaries in the army, aided not a little by the papists, who hoped to reap some advantage by the revolution. "To impartial men," says Stevenson, "there is no need to make any apology for the Presbyterians as to the king's death. They did not begin the war, though they joined in it, as what they thought unavoidably necessary, nor did they cut off the king's head, or in the least concur in it. It was done very much by the influence of papists, who played protestants so artfully one against another, that they were almost consumed one of another, and immediately by a faction in the army, as the act for keeping the 30th of January admits, without consent of the house of lords, and after they had forcibly excluded a considerable number of commons."—Stev. Hist., vol iii. p. 1318.

ed Scotland, the estates, which were then sitting, if they had possessed the power, would have immediately proclaimed war against the republicans of England. But aware of their own inability to contend with such powerful opponents, they proceeded no further than to proclaim Charles II., the son of their deceased monarch, king in his stead. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 314.) This proclamation, which was made on the 5th of February, was guarded by a declaration, that the young king's advancement to the throne should be in accordance with the national covenant, as well as the solemn league; that before he was admitted to the exercise of royal power, he should give satisfaction to the nation in regard to the security of religion, according to the covenants and the union and peace between the two kingdoms; that he himself should sign the covenants; and that he should give up all counsel and counsellors prejudicial to religion and these solemn bonds. At the same time the parliament abolished the grievous law of patronage in the church, which, from the period of its enactment, had been the source of innumerable evils throughout the country, (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 330.)

Commissioners were immediately afterwards despatched to Charles, who was then at the Hague, a town in Holland, with the conditions on which he would be admitted to the exercise of royal authority; but imitating the haughty conduct of his father, he decidedly refused to comply with the required stipulations, in consequence of which the commissioners were obliged to return to Scotland. In 1650, however, the parliament again offered him the throne on the conditions formerly tendered; but he evaded answering them till he had ascertained the success of Montrose, to whom he had given a commission to declare war against the Covenanters; but the defeat and death of that enemy to his country, who had landed with his forces in the north, induced Charles to agree to the conditions of the parliament, (*Hind Let Loose*, p. 86,) and he accordingly arrived at the mouth of the Spey on the 23d of June. Before he landed he was required to take the covenant, with which he complied, solemnly promising to respect and uphold the government then established in church and state, and to receive none of the malignants* into

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 332. Naphtali, p. 159. Apologetical Relation, p. 65.—The name of malignants was not

his counsels. Notwithstanding, however, his vows, the majority of the Covenanters perceiving his duplicity, were the more strict in insisting upon his observance of the conditions upon which he had been recalled from his place of exile. They accordingly appointed chaplains, who daily performed divine worship in his court, and not only enjoined sobriety upon himself and his courtiers, but a regular attendance on the public ordinances of religion. To these exercises Charles, like all the ungodly, submitted with the greatest reluctance; nay, while he hypocritically enough pretended to be as strict a Covenanter as any in Scotland, he and his dissolute companions held up to ridicule, in private, the most solemn exercises of that religion which he had sworn to promote and maintain.

In order still further to bind Charles, and secure the religion and liberties of the nation against the machinations of the malignant party, the commission of the assembly, and the committee of estates formed a declara-

unappropriately bestowed on those who opposed the covenants, and who were of any or of no religion just as suited their own convenience. Afterwards the malignants in general joined either with the Episcopalians or the Papists

tion, to which—in order to satisfy the nation in general, as well as to repel the false accusations of the English republicans—they requested him to affix his signature. In this declaration he was called upon to acknowledge not only his father's errors in opposing the work of God, but the idolatry of his mother, and to lament the blood which in consequence had been shed throughout the country; to declare that his own vows to act agreeably to the covenants were perfectly sincere, without any sinister intention to attain his private ends; and that he was firmly resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to adhere to and prosecute the same to the utmost of his power. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 88.) Charles at first refused to sanction a declaration which, though evidently called for by the exigency of the times, was so contrary to his own feelings. But on the passing of an act by the commission of assembly and estates, declaring that their present war with the English was not to defend any malignant party, but that the Scottish army fought entirely upon their former principles,* Charles

* This act, dated West Kirk, Aug. 13, 1650, thus proceeds:—“The commission of the general assembly, considering that there may be just ground of stumbling,

found it necessary to sign the declaration.*

It was not to be expected that the English republicans, who had so lately taken away the life of the father, would tamely submit to see the son received as sovereign in any part of the island. Cromwell was accordingly despatched with a numerous army to Scotland, with which he advanced as far as

from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him by the committee of estates and the commission of the general assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolutions for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare that the kirk and kingdom doth not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past; and therefore, as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and of his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof." &c.

* When Charles took the pen in his hand to affix his signature to this paper, Mr. Gillespie, who suspected his sincerity, faithfully warned him, "That if he was not satisfied in his soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of the subscription, he was so far from overdriving him to run upon that for which he had no light, that he obtested him, yea, charged him in his Master's name, and in the name of those who sent him, not to subscribe this declaration, no, not for the three kingdoms." To which Charles replied, "Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Gillespie. I am satisfied, I am satisfied with the declaration, and therefore will sign it." *Hind Let Loose*, p. 87.

Edinburgh; but being opposed by Leslie and the Scottish forces, he was obliged to retreat to Dunbar. Here, however, he gained a decisive victory over the Scots—who had incautiously descended from the favourable position in which they were posted—completely destroying an army which at first he dreaded to encounter. While the Covenanters throughout the country mourned over this calamity, it gave the greatest satisfaction to the unprincipled and hypocritical monarch, as by the destruction of so many of those very men who fought in his cause, he expected that a door would be opened for the admission of malignants and every enemy to the covenant, to places of authority and trust.* Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. While Cromwell followed up his victory, Charles induced the parliament, which was then sitting at Perth, to write to the moderator of the assembly, desiring him to call an extraordinary meeting of the commission of the church, in order to consider the following question:—“What

* “Never,” says Clarendon, “was victory attained with less lamentation; for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies!”

persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom and in what capacity for defence thereof, against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the solemn league and covenant and treaties, have most unjustly invaded and are destroying this kingdom?" On the 14th of December, the commission returned the following answer:—"In this case of so great and evident necessity, we cannot be against raising all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against the enemy, for the defence of the kingdom, except such as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, or flagitious," &c. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 2. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 348.) Immediately on receiving this answer, the army was filled with malignants; many of the officers were of the same description, and not a few of them were lying under the censure of both church and state, as enemies to their country. In short, many unprincipled, ignorant, and presumptuous men were now received into places of power, upon making profession of their repentance before the church. The base hypocrisy and gross profanation which were encouraged by these resolutions, so grieved many of the most worthy of the

ministers, that they, together with a number of leading gentlemen, entered their decided protest against them, in consequence of which they were termed *Protestors*. The other party, who were headed by Argyle—who afterwards deeply regretted the part he had taken—were called *Resolutioners*.* Against the resolutions a strong remonstrance was given in by the western counties, faithfully pointing out the duplicity, irreligion, and perfidy of Charles, and earnestly requesting that he might not be required to swear the covenant, “when they had reason to believe, that he took it not with a resolution to maintain it, seeing his whole deportment and private conversation showed a secret enmity to the work of God.” (Burnet, vol. i. p. 88. Whitelock, p. 484. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 358.) Charles, however, found means to impose on the greater part of the ministers and the majority of the nation, by promises and protestations as ample as they were insincere; and notwithstanding the progress of Cromwell in

* Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 87. Even this author acknowledges, that in refusing to admit the malignants to a profession of repentance, in order to obtain a place in the army, the protestors “had great advantage: for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great scandal.”

subduing the country, the first of January, 1651 was fixed for his coronation.

This solemn transaction took place at Scoone on the day appointed, when Charles II. was crowned *covenanted* monarch of the three kingdoms. Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, having preached a faithful and impressive sermon from 2 Kings xi. 12—17, the covenants, both national and solemn league, were read in the king's hearing; after which Charles kneeled, and lifting up his right hand, solemnly swore the following oath:—"I, Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure, and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenants, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I, for myself and my successors, shall consent and agree to all acts of parliament enjoining the same, and establishing Presbyterian government, as approved by the General Assemblies of this kirk and parliament," &c. (Apologetical Relation, p. 67. Hind Let Loose, p. 89.) He

then subscribed the covenants and oath ; after which all the ceremonies of the coronation were solemnly performed, the crown being placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle.*

No sooner were these solemn transactions finished, than the "act of classes" was annulled ; the malignants were invested with authority, to the exclusion even of the resolutioners, who were now removed from the direction of all public affairs ; (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 4) and Charles himself took command of the army which opposed Cromwell and his revolutionary forces. But in spite of all their efforts, Cromwell made himself master of the whole of Fife and the town of Perth. Charles might, however, have wearied out the republican army, by retiring either to the west or north, but through the ill advice of his courtiers, he resolved, contrary to the remonstrances of Argyle and his best friends, to abandon Scotland and penetrate into England. He accordingly entered that kingdom with an army of eighteen thousand men,

* We shall have occasion afterwards to see how faithfully Charles performed his vows, and how well he rewarded those who at this time were so forward in his service.

but was completely defeated at Worcester on the 3d of September, and he himself narrowly escaped to the continent, after skulking for some time in England.

This disastrous defeat was followed by the complete reduction of Scotland into a province of the English commonwealth, and the invasion of the liberties of the church by the conquerors. In July, 1652 a declaration was presented to the General Assembly in favour of Independency, which being rejected, Cromwell violently dissolved them, and prohibited all meeting of assemblies in time coming.* The Protestors and Resolutions, on the other hand, though both in favour of monarchy, and deeply deploring the distressed condition of the church and country, continued their dissensions among

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 370. This assembly was dissolved by Lieut. Colonel Cotterel, "who beset the house with some rattes of musqueteers and a troop of horse. He entered the assembly himself and inquiring if they sat there by authority of the parliament of the Commonwealth, commanded them to follow him, else he would drag them out of the room. He led them through the whole streets, a mile out of the town, encompassing them with foot companies of musqueteers, and horsemen without—all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. He prohibited them to meet any more above three in number: and the day following, at eight o'clock, they were commanded off the town by sound of trumpet, under pain of imprisonment."

themselves, and were compelled to forego their recriminations only by the summary mandates of the conqueror. But though Cromwell abolished General Assemblies, and evinced not a little arbitrary authority in the settlement of unpopular ministers in several congregations, (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 371,) he permitted synods* and presbyteries to meet without interruption; and having, at his own instigation, been chosen protector of the commonwealth, he even attempted to effect an incorporating union between the two kingdoms. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 4.) After Cromwell's death, which took place in 1658, "some sort of union," says Wodrow, "was made up in most synods between the Protestors and Resolutioners; and things went pretty smooth till the king's return, when the whole honest Presbyterian ministers were struck at, and sent to the furnace to unite them." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 5.)

During Cromwell's usurpation, the church of Scotland enjoyed comparatively outward tranquillity. But what was of much greater importance, vital godliness was experienced

* In 1655, however, the synod of Perth and Stirling was violently dissolved by the sectarian army. Crookshank, vol. i. p. 54.

and exhibited throughout the kingdom, both among ministers and people. In order to give some idea of the state of religion in Scotland at this period, we shall quote the following interesting description of the Scottish church from an eye witness, which deserves to be kept in mind as a contrast to the dreadful scene which soon afterwards followed; "Every parochie* had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or by their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the Large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliged to preach thrice a-week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties in which they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as the presbytery stood; and among them were many holy in conver-

* There were then nine hundred parishes in Scotland, sixty-eight presbyteries, and fourteen synods.

sation and eminent in gifts ; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry had the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent from God. I have lived many years in a parochie where I never heard ane oath, and you might have ridde many miles before you had heard any : also, you could not for a great part of the countrey have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayer. The great blemish of our church was, the division betwixt protestors and resolution-men (as they were called ;) but as this was inconsiderable upon the matter, so was it also pretty well composed by express agreement among brethren, even while the English continued our governors." (Kirkton's Hist. pp. 65, 66.)

The confusions which took place in England on the death of Cromwell soon disgusted all ranks against a government, which being chiefly in the hands of the military, ruled with a despotic sway over the people. During these commotions, general Monk, who was at the head of the troops in Scotland, repaired to England, with the view, if possible, either of seating himself in the Protector's chair, or of restoring the exiled monarch

to the throne. (Baillie, vol. ii. p. 439.) Wearing out by military oppression, both kingdoms were now desirous of a change of government, and nothing was talked of either in or out of parliament, but the restoration of Charles. Amidst these commotions, James Sharpe, one of the Scottish ministers, was at the request of Monk, sent by the Presbyterians to England to watch over the interests of the church of Scotland. But a more unworthy and treacherous agent could not have been employed. While pretending to negotiate in their favour, he was secretly undermining their cause; for this base apostate and hypocritical betrayer of his country and his religion—who was one of the first that renounced allegiance to the house of Stuart, and complied with Cromwell's usurpation—found means to ingratiate himself with Charles, while the latter was still in Holland, and proved one of the greatest advocates for the re-establishment of Prelacy in Scotland, and for the forcible suppression of the Presbyterian faith *

A few patriots in England, and the Pres-

* Wodrow, Introd., where the hypocrisy of Sharpe is clearly shown, by his own letters to Mr. Douglas, and the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland.

byterian ministers in Scotland, laboured in vain to secure their religion and liberties previous to recalling the exiled monarch. The parliament* being over-ruled by Monk and the army, voted the return of the king without any stipulations, resolving that "the government of England is by king, lords, and commons; and that the king of Scotland is king of England." Charles was accordingly proclaimed in London on the 8th, and in Edinburgh on the 14th of May, 1660, the Presbyterians foolishly trusting to his former solemn oaths, and his renewed promises that he would preserve inviolate the religion of his Scottish subjects. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 61. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 441.) The king entered London on the 29th of May, and took possession of a throne which, as we shall afterwards see, he ill deserved, and of which his father, by his arbitrary and unjustifiable conduct, had twenty years before been deprived by nearly the unanimous voice of the nation.

* The parliament which met on February 21, 1660, confirmed the Solemn League and Covenant, and ratified the Westminster confession of faith, &c. Thus as Bishop Kennet observes, "the Solemn League did really conduce to the bringing in of the king." Wodrow, vol. i. p. 61

CHAPTER V.

Charles discovers his antipathy to Presbytery—several ministers imprisoned—the king's letter to the Presbyterians—meeting of parliament—oath of allegiance—the covenants annulled—rescissory act—synods dispersed—trial of the marquis of Argyll—his defence—he is condemned and executed—charges against Mr. James Guthrie—his sentence and death—sufferings of other Covenanters—proceedings of the privy council—proclamation re-establishing Prelacy—bishops consecrated in London—their arrival in Edinburgh—they are restored to all their privileges and immunities—disgraceful acts of parliament—impious ceremony at burning the covenanters in Linlithgow—Glasgow act—ejection of between three and four hundred ministers—several of them banished—Bishop Burnet's character of the Covenanters

THE restoration of Charles II., who, previously to his arrival in England, had expressed his satisfaction to a deputation from the Scottish church, that "he was a covenanted king," excited the utmost joy among the Presbyterians in Scotland. But no sooner was he settled upon the throne, than he discovered his intention of effectually ruining the Covenanters, and of re-establishing Prelacy in its fullest extent throughout the kingdom. With this view, Middleton was appointed commissioner to the next parliament; Lauderdale, secretary; Glencairn, chancellor; Rothes, president of the council; Crawford, treasurer; and Sir John Fletcher, lord advo-

cate—men, in general, of any or of no religion, and all devoted to the measures of their arbitrary master. (Kirkton, p. 67. Burnet, vol. i. p. 162, et seq.) Nay, as a specimen of the infamous line of conduct which government intended to pursue in regard to the Presbyterians in Scotland, so early as the month of July, 1660, orders were issued for the apprehension of Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh; Sir John Chiesly, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston. The two former were accordingly arrested, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, but the latter for the present made his escape. The Marquis of Argyle, too, who had placed the crown on the head of the faithless monarch, was seized in London, whither he had repaired to pay his respects to his majesty, and dragged to the tower. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 171. Naphtali, p. 179. Scots Worthies, p. 197.)

Glencairn having arrived in Scotland, the committee of estates, who were entrusted with the management of affairs in that kingdom till the meeting of parliament, assembled at Edinburgh on the 23d of August. On that day Messrs. Guthrie, Stirling, Trail, Moncrieff, Semple, Ramsay, Scott, Hall, Murray, and Nairne, ministers, with Messrs. Hay and

Kirkco, elders, perceiving the threatening aspect of affairs, met in a private house in Edinburgh to draw up an humble petition to the king, "congratulating his return, expressing their entire and unfeigned loyalty, and humbly reminding him of his own and the nation's covenant with God."* While thus employed, the estates, who had been informed of their meeting, immediately arrested these faithful and disinterested patriots, and imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh. (Apologetical Relation, p. 69.) The day following the committee issued a proclamation "against all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles, without his majesty's special authority, and against all seditious petitions and remonstrances, under what pretext soever." But as if these cruel and arbitrary infringements of the subjects'

* These few ministers, who were among the number of the Protestors, had endeavoured, in vain, to induce their brethren, the Resolutioners, to concur with them in addressing his majesty. The latter, relying on the hypocritical Sharpe, remained culpably silent till both parties were involved in one common ruin. The government at first directed all its vengeance against the Protestors, whose ruin being accomplished, the persecution, as we shall afterwards see, was extended to the Resolutioners, who at present were little else than the dupes of designing men. Mr. Guthrie, who was at this time imprisoned, was never released till, by a glorious martyrdom, he sealed his testimony with his blood.

rights were insufficient, the estates stooped to several actions as disgraceful as they were contemptible, plainly showing at once their hatred to the Covenanters, and their obsequiousness to the tyrant. Among these were the erasing of the inscriptions from the tombs of Alexander Henderson in Edinburgh, and George Gillespie in Kirkaldy; and ordering the works entitled "Lex Rex," and "Causes of God's wrath," the former written by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and the latter by Mr. James Guthrie, to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.* Having imprisoned a number of other ministers and private Christians, on the ground that they had, either formerly or at present, spoken words reflecting on the proceedings of gov-

* "It was much easier," as Wodrow pertinently remarks, "to burn those books, than to answer the reasonings and facts in them." "As for burning the Causes of Wrath," says McWard, "I grant that wickedness hath a perfect parallel, but of a tremendous consequence, in J-hoiakim's practice, recorded Jer. xxxvi. 23. But let it be taken notice of how the anger of the Lord burnt against this bold burner; see his burial and epitaph, Jer. xxii. 18, 19. But more particularly, see how for this very consummating wickedness, he and his posterity for ever, are deprived of crown and sceptre; Jer. xxxvi. 30. His brother Zedekiah, it is true, was made king for a time; but he also continued to do evil in the sight of the Lord, and broke the Covenant of God, and then the Lord swepted that race, for these rebellions against him, together with the throne, off the face of the earth."—Tracts, pp. 149, 150.

ernment, the committee adjourned ; and great preparations were made for the ensuing meeting of parliament.*

In the meantime, Sharpe arrived in Edinburgh from London, with a letter from Charles to Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to be by him communicated to the presbytery. This artful letter, which was penned by Sharpe himself, informed the presbytery that his "majesty was resolved to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation ;" which declaration was evidently made to lull the suspicions of the Covenanters until the parliament had re-established Prelacy ; for *then* the religion, "settled by law," would sanction the coercive measures which it was intended should follow against the Presbyterian faith. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 82. Kirkton, p. 75.)

The parliament, which met on the 1st of January, 1661, was composed of members

* The imprisonment of so many individuals at this time cannot be defended by the bitterest enemies of the Covenanters ; none of them being guilty in the smallest point of rebellion or treason : every one of them owning the king's authority ; and not a few of them having suffered in the cause of Charles during the period that he was in exile. But they were attached to the covenants ! Crookshank, vol. i. p. 73.

previously selected, and who were in general devoted to the measures of the court—the greater part of those who opposed the unwarrantable innovations of government being either imprisoned or cited as delinquents, (Kirkton, p. 88.) Mr. Robert Douglas having opened the session by a faithful and an appropriate sermon from 2 Chron. xix. 6,* Middleton produced his commission, and Glencairn, in virtue of his office as chancellor, was, contrary to the privilege of parliament, appointed president. Among the first acts which were past by this obsequious assembly, was, “the oath of allegiance” to be taken by all the members, in which the king was rendered supreme in all matters civil and ecclesiastical. By another act, “the calling, holding, proroguing, or dissolving all parliaments, conventions or meetings of estates,” was declared to reside in the sovereign alone; “and that all meetings, without his special warrant were null and void.” Having next proceeded to enact that “no convocations, leagues, or bonds, be made without the sovereign,” and that “the rais-

* Mr. Douglas's sermon was far from being relished by the members of this parliament; they soon discovered ‘they had not pitched upon a fit tool. Their delight was in the northern turn-coats.’—Kirkton, p. 89.

ing of subjects in arms is and was the sovereign's undoubted right, and that it shall be high treason for any subjects to raise an army without the king's allowance," the parliament proceeded to annul the covenant which many of themselves had so lately sworn. This act not only condemned the Solemn League, but prohibited, under the severest penalties, its renewal without the king's warrant and approbation. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 188. Naphtali, p. 182.) Proceeding still further in the demolition of Presbyterianism, the parliament ordered the "oath of allegiance" above mentioned, together with "an instrument asserting his majesty's royal prerogative," to be taken by all persons in offices of trust. By this oath the king was acknowledged to possess an absolute and unlimited power; the covenants were solemnly renounced; and, in short, the whole work of reformation in Scotland was condemned. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 93, et seq.) But as if even all this was not sufficient, a sweeping act was framed, which completely destroyed the civil liberties of the nation, as well as the constitution of the Presbyterian church. This was the "Rescissory Act," by which not particular statutes only, but the

acts of every parliament since 1633 were at once annulled ! Such a dangerous, unconstitutional and base deed, which subverted the most valuable privileges of the nation, is not, and cannot be defended by the very enemies of Presbyterianism. “It was a most extravagant act,” says Bishop Burnet, “only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent.” (Burnet, vol. i. p. 193. Apologetical Relation, p. 127. Hind Let Loose, p. 113.) Having in conclusion permitted presbyteries and synods to meet *for a few weeks longer*, the 29th of May, the day on which Charles was restored to the throne, was appointed to be set apart as a day “to be kept holy to the Lord for ever ;” the oppressive law of patronage was restored ; and Prelacy in effect was already introduced, to the exclusion of the religion of the country. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 103.)

While the parliament were thus wantonly sacrificing to a despotic government the dearest rights of their constituents, the Presbyterian ministers, who beheld their unhallowed proceedings with grief and alarm, endeavoured by every means in their power to

stem the torrent which now threatened to overwhelm every thing held sacred by the people. With this view, fasts were appointed in different parts of the kingdom; the ministers of Edinburgh and those in the neighbouring presbyteries presented several overtures to Middleton in favour of their religious privileges; and numerous petitions and remonstrances were given in to the commissioner from other presbyteries against the passing of acts so decidedly opposed to the religion of the nation. The synod of Glasgow and Ayr, following the example of their brethren in other parts of the country, framed an address and supplication to parliament for the security of their religion; but this being opposed by several of the Resolutions, and especially by those who afterwards accepted of bishoprics, it was, for the sake of unanimity, laid aside; but "a declaration concerning the present government of the Church of Scotland" was unanimously agreed to. The synods of Fife, Galloway, Dumfries,* &c., were employed in a similar

* "Ere their paper," viz. that of the synod of Dumfries, "could see light, they were summarily dissolved by Queensberry and Hartfield, who, by report, were both miserably drunk when they came into their work."—Kirkton, p. 119.

work—of drawing up petitions in favour of Presbytery—when they were met by a summary mandate from parliament to disperse, under pain of treason. Thus were the laudable efforts of the most worthy men in the country frustrated; and oppression and violence were every where resorted to, for the purpose of compelling the nation to sacrifice their conscience at the shrine of prelatical tyranny and usurpation. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 30, et seq.)

But it was not enough for this disgraceful parliament to refuse the humble and upright supplications of their constituents: they proceeded to fix an indelible stain on their own memory, by sealing their iniquitous laws with the best and the noblest blood of the country. The marquis of Argyle, who had been sent down from London in the preceding December, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, was brought to trial before the parliament on the 13th of February. His indictment consisted of fourteen articles, which were made up of slander, perverted matters of fact, and misrepresentation. Among other crimes which were laid to his charge, were the following—That he called the convention of estates in 1643; that he

entered into the solemn league and covenant with England; that he inflicted cruelties on the royalists in the north; that he opposed the engagement; that he clogged his majesty's invitation in 1649 with unjust limitations; and that he complied with the usurper Cromwell. Argyle having expressed his satisfaction at the king's restoration, meekly replied, that with Paul, in another case, he might say, the things alleged against him could not be proved; but this he confessed, that in the way allowed by solemn oaths and covenants, he served his God, his king and country; and that, though he had failings common to all who were engaged in public business, yet he thanked God that he was able to show the falsehood of every charge brought against him.* He was allowed first till the 5th of March, and ultimately till the 9th of April, to give in his defences. These he produced on the day appointed, consisting of fifteen sheets of small print, in which,

* His advocates protested, that "what should escape them in pleading, either by word or writ, for the life, honour, and estate of their client, might not be charged against them as treasonable." This was however refused by the parliament! And according to the infamous statute of "Leasing Making," these and all other advocates were themselves liable to be tried for treason, for any observations which might escape them in pleading for their clients.

to any impartial judge, he triumphantly vindicated himself from the charges laid against him in the indictment. All was however of no avail. His blood-thirsty and avaricious judges (who expected to share in the spoil) sentenced him to be beheaded on the 27th of the month; and his head to be fixed on the end of the Tolbooth. When this sentence was pronounced, Argyle replied, that he had placed the crown on the king's head, who was hastening him to a better crown than his own; and he hoped God would bestow on his majesty a crown of glory. Although he requested a delay of only ten days till the king should be informed of his sentence, yet that was refused; and he was immediately taken away to the common jail, where he was met by the marchioness. On seeing her, he said, "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear; therefore let us improve it." She embracing him, wept bitterly, and in an agony replied, "The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it!" The marquis having spent the Sabbath not only calmly, but cheerfully, in the solemn services of his Redeemer, his lady, at his own desire, took leave of him in the evening, after which he slept a few hours

in the utmost tranquillity. On the day of his execution, he dined with his friends precisely at twelve, with the greatest cheerfulness, and then, as his custom was, retired a little for secret prayer. Upon his opening the door, Mr. Hutchison said, "What cheer, my lord?" "Good cheer, sir," he replied; "the Lord hath again confirmed, and said to me from heaven, *Thy sins be forgiven thee.*" When required to go down stairs, he called for a glass of wine, and asked a blessing upon it standing, and then said, "Now let us go; and God go with us." In taking leave of those in the room who were not to be with him on the scaffold, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first, goes cleanest." When on the scaffold, he solemnly declared his innocence of having any hand in the late king's death; and then added, "I shall not speak much to those things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others. I wish the Lord to pardon them; I say no more. God hath laid engagements upon Scotland; we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation. Those that were then unborn are yet engaged; and it passeth the power

of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God. These times are like to be very sinning or very suffering times, and let Christians make their choice." He then knelt down, when his head was struck from his body, and fixed on the Tolbooth, and his body given to his friends for interment. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 137, et. seq. Crookshank, vol. i. pp. 88, 89. Naphtali, p. 285. Apologetical Relation, p. 77. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 452.)

