CHAP. IV.

JAMES THE SIXTH.

1594—1597.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*	*Pope.*
Elizabeth.	Henry IV.	Rudolph II.	Philip II.	Philip II.	Clement VIII.

JAMES had now fulfilled all his promises to Elizabeth; and by the severity with which he had put down the rebellion of the Catholic earls, had more than fulfilled the expectations of the Kirk. The castles and houses which were said to have been polluted by the Mass, were smoking and in ruins;[1] the noblemen and gentry, whose only petition had been, that they should be permitted to retain their estates, and have their rents transmitted to them in the banishment which they had chosen rather than renounce the faith of their fathers, were fugitives and wanderers, hiding in the caves and forests, and dreading every hour to be betrayed into the hands of their enemies.[2] All this had been accomplished at no little personal risk: for the King was surrounded by perpetual plots

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir R. Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 28th September, 1594.

[2] MS. St. P. Off., Bowes, 29th October, 1594.

against his liberty, and sometimes even against his life.[1] He had cheerfully undergone great privations: had impoverished his revenue, incurred heavy debts, and imposed burdens upon his subjects, that he might, by one great effort, extinguish the Catholic faith, destroy the hopes and intrigues of Spain, and relieve the Queen of England from all her fears. He had done this, trusting to her promises of that pecuniary aid which was absolutely necessary for the payment of his troops; and before he set out, had despatched his secretary, Sir Robert Cockburn, to the English Court,[2] with the perfect confidence that everything which had been undertaken by "his good sister" would be fulfilled.

In this, however, he was miserably disappointed. Whilst the King was engaged in burning and razing the houses of the Catholics, Elizabeth and the now venerable Burghley were closeted at Greenwich, laying their heads together to find out some plausible excuse for stopping the payment of the promised supplies. Cockburn, the Ambassador, was artfully detained and delayed from week to week, and month to month, till the result of the campaign could be guessed with some certainty. When this was ascertained, the sum of two thousand pounds, for which an order had been given, was recalled;[3] and a paper was drawn up by

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 7th Oct., 1594. Also, Ibid., Occurrents, 8th Nov., 1594, and 16th Nov., 1594.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir R. Cockburn to Sir R. Cecil, 16th September, 1594.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir R. Bowes to Burghley, 23d Oct., 1594.

Lord Burghley, detailing the sums paid by England to James since the year 1586, and proving, to the perfect satisfaction of Elizabeth if not of James, that instead of any money being then due to the King of Scotland, he had been overpaid to the extent of six thousand five hundred pounds.[1] This, the Queen added, was at the rate of three thousand pounds a-year; which James could hardly complain of, as it was the exact allowance given both to her sister Mary and herself by their father Henry the Eighth: and yet the Scottish King now pretended that she had promised an annuity of four thousand pounds; which she positively denied.

For this unwise and double conduct in the Queen there could be no defence. She had first excited James to this northern expedition by flattery and large promises of support; she now forgot all, and deserted him without scruple or remorse. Such a mode of proceeding roused his passion to a pitch of unusual fury; and when Sir R. Cockburn returned, the storm broke pitilessly on his head. The King, at the same time, expressed, in no moderate terms, his rage and suspicion against Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil, by whose advice Elizabeth had acted; and some busy courtiers blew the coals, by assuring him that both father and son were involved in the intrigues and treasons of Bothwell. Had the Queen kept her promises, (so he said;) had she not thrown to the winds her solemn assurances made him by her Ambassadors Lord Burgh and Lord Zouch, the land would have

[1] MS. St. P. Off. B.C., Scottish payments, 5th Nov., 1594. The indorsation is in Burghley's hand.

been utterly purged of the enemies to God, religion, and both the countries. But now matters might proceed as they pleased. If the enemy revived; if they began again to look confidently for Spanish money, and Spanish messengers; if recruits were raised in the Isles to assist the Catholics and O'Neill in Ireland; if the rebel earls and Bothwell had met together as they were reported to have done; if, in his own Council, plots were being carried on in favour of the Catholics, and his own life was not safe from the efforts of desperate men, who had conspired to set up the young Prince, and pull him from his royal seat: all these manifold dangers and miseries were to be ascribed most justly to his desertion by Elizabeth. He had performed his part, and more than redeemed all the pledges which he had given. She had not only failed in all her promises, but now had the hardihood to disavow them; and she might take the consequences. If he was himself compelled to look to other friendships, and accept of other offers of assistance contrary to his own wishes; if the members of his Council, who were inclined to the Catholic side, had now more to say than before; if at the moment when Spanish intrigues were about to be extinguished for ever, he was arrested in his course; all was her fault, not his.[1] He must now strengthen himself as he best could, and place no more implicit reliance upon English promises.

It was impossible to deny the justice of these com-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir R. Cockburn to Sir R. Bowes, 12th Dec., 1594.

plaints; and although for the moment all was quiet in the North under the government of the Duke of Lennox, there were many subjects for anxiety. The King's debts were enormous, and more money still was imperiously required to pay his troops and retain the advantages he had acquired. His late severities to the Catholic earls, and his alliance with the Kirk, the ministers of which now lauded as highly as they had vituperated him, had lost him the friendship of all his foreign allies, and of the influential body of the English Catholics; and within his own Court and Council there were so many rivalries and jealousies, so much plotting and intriguing, that, on his return, he found the campaign in the North almost less irksome than the civil battles he had to fight in his own palace. The great struggle was between the Lord Chancellor Thirlstane and the Earl of Mar. Thirlstane's faction was strong; embracing Hamilton, Athol, Hume, Buccleugh, Ogilvy, and many others. Mar, on the other hand, had the keeping of the Prince, commanded the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, and enjoyed the complete confidence of the King, who had become somewhat suspicious and impatient under the grasping and increasing power of the Chancellor.

But James had another and nearer source of anxiety in the Queen, who was equally the enemy of Mar and Thirlstane. This Princess, for a considerable period after her marriage, appears to have shunned all interference with party or public affairs; but she was jealous of Thirlstane, who had opposed her marriage,

and was said to have secretly attacked her honour; and of Mar, because her son, the young heir to the throne, had been committed in charge to him rather than to her. Besides, she and the King, though outwardly living on fair and decent terms, were neither loving nor confidential. James' cold temperament and coarse jokes disgusted the Queen, who was not insensible to admiration; and she consoled herself, for the desertion of her lord, in the more attractive society of the young Duke of Lennox, the noblest of the Scottish courtiers. This, on the other hand, roused the royal jealousy; and about the time of the christening, Mr John Colvil assured Sir Robert Cecil, whom he calls his most honourable lord and Mæcenas, that matters were on a very miserable footing, He writes as follows:—

"These few lines I thought meet only to put in your hands, to go no further but to her Majesty, and your most honourable father my special good lord. It is certain that the King has conceived a great jealousy of the Queen, which burns the more the more he covers it. The Duke is the principal suspected. The Chancellor casts in materials to this fire. The Queen is forewarned; but with the like cunning will not excuse, till she be accused. '*Haec sunt incendia malorum;*' and the end can be no less tragical nor was betwixt his parents. The President of the Session, called the Prior of Pluscardine, is by her indirectly stirred up to counterpoise the Chancellor, who she blames of all these slanders; and the Chancellor is indirectly supported by the other: both the princes

holding the Wolf by the ears."[1] We know also, from a letter of Mr James Murray, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, that, about this time, a plot had been laid for the "disgrace of the Queen and the Duke of Lennox; and to so bitter and mortal an excess had the King's fears and jealousy proceeded shortly before the baptism, that he had doubts as to the paternity of prince Henry."[2] On the 30th of July, a month before the baptism, Colvil wrote thus to Sir R. Cecil: The "King repents him sore that he has made such convention to this baptism; for upon the jealousy mentioned in my last he begins to doubt of the child. I think he had not been baptized at this time if so many Princes had not been invited. That matter takes deep root upon both sides.

> Nocte dieque suos gestant in pectore fastus,
> Incautos perdet tacita flamma duos."

It is possible that all this may have been much exaggerated by Colvil, and that Bothwell's gossip to the Dean of Durham, Toby Mathews, of the King's love for the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Morton, may have been equally highly coloured; but there can be little doubt that James and his royal consort were not on comfortable terms; and it seems certain that the Queen about this time, not only placed herself at the head of a faction which num-

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Mr. John Colvil to Sir R. Cecil, 26th July, 1594. [Also, MS. St. P. Off., Mr James Murray to "Faithful Gawane," 16th Aug., 1594.]

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., James Murray to his Faithful Gawane, 16th August, 1594; and Ibid., Mr John Colvil to Sir R. Cecil.

bered in its ranks some of the most powerful nobles, but began to have considerable weight both in the Court and with the country.

In the North, also, everything was in commotion; for although Lennox had, for a brief season, succeeded in restoring tranquillity, by the vigour with which he had executed the charge committed to him, all became again disordered on his retirement from office. The great cause of these excesses was to be traced to some extraordinary discoveries made at this time by the young Earl of Argyll, which showed that treachery, not cowardice, had been the cause of his defeat at Glenlivat. It was found out, by the confessions of some accomplices, that Campbell of Lochnell, the near relative of the young chief, and, failing an only brother, the heir to his estates and honours, had been tampering with Huntly; and that the flight of so large a body of Highlanders was only part of a conspiracy against the life of Argyll. It was discovered, also, by evidence which could not be contradicted, that this foul plot against the young earl was intimately connected with the late murder of the Earl of Murray and the assassination of the Laird of Calder; that all were branches of one great conspiracy, of which a chief contriver was Maitland the Chancellor, assisted by Huntly, Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, Macaulay of Ardincaple, and John Lord Maxwell. These titled and official ruffians, in the spirit of the times, which could combine the strictest legal precision with

the utmost familiarity with blood, had drawn up a *band*, by which, in the most solemn manner, they became mutually bound to each other to achieve the murder of James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyll, Colin Campbell of Lundy his only brother, and John Campbell of Calder. The result was to be the possession of the earldom of Argyll by Lochnell, and the appropriation of a large part of its princely estates by the Chancellor Maitland and the other conspirators. With the success of one part of this conspiracy, the cruel murder of the Earl of Murray, we are already acquainted; and, in the case of the Laird of Calder, they were also successful: for this unfortunate gentleman was about this time shot at night, through the window of his own house, in Lorn, by an assassin named M'Kellar, who had been furnished with a hagbut by Ardkinglas, which, to make surer work, he had loaded with three bullets. So far this diabolical plot was followed out with success. But at this crisis, the remorse or interest of Ardkinglas revealed the conspiracy to Argyll; and the apprehension, torture, and confession of John Oig Campbell and M'Kellar, who were executed, led, at last, to the revelation of the "Great Contract," as it was called. The "Band" itself fell into the hands of Argyll, and convinced him that the assassination of his unhappy friends, Murray and Calder, was to have been followed, on the first good opportunity that should present itself, by the murder of himself. Of all this the consequences were dreadful. Argyll hurried to the North, assembled his vassals, and proclaimed

a war of extermination against Huntly, and all who had opposed or deserted him at Glenlivat.[1] Huntly, on the other hand, having, by this time, somewhat recovered his recent losses, was once more in the field, and threatened to hang up any retainer of his, high or low, who dared to pay the fines levied on him, or sought for peace in obedience to the laws.[2] Mar, a nobleman very powerful in the North as well as the South, joined with Argyll; whilst Huntly had many friends at Court, who secretly screened him in his excesses. The ministers of the Kirk, in the meantime, sounded their terrible trumpet of warning to all true men, denouncing from the pulpit the reviving influence of the Catholics; and large bodies of soldiers, disbanded for want of pay, roamed over the country, and committed every sort of robbery and excess. Ministers of religion were murdered; fathers slain by their own sons; brothers by their brethren; married women ravished under their own roof; houses, with their miserable inmates, burned amidst savage mirth; and the land so utterly wasted by fire, plunder, and the total cessation of agricultural labour, that famine at last stalked in to complete the horrid picture, and destroy, by the most terrible of deaths, those who had escaped the sword.[3]

Amidst these dreadful excesses, the only support of

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir R. Bowes' Advertisements, sent him from Edinburgh, 5th Jan., 1594-5. Gregory's Hist. of the Highlands, pp. 244, 250, 251, 253.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Advertisements by Letters from Edinburgh, 15th January, 1594-5.

[3] MS. Calderwood, Brit. Mus., Ayscough, 4738, p. 1183.

the country was in the energy of the King: for his Council was torn by faction, and some of the chief dignitaries were the offenders. But although deserted by Elizabeth, and compelled to disband his troops and relax his military efforts against the Catholics, James assembled a Convention of his nobles; and evinced not only a sympathy for the sufferings of the people, but his resolution to make the utmost efforts to remove them.[1] Finding it impossible to reduce the northern districts to order without vigorous proceedings against the chiefs, he committed Athol, Lovat, and M'Kenzie to ward at Linlithgow; imprisoned Argyll, Glenurchy, and others, in Edinburgh castle; and confined Tullybardin, Garntully, and their fierce adherents, in Dumbarton and Blackness: to remain in this durance till they had made redress for the horrid excesses committed by their clansmen and supporters, and had come under an obligation to restore order to the country.[2] As to the Catholic earls, and Bothwell their associate, both parties, now nearly desperate of any ultimate success, and driven by the active pursuit of the King from one concealment to another, were anxious to reach the sea-coast and escape to the Continent. Bothwell especially, that once proud and potent baron, who had been the correspondent of Elizabeth, the friend of Burghley, the pillar of the Kirk, the arbiter of the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., George Nicolson to Burghley, 29th January, 1594-5.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., George Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 30th January, 1594-5.

