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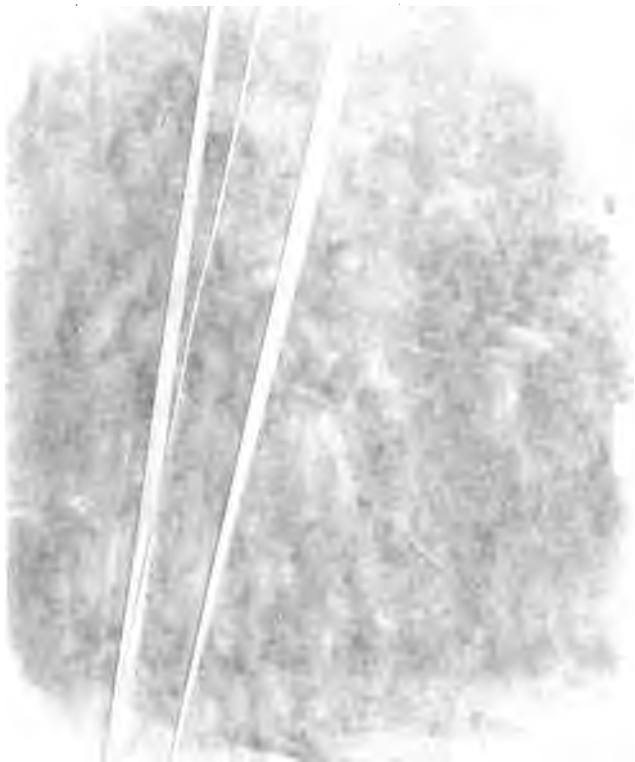
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TALES
OF A GREAT PACIFIC
WARRIOR



By the Author of 'The Pacific'

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

WITH NOTES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

III.

**BOSTON:
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TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

SECOND SERIES. •

(CONTINUED.)

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONTEMPT OF THE HIGHLANDERS FOR THE ARTS OF PEACE—
STORY OF DONALD OF THE HAMMER—EXECUTION OF THE LAIRD
OF MACINTOSH BY ORDER OF THE MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY—
MASSACRE OF THE FARQUHARSONS—RACE OF THE TROUGH—
EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF ORKNEY.

THE size and position of the Highlands of Scotland rendered them much less susceptible of improvement than the Border districts, which, far less extensive and less difficult of access, were now placed between two civilized and peaceful countries instead of being the frontier of two hostile lands.

The Highlanders, on the contrary, continued the same series of wars among themselves, and incursions upon their Lowland neighbors, which had distinguished them ever since the dawn of their history. Military adventure, in one form or other, was their delight as well as their employment, and all works of industry were considered as unworthy the dignity of a mountaineer. Even the necessary task of raising a scanty crop of barley was assigned to the aged, and to the women and children. The men thought of nothing but hunting and war. I will give you an account of a Highland chieftain, in character and prac-

tice not very different from that of Allan-a-Sop, the Hebridean.

The Stewarts, who inhabited the district of Appin, in the West Highlands, were a numerous and warlike clan. Appin is the title of the chief of the clan. The second branch of the family was that of Invernahyle. The founder, a second son of the house of Appin, was called by the uncommon epithet of *Saioleach*, or the *Peaceful*. One of his neighbors was the Laird of Dunstaffnage, called Cailen Uaine, or Green Colin, from the green color which predominated in his tartan. This Green Colin surprised the peaceful Laird of Invernahyle, assassinated him, burnt his house, and destroyed his whole family, excepting an infant at the breast. This infant did not owe its safety to the mercy of Green Colin, but to the activity and presence of mind of its nurse. Finding she could not escape the pursuit of that chief's attendants, the faithful nurse determined to provide for the safety of her foster-child, whose life she knew was aimed at, in the only manner which remained. She therefore hid the infant in a small fissure, or cave of a rock, and, as the only means she had of supplying him with subsistence, hung by a string round his neck a large piece of lard, in the faint hope that instinct might induce the child to employ it as a means of subsistence. The poor woman had only time to get a little way from the place where she had concealed her charge, when she was made prisoner by the pursuers. As she denied any knowledge where the child was, they dismissed her as a person of no consequence, but not until they had kept her two or three days in close confinement, menacing her with death unless she would discover what she had done with the infant.