Thus fell this amiable, upright, and godly nobleman, whose steadfast adherence to the covenants and the work of Reformation was so unjustly punished with death. With his blood Prelacy, that "root of bitterness," was again planted in Scotland, and a scene of slaughter among the servants of God immediately followed, which men may attempt in their writings to palliate, but for which Heaven will not hold the perpetrators guiltless.

Argyle was followed to the scaffold by that able and distinguished minister of Christ, James Guthrie, whose uniform adherence to the king, and opposition to the usurper, rendered his condemnation, if possible, still more iniquitous. Having been brought to the bar of parliament, he was accused of contriving,

the western remonstrance, of writing the work entitled, "Causes of God's Wrath," of subscribing the petition to the king in August last, and of declining his majesty's authority in ecclesiastical matters. These charges he answered in a speech so nervous and convincing—satisfactorily proving that in no instance had he ever acted a part either seditious and treasonable—that a number of members left the house, declaring that "they would have nothing to do with the blood of that righteous man." But Middleton was determined on his death, on account of his having in 1656 published against him the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the church for his profligate and disgraceful conduct. Mr. Guthrie was therefore condemned to be executed at the cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of June, along with William Govan,* and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port. Upon receiving his sentence, Mr. Guthrie said, "My lords, may this sentence never more afflict you than it does me, and let my blood never be required

* Govan, among other charges, was accused of being on the scaffold at the execution of Charles I.; but it is proved that this was not the case, and that he fell a sacrifice to the same cause for which all the other martyrs suffered. M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 51. Scots Worthies, p. 73.

of the king's family." From this period till the time of his execution, he continued in the most serene and devout frame of mind ; and when on the ladder, he delivered his last speech with as great composure as if he had been preaching a sermon. Having then cried, "The covenants, the covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving," he was turned over, and died rejoicing in the Lord. (Naphtali, p. 291, et seq.)

The injustice of Mr. Guthrie's sentence was evident to all, both friends and foes ; even Sir George M'Kenzie does not attempt to justify it ; (M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 51. Hind Let Loose, p. 113,) nay, Charles himself, when informed of this act of the parliament's severity, asked with some warmth, "And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Gillespie ?" On being told that Mr. Gillespie had been spared on account of the number of friends he had in the house, he replied, "Well, had I known that you would have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 179.) Mr. Gillespie, who was principal of the college of Glasgow, was indicted on nearly the same charges as those which had been preferred against Mr. Guthrie ; but through the interest of his friends in

parliament, and his own expression of regret for the part he had taken, he was only removed from his living.

Though no more blood was shed during this session of parliament, yet many other Covenanters were subjected to severe persecution for their steadfast adherence to their principles. Lord Warriston and several other gentlemen were forfeited; Mr. Alexander Moncreiff, minister of Scoonie, in Fife, was prohibited from preaching; Mr. Robert Trail was imprisoned; and Mr. James Simpson, minister at Airth, and Mr. Robert Macward, minister in Glasgow, were banished from the kingdom. Mr. Samuel Rutherford would have fallen a victim to the fury of these persecutors, had not divine providence removed him from their hands by death, which, after a life spent in communion with God, was to him unspeakable gain.*

On the adjournment of parliament, which

* It is the fashion of the day to hold up to ridicule the writings of Mr. Rutherford, for their homely style; and presumption, enthusiasm, nay, profanity and blasphemy, are now found in them by men who seem to have as little acquaintance with experimental religion as with their Bible. Let such, however, beware of reprobating those whom God has highly honoured; for if they condemn Rutherford's Letters for their alleged familiarity with the Deity, they may be led to go a step further, and condemn the writings of David and Solomon for the same reason.

took place on the 12th of July, Middleton repaired to London, leaving the management of affairs in the hands of the privy council, who carried on their arbitrary proceedings with a high hand. As a specimen of their tyranny, the Earl of Tweeddale was imprisoned in the castle for having spoken in the council in vindication of Mr. Guthrie, and for not having voted in parliament for his death!

Middleton having informed the king of all that had been done in Scotland, Charles and his council, especially Middleton and Sharpe, resolved to complete the work, by abolishing Presbytery and re-establishing Episcopacy in its full extent.* Charles, accordingly, wrote to the privy council in Scotland the following disgraceful letter, dated Aug. 14, on which it would be superfluous to offer any comment: "Whereas in the month of August, 1660, we did by our letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland

* "The king," says Kirkton, "even as his father, was resolved for bishops, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary—he knew well that bishops would never be reprovers of the court, and that the first article of their catechism was non-resistance. They were the best tools for tyranny in the world." *Hist.*, p. 132.

settled by law ; and our parliament having since that time, not only rescinded all the acts since the troubles began referring to that government, but also declared all those pretended parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing of church government, &c.—We from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that church, and its better harmony with the government of the churches of England and Ireland, have, after due deliberation, declared to those of our council here, our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law.—And our will is, that you forthwith take such course with the rents belonging to the several bishoprics and deaneries, that they may be restored and made useful to the church, and that according to justice and the standing law. And moreover, you are to inhibit the assembling of ministers in their several synodical meetings throughout the

kingdom, until our future pleasure, and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretext whatsoever, shall, by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular or unlawful way, endeavour to alienate the affections of our people, or dispose them to an ill opinion of us, and our government, to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom.”

A proclamation was accordingly issued by the privy council agreeably to the tenor of his majesty's mandate, which was followed by another commanding all burghs to elect none as magistrates who were of *fanatical* principles.* Presbyteries were at the same time prohibited from ordaining any individual to the ministry, under pain of treason. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 230.)

The next step of government was to appoint a sufficient number of bishops for the newly formed Episcopal Church of Scotland. These were easily found; but as only one of the old Scottish bishops remained alive, some difficulty occurred as to their ordination. This difficulty was, however, removed by the English bishops insisting on the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination; and the following

* That is, in plain English, those who were conscientious and godly men.

apostate Scottish ministers who accepted of the office, were consequently re-ordained and consecrated with great splendour by the bishops of London and Worcester. The hypocritical and worthless Sharpe, who had so basely betrayed his church, was made metropolitan and archbishop of St. Andrews; Mr. Andrew Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway,* and Mr. Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblane.† Sydsersf, the old Scottish bishop, was put into the see of Orkney. Having magnificently entertained the Scottish and English nobility in London, these new made bishops returned to Scotland in the beginning of 1662; and with the exception of Leighton, entered Edinburgh with so much pomp and splendour, that even Burnet was

* Both Fairfoul and Hamilton were once zealous Covenanters, but they had sadly fallen in every point of view, both in character and profession, Hamilton in particular, when administering the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to his people in Cambusnethan, not only excommunicated all who were not true to the covenant, but significantly shaking his lap, he intimated that thus would all, who in that covenant dealt falsely, be cast out of the church. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 219.

† Leighton, though guilty of renouncing his former solemn vows, was a man of excellent character. He was, besides, learned, pious, and peaceable; and was consequently a solitary exception to his brethren in the Episcopal office in Scotland.

ashamed of the scene. (Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 234.) The revelry which followed among these right reverends and their profligate associates, was so indecent and disgusting, that Leighton himself, who refused to join in their carousals, was forced to say, "That in the whole progress of this affair, there appeared such gross characters of an angry Providence, that how fully soever he was satisfied as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men who should build up his church, so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God." (Burnet, vol. i. p. 231. Kirkton, p. 135.) The other nine bishops to complete the complement for Scotland, were consecrated at Holyroodhouse on the 7th of May;* and on the 8th, the day on which the parliament assembled, in consequence of an act being passed re-establishing them in all their privileges and immunities, they took their seats in the house as members of the legisla-

* These nine were of a piece with those noticed above; so that the remark of the countryman was far from being inapplicable; "That the bishops of England were like the kings of Judah, some good, some bad; but that the prelates in Scotland were like the kings of Israel, not one of them good, but all followers of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin."—Crookshank, vol. i. p. 111.

ture. Thus was Prelacy forced upon the people of Scotland, without even asking their consent. Nay, those presbyteries which had assembled to petition against the innovations were summarily dissolved, and all church judicatories were prohibited from re-assembling, under the severest penalties—the government of the church being now vested in the bishops.

By the first act of this session of parliament, which restored the prelates to much greater dignity than their predecessors ever enjoyed,* it was declared, that “the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church belongs to his majesty as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical.” The parliament, whose acts, to use the words of Wodrow, “established iniquity by law,” next proceeded to declare the covenants, both national and solemn league, to be unlawful, imposed against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and with the acts of assembly by which they were approved, not only void and null, but abrogated

* It is not inappositely remarked by Wodrow, “that the old Prelates made by the parliament in 1612, were but pigmies to the present high and mighty lords.”—Wodrow, vol. i. p. 262.

as seditious; and “any writing, speaking, printing, preaching, praying, &c., tending to stir up a dislike of his majesty’s royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, or the government by archbishops and bishops now settled, or tending to justify any thing done since 1638,” subjected the offender to all the pains appointed by the law for sedition. This unhallowed act, which, as we shall afterwards see, entailed on the Covenanters the most dreadful persecution, completely destroyed the liberty of the subject, and enslaved at once the bodies and consciences of the people to the very worst species of despotism. (Apologetical Relation, p. 181. Hind Let Loose, p. 115.)

Having passed an act requiring all ministers who had been settled in parishes since 1649, to take presentations from their respective patrons, and have collation from the bishop of their diocese, under pain of being deprived of their benefices; the parliament ordained every person who assumed an office of trust to take the following most disgraceful and ensnaring oath:—“I —— do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to subjects, upon pretext of reformation, or any other pretext whatsoever, to enter

into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king or those commissioned by him; and that all those gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting or keeping of council tables that were used in the beginning, and for the carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious; and particularly, that those oaths whereof the one was commonly called ‘The National Covenant,’ (as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter,) and the other, entitled, ‘A Solemn League and Covenant,’ were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon, the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation upon one or any of the subjects, from the said oaths or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom.” We leave the reader to make his own remarks on this oath, which was one of many—not only unlawful but contradictory of each other—imposed on the consciences of the Covenanters, and which became afterwards another great instrument of oppression and cruelty. (Wod-

row, vol. i. p. 268. Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 241. Naphtali, p. 102. Apologetical Relation, p. 327.)

Before finishing the session, an act of oblivion was passed; but it was encumbered with so many restrictions, that to multitudes it became an act of oppression instead of an act of indemnity. Besides excepting Argyle, Warriston, Swinton, and several others, exorbitant fines were arbitrarily imposed on those whom a committee, named by parliament should select, for having complied with the usurper Cromwell. Seven or eight hundred noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were accordingly fined in a sum amounting in whole to £1,017,353, 6s. 8d. Scots. The act was besides encumbered with another unprinted act, depriving of all places of public trust twelve persons whom the parliament, by *ballot*, should name. This was a scheme devised by Middleton, to deprive Lauderdale and several others of their present high situations. It, however, proved the means of his own ruin, for being overreached by the superior tact of Lauderdale, he was sent to Tangier,* and the latter,

* "In Tangier," says Wodrow, "Middleton lived but a short while, in contempt, till death seized him; and by

nothing to the benefit of Scotland, was advanced to the uncontrolled direction of affairs in that kingdom. (Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 348.)

This session of parliament was finished on the 9th of September, without bloodshed, though not without persecution in various other shapes; leaving the management of affairs in the hands of the privy council. Before, however, entering upon the abominable deeds of that corrupt junto, we shall give some account of the manner in which the 29th of May that year—the day already noticed, which was commanded under a severe penalty, to be kept holy for ever—was spent in Linlithgow. After divine service, the magistrates, with the Earl of Linlithgow, repaired to the market place, where they were met by Mr. James Ramsay, minister of

a fall he broke the bone of his right arm, and the broken bone, at the next tumble down a pair of stairs, went into his side and wounded him, so as he turned first stupid, and very quickly died. I have it from good hands, that in times of taking the covenant, such was his forward zeal for it, that coming out of the place where he and others had taken it, he said to some gentlemen and others about him, 'That this was the pleasantest day he had ever seen, and if ever he should do any thing against that blessed work he had been engaging in, holding up his right arm, he wished to God that might be his death.' Whether he had his wish at Tangier, he now knows best."—Hist., vol. i. p. 349.

the parish, who was once a zealous Covenanter. Having sung a psalm, the whole party drank the health of the royal family, and then proceeded to *the solemnities of the day!* namely, the impious and profane burning of those very covenants* which they themselves had solemnly sworn. This was performed in the following manner, which we shall give in the words of an eye witness of the transaction. "At the cross was erected an arch standing upon four pillars: on the one side of the arch was placed a statue, in form of an old hag, having the covenant in her hand, with this superscription, A GLORIOUS REFORMATION. On the other side, there was another statue, in a Whigmuir's habit, having the remonstrance in his hand, with this inscription, NO ASSOCIATION WITH MALIGNANTS. On the top of the arch was placed a statue, representing the devil as an angel of light, with this label in his mouth, STAND TO THE CAUSE. Within the arch, upon the right hand, was drawn a committee of estates, with this superscription, ACT FOR DELIVERING UP THE KING.

* The Solemn League had been previously consigned to the flames in London by the hands of the common hangman.

On the left hand, was drawn a commission of the kirk, with this inscription, ACT OF THE WEST KIRK; and in the middle of the arch hung a tablet with this litany :

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
 From remonstrators with associate bands,
 From such committees as governed this nation,
 From kirk commissions and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.

Upon the back of the arch was drawn the picture of rebellion, in a religious habit, with eyes turned up, and other fanatic gestures : in its right hand holding LEX REX, and in its left THE CAUSES OF GOD'S WRATH. Round about her were lying acts of parliaments, acts of committees of estates, of general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, &c. ; and above her was this superscription, REBELLION IS AS THE SIN OF WITCHCRAFT. At drinking the king's health, fire was put to the frame, and all was consumed to ashes ; after which there appeared a tablet supported by two angels, bearing this inscription :

Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
 And to his kingdoms happily restored.
 The Queen's arrived, the mitre now is worn ;
 Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.

Fly hence, all traitors who did mar our peace,
 Fly hence, schismatics who our church did rent,

Fly covenanting, remonstrating race;
Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent."*

Any comment on this execrable transaction, which to this day has left a foul stain on that fallen town, would be superfluous; there being as yet no law requiring so fearful an outrage to be committed, on what was conscientiously held sacred by thousands throughout the kingdom.

The privy council having met on the day following the adjournment of parliament, an order was issued for diocesan meetings to be held throughout the country in the month of October. These orders were in general disregarded by the ministers in the south and west, who were encouraged in their opposition to the unhallowed mandates of the government by the noble stand made by the nonconformist ministers in England, who, to the number of three thousand, chose to be thrust out of their livings and subjected to persecution, rather than violate their consciences. In order to carry their enactments into effect, the privy council repaired to the west country, their progress being marked by the most disgraceful debauchery. In Ayr

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 320. Crookshank, vol. i. p. 122
Cloud of Witnesses, preface.

they drank the devil's health at midnight at the market-cross, and then proceeded to Glasgow to promote the grand cause of Prelacy, and give another blow to the covenant. Fairfoul, the bishop of that diocese—having complained, that, notwithstanding the act of parliament, none of the young ministers had acknowledged him as their bishop, and that, consequently, he had all the odium of the office, but none of its power—requested that all who refused to submit might be banished from their parishes. The council was accordingly convened at Glasgow on the first of October, when an act was framed by this drunken meeting—for only two of the members were sober—depriving of their stipends for the past year, and banishing from their parishes and presbyteries, all ministers admitted since 1649, who had not presentations, or received collation from their bishops. (Kirkton, p. 149.) By this famous, or rather infamous act, between three and four hundred ministers were driven penniless from their houses and their flocks in the midst of winter; and their places were afterwards supplied by ignorant and worthless intruders, who, according to Burnet, “had little learning, less piety, and no sort of dis-

cretion." (Burnet's Hist., vol. i. p. 257. Naph-tali, p. 193. Hind Let Loose, p. 117. Wod-row, vol. i. p. 334, who gives a list of all the ousted ministers.)

When Middleton, who imagined that this act would only enforce compliance with the laws in favour of Prelacy, perceived the desolation it occasioned throughout the country, more than a third part of the churches being shut up for want of ministers, he vainly endeavoured to remedy the error by extending the period for submission till the 1st of February following. With this *gracious* proclamation, however, there was coupled a threat that non-compliance would be visited with still heavier punishments. Nor was this an idle threat. The non-conforming ministers of Edinburgh were banished; and because several of those who had been ejected by the Glasgow act had repaired to that city, the council ordered the magistrates to compe. the inhabitants, under a penalty, to render to them every evening an account of the number and names of their lodgers. Messrs. Donald Cargill of Glasgow, Thomas Wylie of Kirkcudbright, and several other eminent ministers were banished to different parts of the country for refusing to swear the oath of

allegiance, and keep sacred the 29th of May; (Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 240,) while the following ministers, Messrs. John Livingstone of Ancrum, John Brown of Wamphray, Robert Trail of Edinburgh, John Nevoy of Newmills and James Gardiner of Kintyre, after enduring much suffering in prison, were, for the same reason, banished from his majesty's dominions. A few only of the Presbyterian ministers were persuaded to take the oath, a step of which they had cause to repent afterwards, when additional and still more intolerable burdens were laid upon their consciences. (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 318. Scots Worthies, p. 135.)

But before entering upon the history of the following year, we shall give here a sketch of the character of these persecuted Covenanters, neither from a Presbyterian nor a novelist, but from a prelate, who, amidst his charges of enthusiasm, affectation, &c. which, of course, come naturally enough from his pen, speaks of them in the manner following:—"The former incumbents (those who were ejected by the Glasgow act) who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour; but they

had an appearance that created respect. They used to visit their parishes much—were full of the Scripture—were ready at extempore prayer—and had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. Their ministers brought their people about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience, and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where. The preachers went all in one tract, of raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and showing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps: and this was so methodical that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. As they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and to talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what

a degree they were loved and revered by them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: for breach of Sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who, with the minister, had this care upon them, and were solemnly reproved for it." For fornication and other crimes they were rebuked before the church. (Burnet, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.)

CHAPTER VI.

Origin of "conventicles"—proceedings of parliament—trial and execution of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston—arbitrary acts of council—outrages committed by the military—high commission court re-established—cruelties of Sir James Turner in the west—he is seized by a number of the Covenanters—partial rising of the west country—declaration at Lanark—defeat of the Covenanters at Pentland—barbarous treatment of the prisoners—execution of M'Culloch, Arnot, and eight others—their joint testimony—Nielson of Corsack and Hugh M'Kail tortured and put to death—executions in the west—barbarities of Dalryell and Bannatyne—reduction of the army—attempt by Mitchell to assassinate Sharpe—examination of John Wilkie before the council—the Indulgence—reasons why many of the Presbyterians rejected it—disgraceful proceedings of parliament—sanguinary acts against conventicles—their increase and beneficial effects—Leighton's futile attempt to unite Presbytery and Prelacy.

WE have already adverted to some of the fatal effects of the Glasgow act, which not only

deprived the people of pastors whom they respected and loved, but forced upon them men who “were the very dregs and refuse of the north country—ignorant to a reproach—and many of them openly vicious.”* Can we wonder, then, that in these circumstances many of the people opposed the settlement of the worthless intruders? Or may we not rather wonder, that a more general stand was not made throughout the country, against so disgraceful an outrage, not only on religion but even on common decency? But the military were at hand, and where the dissolute curates were not permitted to enter their benefices quietly, they were protected and settled in them by an armed force. Thus overawed, the people naturally enough abandoned their own churches, and either repaired to distant parishes to hear the gospel from those who were not included in the recent vile act, or remained in their own houses, mourning in secret over the desolations of Zion. And can they be blamed for so acting? Let Scripture decide the question, and the answer, we are assured, will be returned

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 262. Kirkton, p. 160. For a sad account of the shameless conduct not only of the curates, but of the bishops, see Wodrow, vol. i. p. 333.

in favour of the Covenanters. Others again attended the family exercises of their old ministers who had been ejected, by means of which they received so much benefit, that multitudes were led to follow their example. These assemblies soon became so great, that the ministers at first preached without doors, and then went to the open fields, where, under the canopy of heaven, they preached the glad tidings of salvation to the perishing multitudes who flocked to their ministrations. Such was the origin of field preachings, or "conventicles" as they were termed, for attending which, thousands, both ministers and people, were subjected to the most dreadful sufferings. (History of the Indulgence, p. 12. Hind Let Loose, p. 120.) These assemblies alarmed the curates, who, in many places, preached to little more than bare walls, and force was immediately resorted to by the privy council, in order to compel the people to attend their own parish churches. But passing at present these and other acts of the council in favour of Prelacy, together with their relentless execution on the objects of their fury—a detail of which the limited nature of the present work will not admit—we shall proceed to give

some account of the proceedings of the parliament which assembled on the 18th of June, 1663.

To this parliament Rothes was appointed commissioner, in room of Middleton, and the business of the session was managed chiefly by Lauderdale. As formerly, the principal employment of the session related to the consolidating of Prelacy, and the ruining of the Covenanters. Enraged at the refusal of the people to hear the curates, the bishops procured an act to be passed, entitled, "Act against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority." By this act, all non-conformist ministers, who should presume to preach in any place, under any pretence, were to be punished as seditious; and all persons who should absent themselves on Sabbath from their own parish churches were subjected to the penalties following:—Every nobleman or heritor, to the fourth part of his yearly revenue; every yeoman, tenant, or farmer, to a fourth of his free movables; and every burgess to the same exaction, besides losing his freedom.* The execution of this act was entrusted to the

* This act was termed, *The bishop's drag net.*

privy council, who, in addition, were to inflict such corporal punishment on offenders as they might judge proper. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 341. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 351.)

While the parliament was thus employed in subjecting the nation to monarchical and prelatical despotism, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, who had been forfeited and condemned in the first session, was seized in France, and sent over a prisoner to Scotland. While in Hamburgh, an attempt had been made by the emissaries of Charles, to poison him, (Apologetical Relation, Preface. Kirkton, p. 170.) which, though partially counteracted, so weakened his mind, that when brought before parliament, his altered appearance excited the commiseration of several of the members, who earnestly requested a delay of his sentence. But Lauderdale was inexorable, and Warriston was condemned to be executed on the 22d of July, and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port. The day before his execution his faculties were completely restored, and he appeared on the scaffold another witness for the cause of Christ, and for the covenanted work of reformation. "I am pressed in conscience," said he in his last moments, "to

leave here at my death, my true and honest testimony in the sight of God and man, to and for the national covenant, the solemn league and covenant, the solemn acknowledgment of our sins and engagement to our duties—and to the several testimonies given to the Lord's interest, by general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful ministers and professors. I am also pressed to encourage his doing, suffering, witnessing people, and sympathizing ones with those that suffer, that they would continue in these duties, and humbly to assure them, in the name of the Lord our God, the God of his own word and work, of his cause, covenant, and people, that he will be seen, found, and felt, to return to his own truths, interests, and servants—in these nations." (Naphtali, p. 303. Scots Worthies, p. 78.) The only crime for which this distinguished patriot and eminent Christian suffered death was his having accepted of an office under Cromwell.

Before the rising of parliament, which continued sitting till October, the privy council, now consisting partly of prelates, imposed their illegal and arbitrary acts on the nation with a higher hand than even the legislature

itself. In the month of July a great number of ministers were either silenced or banished; and in August, what was called the "Mile Act" was passed, by which all those ministers who refused to submit to their bishops, and yet persisted in preaching or holding conventicles, were prohibited from residing within twenty miles of their parishes, six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral church, and three miles of any royal burgh. The council also reiterated their order for every individual to attend his own parish church, under a fine of twenty shillings Scots for each Sabbath's absence. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 342.) The levying of these fines was entrusted to the military, who executed their commission without mercy. Having waited in the nearest public house, till near the close of public worship, they surrounded the church and placed sentinels at the doors. The people were made to pass out one by one like so many sheep, and interrogated whether they were parishioners. If they answered in the negative, or remained silent, they were fined on the spot, commonly to the amount of all the money of which they were possessed. Those who had none, or less than the soldiers demanded, were plundered of their

coats, plaids, bibles, &c., and the military returned to their quarters, laden with the spoil. At other times, they entered the churches in the midst of the service, and dragged numbers of the congregation to prison. The council at the same time obliged masters to enter into bonds that their servants should not desert their parish churches, and landlords were held responsible for all that lived on their estates. If any dispute arose respecting the fines, the accused person was obliged to travel from the most distant part of the country, and though found innocent, was often obliged to pay what was called "riding-money" for defraying the travelling expenses of his accuser who accompanied him. To complete the misery of the country, Sir James Turner,* who was entrusted with the command of the forces quartered upon all whom he imagined inimical to the prelates, a company of soldiers, who insolently tyrannized over the helpless people and overspread the country with terror, devastation, and despair. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 355.)