Court, and the idol of the people, was reduced to the lowest extremity. He had been expelled from all his castles and houses; and now the Hermitage, his last and strongest den, was in the hands of Hume, his mortal enemy.[1] Scott the Laird of Balwearie, one of his chief friends, who was acquainted with the secrets of his recent conspiracy with the Catholic earls, was seized, and purchased his life by a full revelation of the plot. His brother, Hercules Stewart, suffered on the scaffold; and the Kirk branded him with excommunication. William Hume, the brother of Davy the Devil, or David Hume of Manderston, whom Bothwell had slain, was employed to trace the fugitive from cover to cover; and executing this service with a scent sharpened by revenge, he ran him through Caithness to the sea-coast; from which, after various windings and doublings, he escaped to France.[2]

Meanwhile, Huntly and Errol lingered in Scotland, with a last hope that assistance in money and in troops was on the eve of arriving from Spain; but this prospect was utterly blasted by a disaster which befell their messenger Mr John Morton, a Jesuit, brother to the Laird of Cambo, who had been intrusted with a secret mission by the King of Spain and the Pope. This person had taken his passage in a Dutch ship, and was landed at Leith; but the disguise

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 24th Oct., 1594.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 19th Feb., 1594-5. Same to same, 3d March, 1594-5. Also, Ibid., same to same, 22d February, 1594-5. Also, Ibid., Mr Colvil to Sir R. Cecil, 19th March, 1594-5. Also, Ibid., Mr John Colvil, 22d February, 1594-5. Historie of James the Sext, p. 344.

under which he travelled had not concealed him from a fellow passenger, a son of Erskine of Dun, who hinted his suspicion to Mr David Lindsay; and this active minister of the Kirk instantly pounced upon Father Morton, as he was called, who, in the struggle with the officers of justice, tore his secret instructions with his teeth.[1] The fragments, however, were picked up, joined together, their contents deciphered, and the King, who piqued himself upon his shrewdness in cross-examination, exerted his powers with much success. He brought Morton to confess that he was a Jesuit, though he appeared only a Scottish gentleman seeking his native air for the recovery of his health; that he was Confessor to the Seminary College in Rome, and sent into Scotland by the Pope, and with special messages from Cardinal Cajetano and Fathers Crichton and Tyrie to Mr James Gordon, Huntly's near relative. The messenger added, that he was directed to reprove the Catholic lords for their disposal of the treasure lately sent, which had been given not to Catholics, but to courtiers who were heretics; as well as for their rashness in "delating" the King to be a Catholic, before the Spanish army destined for Scotland was in readiness. Their union with Bothwell, by which they had greatly exasperated the King, was also condemned by the Pope; and no hope of further treasure held out till they had vindicated themselves before the councillors of the King of Spain in the Low Countries. On Morton's

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr John Colvil to S., 25th March, 1595.

person was found a small jewel or tablet, containing an exquisite representation of the Passion of our Lord, carved minutely in ivory; a present, as he said, from Cardinal Cajetano to the Scottish Queen. This James, taking up, asked him to what use he put it. "To remind me," said Morton, "when I gaze on it and kiss it, of my Lord's Passion. Look, my liege," he continued, "how livelily the Saviour is here seen hanging between the two thieves, whilst below, the Roman soldier is piercing His sacred side with the lance. Ah, that I could prevail on my sovereign but once to kiss it before he lays it down!"—"No," said James; "the Word of God is enough to remind me of the crucifixion; and besides, this carving of yours is so exceeding small, that I could not kiss Christ without kissing both the thieves and the executioners."[1]

The ministers of the Kirk insisted that this unhappy person should be subjected to the torture of the boots, as the only means of obtaining a full confession; but he was saved from this dreadful suffering by his simplicity, and the candour with which he disclosed to the King all the objects of his mission.[2]

This last blow fell heavily on the party. It convinced Huntly and Errol, that for the present their cause

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr John Colvil to S., 25th March, 1595. Also, Ibid., Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 25th March, 1595. Also, Ibid., 5th April, 1595. Abstract of letters sent to Sir R. Bowes.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 5th April, 1595. Letters from Scotland to Bowes. Also, Ibid., Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 3d April, 1595. Also, Ibid., Mr John Colvil, 1st April, 1595. Also, Ibid., 2d April, 1595, "Deposition of Mr John Morton, Jesuit."

was desperate, and that to retire into a temporary banishment was the only resource which remained. It was in vain that Father Gordon, Huntly's uncle, and a devoted Catholic, implored them to remain: in vain that on a solemn occasion, when Mass was said for the last time in the cathedral Church at Elgin, this zealous priest, descending from the high altar and mounting the pulpit, exhorted them not to depart, but remain in their native country and hazard all for the Faith. His discourse fell on deaf ears; and finding entreaty fruitless, he resolved to accompany them. On the 17th of March, Errol embarked at Peterhead; and on the 19th, two days after, Huntly, with his uncle and a suite of sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark; intending, as he said, to pass through Poland into Italy.[1]

Scarcely had they departed, when intelligence of Bothwell reached Court. To so miserable a state was he reduced, that he had been seen skulking near Perth with only two followers, meanly clad, and in utter destitution. He then disappeared, and none could tell his fate; but he reëmerged in Orkney, probably, like his infamous namesake, intending to turn pirate. He had one ship and a fly-boat; and his desperate fortunes were still followed, from attachment or adventure, by some of his old "*Camarados*," Colonel Boyd, Captain Foster, and a few other gentlemen. Apparently he was not successful: for we

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Extracts from letters from Scotland, by Sir R. Bowes, 5th April, 1595.

soon hear of him at Paris,[1] in correspondence with his profligate associate Archibald Douglas.

All apprehensions from Bothwell and the Catholic earls being at an end, and the King having most energetically fulfilled his promises to the Kirk; Protestantism being safe, and the hopes of Spain destroyed; he had leisure to address himself to a more difficult task than his last: to restore something like order, justice, and tranquillity to the country. Here all was out of joint. The Court was divided into factions. The Queen, of whose religious orthodoxy great doubts began now to be entertained, hated Mar, who was still intrusted with the person and government of the young Prince; a charge which, she insisted, belonged naturally to her.[2] The King supported Mar against his great rival the Chancellor Maitland, a man full of talent, of inordinate ambition, and, as we have already seen, unscrupulous, intriguing, and familiar with conspiracy and blood. Maitland strengthened himself against his enemies by courting the favour of the Queen, who had at first treated all his advances with haughty suspicion; but latterly, dreading his strength or conciliated by his proffered devotion, supported his faction, which included Buccleugh, Cessford, the Master of Glammis, and other powerful barons. The potent house of Hamilton affected neutrality; whilst the ministers of

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bothwell to Douglas, 17th June, 1595.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., George Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 22d June, 1595.

the Kirk also kept themselves aloof, and exerted their whole energies to procure the absolute ruin of Huntly and his exiled associates, by inducing the King to forfeit their estates in earnest, and reduce them to beggary. This James wisely refused. Enough, he thought, had already been done for the safety of the Protestant faith; and to cut up by the roots the ancient houses of Angus, Huntly, and Errol; to punish, by utter ruin and extermination, those who were already exiles for conscience' sake, would have been cruel and impolitic. To Bothwell, indeed, who had repeatedly conspired against his life, he showed no mercy; and his great estates were divided between Hume, Cessford, and Buccleugh.[1] But the Countesses of Huntly and Errol were permitted to remain in Scotland, and matters so managed that their unfortunate lords should not be utterly destitute. The principle of James was to balance the different factions against each other, keeping all dependent on himself, and throwing his weight occasionally into the one or the other scale as he judged best. The probable restoration, therefore, of such great men as Huntly, was a useful threat to hold over the heads of their rivals. But with all his policy, the monarch found his position dangerous and difficult. The Court and country were full of inflammable materials; and in such a state of things, events apparently trifling might produce a general convulsion. So at least thought Nicolson, the English resident at Edinburgh, on the occurrence of an event which, to feudal ears, sounded

[1] MS. Calderwood, Ayscough, 4738, p. 1184.

trifling enough. David Forrester, a retainer of Mar, and bailiff of Stirling, when riding from Edinburgh to that town, was, on some love-quarrel, waylaid and murdered by the Laird of Dunipace, assisted by the Bruces and the Livingstons, who belonged to the Chancellor's faction. Mar instantly accepted this as a defiance; assembled a body of six hundred horse; vowed a deadly revenge; and interdicting the body from being buried, carried it along with him, displaying before it, on two spears, a ghastly picture of Forrester, all mangled and bleeding as he had died. In this way the Earl, in his steel jack, and his men armed to the teeth, carried his murdered vassal in a bravado through the lands of the Livingstons and Bruces, which lay near Linlithgow, on the road between Edinburgh and Stirling; dividing his little force into three wards, and expecting a ruffle with Buccleugh and Cessford, who were reported to be mustering their friends. But the peremptory remonstrances of the King prevented an immediate collision; and a "day of law," as it was then termed, was appointed for the trial of Forrester's slaughter.[1]

James' labour to preserve peace was, indeed, incessant; and but for his vigour and courage, the various factions would have torn the country in pieces. The Chancellor had now gained to his side the powerful assistance of the house of Hamilton; so that his strength was almost irresistible. With his strength, however, increased the odium and unpopularity of his

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 12th July, 1595. Also, Ibid., same to same, 24th June, 1595.

measures. It was now well known that he had been the chief assistant of Huntly in the murder of Murray. He was branded as a hypocrite: all smiles and professions upon the seat of justice, but deep, bloody, and unscrupulous when off it; expressing great love to the Kirk and the ministers, yet careless of practical religion; humble and devoted, as he said, to his sovereign, yet really so haughty, that he did not hesitate to measure his strength with the highest nobles in the land. It was this which provoked Mar, Argyll, and the rest of the ancient earls.

On one occasion James, observing Maitland's defiance, took him roundly to task—reminding him that he was but his creature, a man of yesterday, a cadet of a mean house compared with Mar, who had a dozen vassals for his one;[1] and that it ill became him to enter into proud speeches, or compare himself with the old nobles, and raise factions with Glammis and the Queen against the master to whom he owed all. Pasquils too, and biting epigrams, prognosticating some fatal end, were found pinned to his seat in the Court.[2] But Maitland was naturally courageous, and believed himself powerful enough to keep head against the worst. Hamilton, Hume, Fleming, Livingston, Buccleugh, Cessford, with the Master of Glammis, had now joined him against Mar; and the Queen, finding herself thus supported, renewed her efforts to obtain possession of the young Prince. The King

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr John Colvil to Sir R. Cecil, 2d August, 1595.

[2] MS. St. P. Off., Advices from Edinburgh, 20th March, 1594-5.

was inexorable. He had been heard to swear that, were he on his death-bed and speechless, his last sign should be that Mar should have the boy; and the Queen, in despair, took to bed and pretended a mortal sickness. James shut his ears when the news was brought him, and declared it all a trick. At last the lady, between anger and the agitation incident to her situation, for she was about to be confined, fell truly sick. The Mistress of Ochiltree, and a jury of matrons, sat upon her malady, and pronounced it no counterfeit; and James, in real alarm, hurried from Falkland. To his disgust and anger, it was told him that Buccleugh and Cessford, the two men whom he then most dreaded, were with her; but they did not dare abide his coming: and a reconciliation, half stormy, half affectionate, took place. She renewed her clamour for the keeping of the Prince: he upbraided her for leaguing with such desperate men as Buccleugh and Cessford, who, in truth, at that moment were plotting to restrain his person, seize the heir of the throne, and arraign his governor, one of the most faithful of his nobles, of high treason. To humour her would have been the extremity of weakness, and only playing his enemies' game, who, he said, should find that, though he loved her, he could keep his purpose and be master in his own kingdom.[1] This resolute temper saved the monarch. The Chancellor con-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 26th July, 1595. See also, Ibid., same to same, 24th July, 1595. Also, Mr John Colvil to Sir R. Cecil, 2d August, 1595. Also, Ibid., Nicolson to Bowes, 4th August, 1595.

trolled Buccleugh, who alleged that they were throwing away their best opportunity: now they could seize the King; next day they themselves might be in fetters. All was ready: the King, the Prince, the government, by one bold stroke might be their own. But Maitland's heart failed, or his loyalty revived. He forbade the enterprise. James rode back to Falkland; and when he next visited Edinburgh, his strength was such that he could defy his enemies.[1] The ministers of the Kirk, scandalized by the divisions in the royal family, now remonstrated with the Queen, awakened her to a higher sense of her conjugal duties, and convinced her, that to renounce all factions, and follow the commands of her royal husband, was her only safe and Christian course.[2] A letter, written at this time by Nicolson, the English Envoy at the Scottish Court, to Sir Robert Bowes, who, at his own earnest request, had been suffered to resign his place as resident Ambassador, gives us an interesting account of this reconciliation and its effects:—

"The King and Queen are lovingly together now at Falkland: the King to go to Stirling to-morrow, and so to his buck-hunting in Lennox and Clydesdale; and after to return to the Queen to St Johnston's, there to receive the communion together. The Queen first goeth to Sir R. Melvil's house, the Earl of Rothes', and other places, before she goes to St John-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 27th May, 1595.
[2] MS. St. P. Off., Colvil, 18th August., 1595. Same, 20th August.

ston's. My Lord of Mar and she have spoken, by the King's means. At the first she was very sharp with Mar, but in the end gave him good countenance. Mr Patrick Galloway, in his sermon, was occasioned to teach of the duties of man and wife, each to the other; and spoke so persuasively for the keeping their duties therein, as the Queen thereon spake and conferred with him, and gave good ear to his advices, and promiseth to follow the same; and hath said that she will have him with her.

"The King caused Mr David Lindsay to travel with the Queen, to see what he could try out of them; whereupon Mr David and the Queen had long conference. And in the end, the Queen said, 'Let the King be plain with the Queen, and the Queen should be plain with the King;' which Mr David showed to the King, causing him to receive the same even then out of the Queen's own mouth: whereupon there was good and kind countenance and behaviour between them; both of them agreeing to satisfy each other: as Mr David looketh that, ere this, the King knoweth who hath persuaded the Queen to these former courses; and the Queen who hath moved the King to this strangeness with the Queen; and that some will be found to have dealt doubly and dangerously with them both. The King intendeth, by little and little, to draw the Queen to where Mar is, and there to stay her from these parts, and the company of Buccleugh, Cessford, and the rest. Mr David holdeth the Chancellor to be very honest between both

parties, and to be for the King; but whatsoever he doeth, it is with consent and leave of the Master of Glammis, Buccleugh, and Cessford; who, if the Chancellor should do otherwise, and they know of it, would be the Chancellor's greatest enemies, and most dangerous. * * The Lord Hume hath promised to follow the King, and is presently with him: so as it is held that the Queen's faction is breaking. Always some think, that as the King intends by policy to win the Queen, so the Queen intends to win the King for the advantage of that side; and I pray God that this prove not too true, that in these fair flowers there prove not yet sharp pricks. As to the slaughter of David Forster, my Lord of Mar, I think, shall give assurance, and keep on fair terms with such of the Livingstons and Bruces as were not executioners of David's murder; which executioners, for this cause, are to be banished the country by their own friends."[1]

While the Court of Holyrood was occupied in gossiping upon such scenes of domestic intrigue and conjugal reconciliation, the Queen of England began bitterly to repent her neglect of Scotland, and to look with alarm to a storm which threatened her on the side of the Isles. She was now trembling for her empire in Ireland, where Tyrone had risen in formidable force, and, assisted with Roman gold and Spanish promises, threatened to wrest from her hands the fairest provinces of the kingdom. In these cir-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Sir R. Bowes, 15th August, 1595.

cumstances, both Elizabeth and the Irish Prince looked for assistance and recruits to the Scottish Isles. These nurseries of brave soldiers and hardy seamen were now able to furnish a formidable force; a circumstance not unknown to the English Queen, as her indefatigable minister Burghley, whose diplomatic feelers were as long as they were acute and sensitive, kept up a communication with the Isles. From a paper written in the end of the year 1593, by one of his northern correspondents,[1] it appears that the Isles could, on any emergency, fit out a force of six thousand hardy troops, inured to danger both by sea and land, and equipt for war on either element. Of these, two thousand wore defensive armour, actons, habergeons, and knapsculls;[2] the rest were bowmen or pikemen; but many, adds the Island statist, had now become harquebuseers. This force, it is to be observed, was independent of those left at home to labour the ground; the whole of the Isles being different from the rest of feudal Scotland in one essential respect, "that they who occupied the ground, were not charged to the wars."[3] Of this Western archipelago, the principal islands were Lewis and Skye, lying to the north, Islay and Mull to the south; and amongst the chief leaders who assumed the state and independence

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Dec., 1593. Note of the West Isles of Scotland, for the Lord Treasurer.