When she found herself at liberty and unobserved, she

went to the hole in which she had concealed her charge, with little hope save of finding such relics as wolves, wild-cats, or birds of prey might have left after feasting upon its flesh, but still with the pious wish to consign the remains of her *dault*, or foster-child, to some place of Christian burial. But her joy and surprise were extreme to find the infant still alive and well, having lived during her absence by sucking the lard, which it had reduced to a very small morsel, scarce larger than a hazel-nut. The delighted nurse made all haste to escape with her charge to the neighboring district of Moidart, of which she was a native, being the wife of the smith of the clan of MacDonald, to whom that country belonged. The mother of the infant thus miraculously rescued had also been a daughter of this tribe.

To insure the safety of her foster-child, the nurse persuaded her husband to bring it up as their own son. The smith, you must remark, of a Highland tribe, was a person of considerable consequence. His skill in forging armor and weapons was usually united with dexterity in using them, and with the strength of body which his profession required. If I recollect right, the smith usually ranked as third officer in the chief's household. The young Donald Stewart, as he grew up, was distinguished for great personal strength. He became skilful in his foster-father's art, and so powerful, that he could, it is said, wield two fore-hammers, one in each hand, for hours together. From this circumstance, he gained the name of *Donuil nan Ord*, that is, Donald of the Hammer, by which he was all his life distinguished.

When he attained the age of twenty-one, Donald's foster-father, the smith, observing that his courage and enterprise equalled his personal strength, thought fit to discover

to him the secret of his birth, the injuries which he had received from Green Colin of Dunstaffnage, and the pretensions which he had to the property of Invernahyle, now in the possession of the man who had slain his father and usurped his inheritance. He concluded his discovery by presenting to his beloved foster-child his own six sons to be his followers and defenders for life and death, and his assistance in the recovery of his patrimony.

Law of every description was unknown in the Highlands. Young Donald proceeded in his enterprise by hostile measures. In addition to his six foster-brethren, he got some assistance from his mother's kindred, and levied among the old adherents of his father, and his kinsmen of the house of Appin, such additional force, that he was able to give battle to Green Colin, whom he defeated and slew, regaining at the same time his father's house and estate of Invernahyle. This success had its dangers; for it placed the young chief in feud with all the families of the powerful clan of Campbell, to which the slain Dunstaffnage belonged, by alliance at least; for Green Colin and his ancestors had assumed the name, and ranked themselves under the banner, of this formidable clan, although originally they were chieftains of a different and independent race. The feud became more deadly, when, not satisfied with revenging himself on the immediate authors of his early misfortune, Donald made inroads on the Campbells in their own dominions; in evidence of which his historian quotes a verse to this purpose, —

“ Donald of the Smithy, the Son of the Hammer,
Fill'd the banks of Lochawe with mourning and clamor.”

At length the powerful Earl of Argyle resented the repeated injuries which were offered to his clansmen and kindred. The Stewarts of Appin refused to support their

kinsman against an enemy so formidable, and insisted that he should seek for peace with the Earl. So that Donald, left to himself, and sensible that he was unable to withstand the force which might be brought against him by this mighty chief, endeavored to propitiate the Earl's favor by placing himself in his hands.

Stewart went, accordingly, with only a single attendant towards Inverary, the castle of Argyle, and met with the Earl himself at some distance in the open fields. Donald of the Hammer showed on this occasion that it was not fear which had induced him to this step. Being a man of ready wit, and a poet, which was an accomplishment high in the estimation of the Highlanders, he opened the conference with an extempore verse, which intimated a sort of defiance, rather like the language of a man that cared not what might befall him, than one who craved mercy or asked forgiveness.

“ Son of dark Colin, thou dangerous earl,
Small is the boon that I crave at thy hand;
Enough, if in safety from bondage and peril,
Thou let'st me return to my kindred and land.”