* "Sir James," says the author of the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, "was a tool to their minds, a stranger in the country, being an Englishman, bred to plunder and rapine in the service of the French, perfectly void of the fear of God or man, and unacquainted either with religion or humanity."

While the council and the military were employed in entailing ruin upon multitudes by fines, imprisonment or banishment, Sharpe and the other prelates, still unsatisfied, procured the erection of another and still more dreadful engine of oppression. This was the court of high commission, which was formed in the beginning of the year 1664, consisting of nine bishops and thirty-five laymen, who were empowered to suspend or depose churchmen, and to fine or imprison all who should speak or write against prelati- cal rule. At the head of this iniquitous court—which was little if at all inferior to the popish inquisition—stood the inhuman Sharpe; but were we to give a detail of its lawless and tyrannical proceedings, it would only fill the mind of the reader with horror. Without trial or evidence, or even the shadow of crime, multitudes at the curates' instance were seized by the military, and dragged before this odious tribunal, from which none escaped without punishment; for if no crime could be laid to their charge, the oath of supremacy was tendered, and on their conscientiously scrupling to take it, sentence against them was immediately pronounced. (Apologetical Relation, p. 317. Wodrow, vol.

i. p. 389.) The prisons were consequently filled with Covenanters—many, even children, were sold as slaves to the plantations—not a few were scourged and banished from their native land—and hundreds of families were reduced to beggary by the lawless and profane military; nay, if they found an individual engaged in prayer, he was reviled and dragged before his relentless persecutors. All this was done at the instance, and even in the presence of the curates, who generally accompanied the military in their excursions, and urged them on to the commission of every species of cruelty. To pray for or give the least assistance to the ejected ministers, was a crime unpardonable; and so low did the persecutors stoop, that they ordered the “*Apologetical Relation*,” a work written by Mr. John Brown of Wamphray in favour of the Covenanters, and printed in Holland, to be publicly burned by the hands of the common hangman. This was indeed a time of trial, when “the faithful of the land were swallowed up, and the vilest men exalted.” It is true that the court of high commission survived only about two years, owing to the disgust of the nobility at the insolence and cruelty of the prelates; yet

no benefit resulted to the nation from its dissolution, the conscientious portion of which were as much as ever the objects of clerical revenge. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 164. Burnet, vol. i. p. 353.)

During the year 1665 these disgraceful and oppressive measures were continued. "The soldiers," says Gabriel Sempil, "drove the ministers out of Galloway and Niddisdale, where the meetings were most frequent. So, many of them came privately to Edinburgh and lurked there, and preached more privately. At which time, soldiers did sadly distress the country where the meetings had been, and those that went not to church, by fining, imprisoning, driving of their cattle, which did much exasperate the people: so that some of them were busy to traffic through their own country, and the west, and other places, for some appearance for their own relief and deliverance from the persecution." (M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 380.) The privy council, indeed, of which Sharpe was president, seemed determined to goad the people to rebellion; and had not the Covenanters possessed both principle and patience far above what is attributed to them by even their warmest

friends, and which ought for ever to put to the blush their slanderers in the present day; they would much earlier than they did, have attempted to throw off that cruel yoke which was rapidly reducing the nation to the very worst species of slavery. Would those writers, we may ask, who can so deliberately stigmatize the Covenanters as rebels, fanatics, enthusiasts, or madmen, patiently submit to the hundredth part of the sufferings which they endured, without a complaint? We suspect much that they would be among the very first to raise the cry of *radical reform*. That the Covenanters however had no intention of taking up arms at this time, is evident from the unconcerted commencement and progress of the partial rising which followed, and which had so disastrous a termination at Pentland.

In the spring of 1666, Sir James Turner, by order of the council, marched the third time to the west country, which he rendered, notwithstanding its already impoverished condition, a scene of general devastation.*

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 392.—That Sir James had instructions for carrying these odious and oppressive measures into execution, is evident from various authors as well as from his own words. "I was sufficientlie impoured" says he, "with orders and instructions from my lord

Neither gentlemen, nor peasants, neither old, nor young, were spared. The curates, attended by a number of those armed apostles, imposed the most ruining fines on the landlord for the absence of his tenants, and on the tenants for the absence of their landlord, from the parish church. The widow and the fatherless, the aged and the infirm, were spoiled of their little all to pay these exorbitant fines; nay, the very bread was snatched from the mouths of the hungry children, and thrown to the dogs by the brutal soldiers. The fines thus imposed were employed to raise additional forces, which were put under the command of Thomas Dalzell of Binns, and William Drummond, two unfeeling barbarians; and till the month of November the west country presented a scene of ferocity of which savages themselves might have been ashamed.

On the 13th of that month, four countrymen who had been driven to the mountains by the merciless soldiery, having learned that some of the military were torturing a poor aged man in the village of Dalry, in Gallo-

commissioner, for censing, quartering on and fining persons disobedient to church ordinances" Sir James Turner's Memoirs.

way, repaired to the house, and endeavoured by entreaties to induce the savages to desist from their work of cruelty. Their interference only rendered the soldiers the more fierce, and being attacked by this armed band, they were compelled to stand on their own defence. After a scuffle, the soldiers were overpowered and disarmed; but the victors, aware of the danger to which they were now exposed, endeavoured, not without success, to gain a number of the other Covenanters to support them, in the event of their being attacked by a superior force. The country was soon alarmed; but ere the royalist forces could be collected, the Covenanters, having marched to Dumfries on the 15th, took Sir James Turner prisoner, and dispersed his troops. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 18.)

No sooner did intelligence of these proceedings reach Edinburgh, than the prelates and council were filled with the greatest alarm, and an express was immediately despatched to London for an additional supply of troops. (Kirkton, p. 232. Burnet, vol. i. p. 395.) In the meantime the council ordered Dalryell to raise forces, and march to the west country with the utmost expedition; and at the same time they issued a proclamation,

commanding the rebels, as they termed them, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners within twenty-four hours. So absurd a proclamation, which required the Covenanters to deliver themselves up to certain death, was, as might have been expected, utterly disregarded; and they immediately proceeded to Lanark, where, being joined by Colonel James Wallace, Mr. John Welsh, and others, they solemnly renewed the covenant.

Before leaving Lanark, the Covenanters published the following interesting "declaration," or manifesto, explicitly stating the grounds on which they had taken up arms:*

"The nature of religion doth sufficiently teach, and all men almost acknowledge the lawfulness of sinless self-defence; yet we thought it duty at this time to give an account unto the world of the occasion and design of our being together in arms, since the rise and scope of actions, if faulty, may render a thing right upon the matter, sinful. It is known to all that the king's majesty, at his coronation, did engage to rule the nation

* This important paper proves the truth of all that we have stated concerning the sufferings of the Presbyterians for a series of years.

according to the revealed will of God in Scripture; to prosecute the ends of the national and solemn league and covenants, and fully to establish Presbyterian government, with the directory for worship, and to approve all acts of parliament establishing the same; and thereupon the nobility and others of his subjects, did swear allegiance, and so religion was committed unto him as a matter of trust, secured by most solemn indenture betwixt him and his people. Notwithstanding this, it is soon ordered that the covenant be burnt, the tie of it is declared void and null, and men forced to subscribe a declaration contrary to it; Episcopal government, in its height of tyranny, is established; and men obliged by law, not to plead, witness, or petition against those things; grievous fines, sudden imprisonments, vast quartering of soldiers, and a cruel inquisition by the high commission court, were the reward of all such who could not comply with the government by lordly hierarchy, and abjure their covenant, and prove more monstrous to the wasting their conscience, than nature would have suffered heathens to be. Those things in part have been all Scotland over, but chiefly in the poor country of Galloway at

this day; and, had not God prevented, it should have, in the same measures, undoubtedly befallen the rest of the nation ere long. The just sense whereof made us choose rather to betake ourselves to the fields for self-defence, than to stay at home burdened daily with the calamities of others, and tortured with the fears of our own approaching misery. And considering our engagement to assist and defend all those who entered into this league and covenant with us; and to the end we may be more vigorous in the prosecution of this matter, and all men may know the true state of our cause, we have entered into the solemn league and covenant, and though it be hardly thought of, renewed the same, to the end we may be free of the apostasy of our times, and saved from the cruel usages persons resolved to adhere to this have met with; hoping, that this will wipe off the reproach that is upon our nation, because of the avowed perjury it lies under. And being fully persuaded, that this league, however misrepresented, contains nothing in it sinful before God, derogatory to the king's just authority, the privileges of the parliament, or liberty of the people; but, on the contrary, is the surest bond whereby all

these are secured, since a threefold cord is not easily broken." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.)

The number of the Covenanters at this period was about three thousand, the utmost they ever reached. Aware of the approach of Dalryell with a considerable force, they resolved to proceed eastward, in the hope of being joined by their friends in Edinburgh and other places. Accordingly, placing themselves under the command of Colonel Wallace, they marched first to Bathgate, through roads almost impassable in consequence of heavy rains, and then to Colinton, about three miles from the metropolis. But so completely was the spirit of the country broken, that after a fatiguing and distressing march, their little army, instead of being increased, was now reduced to between eight and nine hundred men.

The day following their arrival at Colinton, namely, the 27th, they were met by Dalryell, who with the view to a treaty, first promised a cessation of arms till the following morning, and then proceeded to advance towards them, with the intention of surprising and destroying their forces. Alarmed at his approach, Colonel Wallace endeavour-

ed to retreat, but being overtaken at a place called Rullion Green, at Pentland hills, he found it absolutely necessary to stand on his defence. (Wallace's Narrative.) The engagement took place in the afternoon of the 28th, when Wallace twice forced Dalzell's troops to retire in confusion; but, on a third attack, about sun-set, the Covenanters were completely routed, leaving fifty of their number dead on the spot, and a hundred and thirty prisoners in the hands of their tormentors.*

Such was the issue of that unsuccessful effort to emancipate the nation from slavery.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 396. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 31. Kirkton, p. 236. Informatory Vindication, p. 3. Hind Let Loose, p. 123.—“I shall only notice,” says Mr. Blackader, “that it was greatly wondered that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outweared with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have faced such a formidable enemy; they being scarce nine hundred of them who engaged against three thousand horse and foot, beside great multitudes, attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country all well armed with all manner of furniture for war offensive and defensive; and yet not only in the morning, but twice in the afternoon, they faced them, and resolutely fought till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes. It is not known what number of Dalziel's men fell that day, but these who stood on the hill, when the second party charged the enemy and chased them into the body, some honest men, I say, who stood among the rest and saw it, affirm they saw many empty horse run into the body of Dalziel's army.”—MS. Memoirs.

That effort was then and still is denominated a *rebellion*; but it is much easier to give it so unfair a designation than to adduce proof that it was so. The Covenanters were not rebels against the king or his authority; they sought redress only from that oppression by which the prelates had reduced them to the very brink of despair; and if they were blamable in this rising, it consisted in their too rashly encountering the royal forces before their measures were properly concerted and their numbers increased. "We leave all those who afterwards thought it lawful to join in the Revolution," says the author of *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, "and in taking arms against the oppressions and arbitrary government of King James, to judge, whether these good men had not the same individual reasons, and more, for this Pentland expedition; and it is answer enough to all that shall read these sheets to say, that these men died for that lawful resisting of arbitrary power, which has been justified as legal, and acknowledged to be justifiable by the practice and declaration of the respective parliaments of both kingdoms."*

* The following beautiful lines on this mournful event, are part of a poem entitled "Pentland Hills,"

An unsuccessful attempt to throw off a tyrannical yoke, in general only rivets it more firmly, as well as aggravates the sufferings of the oppressed. It was so in the which appeared lately in the Edinburgh Evening Post. Though anonymous, they cannot but gratify the reader :

“ Ah ! days by Scotia still deplored,
A faithless king and bigot lord,
Against their subjects drew the sword,
Sent forth their foes malignantly.

Firm in the faith of gospel truth,
Stood hoary age and guileless youth,
Against oppressors void of ruth,
In cold blood killing wantonly.

On yonder heights their blood was shed,
And many a faint and drooping head
Made on the sod its dying bed,
The spirit soaring joyfully.

And those who fled before their foes,
Saw days of darkness round them close ;
But faithful, fearless, midst their woes,
Stood patient in adversity.

Their preachers silenced and deposed,
The house of prayer against them closed,
They on the mountain heath reposed :
But though in great perplexity,

Their harps were not on willows hung,
But still in tune and ready strung,
Till mountain echoes round them rung,
To songs of joyful melody.

Though from their friends and home exiled,
Lone wanderers in the desert wild,
The wilderness around them smiled ;
For Heaven approved their constancy.

present instance. The dastardly Sharpe, who trembled for his life when he heard of the rising, now proceeded to exact a cruel revenge, not only on the prisoners, but on the whole body of the Presbyterians throughout the country. The victory was celebrated with great rejoicing in the capital, to which the prisoners were led in triumph, and thrust into Haddo's Hole, to await whatever sentence their enemies might choose to pronounce.*

Exposed to torture, scorn, and shame,
In sufferings great they overcame ;
And, glorying in a martyr's name,
They met their deaths triumphantly.

Though some have sought their fame to blot,
Their memory ne'er shall be forgot ;
While their oppressors' name shall rot,
Or live to lasting infamy."

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 37. Wallace's Narrative. "The prisoners," adds Wallace, "were brought in that night after the defeat by Dalryell's men, having their hearts broken with the reproaches and blasphemies which these jeering atheists spued out against God, godliness, religion, and all fear of God, by the way as they came in, naked, and many bleeding in their wounds. The dead were spoiled of their clothes, and laid naked before the moon by night and the sun by day, by the soldiers and barbarians of Lothian, as if the victory had been gotten over Turks ; but the godly women of Edinburgh came out the morrow with winding sheets and buried them. The town received the prisoners, which the godly people of the town esteemed the saddest sight that ever Edinburgh had seen, and drew tears in abundance from the eyes of all that feared God."

These prisoners having surrendered upon promise of quarter, several of the members of council hinted at the injustice of putting any of them to death. But Sharpe and the prelates, who had written to the king, "that they would prosecute them with all despatch, insisted on making an example of a number of them, to deter others from a like crime. After some debate in the council, the scruples of those who inclined to justice, were completely removed by the following jesuitical reasoning, "That though the prisoners had their lives given them in the field as soldiers, yet this did not prejudge their trial in law as subjects."

On the 4th of December, accordingly, ten of the prisoners, among whom were Major MacCulloch and Captain Arnot, were indicted for high treason, and, as was previously determined on, sentenced to be executed on the 7th, and their heads and right arms to be cut off and disposed of as the council should deem proper. These ten witnesses for the truth, left a joint testimony, from which we shall give the following extract. "We are condemned," say they, "by men, and esteemed by many as rebels against the king (whose authority we acknowledge;)

but this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ ; and particularly for our renewing the covenant, and in pursuance thereof, for preserving and defending of ourselves, by arms, against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the prelates. The covenant and cause, and the duties of self-preservation, being so just in themselves, we need say the less for vindication of our practice. Only, the laws establishing Prelacy, and the acts, orders, and proclamations, made for compliance therewith, being executed against us by military force and violence ; and we with others, for our simple forbearance, being fined, confined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten, bound as beasts, and driven into the mountains for our lives ; and thereby hundreds of families being beggared, several parishes and some whole country sides exceedingly impoverished : And all this, either arbitrarily, or without any law, or respect had to guilt or innocency ; or unjustly contrary to all conscience, justice, and reason, and without regard to the penalty specified in the law : And all remonstrances of griev-

ances, and petitions for redress, being constrained by laws condemning all former remonstrances and petitions in the like cases; there was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary self-preservation and defence:" (Naphtali, pp. 308, 309.) Their execution excited a feeling of commiseration among the people, which gave great offence to Sharpe, who determined to compel the next sufferers to confess, right or wrong, that the Pentland rising was not on account of the oppression of the prelates, but a preconcerted and determined act of rebellion.

For this purpose two of those who were indicted to stand trial in a few days afterwards, were singled out as fit objects on which the council might exercise their cruelty. These were John Nielson, of Corsack, and Hugh M'Kail, an amiable young preacher, whom the council ordered to be put to the torture,* in order to extort from them a confession that not prelatie oppression, but a determined spirit of rebellion—as Sharpe had informed the king—had occasioned the late

* In this engine of cruelty, called the *boots*, the leg of the accused was enclosed; wedges were then driven between its sides and the limb of the poor sufferer, which produced a spectacle to beholders as well as agony to the sufferer, too horrid for description. Burnet, vol. i. p. 399.

rising. Both however, though shrieking with agony, could be forced to declare nothing but the truth, repeatedly affirming—to the confusion of their tormenters, who still called on the executioner to give another stroke—that the cruelties of the prelates alone had forced the people to arm in their own defence. (Kirkton, p. 252.) Mr. Nielson was executed on the 14th, along with John Robertson, a young preacher, and George Crawford, who left their dying testimony against prelacy and firm attachment to the covenants and the work of reformation, rejoicing in the belief that though the adversaries of the church “might be permitted to prevail for a season, yet God would arise and plead the cause which was his own.” (Naphtali, p. 328.) Mr. M·Kail, together with John Wodrow and other four martyrs, was executed on the 22d, all of whom died rejoicing in the Lord. Mr. M·Kail in particular, having addressed to the people a speech and testimony which he had previously written and subscribed, bade adieu to the present, and welcomed the opening glories of a future state, in language truly sublime. “And now,” said he, “I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to

thee, O Lord ! Now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations : farewell the world and all delights ; farewell meat and drink ; farewell sun, moon, and stars ; welcome God and Father ; welcome sweet Jesus, mediator of the new covenant ; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation ; welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death.—O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth.” (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 197. Naphtali, p. 338. Samson’s Riddle.) While the people deeply lamented the death of this amiable youth and his fellow sufferers, they could not forbear expressing their just indignation at Sharpe and the archbishop of Glasgow, who evidently acted the part of murderers, by concealing from the council, till after their execution, a letter from Charles forbidding the shedding of any more blood ! (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 37. Kirkton, p. 255.)

In addition to those who were executed at Edinburgh, twelve individuals were put to death for the same cause in Ayr, Irvine, and Galloway, at the close of the year 1666 and commencement of 1667 ; but so abhorrent

to the feelings of the people in general were these executions, and so greatly was the public mind in favour of the martyrs, that even the executioner in Irvine, William Sutherland, peremptorily refused to have any hand in their death. In order to check this feeling of commiseration, and prevent the dying testimonies of the martyrs from being heard by the spectators, the contemptible and base practice of beating drums on the scaffold was introduced and continued at almost every subsequent execution.

These executions were not, however, sufficient. In the beginning of 1667, Dalrymple was sent to the west country with a considerable number of troops, to execute summary vengeance on the *Whigs*, as the Covenanters were termed. Having fixed his head quarters for some time at Kilmarnock, he fined, tortured, and imprisoned with such ruthless barbarity that the blood is chilled at the bare recital. Murder accompanied by the most appalling cruelty, robberies, and rapes, was openly committed by the brutal soldiery; the jails were so crowded with prisoners, that many of the poor sufferers were suffocated; nay, Dalrymple, in the mere wantonness of cruelty, ordered many, upon bare suspicion,

without either trial or evidence, to be either shot or hanged. Sir William Bannatyne, another fiend in human shape, was about the same time sent with a detachment to Galloway, where he pillaged, murdered and tortured with impunity. We shall give one instance only of a multitude of his barbarities related in Naphtali. A poor woman, the wife of David M'Gill, who, naturally enough, had been accessory to her husband's escape from his persecutors, was, by this monster's orders, most inhumanly tortured to death by means of lighted matches bound between her fingers. (Naphtali, p. 373, et seq. History of the Indulgence, p. 14.)

While the west country was thus oppressed, the council, contrary to an act of parliament, resolved to indict for high treason those Covenanters who had sought safety by flight. In the month of August, accordingly, twenty-two of those who were accused of being accessory to the Pentland rising, were tried in their absence, condemned to be executed whenever they should be apprehended, and their estates forfeited. Among these were Colonel Wallace, Major Learmont, Kersland, Barscob, Caldwell, and Quarreltons, with Messrs. John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, John

Guthrie, Alexander Peden, and William Veitch. Shortly afterwards Caldwell's estate was conferred on Dalryell, Kerland's on Drummond, Learmont's on Hamilton of Woolshaw, and Quarrelton's on Hamilton of Hallcraig.*

But dissensions were now beginning to take place in the privy council, Sharpe and the prelates endeavouring to carry their tyrannical measures much further than Lauderdale wished. The bishops proposed, and even wrote to the king, to keep up the standing army, in order to extirpate all the Presbyterians, whom they affirmed to be enemies to monarchy, and to the church established by law. Lauderdale, however, who perceived that the sole aim of the prelates was to enrich themselves with the spoils of the persecuted, prevailed with the king to reduce

* The following account of the number at Pentland, and how they were disposed of, is from the pen of one of the members of council:—"Of the rebels we have come to this count; 218 have taken the benefit of his Majesty's gracious pardon; 309 have neglected it; about 89 were killed in the field; 40 executed; 31 dead in the Stewartry and Dumfriesshire, we know not what in the rest; 30 are fugitive, and 20 forfeited; the rest are fled out of the country, or had no constant residence, belonging to other shires, and are still vagabonds. Now most conclude, there were not 1000 at the fight, and this account is of about 700." Letter from Tweeddale to Lauderdale, dated Feb. 18, 1688, given in Sir James Turner's Memoirs.

the army; and a change of ministry immediately followed. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 403. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 80.) All this was exceedingly displeasing to the bishops, who resorted to the meanest and most disgraceful plans, in order to prevent the discharge of the military. Nay, Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, a furious bigot, declared that "when the army was disbanded, the gospel would go out of his diocese." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 89.) Perceiving their efforts to be unavailing, they insisted that the council should press the oath of supremacy on all who were suspected, under the severest penalties: but the majority of the council, in the month of September, decided on merely requiring what was called a "Bond of Peace" to be taken, which obliged the subscriber not only to keep the public peace himself, but to become responsible for his tenants and servants, under the penalty of a year's income in case of contravention. The ambiguity of this bond, which evidently required an implicit obedience to the prelates, and was consequently opposed to the covenants, together with the suspicion with which every act of council was received by the people, prevented the greater part of the Covenanters from

affixing to it their signatures—more especially as the same rigorous proceedings were continued against conventicles. The council, likewise, requested the king to issue a proclamation of indemnity to all who had been concerned in Pentland rising, excepting those who were forfeited. But this indemnity underwent so many alterations, and was ultimately encumbered with such heavy restrictions, that it became a common remark, “that when it came out, it pardoned all, in the middle very few, and in the end none at all.” (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 92.) The indemnity, however, such as it was, which was published in October, together with the disbanding of the army, restored the country to comparative tranquillity. This deceitful calm was in some measure promoted in consequence of an inquiry which was instituted by the council against the furious persecutors, Turner and Bannatyne: but notwithstanding the proofs adduced of their rapine and cruelty, the former was only dismissed from the service, and the latter banished; while Dalryell and Drummond, two equally great barbarians, were, as we have already seen, rewarded with the spoils of the forfeited Covenanters. (Kirkton, p. 270.)

While the government held out to the oppressed Presbyterians a prospect of peace, it was evident to every discerning mind, that the present calm would be as temporary as it was delusive. During the year 1668, the same violent proclamations were issued against conventicles, and the same arbitrary punishments inflicted on those who attended them. Few ministers as yet, indeed, preached in the open fields, their meetings being confined to private houses; but these were industriously sought out, and fines and imprisonment awarded to all who countenanced them in the slightest degree.

Amidst these oppressions, a preacher of the name of James Mitchell, resolved to take away the life of Sharpe. He had in his absence been condemned to death without hope of mercy, for his accession to the affair at Pentland, and on that account considered himself at open war with the government, and especially with the traitorous primate, the chief instigator of all the cruelties which were inflicted on the Presbyterians. He accordingly repaired on the 4th of July to the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, Edinburgh, where he patiently waited till the archbishop entered his carriage, when he discharged at

him a loaded pistol, the contents of which missed Sharpe, but were lodged in the arm of the bishop of Orkney.* Such was the detestation in which the primate was held, that Mitchell was allowed to walk quietly away, and though diligent search was made for him by the privy council and magistrates, he was not apprehended till several years afterwards. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 469.) This unhappy affair, which was devised and executed by Mitchell alone, furnished to the prelates a new pretext for oppressing the whole body of the Presbyterians, upon whom the odium of the attempt on the primate's life was most unjustly laid.

Among the sufferers for conscience sake this year, were Messrs. Michael Bruce, Alexander Smith, Thomas Hogg, Thomas Urquhart, John M'Killigen, and John Wilkie. The last mentioned of these ministers, who was very aged, had come to Edinburgh for his health, where, in the month of July, he was seized and brought before a committee of council. Among other ensnaring ques-

* When the alarm was raised that a man was killed, a crowd soon collected; but on learning that "it was only a bishop," the populace speedily dispersed. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 116.

tions which were put to him, we shall give the following in his own words, as a specimen at once of the jesuitical efforts of the council to lead a man to criminate himself, and of the undaunted and uncompromising spirit of the Covenanters in general :—“ My lord advocate asked me if I knew who shot the bishop? I answered that I knew not. He asked me if I knew any of those west country rebels, especially Major Learmont, Barscob, Welsh, &c.? I answered I knew them all; for being my acquaintances they came to visit me on my supposed death-bed.

Q. Do you keep conventicles? *A.* I am not able, by reason of sore and long continued sickness; but I use, when I have health, to exercise in my own family, both Sabbath and week-day. *Q.* What time take you on Sabbath?