[2] Acton, a quilted leathern jacket, worn under the armour; habergeon, a breast-plate of mail; knapscull, a steel cap or helmet.

[3] MS. St. P. Off., Dec., 1593. Note of the West Isles of Scotland, for the Lord Treasurer.

of little princes, were the Earl of Argyll, Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, and Roderick Macleod of Harris, known in traditionary song as Ruari Mor.[1] Of these chiefs, the Lord of Duart, commonly called Lauchlan Mor, was by far the most talented and conspicuous; and, as Elizabeth well knew, had the power of bridling or letting loose that formidable body of troops which Donald Gorm and Ruari Mor were now collecting to assist her enemies in Ireland. Lauchlan Mor was, in all respects, a remarkable person; by no means illiterate, for he had received his nurture in the low country, and had married a daughter of the Earl of Glencairn. But in war and personal prowess he had then no equal: an island Amadis of colossal strength and stature; and possessing, by the vigour of his natural talents, a commanding influence over the rude and fierce Islesmen. It is curious to trace Elizabeth's connexion with this man. The Lord of Duart's confidential servant happened to be a certain shrewd Celt, named John Achinross; he, in turn, was connected by marriage with Master John Cunningham, a worthy citizen and merchant in Edinburgh. This honest bailie of the capital, forming the link between savage and civilized life, corresponded with Sir Robert Bowes; Bowes with Burghley or Sir Robert Cecil; and thus Elizabeth, sitting in her closet at Windsor or Green-

[1] Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 261.

wich, moved the strings which could assemble or disperse the chivalry of the Isles. This is no ideal picture, for the letters of the actors remain. As early as March, 1594-5, Achinross informed Bowes that Maclean and Argyll were ready, not only to stay the Clandonnell, who, under Donald Gorm, were then mustering to assist Tyrone; but that Maclean himself would join the English army in Ireland, if Elizabeth would despatch three or four ships to keep his galleys whilst they attacked the enemy.[1] As the summer came on, and the fleet of Donald and his associates waited only for a fair wind, Cunningham hurried to the Isles, had a conference with Maclean, and thence rode post to London, where, in an interview with Sir Robert Cecil, he urged the necessity of instant action and assistance.[2] The bridle which the Laird of Duart held over the Islesmen was simple enough; being a garrison of six hundred mercenaries, well armed, and ready to be led by him, on a moment's warning, against any island chief who embarked in foreign service, and left his lands undefended at home.[3] The support of this force, however, required funds: Elizabeth demurred; Maclean was obliged to disband his men;

[1] MS. St. P. Off., 25th March, 1594-5, Contents of John Achinross' letter to Robert Bowes.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., John Cunningham to Sir R. Bowes, 25th June, 1595. Also, Maclean of Duart to Sir R. Cecil, 4th July, 1595. Also, same to Sir R. Bowes, 4th July, 1595. Also, Ibid., Nicolson to Bowes, 5th July, 1595.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., John Achinross to George Nicolson, 22d July, 1595.

and the most part of the fleet weighed anchor, and bore away for Ireland.[1] It consisted of a hundred sail, of which fifty were galleys, the rest smaller craft; and the number of soldiers and mariners was estimated at about five thousand.[2] Nine hundred men, however, under the Captain of the Clan Ranald,[3] still remained; and as they passed Mull had the temerity to land for the night; running their "galleys, boats, and birlings," into a little harbour, where they imagined themselves secure. But Maclean, by what Achinross termed "a bauld onset and prattie feit of weir," took the whole company prisoners, threw the chiefs into irons, sent them to his dungeons in his different castles, appropriated their galleys, and transported the common men to the mainland.[4] Amongst the chief prisoners then taken, were the Captain of Clanranald and three of his uncles, the Laird of Knoydart, M'Ian of Ardnamurchan, Donald Gorm's brother, and others; and an account of the surprise was immediately transmitted by John Achinross to Nicolson, the English Envoy at the Court of James. We can pardon the enthusiasm and abominable orthoepy of this devoted Highland servant when he exclaims: "My maister is acquentit with thir prattie onsettis without respect to number, findand

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 26th July, 1595.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Mr George Areskine to Nicolson, Denoon, 31st July, 1595.

[3] Ibid., same to same.

[4] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Achinross to Nicolson, 31st July, 1595.

vantage: for divers tymis he plaid this dance heir aganis his enemies. I assuir you, thir men that ar tane and in captivity ar the maist douttit and abil men in the Ilis. Lat your guid maister and Sir Robert comfort thame with this gude luke, done be ane vailyeant man of weir, and ane man of honor, in beginning of her Majestie's service."[1]

Elizabeth was delighted with this exploit of Lauchlan Mor, assured him of her gratitude and friendship, and sent a more substantial proof than words, in a present of a thousand crowns: an "honourable token of her favour," as he called it in a letter to Cecil, in which he promised all duty and service to the Queen. She wrote, at the same time, to the Earl of Argyll,[2] flattered him by some rich token of her regard, and ordered Nicolson, her resident at the Scottish Court, to deliver it and her letter to him in person, at Dunoon in Argyll. All this was successfully accomplished: and so cordially did Maclean and Argyll coöperate, sowing distrust and division amongst the chiefs and leaders who had followed the banner of Donald Gorm and Macleod, that their formidable force only made the coast of Ireland to meet the English ships, which were on the watch for them, enter into a friendly treaty, and disperse to their different ocean nests, before a single effort of any moment had been made. This sudden arrival, and as sudden disappearance of the fleet of

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Achinross to Nicolson, 31st July, 1595.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 1st Aug., 1595.

the Islesmen, appears to have puzzled the chroniclers of the times, and even their more acute modern successor. A black cloud had been seen to gather over Ireland; and men waited in stillness for the growl of the thunder and the sweep of the tempest, when it melted into air, and all was once more tranquillity. This seemed unaccountable, almost miraculous; but the letters of honest John Cunningham, and his Celtic relative Achinross, whose epistles smack so strongly of his Gaelic original, introduce us behind the scenes, and discover Lauchlan Mor as the secret agent, the Celtic Prospero, whose wand dispersed the galleys, and restored serenity to the ocean. The reader may be pleased with an extract from a letter of this brave Lord of Duart to Sir R. Bowes, although his style is a little ponderous, and by no means so polished as the Danish steel axe, with which it was his delight to hew down his enemies: he is alluding to the future plan of the campaign intended by Tyrone and O'Donnell against Elizabeth, and the best way to defeat it.

"The Earl is to pursue you on one side, and O'Donnell is to pursue your lands presently on the other side. They think to harm you meikle by this way. If my opinion were followed out, the Earl and O'Donnell shall be pursued on both the sides; to wit, by your force of Ireland on the one side, and by the Earl of Argyll's force and mine, with my own presence, on this side. To the which, I would that you moved the Earl of Argyll to furnish two thousand men: myself shall furnish other two thousand;

and I would have six or eight hundred of your spearmen, with their *buttis*, [*sic*] and four hundred pikemen. If I were once landed in Ireland with this company, having three or four ships to keep our galleys, I hope in God the Earl should lose that name ere our return. * * * In my name your Lordship shall have my duty of humble service remembered to her Majesty, and commendations to good Sir Robert Cecil, with whom I think to be acquainted. Your Lordship will do me a great pleasure if you will let me know of anything in Scotland that may pleasure Sir Robert. I am so *hamely*[1] with your Lordship, that without you let me know hereof, I will think that your Lordship does dissimull with me. I am here, in Argyll, at pastime and hunting with the Earl my cousin. I have respect to other kind of hunting nor this hunting of deer. I am hamely with your Lordship, as ye may perceive. At meeting, (for the which I think long,) God willing, we shall renew our acquaintance."[2]

From this island episode we must turn to a different scene, the deathbed of a great minister. The Chancellor Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, had now, for some years, ruled the Court and the country with a firm, unchallenged, and, as many thought, a haughty superiority. He had given mortal offence to the Queen; had provoked the hostility of the highest nobles of the land; and, it was whispered, was more

[1] Hamely; familiar.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lauchlan Maclean of Duart to Sir R. Bowes, Garvie in Argyll, 22d Aug., 1595.

feared than loved by his royal master. But he had kept his ground, partly by superiority in practical business talents to all his competitors; partly by that deep political sagacity and foresight which made Burghley pronounce him the "wisest man in Scotland;" and, not least of all, by that high personal courage and somewhat unscrupulous familiarity with conspiracy, and even with blood, which blotted most men of this semi-barbarous age. He had, besides, been a pretty consistent Protestant; and although in earlier years he had attacked some of Knox's political dicta, yet recently, the strong and decided part he had adopted against Huntly and the Catholic earls made him a favourite with the ministers of the Kirk. So resistless had he now become, that the Queen and her friends had renounced all opposition, and joined his faction against Mar the Governor of the Prince, the favourite of his royal master, and one of the oldest and most powerful of the higher nobles.[1] In this his palmy state, when plotting new schemes of ambition, and inflaming the King against the Queen; meeting Cessford and Buccleugh, and his other associates, in night trysts; marshalling secretly his whole strength, and laying a "platt," as it was then called, or conspiracy against Mar, by which he hoped to hurl him from his height of power, and rule unchecked over his sovereign; he was suddenly seized with a mortal distemper.[2] At

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 1st September, 1595.

[2] MS. St. P. Off., Colvil to Cecil, 10th September, 1595. Ibid., Nicolson to Bowes, 19th September, 1595. Ibid., Nicolson to Bowes, 22d September, 1595.

first he struggled fiercely against it, tried to throw it off, rode restlessly from place to place, and appeared so active that it was currently said the sickness was only one of his old pretences. But at last the malady mastered him, threw him on his couch, and compelled him, in fear and remorse, to send for the ministers of the Kirk, and implore a visit from the King. James resisted repeated messages: it was even said he had whispered in a courtier's ear that it would be a small matter if the Chancellor were hanged: and when Robert Bruce, one of the leading ministers, rode at four in the morning to Thirlstane, he found the dying statesman full of penitence for neglected opportunities, imploring the prayers of the Kirk, and promising to make many discoveries of strange matters, if God granted him time for amendment and reformation.[1] What appeared to weigh heaviest on his conscience was the part he had acted in sowing dissension between the King and Queen; and he seemed much shaken by fears that many dark dealings would come out on this subject. He expressed sorrow, also, for his "partial information against John Knox and other good men;" and when asked what advice he would leave to the King for the management of his estate, shook his head, observing, "it was too late *speer'd*,"[2]

[1] MS. St. P. Off., 10th Sept., 1595, Advertisements from Scotland. Ibid., Nicolson to Bowes, 22d September, 1595. Ibid., same to same, 24th September. Ibid., same to same, 3d October, 1595. "He [the Chancellor] is sore troubled in conscience, and with fear that his dealings between the King and Queen should come out."

[2] "Speer'd," asked. The question was asked too late.

as his thoughts were on another world. Even his enemies, who had quoted against him the Italian adage, "*Il periculo passato, il santo gabato*," rejoiced at last to find that the sickness was no counterfeit; and were little able to restrain their satisfaction when news arrived at Court that the Chancellor was no more. He died at Thirlstane on the night of the 3d October; and John Colvil, his bitter enemy, exultingly wrote to England that his faction or party were headless, and must fall to pieces: whilst his royal master publicly lamented and secretly rejoiced; inditing to his memory a high poetical panegyric in the shape of an epitaph, and observing, that he would *weel ken* who next should have the Seals, and was resolved no more to use great men or Chancellors in his affairs, but such as he could correct and were hangable.[1]

All things, however, were thrown loose and into confusion by his death. The Borders, which had been for some time in disorder, became the daily scenes of havoc, theft, and murder; torn with feuds between the Maxwells and the Douglases; ravaged by invasions of the English;[2] and so reckless of all restraint, that the personal presence of the King was loudly called for. At Court the competitors for the Chancellor's place were busy, bitter, and clamorous; in the Kirk the ministers gave warning that the Catholic earls, now in banishment, had been

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 8th Oct., 1595, Nicolson to Bowes. Ibid., same to same, 11th Jan., 1595.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 20th Oct., 1595.

plotting their return, and that the Spaniards were on the eve of invading England and Scotland with a mighty force.[1] It was absolutely necessary, they said, that the Kirk should have authority to convene the people in arms, to resist the threatened danger; and that an Ambassador should be sent to England to arrange some plan of common defence.[2] James at once consented to the first proposal, and gave immediate directions for the defence of the country; but he refused to send an Ambassador to Elizabeth, who had rejected his suits and broken her promises, although he had preferred her friendship and alliance to that of any other Prince in Europe. He was, at this moment, he said, ready to act as her Lieutenant against the Spaniards, and perish with England in defence of the true religion.[3] Yet still she withheld her supplies, and treated him with suspicion, notwithstanding the proofs he was daily giving of his sincerity in religion, and although she knew him to be drowned in debt. For this last assertion, the dreadful embarrassment of his finances, there was too good ground; and it had been long apparent that, unless some thorough reform took place, matters must come to an extremity. The office of treasurer was held by the Master of Glammis, a man of great power, and one of the chief friends of the late Chancellor. Sir Robert Melvil was his depute; Seton

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 27th Nov., 1595.

[2] MS. St. P. Off., Advertisements from Edinburgh, 6th Dec., 1595.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 27th Nov., 1595.