The Earl was too generous to avail himself of the advantage which Invernahyle's confidence had afforded him, but he could not abstain from maintaining the conversation thus begun, in a gibing tone. Donuil nan Ord was harsh-featured, and had a custom, allied to his mode of education and the haughtiness of his character, of throwing back his head, and laughing loudly with his mouth wide open. In ridicule of this peculiarity, in which Donald had indulged repeatedly, Argyle, or one of his attendants, pointed out to his observation a rock in the neighborhood, which bore a singular resemblance to a human face, with a large mouth much thrown back, and open as if laughing a

horselaugh. "Do you see yonder crag?" said the Earl to Donald of the Hammer; "it is called *Gaire Granda*, or the *Ugly Laugh*." Donald felt the intended gibe, and as Argyle's lady was a hard-favored and haughty woman, he replied, without hesitation, in a verse like the following:—

"Ugly the sneer of yon cliff of the hill,
Nature has stamp'd the grim laugh on the place;
Would you seek for a grimmer and uglier still,
You will find it at home in your countess's face."

Argyle took the raillery of Donald in good part, but would not make peace with him until he agreed to make two *creaghs*, or inroads, one on Moidart, and one on Athole. It seems probable that the purpose of Argyle was to engage his troublesome neighbor in a feud with other clans to whom he bore no good-will; for whether he of the hammer fell or was successful, the Earl in either event would gain a certain advantage. Donald accepted peace with the Campbells on these terms.

On his return home, Donald communicated to Macdonald of Moidart the engagement he had come under; and that chieftain, his mother's kinsman and ally, concerted that Invernahyle and his band should plunder certain villages in Moidart, the inhabitants of which had offended him, and on whom he desired chastisement should be inflicted. The incursion of Donald the Hammerer punished them to some purpose, and so far he fulfilled his engagement to Argyle, without making an enemy of his own kinsman. With the Athole men, as more distant and unconnected with him, Donald stood on less ceremony, and made more than one successful *creagh* upon them. His name was now established as one of the most formidable marauders known in the Highlands, and a very bloody action which he sustained against the family of the Grahams of Monteith, made him still more dreaded.

The Earls of Monteith, you must know, had a castle situated upon an island in the lake, or loch, as it is called, of the same name. But though this residence, which occupied almost the whole of the islet upon which its ruins still exist, was a strong and safe place of abode, and adapted accordingly to such perilous times, it had this inconvenience, that the stables, cow-houses, poultry-yard, and other domestic offices, were necessarily separated from the castle, and situated on the mainland, as it would have been impossible to be constantly transporting the animals belonging to the establishment, to and fro from the shore to the island. These offices, therefore, were constructed on the banks of the lake, and in some sort defenceless.

It happened upon a time that there was to be a great entertainment in the castle, and a number of the Grahams were assembled. The occasion, it is said, was a marriage in the family. To prepare for this feast, much provision was got ready, and in particular a great deal of poultry had been collected. While the feast was preparing, an unhappy chance brought Donald of the Hammer to the side of the lake, returning at the head of a band of hungry followers, whom he was conducting homewards to the West Highlands, after some of his usual excursions into Stirlingshire. Seeing so much good victuals ready, and being possessed of an excellent appetite, the Western Highlanders neither asked questions nor waited for an invitation, but devoured all the provisions that had been prepared for the Grahams, and then went on their way rejoicing, through the difficult and dangerous path which leads from the banks of the Loch of Monteith, through the mountains, to the side of Loch Katrine.

The Grahams were filled with the highest indignation.

No one in those fierce times was so contemptible as an individual who would suffer himself to be plundered without exacting satisfaction and revenge, and the loss of their dinner probably aggravated the sense of the insults entertained by the guests. The company who were assembled at the castle of Monteith, headed by the Earl himself, hastily took to their boats, and, disembarking on the northern side of the lake, pursued with all speed the marauders and their leader. They came up with Donald's party in the gorge of a pass, near a rock called Craig-Vad, or the Wolf's Cliff. Here the Grahams called, with loud insults, on the Appin men to stand, and one of them, in allusion to the execution which had been done amongst the poultry, exclaimed in verse : —

“ They're brave gallants, these Appin men,
To twist the throat of cock and hen ! ”

Donald instantly replied to the reproach : —

“ And if we be of Appin's line,
We'll twist a goose's neck in thine.”

So saying, he shot the unlucky scoffer with an arrow. The battle then began, and was continued with much fury till night. The Earl of Monteith and many of his noble kinsmen fell, while Donald, favored by darkness, escaped with a single attendant. The Grahams obtained, from the cause of the quarrel, the nickname of Gramoch an Garrigh, or Grahams of the Hens : although they certainly lost no honor in the encounter, having fought like game-cocks.