A. Betwixt sermons, beginning at half twelve, and continuing so long as I am able. *Q.* Admit you any to your family exercise?

A. I invite none, I debar none

Q. It seems you are clear to admit any that come? *A.* Yes, my lord, you should be welcome, and the archbishop of St. Andrews

should not be debarred. *Q.* Goodsooth, Mr. Wilkie, you would go four miles about, in that case, to visit a friend?

A. No, my lord,

I would find him within less than half a mile." When examined before the council itself, he was teased in a similar manner. "My lord chancellor, when he was speaking to me as to the point of preaching, alleged that I was clear to preach in a kirk. I answered, Why not, my lord, I am still a minister, and who has exauctorated me? Q. Then I see you are clear to preach upon a call? A. Yes, my lord, if the call have a cleanly rise. Q. Mark that, a cleanly rise! but what call you a cleanly call for a minister? A. My lord, I make the supposition, if your honour invited me to preach in one of your kirks, I being able and qualified for the work, how durst I in conscience refuse, under the pain of that woe, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.' What then should hinder me to preach in a kirk? Nay more, my lord, I was this summer at Moffat well, and the chield that is there is run away from them for debt, as I hear, and the place in a manner vacant; if those in power in that place had had courage to have given me a call, I would have taken my venture to have preached. To this not one word was replied." Mr. Wilkie, however, on refusing to subscribe his sentence of banishment, was

committed to prison. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 113.)

Perceiving that their rigorous proceedings against conventicles only irritated the people, and that the more these meetings were suppressed the more their number increased, the council resolved if possible to divide the Covenanters, by throwing among them, to use the words of Sharpe himself, “a bone of contention.” (Wodrow, p. 131.) This was effectually accomplished by procuring from the king, in July, 1669, an *Indulgence* to a limited number of the ejected ministers, permitting them to resume their ministerial functions under certain conditions. If their former charges were supplied, they were to be appointed, after receiving the consent of the patron, and collation from the bishop, to such parish as the privy council should deem proper. But then they were strictly enjoined to keep presbyteries and synods—that is, the diocesan meetings of the prelates, for there were no Presbyterian assemblies; they were forbidden to allow any of the people in other parishes to attend their churches; and they were prohibited from speaking or preaching against ecclesiastical supremacy. The indulgence, in conclusion, enacted still

heavier penalties against conventicles, the suppressing of which was the chief object of government in the whole transaction. (History of the Indulgence, p. 18, et seq. Hind Let Loose, p. 126. Burnet, vol. i. p. 470.)

That many of the Covenanters condemned the indulgence on these terms can be no matter of surprise; the wonder is, how any of them could be induced to accept of what was so opposed to the principles for which they had so long suffered persecution. (See M'Ward's *Επαγωγισμοί*.) Those who rejected the indulgence condemned it, not only on account of its restrictions, but as an assumption of ecclesiastical power, as an encroachment on the liberties of the church, and as a scheme to bring its ministers to a state of base servility to the court; and they also condemned the acts of the privy council which followed, as proceeding upon a dispensing power on the part of the crown. "The sole warrant of the king's letter," says Brown, "cannot in law warrant and empower the council to contravene express laws and acts of parliament, and not only disobey the injunctions of parliament, but in plain terms to counteract and counterwork the established and ratified laws, and so to

render them null and of no effect.—The very embracing of the indulgence was, upon the matter, a recognition of this power in the king to do, in and by his privy council in church matters, what he pleased, even though contrary to antecedent acts of parliament.” (History of the Indulgence, pp. 51, 53.) Although, therefore, the liberty which it granted, was nothing more than what they were entitled to, yet many worthy ministers resolved to endure persecution rather than recognise a usurped supremacy, and countenance an illegal exercise of royal authority. (Informatory Vindication, p. 6.) A number of Presbyterian ministers, on the other hand, accepted of it, which they justified on the ground that they had given explanations of it to the council, that they had the consent of the people, and that the necessity of the case required their compliance. Thus were the Presbyterians, according to the prelates’ desire, split into two parties—the *indulged* and the *non-indulged*. But though the bishops beheld this division with the greatest satisfaction, they were displeased at the extent of the indulgence; and shortly afterwards procured an act of council refusing to grant any more indulgences to ejected ministers;

while, on the other hand, those who had already accepted of the boon, soon began to experience all the evils of which they were warned by their more conscientious brethren. (Hind Let Loose, p. 127.)

The parliament, after a lapse of eight years, was assembled on the 16th of October, for the purpose of effecting a union between the two kingdoms. This measure being approved of, and the king empowered to nominate commissioners to carry it into effect, the parliament proceeded to pass several acts deeply affecting the Covenanters, to two of which it will be necessary briefly to advert. The first of these was an act establishing the king's supremacy, in which it was declared, "That his majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom: and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent right to the crown; and that his majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the church, and the persons,

employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wisdom, shall think fit." This act, which placed in the hands of the sovereign a power so absolute, that at his pleasure he could alter or abolish the religion of a whole nation, is one of the most disgraceful and unhallowed statutes that was ever passed in any legislative assembly. Charles was now, to all intents and purposes, a "royal pope," whose authoritative mandates were sufficient to control the consciences of his subjects. But there seems to have been another reason for the passing of this extraordinary statute. The Duke of York, who was heir apparent to the throne, was a professed papist;* and Lauderdale, by thus placing the Scottish church entirely in the sovereign's power, paved the way for his own advancement, on the ruin of his country and of the Protestant faith.†

* Charles himself had renounced the Protestant religion and embraced the popish faith.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 481.—Lauderdale's former attachment to the covenant was evidently from motives as selfish as they were hypocritical. Ambition alone influenced him first in his adherence to the Presbyterians, and ultimately in his defence of tyranny. "His temper," says Laing, "was dark and vindictive, incapable

The other act referred to the militia, by which "the power of arming the subjects and raising them in arms" was also declared "to be an inherent right of the crown." Previous to this period the council had formed a regular standing force, which the parliament now ordered to be kept up and properly trained, and, under the council's direction, "to be ready to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness, should be concerned." Thus were both the religious and civil liberties of the nation laid prostrate at the feet of the sovereign; the legislature itself sanctioning the upholding of a lawless military band to rob and oppress their unoffending countrymen. (Kirkton, p. 291, et seq. Burnet, vol. i. p. 484. Hist. of Indulgence, p. 47.)

Previous to the rising of parliament, which took place on the 23d of December, the of friendship, mean and abject to his superiors, haughty and tyrannical to his inferiors; and his judgment, seldom correct or just, was obstinate in error, and irrefragable by advice. His passions were furious and ungovernable, unless when his interest or his ambition interposed. His violence was ever prepared to suggest or to execute the most desperate counsels; this ready compliance preserved his credit with the king, till his faculties were visibly impaired with age." Hist., vol. ii. p. 32.

utmost diligence had been employed by the council in endeavouring to suppress conventicles; but it was not till 1670 that enactments the most sanguinary and revolting were made against these obnoxious meetings. Instructions were given to the military, as early as the month of January, to use every effort to seize those ministers who preached at conventicles, and to send them prisoners to Edinburgh. They were also to compel the heritors and tenants who were present at these meetings to give caution that they would appear before the council on a day appointed, which, if refused, they were to be lodged in jail. These severe instructions being followed to the very letter by the military, the Covenanters were forced to abandon their usual places of meeting and resort to the open fields; and being still in danger from their persecutors, several of them carried with them the arms which they usually wore, to defend themselves and their minister in case of an attack. Severe proclamations against these assemblies followed, which were enforced by summary imprisonment, or the most ruining fines. A committee was, at the same time, sent to the west country for the purpose of more effec-

tually executing the laws against conventicles, with full powers to punish all whom they suspected of favouring such proscribed meetings. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 487.)

Amidst these severities against the Covenanters, the parliament met again in July, for the purpose of promoting the projected union with England. But while this measure came to nothing, new enactments were framed by this session in favour of Prelacy, and against the ejected ministers and their adherents. One of these statutes, compelled every subject, "of whatsoever degree, sex, or quality," who should be called before the council, or any other having commission from his majesty, to depone upon oath all they knew concerning conventicles and unlawful meetings, under the penalty of "fining, imprisonment, or banishment." This act was exceedingly base, constituting as it did, every officer, nay, every private soldier, an inquisitor, and compelling their nearest relatives to become informers and swear against each other: but the next is so inhuman as to divest its framers of all claim to the Christian name. "Forasmuch," says the statute, "as the assembling and convocating of his majesty's subjects without his majesty's war-

rant and authority, is a most dangerous and unlawful practice, &c.—his majesty, with advice and consent of his estates of parliament, hath thought fit to statute and enact: That no outed ministers, who are not licensed by the council, and no other persons not authorized or tolerated by the bishop of the diocese, presume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray in any meeting, except in their own house, and to those of their own family; and that none be present at any meeting except the family to which they belong.” This scandalous prohibition of any minister even in *praying* in any house except his own, was followed up by the penalty, “that he shall be seized upon and imprisoned, till he find caution, under the pain of five thousand merks, not to do the like thereafter, or else enact himself to remove out of the kingdom, never to return without his majesty’s license:” and the fines of such as were present at the meetings, being greatly increased, were proportioned to the wealth of the offender. But the most atrocious clause of this act follows:—“Who-soever, without license and authority fore-said, shall preach, expound Scripture, or pray at any of those meetings in the fields, or in

any house where there may be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors (which is hereby declared to be a field conventicle,) or who shall convocate any number of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death and confiscation of their goods." Here a meeting in a private house, if two or three be without the door, is reckoned a field conventicle, though they should be met for prayer only, and *death* is the penalty of "obeying God rather than man." "And," proceeds this bloody law, "any of his majesty's good subjects who shall seize and secure the persons of any who shall either preach or pray at these field meetings—shall have five hundred merks for each; and they are hereby indemnified for any slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending and securing of them." As to the hearers, the fines for their attending house conventicles were doubled, and all these fines, except such as were exacted from heritors, were to be the reward of sheriffs and others who were diligent in this work. "All is shut up," to use the words of Wodrow, "with the parliament's hopes, that this act would do the business of the Presbyte-

rians, either kill them or convert them in three years' time, and so it was made only for that space; and the king is empowered to protract and lengthen it out as he pleaseth." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 169, 173. Burnet, vol. i. p. 496.)

Having passed an act against disorderly baptism, the parliament proceeded to frame a severe statute against separation, annexing heavy fines "on the subjects of the reformed religion," who refused to attend their own parish churches, but, with the greatest consistency, exempting papists from all these penalties. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 495.) And thus was laid, by this parliament, the foundation of all that oppression, rapine, and bloodshed, under which the nation groaned for many years afterwards.

Notwithstanding these cruel acts, field conventicles rapidly increased. At Beath in Fife, Torwood in Stirlingshire, and Carnwath in Lanarkshire, large meetings of the Covenanters were held in the open fields, where the communion was celebrated in the most solemn manner.* These meetings not

* The meeting at Beath, which was the largest of these three, was the first armed conventicle, the persecution being so hot, that it became necessary to provide weapons of defence. At this meeting a lieutenant on horseback created some disturbance, but after being

only gave new life to the friends of reformation, proving to thousands “a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord;” but were the means of checking immorality, and of bringing many to a saving acquaintance with the truth as it is in Christ. “Then had we such humiliation days for personal and public defections,” says Shields, “such communion days even in the open fields, and such Sabbath solemnities, that the places where they were kept might have been called Bethel, or Jehovah-shammah; wherein many were truly converted, more convinced, and generally all reformed from their former immoralities; that even robbers thieves, and profane men, were some of them brought to a saving subjection to Christ, and generally under such restraint, that all the severities of heading, hanging, &c., in a great many years, could not make such a civil reformation, as in a few days of the gospel, in these formerly the devil’s territories, now Christ’s quarters, where his kingly standard was displayed.” (Hind Let Loose, p. 132.)

threatened by some of the hearers, he was suffered to depart, upon the interposition of Mr. Blackader the minister, who then continued the work of the day without further molestation.—Blackader’s Memoirs, 159.

The increase of conventicles, and the consequent desertion of the people from the worthless curates, raised the indignation of the council and prelates to the highest pitch, and the military received renewed and peremptory injunctions to apprehend either ministers or hearers who had thus dared to disobey the mandates of the court. A number of ministers and gentlemen were accordingly seized and thrown into prison, multitudes, among whom were several ladies, were fined in exorbitant sums, and not a few were transported to the plantations. Messrs. James Hamilton, James Mitchel, James Porter, John Dickson, and John Blackader, knowing the sentence which awaited them, refused to obey the council's citation; when summoned to appear before them for holding conventicles, and were consequently outlawed. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Nor were the indulged altogether suffered to escape. They were at first harassed by the curates, and then prohibited by act of council from lecturing on any portion of Scripture, under the penalty of being ejected from their churches. These and other hardships obliged several of the indulged minis-

ters to abandon their charges, and join with those who had steadily adhered to their original principles. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 219.)

An effort which was made by Leighton, who was now archbishop of Glasgow, to effect a union between Episcopacy and Presbytery, proved, as might have been expected, utterly abortive; the indulged ministers, who, in general were faithful to their principles, shackled as they were by their situation, refusing to concur in a scheme which would ultimately have ended in the utter ruin of presbytery. That Leighton—who was an exception to all the other prelates in Scotland—was sincere in his wishes to promote peace is evident; but Sharpe and his brethren desired no reconciliation, and therefore beheld the failure of Leighton's attempt with the greatest satisfaction, *their* object being, not the union of Prelacy with Presbytery, but the complete destruction of the latter. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 505.)

CHAPTER VII.

Renewed efforts of the council to suppress conventicles—parliament—act in favour of Episcopacy—second Indulgence—the refusers of it are persecuted—John Burnet's reasons for rejecting it—sufferings of Mr. Blain—severity against the Covenanters—apprehension of James Mitchell—the communion celebrated in the fields at East Nisbet—disgraceful proceedings of the council—petition in favour of the ejected ministers presented by females—beneficial effects of field preaching—private houses garrisoned—barbarous attack on the castle of Lord Cardross—letters of intercommuning—increase of conventicles—one at Lillies-Leaf—committee for public affairs—infamous conduct of Carstairs in the case of Mr. Kirkton—persecution of Baillie of Jerviswood—prisoners in Stirling given to the French—sufferings of the indulged—remonstrance of Mr. Wylie.

DURING the year 1671 the persecution against the ejected ministers and their adherents, continued with very little abatement. Few comparatively indeed, were apprehended; but the fines which were imposed on the country for non-conformity were almost incredible. Many in opulent circumstances were almost completely ruined; an instance of which we have in the case of M^cCartney of Blacket, who was neither at Pentland nor among the number of those that were forfeited, but who was thrown into prison, and though declared innocent by the council, kept in confinement during a period of six years, and subjected to losses amounting to

about £1000. The increase of conventicles at this period was extremely galling to the bishops, who beheld the greater part of the churches in their dioceses deserted; but though a committee was appointed to devise other measures for their suppression, little further appears to have been done in the business at that time. "In short," says Wodrow, "the outed ministers preached as they had opportunity, and notwithstanding all the severe acts made last year, neither ministers nor people were much discouraged." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 186.) On the other hand, the restrictions which had already been imposed on the indulged ministers were greatly increased. By an act of council, all those who refused to concur with the bishops in attending their diocesan meetings were confined to their respective parishes; and so rigorously was this act enforced, that Mr. John Bell, minister at Ardrossan, durst not visit his dying father, though within a mile of him, without a special order from the council. Their refusing to keep the 29th of May according to law,* and their continuing

* "When the day for their week-day's sermons happened at that time, they preached; and it was alleged some of them appointed their sermons that day of the

to explain the Scriptures by "lecturing" were also offences, for which many of them were exposed to much suffering. "Being informed," say the council in an act dated July 6, "that the ministers allowed to preach do not keep the council's act anent lecturing, the sheriffs are ordered to take trial thereof, and send in the names of such as contravene to the council."

The house of Mr. Ramsay, the Episcopal incumbent of Auchinleck having been broken into by some thieves in the beginning of 1672, the council seizing the opportunity, determined most unjustly to execute vengeance on all the Presbyterians in that district. For this purpose, the council, on the 23d of January, granted a commission "to some officers of the army in that neighbourhood to hold courts, call witnesses, and examine into the affair, and to fine the absent heritors in two hundred pounds, tenants in forty pounds, and cottars in ten pounds, and each woman according to the quality of her

week upon which the 29th day of May was to fall to avoid trouble; others had diets of examination that day; and others chose to baptize children, or marry some of their people that day, and explained some portion of Scripture to their hearers. Great clamour was raised against them for not keeping the day in terms of law."

—Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 184

husband, dead or alive.” (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 257.) While these unconstitutional proceedings were carrying on in the parish of Auchinleck, the persecution against the preachers and hearers at conventicles became more severe. Several of these proscribed meetings having been kept in Glasgow, the council, on the 22d of February, ordered the magistrates of that city to suppress them, and to compel all the ejected ministers within their jurisdiction either to attend the church, or leave the place with their families. A similar order was given shortly afterwards to the magistrates of Edinburgh; and followed up by a severity which subjected to the greatest distress many against whom no charge could be exhibited, except their refusing to hear the curates. The fines too which were exacted from all ranks simply for endeavouring to hear the gospel preached in purity, were so oppressive,* that many gen-

* “The case of the Laird of Balhousie in Perthshire, afterwards Viscount of Duplin, a youth newly passed the schools, but of a good estate, made a great deal of noise. The gentleman confessed he had once heard a minister, whom he entertained as a chaplain in his family, preach. His fine was some odd way or other accumulated to twenty-thousand merks, and then was brought down to a thousand pounds sterling, five hundred of which he behoved to pay presently, which he did, and gave bond for the other half!”—Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 193.

tllemen abandoned their whole estates to their lawless and avaricious persecutors, and sought refuge in exile.

In this deplorable state of the country the parliament was assembled on the 16th of June, but instead of affording relief, that assembly only increased the miseries of the nation. Their first act, which excluded all but Episcopalians from being officers in the army, manifested the deep-rooted aversion of the government to Presbyterianism. Having thus commenced, the parliament proceeded to enact, that none should presume to ordain any individual to the ministry except those who were authorized by law; and that all *pretended* ordinations since 1661, were null and void. The contraveners of this statute were to be imprisoned or banished at the discretion of the council. By another act it was ordained, "That every person who wants a certificate from the minister of the parish where he lives, that his child was baptized within thirty days of its birth, shall be fined, heritors in a fourth part of their yearly valued rent, merchants in one hundred pounds Scots," &c. And by a third act, it was impiously decreed that the 29th of May should be kept holy "by ringing of bells and other

evidences of joy, with bonfires at night, &c. and that all ministers should preach and give thanks” on that day, under a penalty to be imposed by the council. Such were some of the statutes enacted by a Scottish legislature against their conscientious countrymen, who even on mountains or in woods were not permitted to worship the God of their fathers, unless at the peril of their lives—the sanguinary law against conventicles passed in 1670, being ordered to continue in force three years after the former limited period had expired. That law, however, was found by this parliament to stand in need of some explanations. But these explanations only render the framers of such an infamous statute still more contemptible. “Considering,” say they, “that by the said act against conventicles, it is statute that no outed minister not licensed by his majesty’s council, nor other person not authorized or tolerated by the bishop of the diocese, presume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray in any meeting, except in their own houses, and to those of their own family; and since there may be some questions and doubts concerning the meaning and extent of that word *Pray*, his majesty doth, with advice and consent of his

estates of parliament, declare that it is not to be understood, as if thereby prayer in families were discharged by the persons of the family, and such as shall be present, not exceeding the number of four persons besides those of the family; it is always declared, that the act doth not give allowance to any outed minister to pray in families, except in the parishes where they be allowed to preach." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 200.) How disgraceful for any parliament to pass an act which they are compelled afterwards to vindicate from being construed into a prohibition of family worship! Yet even in their explanation, if more than *four* persons are present not belonging to the family, this duty must not be performed. The last clause which we have quoted, deserves to have been the enactment of an infidel legislature only; for while the indulged are prohibited from praying in any families but those of their own congregation, the ejected ministers are—if words have any meaning—forbidden, under a penalty, to pray at all, even in their own families!

The increase of conventicles—notwithstanding the statutes enacted against them by parliament, the vigilance of the military,

and the punishments inflicted by the council on all who fell into their hands—induced the government to grant a second indulgence, by which an additional number of the ejected ministers were permitted to preach on certain conditions, one of which was, that they should be confined like galley slaves within their parishes. “The project I laid before Lauderdale,” says Burnet, “was that of putting all the outed ministers by couples into parishes: so that instead of wandering about the country to hold conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. Leighton was of the same mind, who compared this to the gathering of coals that were scattered over the house, setting it all on fire, into the chimney, whereby they might burn away safely.” (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 582.) The indulgence was accordingly published on the 3d of September, by which about eighty ministers were appointed by pairs to parishes, with injunctions that they should neither marry nor baptize any, except their own parishioners; that they should all celebrate the communion on one day; and that they should remain within, and depart not forth of the parish to which they were

confined, without license from the bishop of the diocese." (Hist. of Indulgence, p. 183. Hind Let Loose, p. 126.) In short, "they were allowed to preach, but neither to preach nor profess Presbyterian principles." (McWard's Banders Disbanded, p. 32.)

A considerable number of those ministers who were named by the council, accepted of the appointments, or rather the confinement to which they were destined. They were, in general, excellent men; but by this acceptance it is evident that they so far at least departed from their original principles as Covenanters. The efforts of Wodrow, therefore, to show that by their acceptance of the indulgence, they, and not the non-indulged, were the only friends of union, are quite unsupported by evidence—the very intention of the government being to create a division between what they called the "madcap," or strict Covenanters, and the "moderate," or those who were willing to acquiesce in the measures of the court; "yea," says Wodrow himself, "there seems in the frame of these acts to be room left by the framers for blowing at the fire of division among Presbyterians, by which the designs of their enemies were mightily carried on." (Wodrow,

vol. ii. p. 203. M'Ward's *Επαγωνισμοί*, p. 136.) The indulged, besides, according to that author's own admission, were constrained to conceal the truth, lest they should be called to account; while the indulgence itself, being a device of the court to ruin presbytery, and to involve all the conscientious Covenanters in the crime of perjury and unfaithfulness, we must say, that not those who refused—though in some points they perhaps carried matters too far—but those who accepted of this unhallowed indulgence, were guilty of the crime of schism.

The great number of those who refused to accept of the indulgence, for reasons which they drew up under the title of "grievances," so enraged the council, that they resolved to force them to their confinements in the respective parishes to which they were appointed. Accordingly, on the 12th of March 1673, ten of those who declined the proffered boon, were summoned before the council, when, instead of their reasons being listened to, they were all peremptorily commanded to enter their confinements by the 1st of June, under pain of being apprehended as despisers of his majesty's authority. A similar notice was given to all the other ministers who had

not accepted of the indulgence, which, if they disobeyed, the military, sheriffs, and magistrates were commanded to apprehend them wherever they could be found.

Among those who decidedly refused the indulgence was Mr. John Burnet, who, at the restoration, was minister of Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, but ejected by the Glasgow act in 1662. Being unable from sickness to appear before the council when cited, to give his reasons for refusing it, he forwarded them in writing. "As to the reasons of my non-acceptance of the present offer," said he, "and not repairing to the place designed by the council, they are, That our Lord Jesus Christ hath committed all ministerial authority for the government of his house, to his own church officers, as the first proper subject and receptacle thereof, John xx. 21, &c. But so it is, that the act explanatory of his majesty's supremacy in the church (whereupon the act of indulgence is grounded,) doth not only claim the power to belong of right to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent privilege of the crown, but doth actually also invest and clothe him with the formal exercise thereof in his own person. Although I do freely disallow and condemn all tumultu-

ary and seditious meetings, yet I am so convinced in my heart of the Lord's blessing attending the preaching of the gospel (though not in a public parish church,) as that I judge the narrative of the first act to go near to involve my acceptance of this indulgence, being an interpretative condemning of the said meetings. There is a standing relation betwixt me and another flock, over which I was set by the appointment of Christ, which can never really be dissolved by any other power than that which at first did make it up, and gave it a being. Besides, how can I preach the word of the Lord freely and boldly against the sins of the times, (as against profaneness, error, injustice, and oppression,) as ministers ought impartially to do, while I am kept under a perpetual check of the sword of the magistrate at my throat?" (Hist. of the Indulgence, p. 68, et seq. Scots Worthies, p. 128.)

Nor were those who did accept of the indulgence suffered to exercise the office of the ministry in peace. For refusing to keep the 29th of May according to the set form required by law, the greater part of the indulged ministers were summoned to Edin

burgh in the month of July, and fined in the one half of the current year's stipend. One of them, Mr. Alexander Blair of Galstoun, endeavoured to vindicate to the council his own conduct and that of his brethren, in declining to act agreeably to the set form of instructions which they received. "My Lord Chancellor," said he, "I cannot be so uncivil as to refuse a paper offered me by your lordships, but I can receive no instructions from you for regulating the exercise of my ministry; for if I should receive instructions from you, I should be your ambassador." These words being considered "a public disowning the king's and council's power and authority," Mr. Blair was ordered to be carried to prison. Shortly afterwards he gave in a petition to the council, desiring that he might be liberated, signifying that he was informed that they had blamed him for not giving them that deference which he ought to have done; and requesting that if he had mistaken in style and form, they might impute it to his being unaccustomed to speak before such a judicatory; but that "he could not recede from the matter he had spoken." This petition was of course rejected; and in three

months afterwards Mr. Blair expired. (History of the Indulgence, p. 226. Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.)