Laird of Parbreath, filled the office of comptroller; and Douglas, the Provost of Glenclouden, that of collector. All of them had been protected by Thirlstane during his supremacy in the Council; and, it was suspected by the King, had fattened at the royal expense. This idea was encouraged by the Queen, who now lived on the most loving terms with her lord, and omitted no opportunity to point out the rapid diminution of the Crown revenues, and the contrast between her own command of money, out of so small a dowry as she enjoyed, and the reduced and beggarly condition of the household and palaces of her royal consort. On new year's day, coming playfully to the King, she shook a purse full of gold in his face, and bad him accept it as her gift. He asked where she got it. "From my councillors," she replied, "who have but now given me a thousand pieces in a purse: when will yours do the like?"—"Never," said the King; and calling instantly for his collector and comptroller, he dismissed them on the spot, and chose the Queen's councillors as his financial advisers. These were Seton Lord Urquhart, President of the Session, Mr John Lindsay, Mr John Elphinstone, and Mr Thomas Hamilton; to whom James committed the entire management of his revenues and household. It was soon found that the charge would be too laborious for so small a number, and four others were added—the Prior of Blantyre, Skene the Clerk-register, Sir David Carnegie, and Mr Peter Young, Master Almoner. These new officers sat daily in the Upper

Tolbooth, and from their number were called *Octavians*. They acted without salary; held their commissions under the King's hand alone; and by the vigour, good sense, and orderly arrangements which they adopted, promised a speedy and thorough reformation of all financial abuses.[1]

Elizabeth now deemed it necessary to send Sir Robert Bowes once more as her Ambassador to Scotland. He had been recalled from that Court, or rather suffered, at his own earnest entreaty, to return to England, as far back as October 1594;[2] and since that time to the present, (January 1595-6,) the correspondence with England, and the political interests of that kingdom, had been entrusted to Mr George Nicolson, who had long acted as Bowes' secretary; and who, from the time that this minister left Edinburgh till his return to the Scottish Court, kept up an almost daily correspondence with him. Elizabeth instructed Bowes to assure James of her unalterable friendship, but of the impossibility of advancing a single shilling, drained as she was by her assistance to France, without which Henry must have lost his throne; her war in Ireland; and her preparations against Spain, which, at that instant, had fitted out a more mighty armament against her than the Armada of 1588. The Ambassador was intrusted not only with a letter from the English Queen to James, but

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Nicolson to Bowes, 7th Jan., 1595-6. John Colvil, Advertisements from Scotland; from 7th Dec., to 1st Jan., 1595-6.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 19th Oct., 1594.

with a letter and message to Queen Anne, whom he was to greet with every expression of friendship, and to reproach mildly for her reserve in not communicating to Elizabeth the secret history of the late quarrels between her and her royal husband, regarding the government and keeping of the young Prince. He was also to touch on a still more delicate subject —the reports which had reached the Court of England of her change of religion; and to warn her that, although his mistress utterly disbelieved such a slander, she could not be too much on her guard against the crafty men, who were in communication with the Pope, and eager to seduce her to their errors.[1] Bowes' reception by James was gracious and cordial. The King declared his satisfaction in hearing that his good sister was so well prepared against the meditated invasion of the Spaniard, and hisown readiness to hazard all—life, Crown, and kingdom, in her defence and his own; but he reminded Bowes of Lord Zouch's arguments and unfulfilled promises; and, whilst he spoke feelingly of his pecuniary embarrassments, and the impossibility of raising soldiers without funds, he hinted significantly, that the Pope and the Catholic earls threw about their gold pieces with an open hand; and did not conceal that large offers had been made to draw him to the side of Spain, although he had no mind to be so "limed." He then mentioned his intention of sending his servant, Mr David Foulis, to communicate to Elizabeth

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Answers to Mr Bowes' articles, 14th Jan., 1595-6. Wholly in Lord Burghley's hand.

the confessions of certain priests whom he had lately seized, and other discoveries with which she ought to be acquainted; and alluding to Doleman's book on the Succession to the English Crown, which had been recently published, observed, that he took it to be the work of some crafty politician in England, drawn up with affected modesty and impartiality, but real malice against every title except that of the King of Spain and his daughter. Bowes assured the King that this famous work, which made so much noise at the time, was written not in England but in Spain, by Persons, an English Jesuit and traitor; but James retained his scepticism.[1]

The Ambassador next sought the Queen, and was soon on very intimate and confidential terms with this Princess, who expressed herself highly gratified by Elizabeth's letter. Nothing, she said, could give her greater delight than to receive such assurances of kindness and affection; and she would readily follow her advice, as of one whom she most honoured, loved, and trusted; but as to the delicate subject of the late differences between her and the King, and her wish to get the Prince into her hands, the matter had been so sudden, and full of peril, that she dared not send either letter or message to the Queen of England. She then threw the blame of the whole on the late Chancellor; who had acted, she said, with great baseness, both towards herself and the King. It was he had first moved her to get the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Lord Burghley, 24th Feb., 1595.

Prince out of Mar's hands; it was he who animated the King against her, persuading him that such removal would endanger his Crown and person: "and yet," said she, addressing Bowes with great animation, and some bitterness, "it was this same man who dealt so betwixt the King and myself, and with the persons interested therein, that the surprise of the body of the King was plotted, and would have taken place at his coming to Edinburgh; but I discovered the conspiracy, and warned and stayed him. Had he come, he must have been made captive, and would have remained in captivity."—"These secrets," said Bowes, in his letter to Elizabeth, "she desired to be commended by my letters to your Majesty's only hands, view, and secrecy; and that none other should know the same." As to her reported change of religion, the Queen frankly admitted that attempts had been made for her conversion to Rome; but all had now passed and failed. She remained a Protestant; and would rather not reveal the names of the practisers. If they again assaulted her religion, Elizabeth should know who they were, and how she had answered them.[1]

The continuance of the rebellion in Ireland, and the intrigues of Tyrone with the Western Isles, had greatly annoyed Elizabeth; and Bowes was ordered to communicate with the King, and with Maclean of Duart, on the subject. He found that James had resolved to adopt speedily some decided measures to bring the Isles into order; and hoped to succeed by

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to the Queen, 24th Feb., 1595.

employing, in this service, the Earl of Argyll, Maclean, and Mackenzie, to whose sister Maclean had lately married his eldest son. The Ambassador had been, as usual, tutored to spare his mistress' purse, whilst he sounded Maclean's "mind, power, and resolution;"[1] and exerted himself to the utmost to drive a hard bargain. He was alarmed, too, with the din of warlike preparations then sounding through the Western archipelago: Donald Gorm was mustering his men, and repairing his galleys; Macleod of Harris had lately landed from Ireland, and was ready to return with fresh power; and Angus Maconnel, another potent chief, was assembling his galleys and soldiers.[2] Maclean himself was in Tiree, then reckoned ten days' journey from Edinburgh; and Argyll, so intent in investigating the murder of Campbell of Calder, now traced to Campbell of Ardkinglas, that Bowes could have no immediate transactions with either. He set, however, Cunningham and Achinross, his former agents, to work; and when these active emissaries got amongst the Highlanders, the storm of letters, memorials, contracts, queries, answers, and estimates, soon poured down on the unhappy head of Bowes; who implored Cecil, but with small success, to send him instructions, and some portion of treasure, to satisfy Elizabeth's Celtic auxili-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 24th Feb., 1595-6.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 6th March, 1595-6. Memorial to John Cunningham, 22d Feb., 1595-6. Answers by Maclean to the Questions proposed by Sir R. Bowes, 30th March, 1596.

aries, who clamoured for gold. Maclean was perfectly ready, as before, to attack Tyrone; and confident that the plan of the campaign, which he had already communicated, if carried into vigorous effect, would reduce the great rebel. But he made it imperative on the Queen to furnish two thousand soldiers, and advance a month's pay to his men. He himself, he said, had neither spared "gear nor pains in the service; and yet her Majesty's long promised present of a thousand crowns had not yet arrived."[1] These remonstrances produced the effect desired. Elizabeth was shamed into some settlement of her promises; and Maclean, with his Island chivalry, declared himself ready to obey her Majesty's orders with all promptitude and fidelity.[2]

The Ambassador speedily discovered that the eighteen months during which he had been absent, had added both energy and wisdom to James' character. It was evident there was more than empty compliment in Nicolson's observation—that, in severity, he began to rule like a King. There was still, indeed, about him much that was frivolous, undignified, and capricious; much favouritism, much extravagance, an extraordinary love of his pleasures; and a passion for display in oratory, poetry, theology, and scholastic disputation, which was frequently ridicu-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 24th Feb., 1595-6. Ibid., 6th March, 1595-6, Bowes to Sir R. Cecil. Ibid., 16th March, 1595-6, Bowes to Cecil. Ibid., Maclean to Bowes, Coll, 18th March, 1595-6. Ibid., Maclean's Answers to Bowes, 30th March, 1596.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 7th April, 1596.

lous; but with all this, he was dreaded by his nobles, and compelled respect and obedience. As Elizabeth advanced to old age, his eye became steadily fixed on the English crown, which he considered his undoubted right; and the one great engrossing object of his policy was to secure it. His fairest chance, he thought, to gain the respect and good wishes of the English people, when death took from them their own great Princess, was to show that he knew how to rule over his own unruly subjects. Hence his vigorous determination to restrain, by every possible means, the power of the greater nobility; to recruit his exhausted finances; to reduce the Isles, and consolidate his kingdom; and to bridle the claims of the Kirk, in all matters of civil government, or interference with the royal prerogative: whilst he warmly seconded their efforts for the preservation of the Reformed religion, and resistance to the efforts of its enemies.

Not long after Bowes' arrival, the Convention of the General Assembly met in Edinburgh; and the King, then absent on a hunting expedition, broke off his sport, and returned to Holyrood, that he might "honour the Kirk (as Bowes observed) with his presence and his Oration." The Moderator, Mr Robert Pont, warmly welcomed the royal party; which embraced the Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, the Earls of Argyll, Mar, and Orkney: and, addressing the King, thanked him in name of the Assembly for his presence; reminding him of the honour obtained by Constantine, in favouring the ancient Fathers of the Church; and by David, in

dancing before the ark. In reply, James professed his zeal for religion since his youth up. He had ever esteemed it, as he declared, more glory to be a Christian than a King, whatever slanders to the contrary were spoken against him. It was this zeal which moved him to convene the present Assembly: for being aware of the designs of Spain, their great enemy, against religion and this isle, he was anxious to meet, not only the ministry, but the barons and gentlemen; to receive their advice, and resolve on measures to resist the common enemy. Two points he would press on them: reformation and preparation; the reformation of themselves, clergy, people, and King. For his own part, he never refused admonition; he was ever anxious to be told his faults; and his chamber door should never be closed to any minister who reproved him. All he begged was, that they would first speak privately before they arraigned him in open pulpit. He hated the common vice of ambition; but of one thing he was really ambitious—to have the name of James the Sixth honoured as the establisher of religion, and the provider of livings for the ministry throughout his whole dominions. And now as to his second point, preparation against the common enemy, one thing was clear: they must have paid troops. The country must be put to charges. The times were changed since their forefathers followed each his lord or his laird to Pinky field; a confused multitude, incapable of discipline, and an easy prey to regular soldiers, as the event of that miserable day could testify. Of how many great

names had it been the wreck and ruin! Since then the fashion and art of war had entirely altered; and he protested it was a shame that Scotland should be lying in careless security, whilst all other countries were up and in arms.[1]

This speech gave great satisfaction to the ministers; and their joy was increased by a message brought to them soon after by Mr John Preston and Mr Edward Bruce, intimating the King's resolution to have the whole Kirks in Scotland supplied with ministers, and endowed with sufficient stipends. He requested the Kirk to cause their Commissioners to meet with those councillors and officers whom he had appointed for this purpose, and to fix upon some plan for carrying his resolution into effect. But he commanded his Commissioners to represent to the ministers of the Kirk how much this good work was hindered by themselves. Why did they teach the people that the King and his councillors resisted the planting of kirks, and swallowed up the livings of the clergy, when they were truly most willing that the whole kirks should be planted, and the rents of the ministers augmented, as far as could be obtained with consent of the nobility and the tacksmen of the teinds, whose rights, without order of law, could not be impaired?[2]

[1] MS. St. P. Off., 25th March, 1596, The King of Scots' Speech at the Assembly of the Ministry. Ibid., Bowes to Lord Burghley, 26th March, 1596.

[2] MS. St. P. Off., Instructions to Mr John Preston and Mr Edward Bruce. Answers of the General Assembly to the same, 30th March, 1596.

The Assembly received such propositions with the utmost satisfaction; and whilst they protested their ignorance that any of their number had given, in their discourses, any just cause of offence, it would be their care, (they said,) in future, so wisely to handle their doctrine, that neither King nor Council should be discouraged in the furtherance of their good work. Meantime, before they separated, they would humbly beseech his Majesty to examine and remove "certain griefs which still eat like a canker into the body of the Kirk." Divers Jesuits and excommunicated Papists were entertained within the country, confirming, in error, those already perverted; endangering the unstable, and holding out hopes of the return of the Papist earls, with the assistance of strangers. The lands of these forfeited traitors were, to the grief of all good men, still peaceably enjoyed by them; their confederates and friends suffered to go at large; whilst the laws, not only against such treasons, but on all other points, were so partially administered, that a flood of crime, murders, oppressions, incests, adulteries, and every species of wrong inundated the land, and threatened to tear society in pieces.[1]

To this remonstrance a favourable answer was returned; and nothing but fair weather appeared between the sovereign and the Kirk. Yet it was whispered that, beneath this serenity, James had some perilous projects in his head, and meditated a restoration of

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Instructions to Mr John Preston and Mr Edward Bruce. Answers of the General Assembly to the same, 30th March, 1596.

the Catholic earls.[1] All, however, was quiet for the moment; and the King was looking anxiously for the return of his envoy Foulis, who had been sent to Elizabeth, when an event occurred on the Borders which threatened to throw everything into confusion. Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, a baron of proud temper, undaunted courage, and considered one of the ablest military leaders in Scotland, was at this time Warden of the West Marches; having for his brother warden of England, Lord Scrope, also a brave and experienced officer. Scrope's deputy was a gentleman of the name of Salkeld; Buccleugh's, a baron of his own clan, Robert Scott of Haining; and in the absence of the principals, it was the duty of these subordinate officers to hold the Warden Courts for the punishment of outlaws and offenders. Such courts presented a curious spectacle: for men met in perfect peace and security, protected by the law of the Borders, which made it death for any Englishman or Scotsman to draw weapon upon his greatest foe, from the time of holding the Court till next morning at sunrise. It was judged that, in this interval, all might return home; and it is easy to see that, with such a population as that of the Borders, nothing but the most rigid enforcement of this law could save the country from perpetual rapine and murder. William Armstrong of Kinmont, or in the more graphic and endearing phraseology of the Borders, *Kinmont Willie*, was at this time one of the most notorious and gallant thieves or freebooters in Lid-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 18th May, 1596.

desdale. He was himself a man of great personal strength and stature, and had four sons, Jock, Francie, Geordie, and Sandie Armstrong, each of them a braver and more successful moss-trooper than the other. Their exploits had made them known and dreaded over the whole district; and their father and they had more "Bills filed" against them at the Warden Courts, more personal quarrels and family feuds to keep their blood hot and their hands on their weapons, than any twenty men in Liddesdale. This Willie of Kinmont, who was a retainer of Buccleugh and a special favourite of his chief, had been attending a Warden Court, held by the English and Scottish depute Wardens, at a place named the Dayholm of Kershope, where a small *burn* or rivulet divides the two countries, and was quietly returning home through Liddesdale, with three or four in company, when he was suddenly attacked by a body of two hundred English Borderers, chased for some miles, captured, tied to a horse, and carried in triumph to Carlisle castle; where Lord Scrope the Governor and Warden cast him, heavily ironed, into the common prison. Such an outrageous violation of Border law was instantly complained of by Buccleugh, who wrote repeatedly to Lord Scrope, demanding the release of his follower; and receiving no satisfactory reply, swore that he would bring Kinmont Willie out of Carlisle castle, quick or dead, with his own hand.[1] The threat was esteemed a mere bravado; for the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., B.C., The names of such as enforced the Castle for Kinmont; dated, in Burghley's hand, 13th April.