But while this second indulgence entailed hardships on the accepters of it which they were scarcely able to bear, it involved their brethren who conscientiously rejected it, in the greatest distress. A new proclamation was emitted on the 2d April, "commanding "all heritors, wadsetters, and liferenters to bear down conventicles," and to give a faithful account to the sheriffs and military of all who were present at any of these meetings. An edict was also issued against those who refused to accept of the indulgence, ordering them "to be denounced," and granting warrant for their apprehension. In consequence of these severe enactments, Messrs. Robert Gillespie and Alexander Peden were apprehended, and, upon acknowledging that they had kept conventicles, were sent prisoners to the Bass.* Mr. Andrew Wedderburn was imprisoned for admitting more than those resident in his own house to his family exercises, and many private Christians shared a similar fate, for refusing to attend

* A high barren rock at the mouth of the Frith, off the coast of East Lothian.

the harangues of the curates. The fines in particular which were imposed on those who were present at, or in the smallest degree countenanced, conventicles, nay, who did not inform against them were most oppressive. As a specimen of these exactions, eleven gentlemen in the small county of Renfrew were fined in the enormous sum of £368,031, 13s. 4d. Scots, or upwards of £30,000 Sterling.*

Mr. James Mitchell, who attempted to assassinate Sharpe in 1668, was seized in the month of January, 1674, and committed to prison. As no evidence could be adduced to

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 226. The following is a list of the eleven referred to above, who were by no means the most opulent, and whose fines, notwithstanding their amount, were only a composition ! they being unable to pay more :—

Sir George Maxwell of Newark, for three years' absence from his parish church, £31,200; for a weekly conventicle during that time, £62,400; for three disorderly baptisms, £1200	£94,800 0 0
The Laird of Duchal, now Porterfields, for the like atrocious crime	84,400 0 0
William Cunningham of Carncurran	15 833 6 8
John Maxwell of Dargavel	18,900 0 0
John Brisbane of Freeland	3,900 0 0
Gavin Walkinshaw of that ilk	12,429 0 0
Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock	93,600 0 0
Matthew Stewart in Mearns	6,399 0 0
John Pollock of Falside	3,510 0 0
James Hamilton of Langtoun	18 427 0 0
James Pollock of Balgray	15,833 6 8

£368,031 13 4

criminate him, Sharpe solemnly swore that he would obtain a pardon for him if he would confess. At his examination before the council, the commissioner, the chancellor, the lord advocate, and other members, having implicitly promised that his life would be spared, if he made an ingenuous confession, Mitchell acknowledged that he was the individual who fired the pistol, but that no other person was privy to his design. He was then indicted before the court of judicary; but being advised not to trust too much to the assurances of the council, who had already given orders to punish him with the loss of his right hand and forfeiture of his estate, he there retracted his confession. There being no other proof which could be brought forward, he was remitted to prison; but as it was not till 1678 that he was executed, we shall defer mentioning further particulars concerning his trial and condemnation till we arrive at the history of that year's proceedings.

Towards the close of 1673, bitter animosities began to arise between Lauderdale and Hamilton, and their respective adherents, which daily increased till Lauderdale's arbitrary adjournment of parliament in the be-

ginning of 1674, when both parties repaired to London to lay their complaints before the king. (Burnet's Hist., vol. ii. p. 631.) These contentions were in some measure beneficial to the Presbyterians, who enjoyed a temporary mitigation of their sufferings, which they improved with the greatest diligence. In almost every shire throughout the country conventicles were set up and attended regularly every Sabbath by thousands. At these meetings "many souls," says Wodrow, "were converted and edified, and not a few who had been profane and indifferent, and well enough satisfied with the incumbents, left them." (Hist., vol. ii. p. 234.) The ministers were zealous, faithful, and persevering in the work, and on the hill sides and in sequestered valleys, not only was the gospel of salvation proclaimed to multitudes of perishing souls, but the Lord's supper was dispensed with as much regularity and solemnity as if there had been no persecutors in the land. "From Saturday morning, when the work began," says Mr. Blackader, in giving an account of a communion held at East Nisbet, in the Merse, "until Monday afternoon we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies, which

appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension; but the people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon. And truly the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array. We desired not the countenance of earthly kings; there was a spiritual and divine majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians, encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains, we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria; that the beau-

ty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples. The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through; the communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other—a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do on such occasions: the other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddel, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn; the table service was closed by Mr. Welsh with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as all parts of the service. The communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the rock of their salvation. It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congre-

gation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms. There were two long tables, and one short across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table; there were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day." (Blackader's Memoirs, pp. 203—206. Hind Let Loose, p. 133.)

Among the ministers who thus cheerfully adventured their lives for the everlasting benefit of their countrymen, were Messrs Gabriel Semple, John Welsh, Thomas Hogg, John Blackader, George Johnston, Robert Lockhart, John Weir, Samuel Arnot, Patrick Gillespie, John Rae, David Williamson, Archibald Riddel, and Donald Cargill. But we must pass a host of names who equally deserve to be recorded in the page of history, and to whose fearless defence of Presbyterian principles we are so much indebted at the present day. Mr. Welsh, in particular, preached with great success in various parts of Fife;* Mr. Weir ventured to preach

* One Sabbath that Mr. Welsh preached in Fife, other three field meetings were held within that county on the same day, at which it is calculated upwards of sixteen thousand individuals were assembled. The following interesting account of an attack on one of these conventi-

in the Magdalene Chapel, Edinburgh, and Crammond, and other vacant churches, were often occupied by ejected ministers.

These daring infringements of the law were highly resented by the council, who issued proclamation after proclamation against the offenders, offering large sums for the apprehension of the preachers, and exacting ruinous fines from the heritors and hearers. Masters of families were made responsible for their servants, heritors for their tenants, and magistrates for the burghs over which they were placed, that none under their jurisdiction should attend these proscribed meet-

cles which was held by Mr. Wellwood on the Lomond hills, is given in Blackader's Memoirs. "A party of life-guards, commanded by Adam Masterton, younger of Grange, came to the foot of the hill. They essayed to ride up to them between sermons; but the people drew up on the face of the brae. The soldiers shot bullets among them from pistols or carbines, a volley of five or six times; but though the balls lighted among men, women, and children, and went through some of their hair, and brake upon stones beside them, yet they hurt none; which was wonderful. The soldiers, seeing the people stand their ground, and not stir, were forced to retire. Some of their horses being hurt with the stones that were cast down the hill, they made signal to the people to capitulate or dismiss—and had a conference to that effect. They replied, they intended to stay no longer than worship was ended, but that they would not leave the hill until they had security to get no harm: which they did promise. Yet when the bulk of the people were gone, the soldiers fell upon the hindmost, plundering and stripping them, and apprehending about eighteen prisoners."—p. 184.

ings; nay, multitudes were declared rebels for preaching, or being present at assemblies unauthorized by law. The privy council, in short, among whom a change had taken place, seemed determined to gain the applause of his majesty by their cruel and relentless severities on all who countenanced house or field conventicles.

But while we forbear entering into any further detail of the council's proceedings at present, we cannot omit taking notice of a petition presented to them in the Parliament-Close, in the month of June, by fifteen ministers' widows, supported by several hundred women. The petitioners plead, "That whereas your petitoners being long deprived of the blessing of a faithful public ministry, and of the purity of worship and ordinances that God hath commanded, and after much sad suffering for attendance thereupon in private; yet, for some short while bygone, and in the time when his majesty's commissioner was amongst us, your lordships' petitioners have, without molestation, enjoyed some small liberty by his majesty's gracious conivance; yet now we are sadly alarmed, that through the malicious and false information given in by some of those who side with

and serve the bishops, your lordships may be induced, to the grief of the hearts of many thousands in this land, to trouble the quiet meetings of the Lord's people at his worship. May it therefore please your lordships to grant such liberty to our honest ministers that are through the land and in this city, that they may lawfully, and without molestation, exercise, their holy function, as the people shall in an orderly way call them; that we may, to the comfort of our souls, enjoy the rich blessings of faithful pastors, and that our pastors may be delivered from any sinful compliance with what is contrary to the known judgment of honest Presbyterians." This petition was voted seditious and treasonable, the subscribers were taken into custody, and the magistrates were ordered to disperse the rest; but the absolute refusal of the other females to dismiss without their companions induced the council to liberate the prisoners. Next day, however, three of the subscribers were seized and imprisoned, and the rest denounced rebels.*

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 268, 269 Kirkton, p. 345.—
"Also this summer," says the last mentioned of these authors, "because men durst not, the women of Edinburgh would need appear in a petition to the council, wherein they desired a gospel ministry might be pro-

The oppressions of the Covenanters were increased rather than diminished during the year 1675. Notwithstanding the cruelty of the persecutors, however, and the sufferings of the persecuted, conventicles were multiplied in every part of the country. Thousands "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods" that they might enjoy divine ordinances in purity; nay, many of the indulged ministers, unable longer to endure the bondages under which their consciences were held by an anti-christian faction, abandoned their livings, and joined their brethren, who had no other pulpit but the natural rock, and no other covering than the canopy of heaven. "It must be owned, even by adversaries," says Wodrow, "that much success, and many remarkable, yea, extraordinary conversions and changes, did accompany the labours of Presbyterian ministers at this time
vided for the starving congregations of Scotland. Fifteen of them, most part ministers' widows, engaged to present so many copies to the principal lords of council, and upon the 4th of June filled the whole Parliament-Close. When the chancellor came up, Sharpe came up with him, and as the chancellor left his coach, Sharpe clapt close to his back, fearing, it may be, bodily harm, which he then escaped; only some of them reproached him, calling him Judas and traitor, and one of them laid her hand upon his neck, and told him that neck must pay for it ere all was done, and in that guessed right; but this was all he suffered at that time."

up and down the country. Many were pricked at the heart, and cried out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?' And their after practice evidenced their repentance was not to be repented of; and the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace. Now and then conforming ministers came, and, after the forenoon's sermon, offered themselves, and as circumstances allowed, actually did profess their sorrow for joining in the present course of defection. In several places they forsook their churches, changed their way, and upon their candid acknowledgments, were received by the ministers preaching in the fields, and were as welcome to the people as any." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 279.)

The number of conventicles throughout the country rendered it next to impossible to suppress them, at least so speedily as the Prelates desired. Another method, therefore, as unjustifiable as it was base, was resorted to. *Spies* were employed, who mingled with the congregations, and, while they marked their victims, often endeavoured to urge the Covenanters, under pretence of zeal for the cause, to retaliate on the military, by whom they were sometimes annoyed. In

general, however, the Presbyterians, who came armed to their places of meeting for their own defence, evinced no disposition to attack, or even to engage in warfare with their adversaries.

Finding these means insufficient to accomplish their purpose, the council, on the 13th of July, appointed the seats of two noblemen and ten gentlemen, in those parts of the country, where conventicles were most frequent, to be garrisoned. Each garrison was to be provided with a company of foot and horse, and to be furnished by local assessment with victuals and every thing requisite. "Though these were houses of no strength," says Burnet, "and not at all properly situated for suppressing of conventicles, yet they were taken; soldiers were put in them, and the countries about were required to furnish these small garrisons with all things necessary. This," he adds, "was against the express words of the law that had lately settled the militia." (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 687.)

Of individual suffering, both among the indulged and the non-indulged, our limits, in general preclude us from giving any account. We cannot, however, avoid taking notice of the most disgraceful and illegal persecution

of Lord Cardross, who was fined and imprisoned, although not even the shadow of a crime could be laid to his charge. While his lordship was in Edinburgh on business in the month of May, his lady, who was far advanced in pregnancy, was surprised by an armed band at midnight, who demanded admittance into the castle. There being but a few servants in the house, the gates were opened, when a scene of ferocity and outrage ensued of which savages might have been ashamed. Having spoiled every thing valuable in the castle, they retired, carrying along with them Mr. King, his lordship's chaplain; but they had proceeded only a short distance, when the country people rescued Mr. King from their hands. On hearing of the outrage, Lord Cardross applied to the council for redress, but his petition was rejected; nay, the soldiers having at the same time complained of Mr. King's rescue, his lordship was fined in £1000 sterling, and imprisoned in Edinburgh castle during the sovereign's pleasure, for being art and part guilty of an attempt on his majesty's forces. This flagrant act of injustice towards this worthy nobleman, was committed on the ground, that three of his female servants "*went out to gaze,*" when

the disturbance arose on Mr. King's rescue : and, under the pretext that his lordship had not prevented his tenants from attending conventicles, other sums equally oppressive were exacted from him during the two years he was imprisoned in the castle. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 291.)

The increase of field preaching, which left the curates few or no hearers, and materially thinned the churches even of the indulged, being loudly exclaimed against by the Prelates, the council found it necessary to devise other measures for their suppression. Many individuals, both ministers and hearers, had been cited to appear before the council ; but aware that fines and imprisonment on the Bass awaited them as soon as they appeared, instead of obeying the summons they removed to other parts of the country. They were consequently declared rebels ; but notwithstanding of this, they fearlessly continued to preach or attend at conventicles, and the bishops found themselves still disappointed of their prey. Recourse was therefore now had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. On the 6th of August, " Letters of intercommuning" were issued against a great number of

the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank,* by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with food, drink, clothes, any of the accommodations or necessaries of life, under pain of being pursued with rigour, as guilty of the same crimes with the persons intercommunicated.† Thus, for preaching at, or attending field conventicles, were multitudes excluded from the pale of society. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 687.)

Notwithstanding the infamous letters of intercommuning, the severe penal laws in force, and the diligence of the military in

* These letters were issued against sixteen or eighteen ministers, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen, ladies, and merchants.

† "We command and charge all and sundry our lieges and subjects," says the proclamation, "that they, nor none of them presume nor take upon hand to reset, supply, or intercommune with any of the foresaid persons, our rebels, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, nor no other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way, under pain to be repute and esteemed art and part with them in the crimes foresaid, and pursued therefore with all rigour, to the terror of others."—Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 288.

harassing, robbing, wounding, and imprisoning all whom they suspected of favouring conventicles. these meetings still continued to increase during the year 1676. The ministers, who were doomed to destruction by men, but who were highly honoured of God, wandered from place to place, preaching the word, and dispensing the ordinances of the gospel to the people wherever they could find opportunity. The Magdalene chapel in Edinburgh was repeatedly resorted to by outlawed ministers, who fearlessly preached the word of life to immense multitudes. The Lord's Supper was dispensed at Kippen, in Stirlingshire, by Messrs. Law, Crawford, and Smith; and Messrs. Jamieson and Smith administered the same ordinance to a large congregation within two miles of Glasgow. In general, however, in consequence of the numerous garrisons established throughout the country, and the vigilance of the military in preventing conventicles, these meetings were held in the most sequestered spots, whither the people in vast numbers resorted with arms in case of an attack. To prevent a surprise, a guard was placed around the congregation; and on the approach of the enemy, the signal was given,

either to disperse, or to stand upon their defence.

The following interesting account of one of these meetings, which was held at Lillies-Leaf moor, will show the firmness of the people, and their great anxiety for the safety of the ministers. It was a very large assemblage; but having been informed "that the sheriff and some of the life-guards were ranging the moors on the fore-part of the day, the meeting shifted their ground within Selkirkshire, thinking themselves safe, being out of his bounds. About the middle of the afternoon's preaching, an alarm was given, that the sheriff and his party were hard at hand riding fast, whereupon he [Mr. John Blackader, the minister,] closed, giving the people a word of composure against fear. The people all stood firm in their places without moving. Two horses were brought for the minister to fly for his life, but he refused to go, and would not withdraw, seeing the people kept their ground, and so dismissed the horses. The militia came riding furiously at full gallop, and drew up on the burn brae, over against the people, but seeing them stand firm, they seemed a little damped, and would speak nothing for a

while At this moment one honest countryman cast a grey cloak about Mr. Blackader, and put a broad bonnet on his head, so he stood in disguise among the people, unnoticed all the time of the fray. The sheriff cried, 'I charge you to dismiss in the king's name.' The people answered resolutely from several quarters, 'We are all met here in the name of the king of heaven, to hear the gospel, and not for harm to any man.' The sheriff was more damped seeing their confidence. He was the Laird of Heriot. His own sister was present at the meeting, and stepping forth, in a fit of passion, took his horse by the bridle, clapping her hands and crying out, 'Fye on ye, man; fye on ye; the vengeance of God will overtake you for marring so good a work;' whereat the sheriff stood like a man astonied. One of the soldiers comes riding in among the people, and laughing said, 'Gentlemen and friends, we hope you will do us no harm.' This was all a pretence—they had come to look for the minister, and were edging nearer the tent; but they were ordered instantly to be gone and join their own associates, as more appropriate companions. The people still refusing to dismiss, the sheriff called out Ben-

net, laird of Chesters, and Turnbull of Standhill, who were present in the congregation, and with them he negotiated that they would dismiss the meeting, otherwise he must use force. Accordingly, at the entreaty of Chesters they withdrew. The minister all this while keeping his disguise sat still till the dragoons were gone, and then took horse with a company of seven or eight gentlemen, and got to Edinburgh next morning." (Blackader's Memoirs, pp. 209, 210.)

The determined spirit evinced by the people in resorting to, and defending their ministers at field meetings, so alarmed the Prelates, that they insisted on the council using still more effectual measures for bringing the offenders to condign punishment. Committees were accordingly appointed on the 1st of March, to perambulate the country, and to fine and imprison all whom they suspected to be inimical to Prelacy; but, though these committees carried the instructions of the council into effect in the most arbitrary manner, the bishops were still unsatisfied. Another scheme was therefore devised by government, and carried into effect on the 20th of July, namely, the appointing of a general committee for public affairs, consisting of the

two archbishops, the lord privy seal, and a number of noblemen, or any *three* of them, with power “to meet when and where they pleased, to take trials of conventicles, invasions of pulpits, &c., and to summon, apprehend, bring under bond, and give what orders they thought proper to the forces, sheriffs, and other magistrates.” “Now,” says Wodrow, in speaking of this unhallowed junto, “Prelacy was at the top of affairs, when the two archbishops, with any third creature of theirs they pleased to choose, had the whole of what for many years had been the council’s chief work. Our religion and liberties were now at a low pass—when the primate and two others in his chamber, may issue out orders as they find proper.” (Hist. vol. ii. p. 324.)

The chief agent of this committee as well as of the council, was Captain Carstairs, an infamous spy,* who by his illegal proceed-

* “One Carstairs,” says Burnet, a “loose and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his estate, undertook to Sharpe to go about in disguise to see those conventicles, and to carry some with him to witness against such as they saw at them, in which he himself was not to appear; but he was to have a proportion of all fines that should be set upon this evidence; and he was to have so much for every one of their teachers that he could catch.”—Hist. of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 688.

ings proved the means shortly afterwards of producing a change in the council, and of adding to the persecutions against the Covenanters. Carstairs, about the middle of July, having met Mr. James Kirkton—author of the History of the Church of Scotland, and one of the ejected ministers—on the High street of Edinburgh, inveigled him into a dark room, in a private house, where he offered Mr. Kirkton his liberty provided he would give him a sum of money. In the meantime, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, Mr. Kirkton's relative, having been made acquainted with his situation, repaired to the house, accompanied by other two gentlemen, and demanded admittance. This was insolently refused by Carstairs, who, though he had no warrant, drew a pistol from his pocket; but before he could make any use of the weapon, Mr. Kirkton seized him by the arms, and in the struggle which followed both fell to the ground. A cry of murder reaching the ears of the gentlemen without, they burst open the door, and, without offering any personal violence to Carstairs, rescued and carried off their friend. This affair being reported to the council by Carstairs, Jerviswood was immediately summoned before

them; but on his appearance, and narrative of the villanous conduct of Carstairs, the council thought it would be prudent to let the matter drop. On Sharpe declaring, however, that "if Carstairs were not supported and encouraged, and Jerviswood made an example of, it was not to be expected that any would ever prosecute fanatics," the council were so overawed, that on the day following, Jerviswood was fined in £500 sterling, and imprisoned four months, and the other two gentlemen were referred to the committee for public affairs.* To cover so iniquitous a sentence, a forged warrant, antedated by Sharpe, was produced by Carstairs at the trial; and in order to get quit of those members of council who inclined to lenity, Hamilton, Kincardine, Dundonald, and several others were removed, and their places filled by those who were more devoted to the persecuting primate and his adherents. (Kirkton, pp. 367-372. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 327. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 690.)

The persecution of Jerviswood was fol-

* The council were so enraged at the citizens, a great number of whom had assembled in the council chamber to see the issue of so iniquitous a transaction, that it was proposed and put to the vote to imprison all the spectators; which was prevented by one vote only.

lowed by the issuing of letters of intercommuning against Mr. James Kirkton and other fourteen ministers, the renewing of the proclamations against conventicles, and the passing of a sentence of outlawry against about eighty individuals in different parts of the country. The sufferings which, in consequence of this, were entailed on the Covenanters, were of the most appalling description, one single year's detail of which would be sufficient to fill a volume. The following instance of cruelty may however serve as a specimen. Fifteen men had been seized at a field meeting in 1674, and imprisoned at Stirling. Eight of them were liberated, but the other seven, who had been confined till this year, sent a humble and most affecting petition to the council, of the following tenor:—"The petitioners being prisoners in the tolbooth of Stirling these fifteen months bypast, some of us being poor old decrepit bodies, and all of us poor creatures with wives and families, we have been many times at the point of starving, and had long ere now died of want, if we had not been supplied with the charity of other people:—Wherefore it is humbly desired, that your lordships would compassionate our pitiful

and deplorable condition, and that of our poor starving wives and children, and order us liberty ; we being willing to enact ourselves to compear and answer before your lordships whenever we shall be called." One of these prisoners was upwards of sixty years of age, and another nearly seventy years ; but instead of compassion, the council, in order to clear the jail, made a present of them to a Captain Maitland, then in the service of France, who at midnight "brought them out of prison, and carried them off fettered, and tied to one another." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 341, 342.)

Although we have, in comparison, taken little notice of the indulged ministers, yet the hardships to which they were subjected were far from being inconsiderable. Attached as they were in general to Presbyterianism and to the covenants, both national and solemn league—notwithstanding the unworthy part which they acted in accepting of the indulgence—the council threatened, fined, ejected, or otherwise persecuted many of them, for refusing or neglecting to follow any of the antichristian rules which had been laid down to them by the prelates. "Whereas it is informed," say the council in a proclamation,

“ that the outed ministers indulged as aforesaid, at least many of them, have violated and contravened the foresaid orders and instructions—upon which terms they were permitted and indulged to preach and exercise the other functions of the ministry—the said lords do now require and command all those indulged ministers to keep and observe the foresaid orders and instructions in time coming, for keeping within the bounds of their own parishes, and celebrating the communion upon one and the same Lord’s day, as they will be answerable at their peril;—discharging them to admit any of the ministers not licensed by law to their communions or pulpits, and if they disobey, the bishops of the diocese to depose them.”

So unreasonable and oppressive were the rules laid down to the indulged ministers, that several of them ventured to remonstrate against them. Among others, Mr. Thomas Wylie, minister of Fenwick, transmitted to the council the following strong reasons why Presbyterian ministers could not, in conscience, comply with their injunctions. “ The first rule,” says he, “ will deprive honest parents of the Presbyterian persuasion (being in the parishes of conformists, and not clear

to receive ordinances from them) of the benefit of baptism to their children: for the parents, being under an insuperable scruple, dare not, with a doubting conscience, go to the conformist for that benefit; in which case, if the conformist be not of a condescending nature, it cannot be expected that the parent will obtain a certificate of him, to get the benefit elsewhere; which will inevitably occasion straitening to nonconformist ministers. The second rule 'That all in one and the same diocese, should have the communion in one and the same day,' is impracticable, as will easily appear to any who will consider the different bounds, numbers of people, employments, &c. of the respective congregations, in one and the same diocese. Often in one and the same congregation, emergent occasions have put the minister and eldership to change their ordinary time. It is impossible for old, sickly, infirm men, to discharge all the exercises requisite, when that ordinance is gone about, without help; and how shall it be had, if all are restricted to one day? And this restriction will deprive many of the Lord's people, to the saddening of their hearts, of the more frequent opportunities of this solemn ordinance. The

third rule, 'that there be no preaching without the Church,' is prejudicial to the benefit of souls, will inevitably occasion much throng confusion, and disorder within the church in the time of the solemn work. The fourth rule relates to the sentence of confinement; and may I not say, it is hard enough that honest men living peaceably, should *in dicta causa* be sentenced as evil doers? this is apt to weaken our ministerial authority among the profane; it deprives us of one of the greatest comforts of this life, viz. mutual converse for mutual edification, and strengthening one another's hands in the work of the Lord; and it cannot but be grievous that the keys of our prison doors are hung at the bishop's belt, and at his only. The fifth rule thrusts the Presbyterians under a direct and formal subjection and subordination to Prelacy, contrary to their known principles and judgment. And the last rule fetters them under a sort of vassalage and subserviency to the bishop."*

* Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 339, 340.—We have been induced to give the above extract that the reader may judge for himself whether the preachers were *favoured* with the indulgence, "*without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion.*" So says Hume, with his usual accuracy and regard to truth!! Hist. vol. viii. p. 49.

But if they—who had yielded more to the bishops than even their own consciences could justify—were thus oppressed, what must have been the sufferings of the non-indulged ministers, and of the staunch supporters of conventicles? The picture darkens as we advance; and the year 1677 commences with renewed and more disgraceful acts of persecution, which, as we shall see in the chapter following, issued in a scene of barbarity, over which, were it not of necessity, we would willingly draw a veil.



CHAPTER VIII.

Determination of the Covenanters to adhere to their principles—new severities used by the council—examination of Mr. James Frazer of Brae—proclamation of the bond—it excites general dissatisfaction—meeting of the heritors of Ayr and Renfrew—their resolutions—several Scottish exiles ordered to leave Holland—testimony of Mr. John Brown—efforts of the prelates to excite an insurrection—violence of Carstairs—the council resolve to call out the Highlanders—their proceedings approved of by Charles—examination of James Mitchell before the council—his conduct under the torture—his trial before the justiciary court—perjury of Sharpe and the other members of council—Mitchell's execution.

At this period nearly three fourths of the Scottish nation were opposed to Prelacy. The people, in general, would not be “dra-

groomed" into a renunciation of their faith; they decidedly refused, at whatever risk, to hear the curates: and they even now began to drop away from the indulged ministers, whom they looked upon as unfaithful to their principles, and culpably silent on every point which might offend the persecutors. Conventicles were consequently multiplied, and these meetings were attended by thousands who, aware of their doom should they fall into the hands of the enemy, considered it both lawful and prudent to provide themselves with arms, in case of any sudden attack. Two of these meetings, in particular, from the numbers which attended them, were extremely galling to the bishops. One of them was held in Teviotdale, and the other in the parish of Maybole, Ayrshire. At the latter assembly, Messrs. Riddell, Welsh, Morton, Warner, and Barclay, dispensed the ordinance of the Lord's supper with the utmost solemnity; and the multitudes returned to their dwellings, "praising God for all they had heard and seen," and more determined than ever to endure any species of suffering for the cause of Christ, rather than abandon their religion at the mandate of a profligate priesthood.

Nor were they permitted to enjoy these stolen opportunities of communion with God, and of delight in his service, with impunity. Many, both ministers and hearers, were seized, several of whom were sent to the Bass, others confined in prisons, and heavy fines imposed upon all. Among other ministers that fell at this time into their hands, was Mr. James Frazer of Brae, who had been intercommuned upwards of two years. The following extract of his examination before the committee of council, will give the reader some idea of the procedure of these persecutors. Having acknowledged that he was a preacher, but declining to mention the names of those by whom he was ordained, Sharpe said, "This gentleman seems not at all to be ingenuous with us; possibly he would be more, if he knew the state he stands in, which is not ordinary, for he is of most pernicious principles, destructive to all kind of government, and withal is very active in spreading these, so as there is scarce a conventicle I hear of, but it is still Mr. Frazer who is the preacher." "I know no pernicious principles I hold," replied Mr. Frazer, "such as you mean, may concern either church government or loyalty: as to

the first I freely acknowledge, as it is now established, I have a very great aversion from it; as to my loyalty, I would not care much though you all saw what were in my heart anent it; as to my spreading of them, I have been preaching Christ, and exhorting people to mend their ways and repent, and if the doing of that be pernicious, I confess myself guilty of it." *Bishop*. The greatest heretic will say so. *A*. It is not saying, but doing. *Bishop*. These are fine principles; you hold that all who are not of your judgment it is lawful to cut them off. *A*. If you can produce any famous, faithful witness, (false you may,) that ever I maintained any such doctrine, I am content to die presently. *Hatton*. Did you ever preach in the fields? *A*. Your lordship knows that that, according to your law, is criminal, and I am not obliged to be my own accuser. It is enough that my throat be cut, though I do it not with my own hands; if you mind to stage me on that, bring my accusers, and then proceed as your lordship thinks fit. *Bishop*. Though these shifts be taken from others, yet they must not, sir, be taken so from a man of parts. *Hatton*. Did you ever preach at Linlithgow? *A*. It may be I have. *Bishop*. Yes,

sir, you have, and in the fields there too, and that in great conventicles. *A.* I desire that may be proven. *Hatton.* Did you ever converse with Mr. Forrester? *A.* It may be. *Bishop.* Yes, sir, you have, and ye had still, since he went to the Bass, correspondence by letters, and you were his correspondent. *A.* My Lord Hatton, since the bishop says so, I declare ingenuously, I never had a line from Mr. Forrester, yea, nor even so much as changed a word with him." Without any further trial, Mr. Frazer was condemned to be imprisoned on the Bass, to which he was shortly afterwards conveyed along with several other ministers. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 354.)

But this tardy method of suppressing conventicles, and of punishing their supporters, was by no means commensurate with the wishes of the prelates, who eagerly thirsted for the destruction of every Covenanter within the realm. On the 2d of August, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, requiring "all heritors, wadsetters, and liferenters," to enter into the following bond—which, it will be observed, rendered them responsible for their families, servants, cottars, tenants, and

all who were under them, that they should attend their parish churches, and be present at no house or field conventicle. “I, _____ do hereby bind and oblige me, that I, my wife, children in my family, cottars, and servants, shall not withdraw from public divine worship in our respective parish churches, but shall attend the public ordinances there at the ordinary diets thereof, under the pains and penalties contained in the seventh act of the second session of his majesty’s second parliament, which is six pounds Scots for every tenant, and forty shillings Scots for every cottar or servant; as also that neither they nor I shall contravene the sixth act of that same second session of parliament, in having any children of ours baptized with any save our own parish ministers, or others lawfully authorized, conform to the said act, under the penalty of fifty pounds Scots for every cottar; and that neither I nor they shall be married by ministers not lawfully authorized, under the penalty of an hundred merks; and that I, and my wife, and my children in family, cottars, and servants, shall not be present at conventicles, either in the houses or in the fields, under the penalty

contained in the acts of parliament and former proclamation of council," &c. (Kirkton, p. 373. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 365.)

So unreasonable a bond, which rendered every man responsible for his neighbour, filled the country with alarm, and petitions were presented against it from every quarter, many of them signed by gentlemen who were no enemies to the proceedings of government. This unlooked for opposition of the landed interest induced the council to suspend the imposition of the bond at present, (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 719,) but it was enacted, "That if any person that is summoned be ready to swear and pay his fine, he shall not be troubled with bonds or other engagements, seeing the constant punishment of transgressors will supply the necessity of bonds," &c.

On the 17th of October, however, the council, at the suggestion of the bishops, ordered a meeting of the heritors of the counties of Ayr and Renfrew, to be held at Irvine on the 2d of November, to devise effectual measures for the suppression of conventicles. The convening of this meeting was entrusted to the Earls of Glencairn and Dundonald, and Lord Ross, who were enjoined "serious-

ly to represent to the meeting how highly, in his majesty's name, we resent the outrages and affronts done to the government, in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew, which have been frequently represented to be the most considerable seminaries of rebellion in this kingdom; though none hath more eminently tasted of his majesty's clemency, nor hath his majesty indulged any shires so much as these: and albeit his majesty's service, and the quiet of the kingdom, would require such severe courses to be taken for curbing those insolencies as might very much prejudice the heritors of those shires, yet his majesty and council being further desirous to make them inexcusable, and to the end that the kingdom may see that the prejudice of heritors shall arise from their own negligence, therefore we thought fit that the aforesaid persons should be called together," &c. These instructions were accordingly laid before the meeting by the three noblemen; but instead of yielding implicit obedience to such arbitrary mandates, the heritors unanimously agreed to the following resolutions:—"1st, That they found it not within the compass of their power to suppress conventicles. 2d, That it is their humble opinion, from former

experience, that a toleration of Presbyterians is the only proper expedient to settle and preserve the peace, and cause the foresaid meetings to cease. 3d, That it is their humble motion that the extent thereof be no less than what his majesty had graciously vouchsafed to his kingdoms of England and Ireland." On receiving these resolutions, the three noblemen, aware of the danger of laying them before the council, simply reported, "that after the consideration of the whole affair, the meeting found it was not in their power to quiet the disorders." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 375.)

Although the Prelates were highly gratified at the receipt of this answer, which furnished them with a pretext for resorting to the "severe courses" they intended to adopt, yet in the meantime the council pretended to be exceedingly displeased at the heritors, and they immediately reiterated their proclamations and threats against conventicles.

Nay, such was the persecuting spirit of the government, that application had already been made to the States-General of the United Provinces, to order the removal of the Scottish refugees from their territory, particularly Messrs. John Brown, Robert Macward, and

James Wallace. To the honour of the States, however, this demand was at first decidedly refused; (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 319.) but by repeated applications, they found it necessary, in order to preserve peace with Britain, at length to enjoin these three eminent ministers to remove from Holland—an injunction which was given by the States with the deepest regret. Before leaving that country, Mr. Brown drew up a large and valuable testimony, which is published in the new edition of the Scots Worthies. The following extract from this paper regarding the rising at Pentland cannot but gratify the reader.

“I must not forget to be a witness unto that loyal and magnanimous attempt to set the crown upon the head of our Lord; to deliver the whole land from the insupportable yoke of tyranny, and unjust and illegal oppression both of soul and body; to recover the rights and privileges of the church, which by wicked hands had been robbed and taken away; to vindicate, according to the covenants of the Lord, the just and lawful rights and liberties of the subject; to re-establish, according to solemn oaths and vows, the true and only lawful government of the house of

God; to put a stop to the further progress of that defection and apostasy from God which had been for several years carried on with great madness and fury; and consequently to prevent the dreadful and terrible judgments of God, which our wicked and woful backslidings could not but procure at the hands of the jealous and righteous Lord. I mean that laudable enterprise and adventure, in the year 1666, undertaken in such singleness and simplicity of heart, followed and managed with such integrity and freedom from self-seeking designs, desire of private revenge, or the like corrupt principles and intentions; as that all, not maliciously pre-occupied in their judgment, and blinded with prejudice, could not but be convinced of the innocency of the whole design, and approve of the same, as a truly commendable and praiseworthy undertaking. It is true it seemed not good in the eyes of the Lord to countenance the same, and to make it prosperous—and I look upon the dispensation as saying, that the cordial appearance for Christ and his interest was too late, and should have been in the year 1660, (and not first in the year 1666,) when the enemies of the Lord first appeared with their design to over-

throw the whole work of the Lord, and to bring us back into Egypt, and the defection was breaking in as a flood. Had the faithful of the land then appeared for the Lord and his cause, and resolved to have Christ and his interests secured, cost what it would the Lord had probably appeared on their head and given success to the work.—Again, I look upon the dispensation as saying, on the other hand, that this appearance was too early; I mean, that the time of our delivery was not yet near at hand, it being equitable and just that we should first drink deeper of the cup which we had mingled for ourselves; and should find by more bitter experience the difference between the service of the Lord and the service of enemies; and should be made to serve the enemies of the Lord, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things, and have a yoke of iron upon our necks, until we be destroyed; because we would not serve the Lord our God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things.” (Scots Worthies, pp. 156, 157.)

The severe statutes enacted against the Covenanters, and the dreadful manner in which these statutes were enforced, encour-

aged the prelates to anticipate a general rising—an event which they earnestly desired, in order that they might have some shadow of excuse for the sanguinary measures which they now intended to adopt.* Still, however, though the people attended conventicles, and were exposed to the greatest severities, they evinced no symptoms of rebellion; and except at times, when they were obliged to stand on their defence, the tranquillity of the country remained undisturbed.

While the prelates, by their cruelties, strained every nerve to excite an insurrection, an incident occurred, which, when magnified, hastened the plan they had already devised, of laying waste the country by a lawless banditti. The infamous Carstairs, in scouring the country with a troop of horse, surprised, in October, six or seven intercommuned gentlemen in a private house. One of the miscreants immediately fired, and wounded one of the company who happened to be standing at the door, while several

* The favourers of popery and of arbitrary power wanted a pretext for keeping up a large standing army in the kingdom; and when they could not obtain this in England, they endeavoured, not without success, by means of a pretended insurrection, to gain their object in Scotland. See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 372 and authorities there quoted by the Editor.

of his comrades discharged their pieces at the windows. The gentlemen immediately retaliated, and the aggressors were forced to retreat. But the resistance of this audacious attack on a peaceable company being reported to the council by Carstairs, as an atrocious attempt on his majesty's forces, the cry of rebellion was immediately raised by the bishops, and a more efficient force was demanded for suppressing the supposed insurrection which threatened the overthrow of both church and state ! (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 371. M'Kenzie, p. 323.) The parties concerned in resisting the aggressors were denounced rebels, and the Covenanters throughout the kingdom were charged with being art and part guilty of the crime !

Even this general accusation was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the prelates. A sweeping sentence of rebellion was passed against all the Presbyterians ; which was followed by the barbarous resolution of letting loose on the country, an army of Highland savages, to plunder those districts in which any were inimical to Prelacy. The following decision of the council was published on the 2d of November : “ Upon some information of growing disorders and insolencies in

the western shires, it was thought fit a proclamation be drawn in case of an insurrection, and the nearest Highlanders be ordered to meet at Stirling upon advertisement by proclamation; and letters are to be writ to noblemen, and gentlemen, to have their vassals and tenants ready and at a call. It was further thought fit that arms and ammunition should be sent to Stirling; the forces at Glasgow are ordered to Falkirk, and new men are to be presently levied to complete them." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 374.)

Every thing being thus prepared for the invasion of a country in a state of the most profound tranquillity, the council waited only for the sanction of government to commence their diabolical work of devastation. Nor was that sanction difficult to obtain. On the 20th of December, a letter was received from his majesty, highly approving of the conduct of the council, and informing them that he had appointed one detachment of English forces to march to the borders, and another of Irish troops to repair to Belfast, to hold themselves in readiness to be conveyed to Scotland. Charles then proceeds as follows: "We have been with much satisfaction informed, that you have required the noble-

men and others who have interest and considerable vassals, in the Highlands and places adjacent, to be in readiness with what forces they can bring out to rendezvous at Stirling, and from thence to march with our standing forces upon the first advertisement, for the prosecution of our service. And seeing we have fully resolved to maintain and defend the government of the church in that our kingdom, as it is now established by law, we do hereby require and authorize you to command all these forces before mentioned, to march to these shires and places so infested with religious practices, and there to take effectual courses for reducing them to due obedience to us and to our laws, by taking free quarters from the disaffected, and by disarming of all you shall find necessary, and securing all horses above such a value as ye shall think fit, by causing the heritors and liferenters to engage and give bond for their tenants and others who live upon and possess their lands, that they shall keep no conventicles, that they shall live orderly and obedient to the laws, and by causing the tenants and masters of families give the like bonds, by causing every parish and heritors of it give surety that no conventicles shall

be kept within any part of the parish, property, or commonty, nor harbour nor commune with the rebels or persons intercommuned. And for the more effectual prosecution of these our commands, that you punish the disobedient, or those you judge disaffected, by fining, confining, imprisonment, or banishment; and further, that ye place sufficient garrisons in all places where ye shall from time to time find it necessary.”

This letter requires no comment, the subsequent proceedings of the council—in enforcing the bond and entailing ruin on thousands by means of the Highland army—being too practical an illustration of its infamous particulars.* So early, indeed, as the 26th of that month, a commission was passed for raising the Highlanders, who were to rendezvous at Stirling on the 24th of January following, with instructions, “in their march, to take quarters for their money, and to force

* Lauderdale being accused by the prelates of manifesting too much lenity to the Covenanters, exculpated himself by promising an unreserved surrender of himself to the promotion of their cause; which to the sad experience of the Presbyterians, he henceforward scrupulously fulfilled, breathing, like Saul of Tarsus, threatenings and slaughter against all who adhered to the principles which he himself had once solemnly sworn to maintain.

quarters for their money in case the same shall be refused,"—nay, "to take free quarters, and to seize on horses for carrying ammunition and provisions; indemnifying them against all pursuits, civil and criminal, for killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning, all such as should make opposition." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 379.) This almost unlimited commission to rob, plunder, and murder, a peaceable community, it will be observed, was for no other crime than that of the people refusing to abandon their religion.

Previously, however, to giving any account of the outrages committed by "the Highland host," we shall advert to the trial and execution of James Mitchell, who, as already noticed, was committed to prison in 1674 for his attempt on the life of Sharpe. After lying two years in prison, he was again brought before the court in 1676, and examined respecting his connexion with the Pentland rising and his former confession, and ordered to be put to the torture. In a few days afterwards, accordingly, he was conveyed to the council room, and interrogated whether he would acknowledge his confession, the judge pointing to the boots, adding, "Sir, you see what is on the table, I will see

if these will make you do it." To which Mr. Mitchell replied, "My Lord, I confess that by torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did the saints; you may compel me to speak amiss of your lordships, to call myself a thief, a murderer, &c., and then pannel me upon it; but if you shall, my lord, put me to it, I here protest before God and your lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment. But to be plain with you, my lords, I am so much of a Christian, that whatever your lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth, I shall not deny it; but, on the contrary, I am so much of a man and a Scotchman, that I never held myself obliged, by the law of God, nature, or the nation, to be my own accuser." The only answer returned to this was, that he had the devil's logic. "My lord," rejoined Mitchell, "I have now been two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which have been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable thereof; and it is well known, some, in a shorter time, have been tempted to make away with themselves; but respect and obedience to the express law and

command of God hath made me to undergo all those hardships, and I hope this torture also, with patience, namely, that for the preservation of my own life and that of others, so far as lies in my power, and to keep innocent blood off your lordships' persons and families, which, by shedding of mine, doubtless you would bring upon yourselves and posterity, and wrath from the Lord, to the consuming thereof, till there should be no remnant nor escaping."

His leg was then enclosed in the diabolical engine, and, during the time that the executioner was performing his inhuman work, the following, among other questions, were put to him. "Q. Are you that Mr. James Mitchell who was excepted out of the king's grace, and favour, or not? A. I never committed any crime deserving to be excluded. Q. Know you any more of that name? A. Yes, there are two in Mid-Lothian. Q. Were you at Pentland? A. No. Q. Were you at Ayr, and joined the rebels there? A. I never joined with any such. Q. Where were you at the time of Pentland? A. In Edinburgh. Q. When knew you of their rising in arms? A. When the rest of the city knew it. Q. When was that? A. When

the messenger came from Dumfries, and Dalryell and his forces marched out at the West Port. *Q.* Where did you meet with James Wallace? *A.* I knew him not at this time. *Q.* Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot? *A.* No.” Amidst his anguish, Mitchell addressed his tormentors in the following affecting language:—“ My lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, I beseech you to remember what Solomon saith, ‘ He who showeth no mercy shall have judgment without mercy ;’ and if there be any of you, as I hope there is few present, thirsting after my innocent blood, mind what is spoken, Rev. xvi. 5, 6. And, now, my lords, I do freely and from my heart, forgive you who are judges sitting on the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrid work, and also those who are vitiating their eyes beholding the same ; and I do entreat, that God may never lay it to your charge.” Having at length fainted, through extremity of pain, the executioner cried, “ My lords, he is gone !” upon which his tormentors withdrew, and he was reconveyed to prison. (Naphtali, p. 431.)

Mitchell continued in Edinburgh jail another year, and was then sent to the Bass

but on the 7th of January, 1678, he was once more criminally indicted before the justiciary court, for making an attempt on the life of Sharpe. After a long debate, in which Sir George Lockhart, for the prisoner, displayed great ability, the court decided that Mitchell's confession being judicial, could not be retracted, but that if it was proven that a promise of life had been granted on that confession, such promise would secure the life of the prisoner. The chief witnesses were, Rothes, Hatton, Lauderdale, and Sharpe, four of the principal officers of state, who, while they swore that a confession was made by Mitchell, as deliberately gave their oath that no promise whatever was made or assurance given that his life should be spared. In vain did Mitchell and his friend Nicol Somerville, remind the perjured prelate of his own words. All the answer they received was, that "it was a villanous lie!" When Sir George M'Kenzie, who was now lord advocate, declared that the evidence was closed, the prisoner produced a copy of the act of council in which the promise was made, and insisted on the register itself, or a certified extract from it, being laid before the court. This was vehemently op-

posed by Lauderdale, who, though only a witness, passionately exclaimed, "that he and the other noblemen were not brought there to be accused of perjury, and that the books of council being the king's secrets, no court should peruse them." Mitchell was accordingly found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 18th of that month.*

As soon as the court rose, the lords repaired to the council room, and inspected the register, where, to their confusion, they found

* His execution was most cruelly hurried forward, contrary to the following very moving petition of his wife—a petition, to accede to which, it would appear, was too much for the wisdom and humanity of the council:—
"The humble supplication of Elizabeth Somerville, &c. humbly sheweth—That whereas, your supplicant's husband was on Thursday last sentenced to die upon Friday next, the 18th of January instant, and that it cannot be otherwise conceived but in nature and humanity, your supplicant hath an ardent desire to see her husband, and to take her long farewell of him before he die, which at present she cannot do, nor will she be able to do so betwixt and the said day, in respect of her present case and condition, it being not twelve days since she was brought to bed of a child, and presently affected with a fever, and wherethrough she will be disappointed and frustrated of that her only worldly desire, and thereby may be brought to the grave as soon as her husband, unless your lordships graciously prevent the same. May it therefore please your lordships, for the love of Christ, mercifully to consider the premises, and be graciously pleased to relieve the foresaid sentence for such a time as your gracious lordships shall think expedient, that your poor indigent supplicant may be, in that space, capable to see her said husband, and take her last farewell of him."—
Naphtal, p. 440. Scots Worthies, p. 160.

the solemn promise recorded and signed by Rothes, as president of the council. Justly ashamed of their conduct, Lauderdale hinted at the propriety of obtaining a reprieve for Mitchell, but this being resolutely opposed by Sharpe, the duke impiously replied, "Then let him glorify God in the Grassmarket!" The sentence was accordingly executed on the day appointed, but being prevented from addressing the crowd by the beating of drums on the scaffold, he threw his dying speech among the people. (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 459—472. Naphtali, p. 441. Kirkton, p. 381. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 714, et seq.)

Though we are far from justifying the attempt of Mitchell to cut off the apostate and cruel primate, yet it must be evident to every candid mind that his torture and execution can admit of no apology. The record of the promise of life which was given him still remains, to the everlasting disgrace of those unjust judges whom even Laing charges with a "complication of perfidy, cruelty, perjury, and revenge." (Laing's Hist., vol. ii. p. 80.) The lame defence of M'Kenzie himself, only serves to expose the flagrant injustice of the blood-thirsty crew who then lorded it over an oppressed coun-

try. (M'Kenzie's Hist., p. 328.) Nay, even Hume is constrained to say, that "such a complication of cruelty and treachery shows the character of those ministers to whom the king had, at this time, entrusted the government of Scotland. (Hume's Hist., vol. viii. p. 56.)

In justice to Mitchell we cannot forbear giving his own account of the affair, in a letter to a friend, dated January 18, 1678. "My accusation," says he, "before the justices was, that I shot a pistol at the Archbishop of St. Andrews in July, 1668, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was wounded, and that I did confess the same before the council. My defence, among many others, was, that any confession made by me, was upon oath, and promise of life and safety. And indeed the oath and promise was made to me by my lord chancellor in these words:—'Upon my great oath, honour and repute, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life, and if ye will not confess, the council will take another way to find it out.' This I took for the boots, as I afterwards found. The justices found my confession to be a judicial one, though I refused to own it before their court, but did retract it unless the above mentioned promise

were made good to me. The justices sustained my said defence, upon the foresaid oath and promise made to me; but when the indictment came to be proven, the said confession was witnessed by my lord chancellor, and other lords of council called to make faith, but with the same breath they denied the making, or the knowledge of the making of any such oath or promise to me. But it pleased the Lord to provide me with a copy of the act of council, which was at that time made by the said lords, and subscribed, as I believe, by my lord chancellor, wherein the same assurance is expressly granted to have been given me by warrant of the then lord commissioner, albeit indeed in the same act it is revoked, for the reasons there given. When I produced this, the lords who witnessed against me were greatly commoved, and vehemently pressed the justices that no such act should be received in my vindication, since it did so directly contradict what they had sworn.—Whereupon I was found guilty by the assize upon the foresaid confession; albeit, in all likelihood they would not have found me guilty, if the act of council had been received.” (Naphtali, pp. 397, 398.)

CHAPTER IX.

Assembling of the Highland host—proceedings of the committee of council—ferocity of the Highlanders—peaceable disposition of the people—the bond—its arbitrary enforcement—it is generally resisted—furious acts of the council—depredations committed by the military—instances of their savage cruelty—their attack on James Nisbet—the Highland host withdrawn—increase of conventicles—one at Williamwood in Renfrewshire—prisoners shipped for the plantations—Field meeting at Whitekirk—trial and execution of James Learmont—convention of estates—a cess imposed for the support of a new army—disputes among the Covenanters regarding the cess—their sufferings.

On the 24th of January the Highlanders and militia, to the number of about ten thousand, assembled according to appointment at Stirling. The horror produced by the irruption of these savages, it is impossible to describe. They were armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels, and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron shackles for binding their prisoners, and thumblocks to oblige them to answer the questions which they proposed to them, and to discover their concealed treasures. In this warlike attitude they marched westward, taking free quarters, and committing acts of rapine and outrage without discrimination in

a country which, to the astonishment of their own officers, was in a state of the utmost tranquillity. Having arrived at Glasgow, they were quartered on the inhabitants, while a committee of council there assembled, proceeded to give the necessary instructions. These instructions were, that the sheriffs of the different counties, with the assistance of the military, should disarm the whole inhabitants of whatever rank, and enforce the bond, under the heaviest penalties, on all within their jurisdiction. This bond, which was nearly the same as the one formerly attempted to be imposed on the nation, bound and obliged the subscribers, not only for themselves and their families, but also for their tenants and cottars, and their families and servants, that not one of them should attend a conventicle, or converse with an intercommuned preacher. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 387.) Such outrageous proceedings are animadverted upon and condemned even by Hume. "It was ridiculous," says that author, "to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts: it was iniquitous to make one man answerab'e for the conduct of another; it was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon

men who had nowise offended." (Hume's Hist., vol. viii. p. 57.)

While the council were thus employed, the Highlanders not only grievously oppressed and plundered the inhabitants of Glasgow, but laid waste the country around that city for several miles, robbing and pillaging without mercy; all which was sanctioned by the committee under the pretext of enforcing the illegal and obnoxious bond. Having at length obtained not above a hundred and sixty signatures to it in Glasgow, the council ordered the Highlanders to march to Ayr. Their route thither was marked by a ferocity far exceeding that committed by an enemy in a conquered province. All horses, not excepting those in the plough, were seized; every portable article of household furniture shared a similar fate: nay, the very travellers on the highway were stripped of whatever piece of dress these lawless mountaineers were pleased to covet. "Since God made man upon the earth," says M'Ward, "since soldiers were mustered and marched under colours and command, never was there an army raised, or an host put so formally to march up with displayed banners

against Christ as king." (M'Ward's Tracts, p. 129.)