castle was strongly garrisoned and well fortified, in the middle of a populous and hostile city, and under the command of Lord Scrope, as brave a soldier as in all England. Yet Buccleugh was not intimidated. Choosing a dark tempestuous night, (the 13th April,) he assembled two hundred of his bravest men at the Tower of Morton, a fortalice on "the debateable land," on the water of Sark, about ten miles from Carlisle. Amongst these, the leader whom he most relied on was Wat Scott of Harden: but along with him were Wat Scott of Branxholm, Wat Scott of Goldielands, Jock Elliot of the Copshaw, Sandie Armstrong son to Hobbie the Laird of Mangerton, Kinmont's four sons—Jock, Francie, Sandie, and Geordie Armstrong, Rob of the Langholm, and Willie Bell the Redcloak; all noted and daring men. They were well mounted, armed at all points, and carried with them scaling ladders, besides iron crowbars, sledge-hammers, hand-picks, and axes. Thus furnished, and favoured by the extreme darkness of the night, they passed the river Esk, rode briskly through the Grahames' country, forded the Eden, then swollen over its banks, and came to the brook Caday, close by Carlisle, where Buccleugh made his men dismount, and silently led eighty of them, with the ladders and iron tools, to the foot of the wall of the base or outer court of the castle. Everything favoured them: the heavens were as black as pitch, the rain descended in torrents; and as they raised their ladders to fix them on the cope-stone, they could hear the English sentinels challenge as they walked their rounds. To their

rage and disappointment, the ladders proved too short; but finding a postern in the wall, they undermined it, and soon made a breach enough for a soldier to squeeze through. In this way a dozen stout fellows passed into the outer court, (Buccleugh himself being the fifth man who entered,[1]) disarmed and bound the watch, wrenched open the postern from the inside, and thus admitting their companions, were masters of the place. Twenty-four troopers now rushed to the castle jail, Buccleugh meantime keeping the postern, forced the door of the chamber where Kinmont was confined, carried him off in his irons, and sounding their trumpet, the signal agreed on, were answered by loud shouts and the trumpet of Buccleugh, whose troopers filled the base court. All was now terror and confusion, both in town and castle. The alarum-bell rang, and was answered by his brazen brethren of the cathedral and the town-house; the beacon blazed up on the top of the great tower; and its red, uncertain glare on the black sky and the shadowy forms and glancing armour of the Borderers, rather increased the horror and their numbers. None could see their enemy or tell his real strength. Lord Scrope, believing, as he afterwards wrote to Burghley, that five hundred Scots were in possession of the castle, kept himself close within his chamber. Kinmont Will himself, as he was carried on his friend's shoulders beneath the Warden's window, roared out a lusty "Good night" to his Lordship; and in a

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., B.C., The names of such as enforced the Castle for Kinmont.

wonderfully brief space Buccleugh had effected his purpose, joined his men on the Caday, remounted his troopers, forded once more the Esk and the Eden, and bearing his rescued favourite in the middle of his little band, regained the Scottish Border before sunrise. This brilliant exploit, the last and assuredly one of the bravest feats of Border warfare, was long talked of; embalmed in an inimitable ballad; and fondly dwelt on by tradition, which has preserved some graphic touches. Kinmont in swimming his horse through the Eden, which was then flooded, was much cumbered by the irons round his ancles; and is said to have drily observed, that often as he had breasted it, he never had such heavy spurs. His master, Buccleugh, eager to rid him of these shackles, halted at the first smith's house they came to within the Scottish Border; but the door was locked, the family in bed, and the knight of the hammer so sound a sleeper, that he was only wakened by the Lord Warden thrusting his long spear through the window, and nearly spitting both Vulcan and his lady.[1]

Jocular, however, as were these circumstances to the victors, the business was no laughing matter to Lord Scrope, who came forth from his bedchamber to find that his castle had been stormed, his garrison bearded, and his prisoner carried off by only eighty men. He instantly wrote to the Privy Council and Lord Burghley, complaining of so audacious an

[1] Contemporary Account in the Warrender MSS.; and MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Lord Scrope to Burghley. Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. ii. p. 60.

attack upon one of the Queen's castles in time of peace; and advising his royal mistress to insist with James on the delivery of Buccleugh, that he might receive the punishment which so audacious an outrage, as he termed it, deserved. But Buccleugh had much to offer in his defence: he pleaded that Kinmont's seizure and imprisonment had been a gross violation of the law; that it was not until every possible representation had failed, and till his own sovereign's remonstrance, addressed to Elizabeth, had been treated with contempt, that he took the matter into his own hands; and that his Borderers had committed no outrage, either on life or property, although they might have made Scrope and his garrison prisoners, and sacked the city. All this was true; and the King for a while resisted compliance with Elizabeth's demand, in which he was supported by the whole body of his Council and barons, and even by the ministers of the Kirk; whilst the people were clamorous in their applause, and declared that no more gallant action had been done even in Wallace's days.[1] But at last James' spirit quailed under the impetuous remonstrance of the Queen; and the Border chief was first committed to ward in the castle of St Andrews,[2] and afterwards sent on parole to England, where he remained till the outrages of the English Borderers rendered his services as Warden absolutely necessary to preserve the country from havoc.[3]

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 3d July, 1596. Spottiswood, p. 416.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, Aug. 19th, 1596. Ibid., same to same, 12th Oct., 1596.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to the Queen, 10th Nov., 1596.

He was then delivered. It is said that, during his stay in England as a prisoner at large, he was sent for by Elizabeth, who loved bold actions even in her enemies. She demanded of him, with one of those lion-like glances which used to throw her proudest nobles on their knees, how he had dared to storm her castle: to which the Border baron, nothing daunted, replied—"What, Madam, is there that a brave man may not dare?" The rejoinder pleased her; and turning to her courtiers, she exclaimed—"Give me a thousand such leaders, and I'll shake any throne in Europe!"[1]

This obsequiousness of the Scottish King to the wishes of the Queen of England was not without a purpose; for James had now resolved on the restoration of the Catholic earls, and anticipated the utmost opposition, not only from the powerful party of the Kirk, but from Burghley and his royal mistress. The aged Lord Treasurer, who had long managed the whole affairs of Scotland, had recently written to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, now Secretary of State, that he suspected the "Octavians," the eight councillors who now ruled the State, to be little else than "hollow Papists." It was evident, he added, that the King was much governed by them, and that his affection to the "crew" would increase; he advised, therefore, that Bowes, the English Ambassador, should have secret conference with the ministers of the Kirk, who would

[1] Notes on the Ballad of Kinmont Willie. Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 318.

discover the truth, and devise a remedy.[1] This was written in July; and there were good reasons for Burghley's suspicions. As early as May, Bowes had detected the incipient movement in favour of the banished earls, and their resolution to petition the King for their return.[2] They were to make submission to the King and the Church, and to have their cause espoused by the Duke of Lennox. Not long after, the Earl of Huntly landed from the Continent at Eyemouth; and passing in disguise into Scotland, encountered, on his road, the Lord St Colm, whose brother he had slain. Fortunately for the returned exile, his mean dress concealed him from the vengeance of his enemy, and he arrived safely amongst his friends; who, aware of the Court intrigues in his favour, exerted their utmost efforts to procure his restoration. But these were met by cries of horror and warning from the Kirk, which increased to their loudest note when it was reported that Errol had been seen with Huntly at his castle the Bog of Gight, and that Angus had dared to come secretly into Perth, from which he was only driven by a peremptory charge of the magistrates.[3]

Meanwhile the Countess of Huntly, who had much influence at Court, presented some overtures upon the part of her husband. He had never, he said, held any traffic with any individuals whatever, against the reformed religion, since his leaving Scotland, and was

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10th July, 1596, addressed, "To my lovying son."

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 18th May, 1596.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 20th Oct., 1596.

ready to abide his trial, if any one dared to accuse him. He was ready, also, to banish from his company all seminary priests and known Papists; and would willingly hold conference on the subject of religion with any ministers of the Kirk, by whose arguments he might possibly be induced to embrace their religion. He would receive, he added, any Presbyterian pastor into his house for his better instruction; would support him at his own expense; would assist the Kirk with his utmost power in the maintenance of their discipline; and only required, in return, that a reasonable time should be given him to be satisfied in his conscience; and that, meanwhile, he should be absolved from the heavy sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him.[1]

Nothing could be more moderate than such requests; but the Kirk fired at the very idea that an excommunicated traitor, as they termed the Earl, who had been guilty of idolatry, a crime punishable by death, and who, in the face of his sentence of banishment, had dared, without license, to return, should have the hardihood to propose any terms whatever. It was whispered that the Spanish faction was daily gaining strength; that the earls would not show themselves so openly unless they knew their return to be acceptable to the King: that the party against the truth and liberty of the Word was bold and confident of success, both in England and at home; and that, if some great and resolute resistance was not instantly made, the

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Offer of the Countess of Huntly, 19th Oct., 1596. Also, Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 305.

Kirk, with all its boasted purity and privileges, would become the prey of Antichrist. To remedy or avert these evils, a day of humiliation was appointed to be observed with more than ordinary rigour; in which the people and the ministry were called upon to weep, between the porch and the altar, for a land polluted by the enemies of God, and threatened with the loss of his favour. A body of sixteen commissioners was selected from the ministers, who were to sit monthly at Edinburgh, under the name of the "Council of the Church:" their duty was to provide, according to the ancient phrase, "*Ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti caperet;*" and through them a constant correspondence was kept up with all parts of the realm.[1]

These proceedings alarmed the King, who could see no good grounds for the erection of so formidable a machinery against what he deemed an imaginary attack, and directed some members of his Privy Council to hold a meeting with the more moderate ministers, and persuade them of the groundlessness of their apprehensions. If, he said, the three earls were repentant; if they had already suffered exile and were solicitous to hear the truth and return to their country and the bosom of the Church, why should he, their Prince, be precluded from the exercise of mercy, the brightest jewel in his prerogative? and why, above all, should the Church, whose doors ought ever to stand open to returning penitents, shut them remorselessly in their faces, and consign them to darkness and despair?

[1] Spottiswood, p. 418.

These sentiments of the King were as politic as they were merciful; for in the present state of the kingdom, considering Elizabeth's advanced age and the power of the Roman Catholics in England as well as in his own dominions, nothing could have been more unfavourable to his title of succession than to have become a religious persecutor. Indeed, the arguments of the more violent amongst the ministers were revolting and absurd. The crime of which the Catholic earls had been guilty (so they reasoned) was of that atrocious nature which rendered pardon, by the civil power, impossible. They were idolaters and must die the death; though, upon repentance, they might be absolved by the Kirk from the sentence of spiritual death.[1] Such a merciless mode of reasoning, proceeding, as Spottiswood has remarked, rather from "passion than any good zeal," greatly disgusted the King; who perceived that, under the alleged necessity of watching over the purity of the faith, the Kirk were erecting a tribunal independent alike of the law and the throne. Nor did James conceal these sentiments; inveighing bitterly against the ministers, both in public and private, at council and table. It was in vain that some of the brethren (for here, as in all other popular factions, there was a more moderate party, who were dragged forward and hustled into excesses by the more violent) entreated him to explain the causes of his offence, and declared their anxiety for an agreement. "As to agreement," said

[1] Spottiswood, pp. 418, 419.

the monarch, "never will there be an agreement as long as the limits of the two jurisdictions, the civil and the ecclesiastical, are so vague and undistinguishable. The lines must be strongly and clearly drawn. In your preachings, your license is intolerable; you censure both Prince, Estate, and Council; you convoke General Assemblies without my authority; you pass laws under the allegation that they are purely ecclesiastical, but which interfere with my prerogative, and restrict the decisions of my council and my judges. To these my allowance or approbation is never required; and under the general head of 'Scandal,' your Synods and Presbyteries fulminate the most bitter personal attacks, and draw within the sphere of their censure every conceivable grievance. To think of agreement under such circumstances is vain; even if made, it could not last for a moment."[1]

In the midst all this, and when the feelings of the King and the clergy were in a state of high excitement, Mr David Black, one of the ministers of St Andrews, a fierce Puritan, delivered a discourse in which he not only animadverted on the threatened triumph of idolatry at home, but raised his voice against the Prelacy which had established itself in the neighbouring kingdom. The Queen of England, he said, was an atheist; the religion professed in that kingdom nothing better than an empty show, guided by the injunctions of the bishops; and not content with this pageant at home, they were now persuading

[1] Spottiswood, p. 419.

the King to set it up in Scotland. As for his Highness, none knew better than he did of the meditated return of these Papist earls; and herein he was guilty of manifest treachery. But what could they look for? Was not Satan the head of both Court and Council? Were not all Kings devil's bairns? Was not Satan in the Court, in the guiders of the Court, in the head of the Court? Were not the Lords of Session miscreants and bribers, the nobility cormorants, and the Queen of Scotland a woman whom, for fashion's sake, they might pray for, but in whose time it was vain to hope for good?[1]

This insolent attack was followed, as might have been expected, by an indignant complaint of Bowes the English Ambassador; and the offender was immediately cited to appear before the Privy Council. To obey this summons, however, would have been construed into an abandonment of the highest privileges of the Kirk; and Black at once declined the jurisdiction of the tribunal. His "Declinator" is an extraordinary paper; and by the high tone which it assumed, fully justified all the apprehensions of the King. "Albeit," said he, addressing the King and Council, "I am ready, by the assistance of the grace of God, to give a confession, and to stand to the defence of every point of the truth of God, uttered by me, either by opening up of this word, or application thereof, before your Majesty or Council; * * yet, seeing I am brought at this

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Effect of Information against Mr David Black. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 128. Also, MS. St. P. Off., Process against Mr David Black, 9th Dec., 1596.

time to stand before your Majesty and Council, as a judge set to cognosce and discern upon my doctrine, wherethrough my answering to the said pretended accusation might import with the manifest prejudice of the liberties of the Kirk, and acknowledging also of your Majesty's jurisdiction in matters that are mere spiritual, which might move your Majesty to attempt farther in the spiritual government of the Kirk of God: * * Therefore (so he continued) I am constrained, in all humility and submission of mind, to use a *declinature* of the judgment, at least *in prima instantia*, for the following reasons: First, the Lord Jesus, the God of order and not of confusion, as appeared most evidently in all the Kirks of His saints, (of whom only I have the grace of my calling, as His ambassador, albeit most unworthy of that honour to bear His name amongst the saints,) He has given me His Word, and no law nor tradition of man, as the only instructions whereby I should rule the whole actions of my calling in preaching of the Word, administering of the seals thereof, and exercising of the discipline: and in discharge of this commission I cannot fall in the reverence of any evil law of man, but in so far as I shall be found past the compass of my instructions; which cannot be judged accordingly to that order established by that God of order, but [except] by the prophets, whose lips He hath appointed to be the keepers of His heavenly wisdom, and to whom He hath subjected the spirit of the prophets. And now, seeing it is the preaching of the Word whereon I am accused, which is a principal point of my

calling, of necessity the prophets must first declare whether I have kept the bounds of my direction, before I come to be judged of your Majesty: which being done, and I found culpable in transgressing any point of that commission which the Lord has given me, I refuse not to abide your Majesty's judgment in the second instance, and to underly whatsoever punishment it shall be found I have deserved.

"Secondly, because the liberty of the Kirk, and the whole discipline thereof, according as the same has been, and is presently exercised within your Majesty's realm, has been confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament, and approved in the Confession of Faith, by the subscription and acts of your Majesty, and of your Majesty's estate and the whole body of the country, and peaceably enjoyed by the office-bearers of the Kirk in all points, and namely in the foresaid point, anent the judicatory of the preaching of the Word *in prima instantia*, as the practice of late examples evidently will show: therefore, the question concerning my preaching, ought, first, according to the grounds and practice aforesaid, to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate."[1] * * *

This resolute refusal to submit himself to the judgment of the law, greatly enraged the King, and convinced him that the time was come to make a stand against the exorbitant claims of the Kirk. It confirmed him, also, in his resolution to extend his favour to the Catholic earls, upon their due submission; and at all hazards to put down that spirit of

[1] MS. St. P. Off., David Black's Declaration to the King's Majesty and Council, 22d Nov., 1596. Calderwood, p. 337.

dictation and interference which might have soon made the tyranny and license of the ministers intolerable. Having understood, therefore, that a copy of Mr Black's declinator had been sent by the Commissioners of the Kirk to the various Presbyteries throughout the kingdom for their signature, with letters commending the cause to their assistance and prayers, James at once construed this into an act of mutiny; and by a public Proclamation not only discharged the Commissioners from holding any farther meetings, but commanded them to leave the capital and repair within twenty-four hours to their flocks.[1] But this royal order they were in no temper to obey. They instantly convened, and, in the phrase used by their own historian, "laid their letters open before the Lord."[2] The danger, they declared, was imminent; and the ministers of the city must instantly, in their pulpits, deal mightily with the power of the Word against the charge which commanded them to desert their duty. As the spiritual jurisdiction flowed immediately from Christ, and could in no way proceed from a King or civil magistrate: so also the power to convene for the exercise of such jurisdiction came directly from Christ, and could neither be impeded nor controlled by any Christian Prince. They declared, therefore, that they would not obey the proclamation, but remain together to watch over the safety of Christ's Church, now in extreme jeopardy; and sent an angry message to the "Octavians," the eight councillors who then managed the Government,

[1] Calderwood, p. 341. [2] Ibid.

assuring them, that as the Kirk had been in peace and liberty on their coming to office and was now plunged into the greatest troubles, they could not but hold them responsible for the late bitter attacks upon its privileges.

This accusation was indignantly repelled by Seton the President of the Session; and from him the Commissioners of the Kirk repaired to the King; who assured them, with greater mildness than some had expected, that if Black would withdraw his "Declinator" all could be well arranged: a proposal which the more moderate party in the Kirk anxiously advised to be adopted. "At this moment," they said, "the Court stands in some awe of the Kirk; and our wisest plan is to make the best conditions we can. If we measure our strength with the King, we shall be found too weak, and may lose the ground we have gained." But others, more fierce and zealous, arraigned such counsels as Erastian, and worldly wise. To renounce the least of their privileges would, they argued, be the sure way to lose them all: to stand to their ground the only way to prevail. It was God's cause; and He who had the hearts of Princes in His hand would maintain it.[1]

These counsels prevailed. The monarch, irritated by the rejection of his offer, commanded the trial of Black to proceed. So anxious, however, was he to avoid extremities, that after the Judges had pronounced their opinion that the matters charged against him amounted, if proved, to treason, and were within the jurisdiction of the King and Council, he

[1] Calderwood, pp. 340, 341. Spottiswood, p. 423.

deferred the trial till next day; and in the interval sent for some of the ministers, with the hope that, even at this latest hour, some mutual concessions might lead to peace. It had been reported to him, he said, that they were in terror lest their spiritual jurisdiction should be invaded; but nothing could be farther from his mind than any abridgment of the liberties of the Kirk; and he was ready, by a public declaration on this point, to quiet their minds. "But," he continued, "this licentious manner of discoursing of affairs of State in the pulpit cannot be tolerated. My claim is only to judge in matters of sedition, and other civil and criminal causes, and of speeches that may import such crimes, wheresoever they may be uttered—in the pulpit or elsewhere: for surely, if treason and sedition be crimes, much more are they so if committed in the pulpit, where the Word of Truth alone should be taught and heard."

To this some of the ministers replied, that they did not plead for the privilege of place, but for respect due to their message, which was received from God, and far above the control of any civil judicature. "Most true," said James; "and would you keep to your message, there would and could be no strife. But I trust your message be not to rule Estates, and, when matters dislike you, to stir the people to sedition, making both me and my councillors odious by your railings."—"If any dare do so," said the champion of the Kirk, "and have passed the bounds, it is reason he be punished with all extremity; but this question of his having past the bounds must be judged by the

Church."—"And shall not I," said the King, with some asperity, "have power to call and punish a minister that breaketh out in treasonable speeches, but must come to your Presbytery and be a complainer? I have had good proof already what justice ye will do me; and were this a doubtful case, where by any colour the speeches might be justified, there might be some excuse for saying the minister should be convicted by his brethren; but here, what says Mr Black? 'All Kings are devil's bairns; the treachery of the King's heart is discovered.' Who sees not that this man hath passed his bounds? Who will say he hath kept to his message?"

It was easier to demur to this than to answer it; and so convinced were the ministers at the moment of the reasonableness of the King's desires, that after much conference and cavilling, they agreed to withdraw from the contest, till the limits between the civil and spiritual jurisdictions should be discussed and decided in a lawful General Assembly. On his side, also, James relaxed in the rigour of his requisitions. He was content, he said, that Black should be brought to his presence; and on his admission or denial of the truth of the accusations, be judged by three of his own brethren, Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Nicolson, and Mr Thomas Buchanan. Matters were now on the very eve of an amicable adjustment, when it was unfortunately suggested to the King, that by this mode of settlement he would compromise his dignity, and that of his Consort, unless Mr Black first acknowledged his offence against the Queen.

From such a proceeding the indignant minister revolted. He would plead to no offence, he said; for he was guilty of none. The Court, before whom he had been tried, had evinced the most shameless injustice; had refused the most unexceptionable witnesses, who would have amply proved his innocence. Provost, bailies, rectors, deans, principals, and regents of colleges, had been ready to testify in his favour; and the judges had admitted in their place the evidence of ignorant and partial persons, whom it was impossible to believe. Come what might, he would never plead before a Civil tribunal for an alleged Spiritual delinquency; but if the monarch chose to remit him to his lawful judge, the ecclesiastical senate, he would declare the truth; and, if found guilty, cheerfully submit to its censure.[1]

This second declinature enraged the King even more than the first; and having summoned his Council, he commanded the trial to proceed; but no prisoner appeared. The depositions of the witnesses were then read; and Black, in absence, was found guilty of having falsely and treasonably slandered the King, the Queen his royal Consort, his neighbour Princess the Queen of England, and the Lords of Council and Session. It was left to the King to name the due punishment for such offences; but till the royal pleasure were known, he was sentenced to be confined beyond the North Water, and within six days to enter his person in ward.[2] Yet although armed by this sentence,

[1] Calderwood, p. 351. Spottiswood, p. 425.

[2] Id. 427.

and holding the sword of the civil power over the heads of the guilty, James arrested its descent, and to the last showed an anxiety for a compromise. The punishment of Black, he said, should be of the lightest kind; and no ministers should be called before the Privy Council till it had been found in a General Assembly that the King might judge whether they passed the bounds in doctrine. Meanwhile, the acts of Council so obnoxious to the brethren should be deleted, the offensive proclamations amended, and every reasonable safeguard provided against the alleged encroachments upon the liberties of the Kirk.

These amicable feelings were unfortunately construed rather into an admission of weakness than a desire for peace; and the Commissioners of the Kirk, sternly refusing to abate an atom of their demands, declared that no punishment could be inflicted on a man who had not yet been tried. On the other hand, it was urged by Seton, President of the Session, and one of the Octavians, that unless some punishment followed the sentence pronounced upon Black, the King could never make that process a good ground for claiming the jurisdiction over the ministers. The two antagonists therefore, the Kirk and the Crown, found themselves, after these protracted overtures, more mortally opposed to each other than before. The Kirk, protesting that every effort had failed to obtain redress for the wrongs offered to Christ's kingdom, proclaimed a Fast; commanded all faithful pastors to betake themselves to their spiritual armour; caused "the Doctrine," to use the phrase of these times, "to

sound mightily;" and protested that, whatever might be the consequences, they were free of his Majesty's blood.[1]

The King received this announcement with the utmost scorn; commanded the Commissioners instantly to depart the city; ordered Black to enter into ward; and published a Declaration, in which he exposed, in forcible and indignant terms, the unreasonable demands of the Kirk. Out of an earnest desire, he said, to keep peace with the ministers, he had agreed to waive all inquiry into "past causes," till the unhappy differences between the civil and ecclesiastical tribunal had been removed by the judgment of a Convention of Estates and a General Assembly of the ministry. All that he had asked in return was, that his proceedings should not be made a subject of pulpit attack and bitter ecclesiastical railing: instead of listening to which request, they had vilified him in their sermons, accused him of persecution, defended Black, and falsely held him up to his people as the enemy of all godliness. In the face of all such slander and defamation, he now declared to his good subjects, that as it was his determination on the one hand to maintain religion and the discipline of the Church as established by law, so on the other he was resolved to enforce upon all his people, ministers of the Kirk as well as others, that obedience to the laws and reverence for the throne, without which no Christian kingdom could hold together. For this purpose certain Bonds were in preparation, which the ministers

[1] Calderwood, pp. 356, 360. Spottiswood, p. 426.

should be required to subscribe under the penalty of a sequestration of their property.[1]

Meanwhile, the Commissioners having retired from the city, a short breathing time was allowed; and Secretary Lindsay, trusting that the ministers of Edinburgh might now be more tractable than their brethren, prevailed on the King to send for them. As a preliminary to all accommodation, they insisted that the Commissioners should be recalled; and the King, relaxing in his rigour, appeared on the point of acceding to their wishes, when some of the "*Cubiculars*," as the lords of the bed-chamber and gentlemen of the household were called, interposed their ill offices to prevent an agreement. These ambitious and intriguing men had long envied and hated the Octavians, and had hoped, under colour of the recent dissensions in the Church, to procure their disgrace and dismissal. Nothing could be more unfavourable to such a plot than peace between the King and the Kirk: nothing more essential to its success than to fan the flame and stir the elements of discord. This they now set about with diabolical ingenuity. They laboured to make the Octavians odious to the party of the Protestant barons and the ministers. They assured them, that all the hot persecution of Mr Black arose from this hydra-headed crew, of whom they knew the leaders to be Papists. They insinuated to the Octavians that the animosity of their enemies in the Kirk was so implacable as to throw their lives into jeopardy; and they abused the

[1] Spottiswood, p. 426.

King's ear, to whom their office gave them unlimited access, by tales against the citizens of Edinburgh; who mounted guard every night, as they affirmed, over the houses of their ministers, lest their lives should fall a sacrifice to the unmitigable rage of their sovereign.

By these abominable artifices, the single end of which was to destroy the government of the Octavians, the hopes of peace were entirely blasted; and the little lull which had succeeded the retirement of the Commissioners was followed by a more terrific tempest than had yet occurred. The King, incensed at the conduct of the citizens and the suspicion which it implied, commanded twenty-four of the most zealous burgesses to leave the capital within six hours; a proceeding which enraged the ministers, whose indignation blazed to the highest pitch when they received an anonymous letter, assuring them that Huntly had been that night closeted with James. The information was false, and turned out to be an artifice of the "Cubiculars"; but it had the effect intended, for all was now terror in the Kirk. Balcanquel flew to the pulpit; and after a general discourse on some text of the Canticles, plunged into the present troubles of the Kirk, arraigned the "treacherous forms" of which they had been made the victims; and turning to the noblemen and barons who were his auditors, reminded them, in glowing language, of the deeds of their ancestors in defence of the truth: exhorting them not to disgrace their fathers, but to meet the ministers forthwith in

the Little Church. To this quarter so great a crowd now rushed, that the clergy could not make their entrance; but Mr Robert Bruce, pressing forward, at last reached the table where the Protestant barons were seated, and warning them of the imminent perils which hung over their heads, the return of the Papist earls, the persecution of Black, the banishment of the Commissioners and the citizens, conjured them to bestir themselves and intercede with the King.[1]

For this purpose, Lords Lindsay and Forbes, with the Lairds of Barganie and Balquhan, and the two ministers, Bruce and Watson, sought the royal presence, then not far off; for the King was at that moment sitting in the Upper Tolbooth with some of his Privy Council, while the Judges of the Session were assembled in the Lower House. On being admitted with the rest, Bruce informed the monarch that they were sent by the noblemen and barons then convened, to bemoan and avert the dangers threatened to religion. "What dangers?" said James. "I see none; and who dares convene, contrary to my proclamation?"—"Dares!" retorted the fierce Lord Lindsay. "We dare more than that; and shall not suffer the Truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by." As he said this the clamour increased; numbers were thronging unmannerly into the presence-chamber, and the King, starting up in alarm, and without giving any answer, retreated down stairs to the Lower House, where the Judges were assembled, and commanded the

[1] Spottiswood, p. 427.

doors to be shut. The Protestant lords and ministers upon this returned to the little Kirk, where the multitude had been addressed during their absence by Mr Michael Cranston, who had read to them the history of Haman and Mordecai. This story had worked them up to a point that prepared them for any mischief; and when they heard that the King had turned his back upon their messengers, they became furious with rage and disappointment. Some, dreading the worst, desired to separate; but Lindsay's lion voice was heard above the clamour, forbidding them to disperse. Shouts now arose, to force the doors and bring out the wicked Haman; others cried out "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon;" and in the midst of the confusion, an agent of the courtiers, or, as Calderwood terms him, "a messenger of Satan sent by the Cubiculars," vociferated "Armour, armour! save yourselves. Fy, fy! bills and axes!" The people now rose in arms; some rushing one way, some another; some, thinking the King was laid hands on, ran to the Tolbooth; some, believing that their ministers were being butchered, flew to the Kirk; others thundered with their axes and weapons on the Tolbooth doors; calling for President Seton, Mr Elphinston, and Mr Thomas Hamilton, to be given up to them, that they might take order with them as abusers of the King and the Kirk. At this moment, had not a brave deacon of the craftsmen, named Wat, with a small guard, beat them back, the gate would have been forced, and none could have answered for the consequences. But

at last the provost, Sir Alexander Hume, whom the shouts of the uproar had reached as he lay on a sick bed, seizing his sword, rushed in, all haggard and pale, amongst the citizens, and with difficulty appeased them into a temporary calm.

James, who was greatly alarmed, now sent the Earl of Mar to remonstrate with the ministers, whom he found pacing up and down, disconsolately, behind the church, lamenting the tumult, and excusing their own part. On being remonstrated with by Mar, all that they required, they said, was the abolition of the acts done in prejudice of the Kirk during the last four weeks; that the President, Comptroller, and Advocate, men suspected in religion, and enemies to the truth, should have no voice in ecclesiastical matters; and that the good citizens who had been banished, should be recalled. These demands being reported, the monarch promised to lay them, when put into proper form, before his Council; and seizing the moment of tranquillity, ventured to open the doors of the Lower Tolbooth, and accompanied by the provost, bailies, and Octavians, slipt quietly into the street, and proceeded to his palace at Holyrood.