The council arrived at Ayr on the 7th of February, and proceeded to enforce the bond on the heritors and feuars throughout that and the adjacent counties, by quartering the Highlanders on all who refused to affix to it their signatures. Instead of gaining their object, however, the council beheld the people patiently submit to be robbed of their property, imprisoned, nay tortured, rather than subscribe so iniquitous a deed. Of two thousand nine hundred heritors in Lanarkshire, only nineteen took the bond. Nor were the other counties more pliant, many noblemen, though aware of the ruin which it would entail on their estates, setting the example of steadfast opposition to so unwarrantable a proceeding. Enraged at the "obstinacy" of all ranks throughout the country, the council determined to proceed to greater extremities. In vain did the nobility and gentlemen of Ayrshire humbly request the council to forbear enforcing the bond on a peaceable community. "Lauderdale," says Burnet, "made bare his arm, and swore by Jehovah, that he would make them enter

into these bonds.”—“These things,” adds the same author, “seemed done on design to force a rebellion, which they thought would be easily quashed, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke Lauderdale’s party depended so much on this, that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them.—Great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection; but they were as much dejected when they knew it was false.” (Burnet’s Hist., vol. ii. pp. 720, 721.)

The failure of two proclamations, forbidding all heritors, liferenters, or masters to receive tenants or servants who had not “taken the bond,” was followed by the unparalleled issuing of a writ of lawburrows against the people. This sometimes necessary resort of one private individual against another—who on giving his oath that he is in personal danger, obtains legal security from the offender that he will keep the peace—was most absurdly issued by the king against his subjects. By this deed, the rejecters of the bond were found to be “disaffected persons to the king,” and, in *wholesale*, declared to be “suspected persons,” of whom his majesty stood

in imminent danger: "All other courses being ineffectual," say the council, "his majesty hath just right to suspect the designs of such as have or shall refuse or delay to take the bond, as tending to overthrow his majesty's authority, to subvert the established order of the church, and to disquiet the peace of his majesty's good subjects; and since every private person may force such, from whom they fear any harm, to secure them by law-burrows, and that it hath been the uncontroverted and legal practice of his majesty's privy council to oblige such, whose peaceableness they justly suspected, to secure the peace for themselves, their wives, bairns, men, tenants, and servants, which are the very words of all such bonds, and that under such penalties as they find suitable to their contempt, guilt, &c. Therefore the lords of his majesty hath declared his just suspicion of those who refuse or delay to take the bond—do ordain that all such persons shall be obliged to enact themselves in the books of secret council, that they, their wives, bairns, men, tenants, and servants, shall keep his majesty's peace, and particularly that they shall not go to field conventicles, nor harbour

nor commune with rebels or persons inter-communed, &c., and that within six days next, after the charge, under the pain of rebellion, and putting of them to the horn." It is almost incredible that such proceedings should ever have taken place in a professedly Christian, much less in a Protestant, country. Well might Wodrow add, that "Charles I. was much blamed for declaring his Scots subjects rebels; but the managers made his son ridiculous, in asking lawburrows from his subjects." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 401—403. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 722.)

During these disgraceful transactions of the council, the Highlanders continued their lawless depredations without control. Their rapacity made no distinction of age or sex; and the few who subscribed the bond, as well as the many who refused it, were equally the victims of indiscriminate pillage. Not content with free quarters, they plundered the houses of every thing either valuable or useful, stripped the very clothes off the inmates, and beat and wounded all who dared to murmur a complaint. Cattle of every description were either wantonly killed or driven away; the granaries were despoiled of their contents; taxes were imposed on the land;

and to sum up the miseries of the people, torture was resorted to, in order to force a disclosure of the places where it was suspected money had been concealed. "In some places they tortured people, by scorching their bodies at vast fires, and otherwise, till they forced them to discover where their money and goods were hid, to avoid their thievish hands. To crown all, it is well known, that these vile miscreants, openly in cities and towns, committed crimes over which it is fit to draw a veil, their excesses of unnatural and horrid wickednesses being so great up and down the country. I likewise pass over the woundings, beatings, and cutting off fingers and hands—all which, and many other enormities, were done without the least punishment unless it were a night's detention in the guard sometimes."* "The barbarities

* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 422. The following exceedingly moderate account of the loss sustained by each parish in Ayrshire, is abridged from the same author:—

In Kyle.

Parishes of Ayr and Alloway,	£12,120 0 0
St. Quivox,	900 0 0
Monkton,	2,700 0 0
Tarbolton,	6,180 0 0
Galston,	3,679 0 0
Craigie,	735 5 0
Riccarton,	2,844 0 0
Dundonald,	3,373 6 0

Carry forward, £32,531 11 0

exercised upon the house and lands of Cunninghamhead," adds the same author, "in the parish of Dredhorn, deserve a particular remark. A troop of Angus gentlemen heritors,

	Brought forward,	£32,531	11	0
Barnwell,		836	0	0
Symington,		1,300	6	0
Mauchin, Muirkirk, and Dalgean,		8,985	8	0
Calton,		3,537	13	0
Ochiltree and Auchinleck,		5,211	7	8
Cumnock, Old and New,		3,015	6	4

In Carrick.

Straiton,	12,000	0	0
Colmonell,	10,000	0	0
Kirkoswald and Girvan,	1,816	0	0
Barr,	1,000	0	0
Daylie,	180	0	0
Mayhole,	1,700	0	0
Dalmellington and Kirkmichael,	4,981	0	0

In Cunningham.

Kilmarnock and Fenwick,	14,431	0	0
Kilwinning,	5,895	15	8
Stevenston,	622	12	4
Ardrossan,	1,549	15	4
Dalry,	653	12	8
Dunlop,	2,629	16	6
Irvine, parish without the town,	1,029	0	4
Largs,	1,907	0	4
Kilbride,	692	0	0
Kilbirnie,	2,080	0	0
Loudon,	2,934	13	4
Dreghorn and Pearston,	1,505	7	6
Kilmaurs,	3,250	15	0
Stewarton,	6,062	12	8
Beith,	4,894	0	0
Cumbray,	266	13	4

£137,499 6 0

Or £11,558, 5s. Sterling.

commanded by the Laird of Dun, had the lands of Cunninghamhead allotted to them for their quarters. Sir William Cunningham, of Cunninghamhead was then a minor, a school-boy at Irvine, and his excellent father dead; and he himself, to be sure, had never acted any thing offensive to the government. The heritors who took the bond, and their lands, were free from quartering and all exactions, as far as Highland robbers could be restrained; and although the minor Sir William was not capable of accepting of, or refusing the said bond, yet the said Angus troop were quartered upon his ground. The troopers, pretending the several country houses in Sir William's land were not convenient enough for many of them to quarter in, obliged the tenants to advance five pounds sterling for dry quarter as they called it. When, by paying this, they reasonably expected to have been freed from guests they paid so well for, every tenant in that little spot of ground had at least three footmen of the wild Highlanders put upon them, who, during their abode, near a month, lived at discretion; yea, notwithstanding of the pretended insufficiency of these country houses for entertaining gentlemen, several of them found it best, after dry

quarters were collected, to continue. While Dunbar, (cornet of the above troop,) stayed there, he came one day to Cunninghamhead, where nobody lived, and in the second story of it was a granary wherein lay meal, which was the most substantial part, if not the whole, of the minor's estate. The cornet called to have the doors opened to him; the keeper of the keys was accidentally out of the way, and so ready access could not be given at that time. This enraged him so, that wilfully, and in day-light, without any order, or any provocation, he became guilty of housebreaking and wilful fire. There being at the foot of the stair which taketh up to the tower, an iron grate, with a strong wainscot door behind it, he set fire to the door, and by gunpowder got the hanging lock upon the iron gate blown up and broke open; and having forced a hole in the wainscot door got in; and he and his servants broke open the granary, went into it with their boots and shoes, all bedaubed with clay and earth from the open fields, and pierced and dug up the meal, under pretext of searching for arms, and with their dirty feet perfectly spoiled it, to the great loss of the innocent minor." (Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.)

But to particularize individual cases of suffering would be an irksome as well as endless task; it is sufficient to say that the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, shared alike. As however some writers have unfairly stated that "not one whig lost his life during the invasion of these Highland crusaders," (Note to Kirkton by the Editor, p. 391,) we shall instance two deaths among several taken notice of by Wodrow, which were produced by their violence. "William Dickie, merchant in Kilmarnock, had nine Highlanders quartered upon him for six weeks, who had meat and drink and dry quarters. When they went off they robbed his house, from which they carried some sacks full of household stuff and goods; a hose full of silver money; and abused this honest man, broke two ribs in his side, and swore they would cut off his head; and frightened his wife sore, by putting a dirk a little into her side, that she being big with child very soon after died with the terror. This good man's loss was very great, upwards of a thousand merks. (Hist. vol. ii. p. 429.) The other case was that of Lady Houston in Renfrewshire "A party of soldiers had sadly harassed Sir Patrick Hous-

ton's tenants, in his absence at London; yea, such was their rudeness to Dame Anne Hamilton, his lady, that not only the meaner sort, but even Sir George Nicolson who commanded them, threatened her personally to that pitch, that she was obliged to let down the portcullis of the gate to keep them out of the house; but unhappily she found two of her younger sons, William and Archibald, were without the gates; she was so frightened with their threatenings, and the fears of what they might do to the young boys, that she fell into a fever, of which in a few days she died; and her sister Mrs. Grizel Hamilton, daughter to the Lord Bargeny, by waiting upon her, fell into the same distemper and died." But allowing that not one death had been occasioned by these barbarians, no merit is due either to them or to the government. They were prepared and authorized to murder all who offered any resistance. The Covenanters alone therefore prevented bloodshed by patiently submitting to every species of suffering rather than stand upon their own defence. "It was happy for the public peace," says Burnet, "that the people were universally possessed with this opinion," viz. that an insurrection

was eagerly sought; for “when they saw that a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that.” (Burnet’s Hist., vol. ii. p. 721.)

In corroboration of what we have already stated, concerning these plunderers, as well as to give a still further specimen of their depredations, we shall transcribe the following account of their ferocious conduct towards John Nisbet of Hardhill, from the memoirs of his son:—“In the year 1678 there was a great host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the western shires of Scotland; the shire of Ayr was the centre of their encampment or cantonment, where they pillaged, plundered, thieved, and robbed night and day; even the Lord’s day they regarded as little as any other. At their first coming, four of them came to my father’s house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt. They told him they were come to make the whig (so they termed the Presbyterians) to take with God and the king—this they repeated again and again, and pointing to his shoes, they said they would have the brogue off the whig’s foot,

and accordingly laid hands on him; but he being a very strong man, threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitchfork, which was used at the stacking of his corn, and they having their broad swords drawn, cried, Claymore! and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kiln, and chased them all four from the house, and knockd one of them to the ground. The next day about twenty of them came to the house; but he not being at home, they told that they were come to take the whig and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who would not conform to their laws; and such was their thievish disposition, and so well acquaint were they with the *second-sight*, that let people hide their goods never so well, these Athole and Broad-Albians men would go as right to where it was hid, whether beneath or above the ground, as if they had been at the putting of it there, dig it up, and away with it, rejoicing as though it had been their own." (Mem. of James Nisbet, pp. 49, 50.)

The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti became at length so intolerable, that the government itself began to be

ashamed;* and about the end of February the Highlanders were sent home to their native mountains. Their retreat is thus described by Wodrow:—"When the Highlanders went back, one would have thought they had been at the sacking of some besieged town, by their baggage and luggage. They were loaded with spoil: they carried away a great many horses, and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops, whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, some silver plate bearing the names and arms of gentlemen. You would have seen them with loads of bed-clothes, carpets, men and women's wearing clothes, pots, pans, grid-irons, shoes, and other furniture, whereof they had pillaged the country." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 413.)

That the Episcopal clergy had a deep hand in all the cruelties which were inflicted

* Our governors perceiving the west country would not rise in arms (as was hoped), but would continue patient under their tyranny, they began to be ashamed that they had chosen an expedient both ineffectual and odious to the world's end, as it was unparalleled in the history of the world from the beginning. So after the Highlanders had to the utmost tempted the patience of these poor people, though the devouring soldiers wearied not, our council thought good to conclude this cruel expedition." Kirkton, p. 390.

on the Presbyterians, must already have appeared evident, but we shall give here another specimen of the spirit by which they were actuated, as shown in the following letter from the clergy of Ayrshire to the Archbishop of Glasgow :

“ May it please your Grace,

“ If we had received your grace’s answer to our last letter, we possibly could have given your grace a better information of affairs than now we can ; but we thought it our duty to transmit to your grace our humble opinion of several occurrences. 1st, The great and leading men in this country are all gone into Edinburgh, and expect to be sheltered there ; therefore, it is fit they be severely dealt with, sought after, and forced to obedience, otherwise the commonalty, who absolutely depend upon them, will never be brought to conformity. 2dly, The indulged ministers must be stinted of their liberty, and some new tie laid upon them, or they absolutely removed ; for let people say what they will, most of these disorders flow from them. 3dly, That the leading men of this country, now at Edinburgh, be not protected by the council, but taken and sent hither ; for the committee think their credit

highly concerned in it; if after they have been at the pains of prosecuting them this length, the council do protect them, it will be a great discouragement to them in their procedure for the future. 4thly, The garrisons appointed here are but three, and too weakly manned, and they are too far from the heart of the shire, and it will be fit two hundred men be left in garrison at Ayr. This is the humble opinion of your grace's most humble and obedient sons in the Lord." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 411.)

The northern invaders were replaced by the regular troops, who were provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves qualified for carrying these instructions into execution. The noblemen in the west country who had refused the bond were particularly obnoxious to the council, and new measures of persecution were resolved on against these obstinate opposers of their arbitrary measures. Aware of the danger which threatened them, Cassillis, Hamilton, and other twelve noblemen, repaired to London, and, with Athole and Perth, by whom they were joined, fearlessly laid their own grievances

and those of the nation before his majesty. Being supported by the English parliament, who loudly remonstrated against Lauderdale's administration, Charles, with the greatest reluctance, wrote to the council on the 19th of April, "commanding in the mean time that the bond and law burrows be suspended till his further pleasure be sent, and that all the forces, except his own guard, be immediately disbanded." (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 364.)

This favourable letter, which, as we shall afterwards see, was speedily countermanded, together with the disbanding of the army, so encouraged the Covenanters, that meetings in the fields for preaching and hearing the gospel were everywhere increased. Multitudes who had hitherto joined in the defection, disgusted at the tyranny of the persecutors, abandoned their churches and repaired to the mountains to listen to the glad tidings of salvation. The indulged ministers, who had yielded too much to the bishops, were also greatly deserted, the people, as well as the ministers, who had rejected that badge of supremacy, considering it unlawful to hold communion with those whom they reckoned unfaithful to their prin-

principles. The unhappy difference which now took place between the indulged and the non-indulged, ultimately proved almost the ruin of both; (Kirkton, p. 393.) but although we cannot approve of the length to which several of the latter carried their opposition, we must say that they acted the more consistent and conscientious part.

Among the numerous conventicles which were kept this year by the non-indulged, there were two, in particular, concerning which it will be necessary to give some account. One of these was held on the 14th of May, at the house of Williamwood, in Renfrewshire, where Messrs. John Campbell, Matthew Crawford, and several other ministers preached to a vast assemblage. During divine worship they were attacked by the military and dispersed. The ministers escaped, but upwards of sixty of the hearers were seized and imprisoned; and bibles, plaids, and every article of dress on which the soldiers could lay their hands, were violently taken from the rest of the people. The far greater part of the prisoners having refused to take the bond, were conveyed to Edinburgh; and on their declining to inform the council of the names of the

preachers, they received sentence of banishment to the plantations in the West Indies. These individuals, together with Mr. Peden, and several other prisoners, to the number of sixty-seven, were accordingly shipped at Leith, to be transported to the plantations by one Ralph Williamson of London; but on their arrival at Gravesend, Williamson was not to be found, and the master of the vessel refusing to maintain them any longer, they were set ashore, and treated with great kindness by the people. The greater part of them shortly afterwards returned to their native country. (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 476. Howie's Collection.)

The other conventicle was held in the same month at Whitekirk, opposite the Bass, to disperse which, forty soldiers were sent from that garrison by the governor. The people seeming disposed to remain, the soldiers advanced and commanded them in the king's name to dismiss; but were answered by one of the crowd, "that though they honoured the king, they were resolved to hear the word of God when preached to them." One of the soldiers immediately struck the man who had given this reply, upon which the aggressor was, in his turn, knocked down

by a countryman. A skirmish followed, issued in the disarming of the military, and dismissing them to their garrison, carrying with them one of their comrades who was wounded in the scuffle, and who shortly afterwards died. For this affair, James and George Learmont, and William Temple, were tried before the justiciary court on the 11th of September. It was proved that George Learmont and William Temple had weapons at that meeting but made no use of them, and that James Learmont had no weapon, but had uttered the words following:—"Let no cowards be here to-day, and let such as have arms go to the fore-side." (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 375.) The jury having returned a verdict, finding them guilty of being present at conventicles only, Sharpe in a transport of rage, threatened them with an assize of error if they did not amend their verdict, and find the prisoners guilty according to the indictment. On the day following the advocate having deserted the diet against George Learmont, the jury "found William Temple guilty of being at the conventicle libelled, near the place where the man was killed, with a sword under his arm, but not drawn; as also, that James Lear-

mont was not only guilty of presence, but of words, conform to the deposition of witnesses." (Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 478.) This verdict was evidently extorted from the jury by the primate, who always showed the utmost anxiety to persecute to death those who adhered to that religion from which he himself had apostatized. Sentence of death was accordingly passed on Learmont, and Temple was banished to the plantations. According to his sentence, Learmont was executed in the Grassmarket on the 27th of September. "I am come here this day," said he, in his dying speech on the scaffold, "to lay down my life, and I bless the Lord I die with a willing heart and a cheerful mind, as being conscious to myself before God, angels, and men, that I am most innocent of that man's blood, for which I am condemned to die—and that I had neither art nor part in taking of his life, as was proven before the justice court, and the assize declared me not guilty of the foresaid blood; but after the assizers' declaration, some of the lords, thirsting after my blood, unjustly passed sentence to take my life. It was also proved before the justiciary court, that all the weapons I had was only a wand in my hand, and also it was

proved, that when the man was killed, I was at a great distance from the place: only this is all they charge on me, that I should have spoken such words as to provoke the meeting to fall upon the party that came to interrupt the worship of God and to scatter the meeting; yet God is my witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I had no intention for blood, but only for our own defence, being violently pursued, to hinder us in following the service of God upon his own day, and being upon our own just self-defence, and the defence of the gospel.—As for the archbishops, I charge my blood upon them, with all the blood of the innocent sufferers in this cause, which, by their means and their associates, has been shed, and all the other sufferings the covenanted people of the Lord have been put to. (Naph-tali, p. 445. Scots Worthies, p. 185. et seq.)

During the continued and increasing persecution against those who favoured or attended conventicles, Lauderdale, taking advantage of the absence of those noblemen who had repaired to London to complain of the council's tyranny, procured an order from his majesty to call a convention of estates. Accordingly, although Charles had

given orders, in April, to disband the army, yet on the 7th of May he sent a letter to the council highly approving of their conduct, and ordering new troops to be raised in order to complete the work which the Highland host had left unfinished. To maintain these forces the present convention was assembled. Lauderdale, either by corrupting or threatening the electors, procured a return of members entirely devoted to government, who, according to appointment, met on the 26th of June. Having voted a sufficient force of both cavalry and infantry, £1,800,000 Scots were granted for their support, to be raised in five years by a cess of £360,000 Scots, or £30,000 sterling annually. (Burnet, vol. ii. p. 725.) In the preamble to this act they declare, "That it is not fit that this kingdom should only of all others, remain without defence, at a time wherein these dangerous field conventicles, declared by law rendezvouses of rebellion, do still grow in their numbers and insolences, against all which the present forces cannot in reason be thought a suitable security."

This act created a new dispute among the Covenanters. (Hind Let Loose, p. 135.) Not a few of them, especially those who had ac

cepted the indulgence, were inclined to pay the cess, which, as they said, being forced, was on their part involuntary, and urged the example of Christ in paying tribute to Cæsar as a warrant for them to pay the sums demanded. Others, again, argued, that—passing the authority by which this cess was imposed being not a *free* convention—however lawful it was to pay tribute to a heathen magistrate, it was quite different to take an active part in supplying a tyrannical government with the means to annihilate the gospel and persecute its adherents in a country professedly Christian. Would Christ, it was asked, have wrought a miracle to pay cess if the tax-gatherer had demanded it for the support of idolatrous worship and the destruction of the cause of God? Which of

* “I ask,” says M^r Ward, “if our convention had asked a cess for a sacrifice to the devil charging every man to bring in his proportion—will any man say I should pay my proportion laid on, because of the moral force of the law?—or suppose that all these, or any of the faithful ambassadors of Christ, who have been remarkably owned of him in their administrations as his ministers, should fall into the hands of the hunters, and that they should make a law, appointing every man in the nation to send in thread to make tow to hang these ministers or these people who company with Christ’s ambassadors, and a farthing to pay the executioner;—could any man without horror, if complying in so far as to contribute what was demanded, think himself free? Tracts, pp. 240, 241.

the contending parties acted most agreeably to their principles we leave the reader to judge, keeping always in mind that this cess was levied for the express purpose of maintaining a standing army to suppress the preaching of the gospel by ministers, who were non-indulged.

But not only was this question a new cause of dissension among the Covenanters; it proved the source of innumerable sufferings to the nation at large. The levying of the cess was entrusted to men who executed their commission with a severity at which humanity recoils; the military enforced the disgraceful laws now in force at the point of the sword; conventicles were every where hunted down, and their abettors fined, quartered upon, plundered, and imprisoned; and to add to the distress of the nation, additional forces were raised in November, by whom the dismal scenes so lately exhibited by the barbarous Highlanders were much more than revived.

CHAPTER X.

New measures resorted to for destroying the Covenanters—extensive powers conferred on the military—their barbarities—conventicles assume a warlike attitude—hoax on the town major of Edinburgh—prosecution of Mr. William Veitch—his narrow escape—Earl of Shaftesbury's speech in the English parliament—dreadful cruelties committed on the Covenanters—violent act against conventicles—the Presbyterians driven almost to despair—a party of them form a plot against Carmichael—they accidentally fall in with Archbishop Sharpe, and resolve to take away his life—death of the primate—the Covenanters vindicated from approving of assassination—murder of Andrew Ayton of Inchdairnie—reflections.

THE year 1679 commenced with still more dreadful enactments against the Covenanters. All the sufferings indeed to which they had been hitherto exposed, were trifling in comparison to those which from this period were carried on for nine years with a barbarity that has no parallel except in the proceedings of the apostate church of Rome.

Various consultations had taken place in the council towards the close of the preceding year respecting the suppression of conventicles, the regulating of the forces, and the collecting of the cess. The following "overtures," which were drawn up by the committee for public affairs on the 9th of January, and submitted to Charles for his appro-

bation, were the result of these deliberations:—That the council be empowered to appoint sheriff-deputies and other officers to enforce the laws against intercommuned ministers, supporters of conventicles, and all who absent themselves from their own parish churches: that the military be commanded to disperse all meetings at conventicles by force of arms, and be indemnified for killing, wounding, &c., any who make resistance, or who refuse to dismiss when commanded to do so in the king's name: that the soldiers be enjoined to seize and imprison the preacher and as many of the hearers as possible; but, it is added, “in regard the multitudes who frequent those rendezvouses of rebellion are such as they cannot all be seized, nor probation easily led against them, the soldiers be empowered to take from the rest of the persons found thereat whom they cannot conveniently carry to prison—their upper garments, that the same might be a means of conviction, and an evidence against them. and that the soldiers be empowered to take all the arms that any persons shall be found to have at these seditious meetings, and the horses of any that shall have arms:” that none be allowed to enter into the second class

in colleges, or received as apprentices, who will not bind themselves to attend the church: that the laws compelling those in places of public trust to subscribe the declaration be put strictly in force: that rewards be offered of five hundred pounds sterling for the apprehension of Mr. Welsh, three thousand merks for any intercommuned minister, and nine hundred merks for any other "vagrant" preacher: and that the indulged ministers, who act contrary to the orders of the council, be punished, and the vacancies occasioned by the death or ejection of any of them be supplied by "orthodox" ministers. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 11.)

These overtures, being highly approved of by his majesty, were, by the council, turned into an act, and immediately put into execution. The newly levied forces were ordered to march to the west country—one detachment to lie at Glasgow, to prevent house or field conventicles in that city or the neighbouring country; and the remainder to be dispersed through the different counties in the south and west. So extensive were the powers of these military apostles, that if a few individuals only were seen in the open fields, they were to be apprehended and im-

prisoned until they gave bond, under certain penalties that they would attend their churches and never countenance a conventicle. Search was to be made for all who resorted to field meetings, whether ministers or hearers, and those who offered any resistance were to be killed on the spot. Horses and arms were to be seized, doors and lock-fast places broken open, to search for suspected persons, and any house in the country was to be used as a garrison when occasion required. (Crookshank, vol. i. p. 385.)

Being thus instructed, and furnished with ammunition sufficient to destroy the whole western counties, the forces arrived at their respective destinations in the beginning of March. The dissensions among the Covenanters regarding the payment of the cess were now summarily quashed by these armed reformers, who not only enforced payment of the sums demanded, but plundered and destroyed every thing valuable on which they could lay their avaricious hands. Under colour of searching for outlaws, the most atrocious deeds were committed in almost every dwelling; and intercommuned persons who fell into their hands were used with the greatest cruelty and thrown into prison.

Banishment either to the Bass or to the plantations proved a summary method of getting rid of many of the obnoxious whigs. Oaths were tendered to shepherds and labourers, obliging them to say whether they had seen or heard of any conventicles in their neighbourhood; the produce of the ground was deliberately destroyed; and many years' labour of the industrious and unoffending peasantry wantonly committed to the flames. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 17.) Such were the means employed to make converts to Prelacy!

Oppressed, persecuted, and hunted down in every quarter, the Covenanters were compelled to unite their meetings, and assemble for public worship in numbers sufficient to withstand an assault from the military. Every conventicle, therefore now assumed the appearance of an army; watches were set at regular distances to give the alarm on the approach of the enemy; and armed guards were placed around the congregation to assist or defend their brethren in case of attack. The warlike attitude which these meetings now assumed, though the Covenanters acted strictly on the defensive, has been condemned by many writers in terms most unsparing. But was it a crime, we

would ask, to refuse to abandon their religion at the mandates of an atheistical junto, who were not fit for governing even a colony of felons? Were they to blame for attending public worship in fields or on mountains, when their persecutors had closed every door against them? Or, does their guilt consist in not patiently submitting to be butchered in cold blood by a brutal soldiery? No; but "they should not have defended themselves with carnal weapons." Then, they must either have embraced Prelacy, or consented to be put to death or banished to the plantations, as their persecutors, in the plenitude of their power, thought proper. But they did neither, and it is well for us at the present day that they were endowed with another spirit. They never would have lifted a weapon against their tormentors had they not been forced to do so in their own defence; and neither the law of God nor of nature prohibits self preservation; for the same command that forbids the taking away of another's life, enjoins all lawful endeavours to preserve our own.* If *they* are to

* It has been often alleged, that the command of Christ is, "when they persecute you in one city, flee into another." But what were the Covenanters to do when they had no city to which to fly? Every city was alike a

be blamed for repelling the assaults of the savage military, so may the Protestants in Germany who entered into the League of Smalcald, and the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland at the period of the Reformation.

The cruelty of the military having forced many of the non-conforming ministers to repair to Edinburgh, diligent search was ordered to be made throughout that city for all who kept or supported conventicles. The chief agent in this persecution was Johnston, the town major, who daily harassed and oppressed the citizens, under pretext of searching for these proscribed meetings. Enraged at his tyrannical proceedings, a few of the inhabitants determined to check his temerity, by inflicting on him a slight corporal punishment. With this view they sent notice to him that a conventicle was to be held in a certain house, giving him the precise hour of meeting. With the greatest alacrity he repaired to the spot at the time appointed; but instead of a conventicle, he found only a few individuals quietly seated in the room. Immediately on his entrance, however, he

scene of cruelty, and no man was allowed to leave the kingdom lest he should find refuge abroad.

was seized and after receiving a sound drubbing, was compelled to promise that he would abstain, in time coming, from hunting after conventicles.

This hoax was magnified by the council into a premeditated attempt at assassination. The parties implicated, together with Mrs. Crawford, the landlady, shifted for themselves; but the house was broken up next day and plundered; and, "to find out the persons who had offered such an affront to their major, so useful a servant, not only to the town of Edinburgh, but to the prelates and their interest," diligent search was ordered to be made for the offenders throughout the city. Disappointed, however, of their prey, the council issued the following proclamation, dated 12th March, against all the Presbyterian ministers who had taken refuge in Edinburgh:—"The lords of his majesty's privy council have thought fit, hereby to require and command the magistrates of Edinburgh, presently to take up a list of the men and women betwixt sixty and sixteen, and to deliver the same in to the council or their committee—and to take up lists of the names and designations of the hale persons that are or shall be lodged in

the city of Edinburgh, each night—under the penalty of an hundred merks for each person's name who shall not be delivered up. And further, the said lords do hereby require and command the magistrates to turn out the wives and families of all outed ministers, fugitive and vagrant preachers, and inter-communed persons, forth of the city of Edinburgh—under the penalty of an hundred pounds sterling." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 32.) "Notwithstanding this rigour," says Blackader, "few ministers went off the town, but retired to more private houses, and hid themselves for a season." (Memoirs, p. 229.)

Among the numerous prosecutions of ministers, which took place in the beginning of this year, we shall notice only that of Mr. William Veitch, who had been forfeited in absence for his alleged accession to the affair of Pentland. He immediately afterwards retired to England, where, having changed his name to that of Johnston, he remained preaching mostly in private, till January, 1679, when he was seized and sent down to Scotland for trial. Being called, on the 22nd of February, before a committee of council, at which Sharpe presided, Patterson, bishop of Edinburgh, acted the part of inquisitor.

“Have you taken the covenant?” inquired Patterson. “*A.* All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the covenant when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it. *Q.* But did you never take the covenant since? *A.* I judge myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it. *Q.* But, were you not at Pentland fight? *A.* If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was in Edinburgh the night before and that day.” Although from his long residence in England, Mr. Veitch was now considered a subject of that kingdom, the privy council having received authority from the king, determined to indict him before the justiciary court. Perceiving that his death was determined on, he prevailed with Gilbert Elliot, an intimate friend, to repair to London, and lay his case before several of the members of Parliament. The Earl of Shaftesbury, on receiving notice of the intended trial, advised Elliot “to print an abstract of Mr. Veitch’s case, that he was seized in England, and, without any fault, after near thirteen years’ abode there, carried down to Scotland, to be judged for old

alleged crimes, and to give a copy of the case to the members of parliament of both houses." With this advice Elliot immediately complied; and the parliament was prevented from instituting an inquiry into the prosecution of an English subject in a different kingdom, only by the following letter from Charles to the privy council of Scotland:—"Whereas, it is now humbly represented to his majesty, that Mr. William Veitch was not actually present at the fight at Pentland, and having retired timeously from the rebels, hath ever since lived peaceably in his majesty's kingdom of England; and his majesty being graciously pleased to encourage those that repent for their accession to such rebellious courses, hath therefore ordained, and by the said letter authorized and required his privy council, to set the said Mr. William Veitch at liberty, he always enacting himself to remove forth of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and not return to the same; and that his majesty's said letter shall be his security until he return to that his said kingdom." This letter arrived only an hour before sentence of death was to have been pronounced on Mr. Veitch; but though proceedings were stopped against

him, he still remained in prison. (M'Crie's Life of Veitch, pp. 94—102. Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 7—9.)

The tyrannical measures of the administration in Scotland were indeed so glaring, that several of the members of the English parliament loudly remonstrated against them, as tending to re-establish popery and despotism in both kingdoms. "Popery and slavery," said the Earl of Shaftesbury in the house of lords, "like two sisters go hand in hand. In England, popery was to bring in slavery, in Scotland, slavery was to go before, and popery was to follow. I do not think that your lordships, or the parliament, have jurisdiction there. It is a noble and ancient kingdom; they have an illustrious nobility, a gallant gentry, &c., but we cannot think on England as we ought, without reflecting on the condition they are in. They are under the same prince, and the influence of the same favourite and counsels, and are hardly dealt with. Can we that are richer expect better usage? Can we expect to enjoy our magna charta long, under the same persons and administration of affairs? If the council-table there can imprison any nobleman or gentleman for several years, with-

out bringing him to a trial, or giving the least reason for what they do, can we expect the same will ever preserve the liberties of the subjects here? I will acknowledge I am not versed in the particular laws of Scotland; but this I know, that all northern countries have, by their laws, an undoubted inviolable right to their liberties and properties; yet Scotland hath outdone all the eastern and southern countries, in having their lives, liberties, and estates subjected to the arbitrary will and pleasure of those that govern. They (the council) have lately plundered the richest and best counties of that kingdom, by having brought down the barbarous Highlanders to devour them, and all this without any colourable pretence; nor can there be found out a reason of state for what they have done, but that their wicked ministers designed to procure a rebellion at any rate; which, as they managed it, was only prevented by the miraculous hand of God. My lords, I am forced to speak this the plainer, because, till the pressure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, it is not possible for me or any thinking man, to believe that good is meant us here." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 28.) Though much sympathy,

however, was expressed by several members of the English parliament, no effort was made by them to obtain for the Presbyterians any mitigation of their sufferings. On the contrary, they were allowed to remain at the mercy of their persecutors, till, driven to desperation, they made a bold but fruitless effort to effect a deliverance for themselves.

We cannot enter into a detail of the horrid cruelties which were now committed on the Covenanters by the council, and in perpetrating which they were not a little aided by the Episcopal clergy. The Presbyterians were betrayed, insulted, harassed, pillaged, and in short treated like beasts rather than reasonable creatures. Many of them were driven from their houses, and forced to betake themselves to solitary moors and mosses, and inaccessible ravines, where, without shelter, fire, or food, they endured miseries which may be conceived, though they cannot be described. "Wherever they turned," says Crichton in his *Memoirs of Blackader*, "they beheld objects calculated to incite and exasperate their passions. They could not go where their eyes did not encounter some revolting spectacle, some monument of cru-

elty. They saw themselves driven from the habitations of men, as enemies of human kind—liable to be seized or shot at the pleasure of the meanest sentinel, and without regard to law or humanity. They saw their houses plundered and tenantless—their families flying from hill to hill, enduring the extremities of hunger and cold—the mangled limbs of their relations exhibited to public scorn, and stuck on poles and gates—the ghastly trophies of bloody foes. Those heads and hands, which their enemies, in derision, had fixed in the mock attitude of prayer, seemed in their eyes to be pleading with heaven for retribution, and crying for vengeance to expiate their blood. They saw their own lives in continual jeopardy, and knew not but every moment the assassin might be at their door—that every spot of ground they trod might be their scaffold and their sepulchre.” (Memoirs, pp. 236, 237.)

“Yes—though the sceptic’s tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died,—
Though modern history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dared alone be free,
Amidst a nation’s slavery;—
Yet long for them the poet’s lyre
Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire;

Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand,
Upraised to save a sinking land;
And piety shall learn to burn
With holier transports o'er their urn.*

Nay, so low did the tyrants stoop, that even the dead bodies of the Covenanters were not suffered to be decently interred. We have a remarkable instance of this in the case of Mr. James Wellwood, an intercommuned minister, who died at Perth in the beginning of April. No sooner did the report of his death reach the ears of the magistrates of that town, than they arrested his body, and ordered the militia to be raised. After much solicitation, the magistrates at length *condescended* to allow the relatives to inter the body in some place without their jurisdiction; but such of the inhabitants as accompanied the funeral, were apprehended and committed to prison.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the authorities, both civil and military, many conventicles were kept throughout the country. One, in particular, which was held in the parish of Lesmahago on the 30th of March, proved the cause of much suffering to the

* Epistle to R. S. inserted in the Poetic Mirror for 1816, supposed to have been written by Sir Walter Scott.

people in Lanarkshire. A party of the military having been sent to disperse this meeting, a scuffle ensued, in which the Covenanters proved victorious, and the assailants were compelled to retire in disgrace. This, together with the murder of two soldiers at Loudon Hill by government spies,* which, most unjustly, was laid to the charge of the Presbyterians, furnished the council with a new excuse for inflicting greater cruelties on the Covenanters throughout the length and breadth of the land.

As a specimen of the violent acts of the council against conventicles, we shall transcribe the following:—"The lords of his majesty's privy council, considering that it is notour that there is a party who continue in arms, and follow Welsh, Cameron, and some other of their accomplices, at their several conventicles, do therefore give warrant to the Earl of Linlithgow, major-general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, to order a commanded party of his majesty's forces, horse, foot, and dragoons, to pros-

* Wodrow has satisfactorily shown that this murder was committed by none of the Covenanters, but by a tinker of the name of Scarlet, who had formerly been in the troop of horse commanded by Carstairs. Hist., vol. iii. p. 37.

ecute and follow that party into whatsoever place Welsh, Cameron, Kid, or Douglas keep field conventicles, or any other whom that standing party follows; with power to the commander of that party to give money for intelligence where those conventicles are appointed, that thereby they may be liable to seize and apprehend such as shall be found at the said conventicles; and in case of resistance, to pursue them to the death; declaring the said officers and soldiers shall not be called in question therefor civilly or criminally." (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 39.)

This act requires no comment. But the laws of the council were not more infamous than was their conduct. To be religious was to be a fanatic; and nothing could so effectually convince these *upright* judges of the anti-fanaticism of the accused, than a profane or profligate expression. The following circumstance will fully corroborate this statement. The parish of Wiston, in Clydesdale, having become vacant, a very unpopular candidate was presented; but on the day of his admission, the people chased the curate and his company from the church. A lady in the parish, who was suspected of having instigated the tumult, was summoned before

the council. When she appeared at the bar, and her libel had been read over, the chancellor asked her if the charges were true; to which she replied, "The devil one word is true in them." The lords stared on each other, and after a short pause, the chancellor told her that her cause was adjourned to a future day; but she was never more troubled. "Such virtue," says Kirkton, "there was in a short curse fully to satisfie such governours; and many thought it good policy to demonstrate themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicate themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being Presbyterians." (Kirkton's MS. History.)

Among the numerous agents of the prelates and council, none were more oppressive and cruel than William Carmichael, sheriff-depute of Fife, who acted under the eye and at the instigation of Sharpe. For several months he had carried on a furious persecution in that county against all whom he suspected to be favourable to Presbytery. Many of the heritors were intercommuned, their estates forfeited, and their wives and children tortured by means of burning matches, to extort from them a discovery of the places in which their husbands or fathers lay concealed. The brutality of this monster in

short was such, that nine of those heritors* resolved to inflict upon him an exemplary punishment as a warning to his brethren in iniquity, and the 3d of May was fixed upon for carrying their resolution into effect. Carmichael had devoted that day to hunting, but on receiving a hint that a plot was forming against him, he hastily abandoned his sport and returned home.†

The party having searched in vain for Carmichael till the middle of the day, were

* Russell mentions twelve, viz. David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleming, Andrew and Alexander Henderson, William Daniel, James, Alexander, and George Balfour of Gilston, Thomas Ness, and Andrew Guillon. Of these, three seem to have left them in the morning. Kirkton, pp. 412—414.

† The following more particular statement of Carmichael's cruelties is copied from the original MS. account of Sharpe's death; "Mr. William Carmichell, some tymes merchant bailzie in Ed^r having spent all he had w^t harlots and in riotous living, gave in his very humble petition to Bishop Sharp, to be made sheriff-dep^t of fyffe; whose petition was accordingly granted, and instructions and orders given to him, to summond, fyne, imprison, punde, spoyle, and unlaw for absence, &c.: he not being content w^t the rigirous extent of his commission, tho y^t he should ingratiat himself mor in the Bishop's favors yn any oyr^s had or could do; and yrfor, he not only fyned, imprisoned, poyndit, plundered, &c. but lykwayes caused fix fired matches betwixt servants fingers yt they might discover qr ther m^{ns} were hyd; he caused beat and wound severall women and children and servants, and do many oyr insolences qch were to tidious and lamentable to relait."

on the eve of separating, when a boy informed them that Archbishop Sharpe was at Ceres, and would soon be at Blebo-hole, not far from the place, where they were assembled. This unexpected information struck them with the greatest surprise, and one of them, exclaiming, "It seems he is delivered into our hands," proposed to take away the life of "this arch-enemy and fountain of all their woe." This proposition was opposed by Hackston of Rathillet only, who insisted that a matter of so much importance to both church and state ought to be the subject of greater consideration. Finding them however to be inflexible, he yielded so far as to accompany them, but decidedly refused to be their leader, alleging that having a private quarrel with the primate, he could not in conscience take an active part in their present proceedings. They accordingly rode forward to Magus moor, about two miles from St. Andrews, where they descried the bishop's coach. One of the party casting away his cloak, instantly pursued, and overtaking the carriage, cried, "Judas be taken!" The only answer which Sharpe returned was a vehement and reiterated cry to the postilion to "drive!" In vain did the postilion

endeavour, by renewed exertion, to obey the command of his master; one of the pursuers outriding the coach, cut the traces and dismounted the servants, leaving the primate at the mercy of his enemies.

The whole party being now come up, Balfour of Kinlock ordered Sharpe to come out, that his daughter, who was with him in the carriage, might receive no injury. Refusing to comply with this order, several shots were fired at the coach, which not taking effect, Balfour reiterated his command. Trembling for his life, the bishop earnestly cried for mercy, to which Balfour replied, "I take God to witness, whose cause I desire to own in adhering to the persecuted gospel, that it is not out of any hatred to your person, nor from any prejudice you have done or could do to me, that I intend to take your life, but because you have been, and still continue to be an avowed opposer of the gospel and kingdom of Christ, and a murderer of his saints, whose blood you have shed like water." Another of the party having cried, "Repent, Judas, and come out," Sharpe vehemently exclaimed, "Gentlemen, save my life, and I will save yours." "I know," replied the leader, "it is not in your power

either to save us or to kill us; I again declare, it is not any particular quarrel I have at you which thus moves me to this attempt, but because you are an enemy to Christ and his interest, and have wrung your hands in the blood of the saints, not only after Pentland, but several times since, and particularly for your perjury and shedding the blood of James Mitchell, and having a hand in the death of James Learmont, and your perfidious betraying of the church of Scotland: these crimes, and that blood, cry with a loud voice to heaven for vengeance, and we are this day to execute it."

As a last resource, the primate offered them a sum of money; but he was answered with the words of Peter to Simon the sorcerer, "Thy money perish with thee," and an exhortation to prepare for judgment and eternity. The bishop still refusing to come forth, one of the assassins cried, "Seeing there have been so many lives unjustly taken by him, for which there is not the least shadow of repentance, we will not be innocent if any more be taken that way." Finding all their orders to him to leave the carriage to be ineffectual, another shot was fired; upon which the primate came out,

crying, "for God's sake to save his life, and he would lay down his Episcopal functions." But all his entreaties were in vain. Refusing to make any other preparation for death but the repeated cry for mercy,* the assassins fired and wounded him in several places of his body. Believing him to be dead they were preparing to retire, when one of them overhearing his daughter say, "Oh there is life in him yet," they returned and despatched him with their swords.† They then disarmed the servants, and carried off their arms, together with the bishop's papers:

* In the account published by authority, Sharpe is represented as having acted in the most pious manner. From the uniform character of the man the reader is left to judge which of the accounts seems to be most consistent with truth.

† It is very singular that the manner of the bishop's death has been generally alluded to by historians as a literal interpretation of his dream, while a student at the university. The dream was shortly this: at that period, when lying in bed with a fellow student, "he fell into a loud laughter in his sleep, and being awakened by his bed-fellow, who asked him what he laughed so much for? replied, that he had dreamed that the Earl of Crawford had made him parson of Crail. Again, in another night, he laughed in his sleep still more loudly; when being awakened in like manner, he said he had dreamed he was in paradise, as the king had made him archbishop of St. Andrews. Lastly, he dreamed a third time, and was in great agony, crying bitterly, when being awakened as formerly, he said, he was dreaming a very sad dream, that he was driving in a coach to hell, and that very fast." See Kirkton, p. 82.

Among these papers were the following :
 “ A gift of non-entries of several gentlemen’s estates in Fife and elsewhere, to Alexander Leslie of Kinninvie, with instructions and informations how to prosecute, in order to the eviction of the lands; the patent of the bishopric of Dunkeld in favour of Mr. Andrew Bruce, archdeacon of St. Andrews: several presentations of curates to churches by the king; instructions to conjunct deputies, and new gifts of the heritor’s fines; a paper concerning the establishing of popery; and several missives.”* Although all this took place at mid-day, in a country full of military, yet they received no interruption. Mounting their horses, they deliberately rode off to a place about four miles distant, where they remained till the evening examining the bishop’s papers, and then separated.†

Thus perished Archbishop Sharpe, whose

* It may be amusing to notice the following curious story of the *humble bee*, as related by those who were present: “ They,” the assassins, “ took nothing from the bishop but his tobacco box and a few papers. With these they went to a barn near by. Upon the opening of the tobacco box a living *humming-bee* flew out. This either Rathillet or Balfour called his familiar; and some in the company, not understanding the term, they explained it to be a devil!” Sharp’s Kirkton, p. 421.

† Original MS. account of the Archbishop’s death. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 49. Mem. of Veitch, p. 105.

death, it is evident from the preceding narrative, was quite unpremeditated, and was the result of his own perfidy and cruelty. But though the primate evidently deserved to die, in a legal manner, the death of a murderer, we can by no means admit the principle that private individuals may execute the law at their own hand. The assassination of Sharpe we therefore unhesitatingly pronounce to be quite unwarrantable, and as such it was viewed by the great body of the Presbyterians at that very time.* It is consequently both unfair and ungenerous to charge the Covenanters in general with the crime of which the assassins alone were guilty. It is true that many of them afterwards, when inquisitorially interrogated by military men or judges, refused to pronounce the bishop's death to be murder. But it will not follow that they either justified or approved of his assassination. Such illegal and ensnaring questions were resisted, to use the words of an eminent writer, "as an in-

* We are aware that *individuals* did uphold the lawfulness of taking away the life of a cruel tyrant whom no law could reach—(see Shield's *Hind Let Loose*)—but these sentiments were not held by the Covenanters in general, their principles being directly opposed to any such doctrine.

fringement of their liberties, inconsistent with the principles of justice, and obliging them judicially to disclose their private sentiments, and to pronounce sentence on the conduct of others." (M'Crie's Review of Tales of My Landlord, p. 158.)

We must say, however, that while the assassination of Sharpe is to be condemned, so ought other murders equally, if not much more atrocious. His death has so completely occupied the attention, and furnished materials for the pens of writers on the side of Episcopacy, that they find no room for the account of the murder of Andrew Ayton, younger of Inchdairnie, which was committed on that very day in the same county. This young gentleman had been intercommunicated when only seventeen years of age, for his adherence to Presbyterian principles. Having visited his father that day, he was returning to Auchtermuchty, when he observed a party of dragoons advancing, whom wishing to avoid, he turned his horse and rode quickly off in another direction. One of the dragoons immediately pursued, and without asking him a single question, shot him through the body. With great difficulty he reached the next house, where he obtain-

ed a bed, and a servant was despatched to Cupar for a surgeon. But instead of a medical man being allowed to attend the dying youth, a party of the military was despatched to convey him to Cupar. In vain did his relative Sir John Ayton remonstrate against removing him at present, or even offer bail for his appearance when required: he was set on horseback, hurried away that night, and died the following day at twelve o'clock. (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 56.)

Atrocities like these—and this is but one instance of many—may be passed over by those who can make every apology for the oppressors, but none for the oppressed; but if retaliation be condemned on the one side it ought not to be justified on the other. The mere circumstance of wearing the livery of a tyrant can never cancel the guilt of those numerous murders which at that very period were committed on those whose only crime consisted in their refusing to abjure the faith of their fathers. The following are the reflections of that judicious historian Aikman on this subject:—"If, under such circumstances, retaliation were threatened, and sometimes justified, it would be difficult to point out any law of nature or of God, by

which moral guilt could be attached to the private avenger of blood, in a nation where assassination was sanctioned by statute, where hospitality was a capital crime, and common courtesy punishable by death;—where to petition was treason, where to talk of legal redress was the certain road to a jail, and to utter a complaint was, in the phrase of the country, to sign one's own banishment. Yet I do not know that the wildest Covenanters ever attempted to justify the execution of righteous judgment by private men, on any other grounds than extreme necessity, which forced them to fall upon such expedients to prevent their utter extermination, or that they ever extenuated such extremities by any other plea than that of oppression, which, inspiration itself saith, maketh a wise man mad." (Aikman's Hist. vol. iv. p. 632.) Let it be kept in mind, however, that even oppression, though it may cause a temporary aberration, does not convert a wise man into a madman.

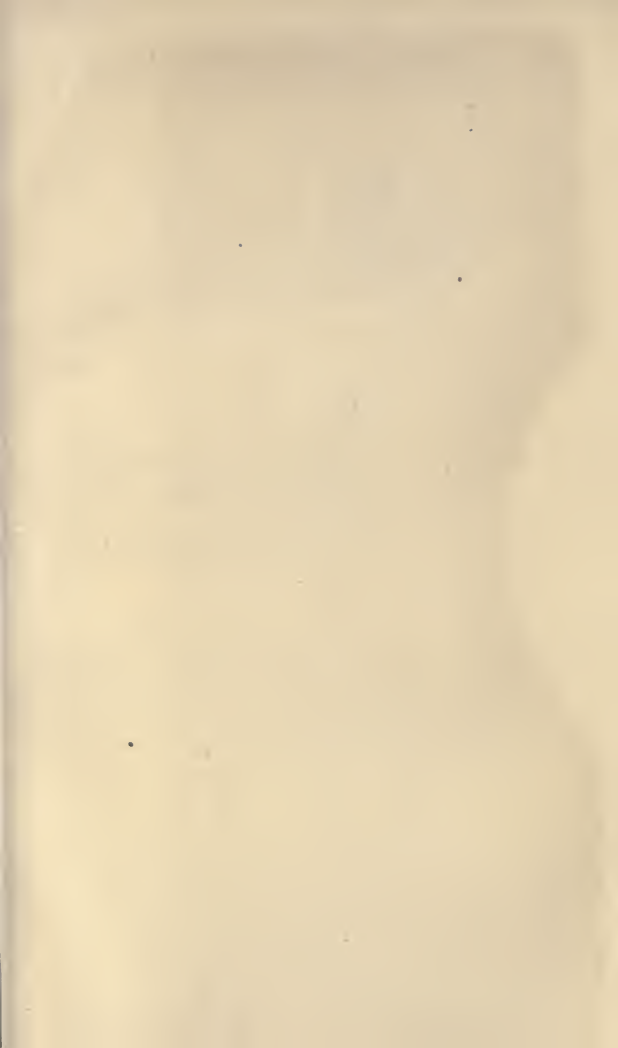
The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be clearly documented and supported by appropriate evidence. This includes receipts, invoices, and other relevant documents that can be used to verify the information recorded.

Furthermore, the document highlights the need for regular audits and reviews. By conducting periodic checks, any discrepancies or errors can be identified and corrected promptly. This not only ensures the integrity of the data but also helps in identifying areas for improvement and optimizing the overall process.

In addition, the document stresses the importance of transparency and accountability. All stakeholders involved in the process should have access to the necessary information and be held responsible for their actions. This fosters a culture of trust and ensures that everyone is working towards the same goals.

Finally, the document concludes by reiterating the significance of consistent and accurate record-keeping. It serves as a foundation for informed decision-making and is essential for the long-term success and sustainability of any organization.











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Author [Sime, William.]

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