Here at last there was safety; and his courage reviving, James expressed himself with the utmost indignation against the ministers and leaders of the late tumult; vowing that they, the town, the barons, and every living soul connected with the recent disgraceful scenes, should bitterly repent them. These sentiments were encouraged by the councillors;

and next morning the King and his whole Court, at an early hour, left the city for Linlithgow. Scarcely had they departed, when a Herald appearing at the Cross, read a proclamation which struck dismay into the hearts of the people. It described the treasonable uproar of the preceding day, which had been raised by the factious ministers of Edinburgh, who, it stated, after having uttered most seditious speeches in pulpit, had assembled with the noblemen, barons, and others; had sent an irreverent message to their sovereign, persuaded the citizens to take arms, and put his Majesty's life in jeopardy. Such treasonable conduct, it declared, had convinced the King that the capital was no longer a fit place for his own residence, or for the ministration of justice; he had therefore himself left it with his Court, and now commanded the Lords of Session, Sheriffs, and all other officers of justice, to remove themselves forth of the town of Edinburgh, and be ready to repair to such other place as should be appointed. At the same time he ordered all noblemen and barons to depart instantly to their own houses, and to forbear any further assembly till they had received the royal permission.[1]

This proclamation had an immediate effect, and caused a great alteration. Men looked sadly and despondingly on each other. The craftsmen and burgesses foretold the utter decay of their town and trade. All seemed in despair: but nothing could intimidate the Kirkmen; and Mr Robert Bruce, one

[1] Spottiswood, p. 429-430.

of their principal leaders, ascending the pulpit, upbraided them with their pusillanimity. "A day," said he, "a day of trial and terror is at hand. The hypocrisy of many, the flagrant iniquity of others, will clearly appear. The trial shall go through all men: from King and Queen to council and nobility, from session to barons, from barons to burgesses, from burgesses to the meanest craftsmen, all will be sifted; and sorry am I that I should see such weakness in so many, that ye dare not utter so much as one word for God's glory and the good cause. It is not we that are parties in this cause. No: the quarrel is betwixt a greater Prince and us. We are but silly men, and unworthy creatures. But it hath pleased Him who ruleth all things, to set us in this Office, and to make us His own mouth, that we should oppose the manifest usurpation intended against His spiritual kingdom; and sorry am I that our cause should be obscured by this late tumult, and that the enemies should be thereby emboldened to pull the crown off Christ's head."[1]

After this stirring address, Lord Hamilton was secretly invited to place himself at the head of the godly barons and other gentlemen, who had embraced the cause of the Kirk; and a proposal was made for the excommunication of Seton the President of the Session, and Hamilton the Lord Advocate; but in the end it was deemed advisable to defer this awful process to the General Assembly, when these offenders might, with greater solemnity, be delivered over to Satan.

[1] Calderwood, p. 366.

Meanwhile, a Fast was proclaimed; and Mr John Welsh, one of the ministers, thundered from one of the city pulpits an extraordinary philippic against the King; taking for his general subject the epistle sent to the angel of the Church at Ephesus. His Majesty, he said, had been possessed with a devil; and one devil having been put out, seven worse spirits were entered in his place. He was, in fact, in a state of frenzy; and it was lawful for the subjects to rise against him, and take the sword out of his hand; just as a father of a family, if visited with insanity, might be seized by his children and servants and tied hand and foot. An execrable doctrine, justly observes Spottiswood, which was yet received by many of the hearers as a sound application.

This insolent attack was scarcely made, when Lord Hamilton, who had at first received the messenger of the Kirk with courtesy, suddenly rode to Linlithgow, and put into the King's hands the letter addressed him by the ministers. It was construed into a direct incitement to rebellion: and certainly its terms went far that way. Addressing themselves to this nobleman, the brethren presumed, they said, that his Lordship was aware of the long conference between his Majesty and them; many concurrings, and as many breaks, in which, at last, the malice of some councillors had come to this, that their stipends were discharged; the Commissioners of the General Assembly banished; Mr David Black convicted of treason and warded; themselves appointed to suffer the like; and now, at last, a great

number of their flock, who had stood in their defence, expelled from the town. They proceeded to state that the people, in this crisis, animated, no doubt, by the Word of God's spirit, took arms; and, unless restrained by their ministers, would, in their fury, have lighted upon many of the councillors, who were threatening destruction, as they believed, to religion and Government. The letter stated that the godly barons, with other gentlemen who were in the town, had convened themselves; they had taken upon them the patronicy of the Kirk and her cause; but they lacked a head, and specially a nobleman to countenance the matter, and with one consent had made choice of Lord Hamilton. "And seeing," so the ministers concluded their inflammatory epistle, "God has given your Lordship this honour, we could do no less than to follow His calling, and make it known to you, that with all convenient diligence you might come here, utter your affection to the good cause, and receive the honour which is offered you."[1]

This letter was subscribed by the leading ministers of the Kirk; Bruce, Balcanquel, Rollock, Balfour, and Watson: but the great nobleman to whom it was addressed, resisted the dangerous preëminence, and highly offended the Kirk by now placing it in the King's hands, who was not slow to take advantage of the discovery. In truth, the tumult recently committed by the citizens, and the part which had been acted in it by the clergy,

[1] Warrender MSS., vol. B., p. 246.

was a prodigious advantage given to the monarch; who quickly perceived it. He was well aware of the difficulty of dealing with the ministers, as long as they confined themselves to their political attacks in the pulpit, and pleaded an independent jurisdiction; but the citizens and bailies were unquestionably amenable to the authority of the Crown and the laws. They were, with scarcely a single exception, Protestants; warmly attached to the Kirk, and a principal element in its power. All this the King knew; and when he saw that he had them within his grasp, he determined they should feel the full weight of his resentment. It was in vain that the citizens sought to appease the royal wrath, and despatched the humblest messages to implore its removal, and invite their sovereign back to his capital. The envoys were refused access; the provost was commanded to imprison the ministers, who were accused of having instigated a tumult which had endangered the life of their prince; the outrage was declared treason by an act of Council; the capital was pronounced unsafe; the nobility and gentry interdicted from resorting thither; the inferior judicatories and the Supreme Court removed; and the ominous answer returned by the King to the citizens, that he meant ere long to come to Edinburgh, in person, and let them know that he was their sovereign.

To enforce this, James summoned his Highland nobles with their fierce attendants, and his Border barons with their lawless followers. Dark surmises ran

through the Court, and soon reached the startled ears of the townsmen, that their city was doomed to indiscriminate pillage; it was to be sacked, perhaps razed, and sown with salt. Will of Kinmont, it was said, was to be let loose upon it; and his name, always formidable, and now more notorious from his recent escape, struck terror into the hearts of the burghers. It was in vain that the ministers attempted to rally the courage of their flocks, spoke of excommunicating their enemies in the Council, and drew up a bond for the defence of religion. The magistrates refused to subscribe it; the craftsmen, torn between their love of gain and their devotion to sound doctrine, began to look coldly and doubtfully upon their pastors; and the four clergymen, who had taken the most active part in the tumult, dreading an arrest, fled by night to Newcastle.[1] But these were not the days when the artisans and merchants of a feudal capital were subjects of easy plunder. All had arms, and knew well how to use them; and the shops, booths, and warehouses, were soon emptied of their goods, which were stowed away in the strongest houses of the town. The sturdy proprietors then took to their weapons, mounted guard over their stores, and determined that neither Catherans nor Borderers should spoil them without a bloody struggle.[2]

On the 1st January, the dreaded entry of the monarch took place. The streets and gates had, early in the morning, been occupied by the various chiefs and clans appointed for the purpose. The

[1] Spottiswood, p. 431. [2] Birrel's Diary.

provost and magistrates delivered the keys of the city on their knees to the King; professed their deep sorrow for the late tumult, of which, they declared, they were individually guiltless; and solicited the strictest scrutiny into the whole. As to the inflammatory sermons, and the conduct of their ministers who had been recently outlawed, they should, they said, never be re-admitted to their charge without the permission of the King; and at the next election of the civic authorities, such persons only should be chosen as had previously been approved of by the Crown.[1] James then proceeded to the High Church, heard a sermon from Mr David Lindsay, and made an oration to the people, in which he justified himself, cleared his councillors, and deeply blamed the ministers.[2] He spoke of his own early education in the reformed religion; his solemn determination to maintain it; to extirpate from his realm all unrepentant idolaters, and to provide for the preaching of God's Word, which had been silent in the capital since the flight of those unworthy pastors who had profaned the pulpits by their seditious harangues. Having thus somewhat reassured the trembling citizens, he deemed that he had gone far enough for the present; and not only declined accepting their offers of submission, but at a succeeding Convention of Estates, held at Holyrood, anew declared the tumult to be treason, intimated his resolution to prosecute the town criminally, and commanded the provost

[1] Maitland, vol. ii., p. 1278.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Cecil, 4th January, 1596.

and bailies to enter their persons in ward, within the town of Perth, before the 1st of February; to remain there in durance till acquitted, or found guilty of the uproar.[1] The sword was thus kept suspended over the heads of the unhappy magistrates and their capital; and it was quite apparent that the King, having become convinced of his own strength, was determined to defer the moment of mercy till he had accomplished some great purpose which now filled his mind.

This was nothing less than the establishment of Episcopacy. The recent excesses of the more violent ministers had made the deepest impression upon the monarch; and it was evident to him, that if the principles of independent jurisdiction which they had not hesitated to adopt, were preached and acted upon, there must ensue a perpetual collision between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. He longed, therefore, to use the words of Spottiswood, to see "a decent order established in the Kirk, which should be consistent with the Word of God, the custom of primitive times, and the laws of the realm;" and he believed that no fitter moment could occur to carry this great object than the present. His first step was to summon a General Assembly of the Church to meet at Perth on the last of February. His next was an act of conciliation. The eight councillors who, under the name of Octavians, had, for the last eighteen months, managed the financial department of the State, and indirectly controlled

[1] Spottiswood, p. 433.

every part of the Government, had been especially obnoxious to the Protestant clergy, and to a section of the courtiers and bed-chamber lords. They were hated by the ministers, who suspected them to be mostly concealed Roman Catholics; by the *Cubiculars*, as the courtiers were called, because they had curtailed their perquisites, and introduced a strict economy; and the King, by accepting their resignations, believed that he would popularize his intended ecclesiastical innovations.[1] These changes he now prefaced by drawing up and circulating amongst the different Synods and Presbyteries, no less than fifty-five questions, involving the most important points in dispute between himself and his clergy; not, as he solemnly declared, for the purpose of troubling the peace of the Kirk by thorny disputes, but to have its polity cleared, its corruptions eradicated, and a pleasant harmony established between himself and its ministers.[2] The spirit and tendency of these questions gave great alarm to the brethren. The King inquired whether matters of external ecclesiastical regimen might not be disputed, *salvâ fide et religione;* whether the Prince by himself, or the pastors by themselves, or both conjunctly, should establish the Acts concerning the government of the Kirk; whether the consent of a majority of the flock, and also of the patron, was necessary in the election of pastors; whether there could be a lawful minister, without *impositio manuum;*

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bowes to Burghley, 13th January, 1596-7.

[2] Spottiswood, p. 434.

whether pastors should be permitted to allude by name to councillors and magistrates in the pulpit, or to describe them so minutely as to leave no doubt whom they meant, although the parties so attacked were guiltless of notorious vices, and had not been previously admonished; whether the pastor should be confined to the doctrine directly flowing from his text, or might preach all things on all texts; whether the General Assembly of the Kirk might be convoked without consent of the Prince, he being *pius et Christianus Magistratus;* whether it were lawful to excommunicate such Papists as had never professed the reformed faith; whether a Christian Prince had power to annul a notoriously-unjust sentence of excommunication, and to amend such disorders as might occur either by pastors failing in their duties, or by one jurisdiction usurping the province of another; whether Fasts for general causes might be proclaimed without the command of the Prince; whether any causes infringing upon the civil jurisdiction, or interfering with vested private rights, might be disputed and ruled in the ecclesiastical courts; and whether the civil magistrate had not a full right to stay all such proceedings?[1]

These searching interrogatories were received with no inconsiderable dismay by the clergy. They took great offence that their forms of ecclesiastical polity, which they considered irreversibly fixed by Act of Parliament, and founded, as they contended, on the Word of God, which had been so highly eulogized also

[1] Spottiswood, pp. 435, 436.

by the King in 1592, should be called in question. They saw how acutely the questions had been drawn up; how deeply they touched the independence of the Kirk; what a total revolution and alienation the late excesses of the ministers had occasioned in the mind of the sovereign, and how earnest and determined he seemed in the whole matter.

All this demanded instant vigilance and resistance. Many private conferences were held; and in the end of February the brethren of the Synod of Fife convened at St Andrews; where, after "tossing of the King's questions for sundry days," they drew up their replies, which, as was to be expected, ruled everything in favour of the Kirk, and resisted every claim on the part of the King. Some of these answers are remarkable, and seem to show that the principles then laid down were incompatible with the existence of civil government. Thus, the first question, Whether matters concerning the external government of the Kirk might not be debated *salvâ fide et religione?* was met by a peremptory negative; on the second, they were equally positive that the King had no voice in the discussion or establishment of any acts relating to Church government. All the Acts of the Kirk (so was their response worded) ought to be established by the Word of God. Of this Word the ordinary interpreters were the pastors and doctors of the Kirk; the extraordinary expounders, such as were called for in times of corruption, were the prophets, or such men as were endowed by God with extraordinary gifts; and kings and princes had nothing to do but

to ratify and vindicate, by their civil sanctions, that which these pastors and prophets had authoritatively declared.[1] As to the indecent and scurrilous practice of inveighing against particular men and councillors by name in the pulpit, they defended its adoption by what they termed apostolic authority. "The canon," said they, "of the Apostle is clear: 'They that sin publicly, rebuke publicly, that the rest may fear;'" and so much the more if the public sin be in a public person. On other points they were equally clear and decided in favour of their own practices and pretensions. All things, they contended, might be spoken on all texts; and if the minister travelled from his subject, he was only following the express directions of Paul to Timothy. The General Assembly might be convened without the authority of the King, because the officers of the Kirk received their place and warrant directly from Christ, and not from any temporal Prince; and the acts passed in that Assembly were undoubtedly valid, although carried against the royal will. On this question their reasoning was extraordinary: "The King (they contended) should consent to, and give a legal sanction to all acts passed in the Assembly; and why? Because the acts of the Assembly have sufficient authority from Christ; who has promised, that whatever shall be agreed upon on earth by two or three convened in his name, shall be ratified in heaven; a warrant to which no temporal King or Prince can lay claim: and so," it continues, "the acts and constitutions of

[1] Calderwood, pp. 382, 383.

the Kirk are of higher authority than those of any earthly king; yea, they should command and overrule kings, whose greatest honour should be to be members, nursing fathers and servants to this King Christ Jesus, and his House and Queen the Kirk."[1] To pursue the answers is unnecessary, enough having been given to show their general tendency. But the courage of the Synod of Fife, by whom these stout replies were drawn up, did not pervade the whole body of the Kirk; and the King, who managed the affair with his usual acuteness and dexterity, succeeded in procuring a majority in the General Assembly, and ultimately carrying his own views.

This James appears to have effected by holding out hopes of preferment to those who were wavering, and packing the General Assembly with a large majority of north-country ministers, who were generally esteemed more lukewarm Presbyterians and more devoted courtiers than their lowland brethren. Sir Patrick Murray, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, had been sent for this purpose into the North; and was so successful in his mission, that when the Assembly met at Perth, the King found them in a more placable and conciliatory mood than could have been anticipated. It was declared, after some sharp discussion, a lawful Assembly; having power, not only to debate, but to conclude such questions as should be brought before them. The royal Commissioners, Sir John Cockburn, Sir John Preston, and Mr Edward Bruce, then

[1] Calderwood, p. 386.

presented thirteen Articles, which embraced the principal points of dispute already included by the King in his original Queries; and a Committee of the Assembly having been chosen to consider them, they gave in, next morning, a series of answers, which James pronounced unsatisfactory, and requested the members of Assembly to meet the Estates for the purpose of a more full discussion. When they appeared, he observed that they must be well aware of the object for which he had desired their attendance. "My purpose," said he, "in calling you together is to amend such things as are amiss, and to take away the questions that may move trouble afterwards. If you, for your parts, be willing to have matters righted, things may yet go well. I claim nothing but what is due to every Christian King; that is, to be *Custos et Vindex Disciplinæ*. Corruptions are crept in, and more are daily growing, by this liberty that preachers take in the application of their doctrine, and censuring everything that is not to their mind. This I must have amended; for such discourses serve only to move sedition, and raise tumults. Let the Truth of God be taught in the Chair of Truth, and wickedness be reprobated; but in such sort as the offender may be bettered, and vice made more odious. To rail against men in pulpit, and express their names, as we know was done of late, there being no just cause; and to make the Word of God, which is ordained to guide men in the way of salvation, an instrument of sedition; is a sin, I am sure, beyond all other that can be committed on earth Hold you

within your limits, and I will never blame you, nor suffer others to work you any vexation. The civil government is committed to me. It is not your subject; nor are ye to meddle with it."[1]

This peremptory mode of address overawed the Assembly; and after protesting that they had convened in that place only to evince their obedience to the sovereign, and in no wise consenting to submit matters ecclesiastical to a civil judicatory, they withdrew to their ordinary place of meeting, and prepared their amended answers; with which the King declared himself satisfied for the present. And he had good reason to be so; for he had already gained some principal points. It was agreed that the monarch, either by himself or his Commissioners, might propose to the General Assembly any reformation or amendment in ecclesiastical matters connected with the external government of the Kirk; that no unusual conventions should be held amongst pastors without the royal consent; that the acts of the Privy Council, or the laws passed by the three Estates, should not be attacked or discussed in the pulpit, without remedy having been first sought from the King; that in the principal towns of the realm no minister should be chosen without consent of the King, and of the flock; and that no man should be by name rebuked in the pulpit, unless he had fled from justice, or were under sentence of excommunication.[2]

James' next step was to reconcile the Catholic lords to the Kirk; and he was here equally success-

[1] Spottiswood, p. 440. [2] Id. p. 441.

ful. He had already written a peremptory letter to Huntly, informing him that the time was come when he must either embrace the Protestant faith, remain in Scotland, and be restored to his honours and his estates; or leave his country for ever, if, as the King expressed it in his letter, his conscience were so "*kittle*"[1] as to refuse these conditions; in which case James added, "Look never to be a Scotsman again!" The letter concluded with these solemn words:—

"Deceive not yourself, to think that by lingering of time, your wife and your allies shall ever get you better conditions. I must love myself and my own estate better than all the world; and think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary religion to dwell in this land."[2]

The conditions presented to Huntly, Angus, and Errol, were, that after conference with the Presbyterian ministers, who should be careful to instruct them in the Truth, they should acknowledge the Kirk of Scotland to be a true Church, become members of it, hear the Word, receive the sacraments, and be obedient to its discipline; and that they should banish all Jesuits and seminary priests from their company and estates, and subscribe the Confession of Faith. On the meeting of the General Assembly at Dundee, (10th May, 1597,) the brethren who had

[1] *i. e.*, So ticklish or tender.

[2] Original in the King's hand, Warrender MSS., vol. A., p. 169. Printed by Spottiswood, with some words and sentences omitted.

been appointed for this purpose, reported that the earls had recanted their errors, subscribed the Confession of Faith, and so completely fulfilled all the conditions required of them, that nothing more remained, than the pleasing duty of receiving them once more into communion with the Kirk. But, at the very moment of reconciliation, it was found that Mr James Gordon, a Jesuit, had glided in disguise into the country of Huntly, and was busy in shaking his resolution; whilst a daring Catholic baron, named Barclay of Ladyland, seized and fortified Ailsa, a small island in the shape of a huge, rugged rock, off the coast of Ayr, with the design of delivering it to the Spaniards, who had promised to make a descent in that quarter. This desperate enterprise was defeated by Mr Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, whose prowess had been shown some five years before this, in seizing George Ker with the Spanish Blanks.[1] With like success, this devoted member of the Kirk having discovered Barclay's plot, girded on his sword; and taking boat, with a few daring assistants, attacked the traitor on his rock, and reduced him to such extremity, that rather than be taken alive he rushed into the sea, and in one moment choked both himself and his treason.[2]

This reverse confirmed the Catholic lords in their convictions; and the ceremony of their reconciliation to the Kirk, and restoration to their

[1] Supra, p. 76-77.

[2] Spottiswood, p. 445. MS. St. P. Off., without date.

estates and honours, took place at Aberdeen in the end of June. As it was an event particularly acceptable to the King, and considered a great triumph by the Kirk, the proceedings were conducted with much solemnity. After a strict Fast, held on Saturday the 25th of June, on which day the three earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, made up all deadly quarrels, and shook hands with their enemies, mutually imploring and receiving forgiveness; the congregation assembled on Sunday the 26th, in the old Kirk at Aberdeen, which was crowded with the noblemen, barons, and common people. In the main aisle was a table for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and immediately before the sermon, the three earls rose from their places, and subscribed the Confession of Faith. The sermon followed, preached by Mr John Gledstanes; after which the earls rose, and with a loud voice made open confession of their late defection and apostacy, professing their present conviction of the truth of the Presbyterian faith, and their resolution to remain steadfast in the same. Huntly then declared before God, his majesty, and the Kirk, his deep penitence for the murder of the Earl of Murray; after which the three noble delinquents were absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and received by the ministers, the royal Commissioner, and the provost and magistrates, into the bosom of the Kirk. A person in the dress of a penitent now threw himself on his knees before the pulpit: it was the Laird of Gicht, who implored pardon for his supporting Bothwell, and entreated

to be released from his sentence of excommunication. All this was granted, The repentant earls then received the sacrament after the Presbyterian form; solemnly swore to keep good order in their wide and wild territories, executing justice, destroying "bangsters," and showing themselves, in all respects, "good justiciars;" and, on the succeeding day, Marchmont Herald proclaimed their reconciliation by sound of trumpet at the Cross, which was hung with tapestry, and surrounded by multitudes, who shouted their joy, drank their healths, and tossed their glasses in the air.[1]

This success gave strength to the King's government, and encouraged James to go forward with his great ecclesiastical project; but he proceeded with caution, and took care not to alarm the Kirk by prematurely disclosing the full extent of his reforms. He had now secured in his interest a large party of the ministers; but the elements of democracy, and the hatred of anything approaching to a hierarchy, were still deeply rooted in the General Assembly, and in the hearts of the people. Mr Andrew Melvil, Principal of the College of St Andrews, a man singularly learned, ready in debate, sarcastic, audacious, and overbearing, led the popular party, with his nephew, James Melvil, who was warmly attached to the same principles, but of a gentler spirit. Many others assisted them; and the King, anxious to get rid of their opposition, proposed that,

[1] Thomas Mollison to Mr Robert Paip, Aberdeen, 28th June, 1597. Analecta Scotica, p. 299.

instead of the whole Assembly continuing its proceedings, a General Commission should be granted to some of the wisest amongst the brethren, who might consult and coöperate with the monarch upon various matters of weight which concerned "not only particular flocks, but the whole estate and body of the Kirk."[1] This was agreed to. Fourteen ministers were chosen, most of whom were known to be favourable to the views of the Court; and these, whom Calderwood the popular historian of the Kirk stigmatizes as the "*King's led horse*," convened soon after at Falkland, where they summoned before them the Presbytery of St Andrews, and gave a specimen of their new power, by reversing a judgment pronounced by the Presbytery of St Andrews, and removing from their charge two ministers named Wallace and Black, who had profaned their pulpits by personal attack and vituperation. This was followed by a strict and searching visitation of the University of St Andrews, the stronghold of its Rector, Mr Andrew Melvil; who in his office of Principal had, as the King conceived, been too busy in disseminating amongst the students his favourite principles of ministerial parity and popular power. A new Rector was elected; a certain mode of teaching prescribed to the several professors; and a more strict economy introduced into the disposal of the rents of the University, by the appointment of a financial council.

During the summer and autumn, James was busily occupied with the trial of witches, and an expedition

[1] Calderwood, p. 409.

to the Borders; in which last he acted with great energy. Fourteen of the most notorious offenders were taken and hanged; thirty-six of the principal barons, who had encouraged their outrages, seized and brought prisoners to the capital; and Lord Ochiltree left as Lieutenant and Warden over the disturbed districts. Parliament now assembled, and opened with some proceedings on the part of the King, which showed an alienation from England. In an oration to his nobility, he dwelt on the wrongs he had received in the execution of his mother; the interruption in the payment of his gratuity; the scornful answers returned to his temperate remonstrance; the unjust imputations of Elizabeth, who accused him of exciting Poland and Denmark against her, and fostering rebellion in Ireland. But what had most deeply offended him, was the attempt made recently in the English Parliament to defeat his title to the throne of that kingdom; a subject upon which, owing to the daily reports of the shattered health of the Queen, he had become more keenly sensitive than ever.[1] Against all this it was evident he now resolved to be timely on his guard; but, in the meantime, his mind was full of that great plan which had so long occupied it: the establishment of the order of Bishops. For this all was now ripe; and when the Commissioners of the Kirk laid their petition before Parliament, one of its requisitions was found to be as follows: "That the ministers, as representing the Church and

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., George Nicolson to Sir R. Cecil, 15th December, 1597.

third Estate of the Kingdom, might be admitted to have a voice in Parliament."

It was at once seen that under this application, which had been so artfully managed to come not from the King but the Kirk, the first step was made for restoring the order of bishops. The monarch, indeed, did not now deny it. He knew that he had a majority in the Assembly, and looked for an easy victory; but something of the ancient courage and fervour of Presbyterianism remained. Ferguson, now venerable from his age and experience, lifted up his testimony against the project for bringing his brethren into Parliament. It was, he affirmed, a Court stratagem; and if they suffered it to succeed, would be as fatal, from what it carried within its bowels, as the horse to the unhappy Trojans. Let the words, said he, of the Dardan prophetess ring in your ears, "*Equo ne credite Teucri!*" Andrew Melvil, whom the Court party had in vain attempted to exclude, argued against the petition in his wonted rapid and powerful style; and John Davison, tearing away from the King's speech, and the arguments of his adherents, the thin veil with which their ultimate design was covered, pointed, in a strain of witty and biting irony, to the future bench of bishops, and their Primate at their head. "Busk him, busk him," said he, "as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairly as ye will—we ken him weel eneuch; we see the horns of his mitre."[1] But these were insulated efforts; and

[1] Calderwood, p. 415. Busk, dress; bonnilie, prettily; ken, know; eneuch, enough.

had so little effect, that the King, without difficulty, procured an act to be passed, which declared, "That such pastors and ministers as the Crown provided to the place and dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other prelate, should have voice in Parliament as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had in any former age.[1]

A General Assembly was soon after convened, in which the subject was solemnly argued in the King's presence, first by a committee of brethren, and afterwards by the whole Church.[2] As a preparation for this, James had tried every method of conciliation. He had extended his forgiveness to the ministers of Edinburgh for their part in the late tumult: he had restored their privileges, and the comfort of his royal presence and pardon, to the magistrates and the citizens of the capital; not, however, without having first imposed on them a heavy fine. To those stern and courageous supporters of the Presbyterian Establishment, whose presence he dreaded, other methods were used. Mr Andrew Melvil, who pleaded a right to be present in the Assembly, as he had a "Doctoral charge in the Kirk," was commanded, under pain of treason, to leave the city; others, whose subserviency was doubtful, were wearied out and induced to retire by lengthened preliminary discussions; and at last the King opened his great project in a studied harangue. He dwelt on his constant care to adorn and favour the Kirk, to remove controversies, restore discipline, and increase its patrimony. All, he said, was in a fair road to success; but in order to ensure

[1] Spottiswood, p. 450. [2] 7th March, 1597.

it and perfect the reform, it was absolutely requisite that ministers should have a vote in parliament: without which, the Kirk could not be saved from falling into poverty and contempt. "I mean not," said he, emphatically, "to bring in Papistical or Anglican bishops, but only that the best and wisest of the ministry should be selected by your Assembly to have a place in Council and Parliament, to sit upon their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants, utterly despised and disregarded."[1] A keen argument followed. Mr James Melvil, Davison, Bruce, Carmichael, and Aird, all devoted and talented ministers, spoke against the project, and denounced it in the strongest language. On the other side the brunt of the battle, in its defence, fell on Gledstanes, and the King himself, no mean adept in ecclesiastical polemics; but, if we may believe Calderwood, the main element of success was the presence of the northern brethren; whom this historian describes as a sad subservient rabble, led by Mr Gilbert Bodie, "a drunken Orkney ass," whose name described their character: all being for the body, with small regard to the spirit.[2] In the end the question was carried by a majority of ten: the Assembly finding that it was expedient for the good of the Kirk that the ministers, as the third Estate of the realm, should have a vote in Parliament; that the same number, being fifty-one or thereby, should be chosen, as were wont of old in time of the Papistical Kirk, to be bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election

[1] Calderwood, p. 418. [2] Id. p. 419.

should belong partly to the King and partly to the Kirk.[1]

This resolution was adopted in March 1597-8; but the final establishment of Episcopacy did not take place till more than a twelvemonth after this, in a General Assembly convoked at Montrose on the 28th March, 1600. On that occasion, it was decided that the King should choose each bishop, for every place that was to be filled, out of a leet or body of six, selected by the Kirk. Various caveats, or conditions, were added, to secure the Kirk against any abuse of their powers by these new dignitaries. They were to propound nothing in Parliament, in name of the Kirk, without its special warrant and direction. They were, at every General Assembly, to give an account of the manner in which they had executed their commission; they were to be contented with such part of their benefices as the King had assigned for their living; to eschew dilapidation; to attend faithfully on their individual flocks; to claim no higher power than the rest of their brethren in matters of discipline, visitation, and other points of ecclesiastical government; and lastly, to be as obedient to authority, and amenable to censure in all Presbyteries and Provincial or General Assemblies, as the humblest minister of the Kirk.[2] As to the names of these new dignitaries, the word Bishop was apparently so odious and repugnant to the people that the King did not deem it prudent to insist on its adoption; and the brethren unanimously advised that they should not be called bishops, but Commis-

[1] Calderwood, pp. 420, 421. [2] Ibid., p. 441.

sioners. James was too well satisfied with the reality of his success in carrying his great scheme to so prosperous an issue, to cavil at this shadow of opposition; and the subject was handed over to the next General Assembly. The feelings with which this triumph of prelatical principles was regarded by the sincere and stern adherents of puritanism and parity, will be best understood by this brief extract from the work of one of its ablest advocates, the historian Calderwood: "Thus," says he, "the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in, covered with *caveats*, that the danger might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many, and opponed unto; considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door, than to have an eye unto them in the house that they steal not: and, indeed, the event declared that their fear was not without just cause: for those Commissioners voters in Parliament, afterwards bishops, did violate their *caveats* as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith he was bound."[1]

[1] Calderwood, p. 441.