Donald of the Hammer was twice married. His second marriage was highly displeasing to his eldest son, whom he had by his first wife. This young man, whose

name was Duncan, seems to have partaken rather of the disposition of his grandfather, Alister *Saioileach*, or the Peaceful, than of the turbulent spirit of his father the Hammerer. He quitted the family mansion in displeasure at his father's second marriage, and went to a farm called Inverfalla, which his father had bestowed upon his nurse in reward for her eminent services. Duncan took up his abode with this valued connection of the family, who was now in the extremity of old age, and amused himself with attempting to improve the cultivation of the farm; a task which not only was considered as below the dignity of a Highland gentleman, but even regarded as the last degree of degradation.

The idea of his son's occupying himself with agricultural operations, struck so much shame and anger into the heart of Donald the Hammerer, that his resentment against him became ungovernable. At length, as he walked by his own side of the river, and looked towards Inverfalla, he saw to his extreme displeasure a number of men employed in digging and levelling the soil for some intended crop. Soon after, he had the additional mortification to see his son come out and mingle with the workmen, as if giving them directions; and finally beheld him take the spade out of an awkward fellow's hand, and dig a little himself, to show him how to use it. This last act of degeneracy drove the Hammerer frantic; he seized a curragh, or boat covered with hides, which was near, jumped into it, and pushed across the stream with the determination of destroying the son who had, in his opinion, brought such unutterable disgrace upon his family. The poor agriculturist, seeing his father approach in such haste, and having a shrewd guess of the nature of his parental intentions, fled into the house and hid

himself. Donald followed with his drawn weapon ; but deceived by passion and darkness, he plunged his sword into the body of one whom he saw lying on the bed-clothes. Instead of his son, for whom the blow was intended, it lighted on the old foster-mother, to whom he owed his life in infancy and education in youth, and slew her on the spot. After this misfortune Donald became deeply affected with remorse ; and giving up all his estates to his children, he retired to the Abbey of St. Columbus, in Iona, passed the remainder of his days as a monk, and died at the age of eighty-seven.*

It may easily be believed that there was little peace and quiet in a country abounding with such men as the Hammerer, who thought the practice of honest industry on the part of a gentleman was an act of degeneracy, for which nothing short of death was an adequate punishment ; so that the disorderly state of the Highlands was little short of that of the Isles. Still, however, many of the principal chiefs attended occasionally at the court of Scotland ; others were frequently obliged to send their sons to be educated there, who were retained as hostages for the peaceable behavior of the clan ; so that by degrees they came to improve with the increasing civilization of the times.

The authority also of the great nobles, who held estates in or adjacent to the Highlands, was a means, though a rough one, of making the district over which they exercised their power submit, in a certain degree, to the occa-

* The substance of the preceding narrative was first published in Mr. Robert Jameson's Introduction, pp. lxiv. - lxxvi., to his reprint of BURR's *Letters from the North of Scotland* ; 2 vols. 8vo, 1822 — "From an Authentic Account of the Family of Invernahyle, a MS. communicated by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., to the Editor."

sional influence of the laws. It is true that the great Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Sutherland, and other nobles, did not enforce the Lowland institutions upon their Highland vassals out of mere zeal for their civilization, but rather because, by taking care to secure the power of the sovereign and the laws on their own side, they could make the infraction of them by the smaller chiefs the pretext for breaking down the independent clans, and making them submit to their own authority.

I will give you an example of the manner in which a noble lady chastised a Highland chief in the reign of James the Sixth. The head of the House of Gordon, then Marquis of Huntly, was by far the most powerful lord in the northern counties, and exercised great influence over the Highland clans who inhabited the mountains of Badenoch, which lay behind his extensive domains. One of the most ancient tribes situated in and near that district is that of MacIntosh, a word which means Child of the Thane, as they boast their descent from MacDuff, the celebrated Thane of Fife. This haughty race having fallen at variance with the Gordons, William MacIntosh, their chief, carried his enmity to so great a pitch, as to surprise and burn the castle of Auchindown, belonging to the Gordon family. The Marquis of Huntly vowed the severest vengeance. He moved against the MacIntoshes with his own followers; and he let loose upon the devoted tribe all such neighboring clans as would do anything, as the old phrase was, for his love or for his fear. MacIntosh, after a short struggle, found himself unequal to sustain the conflict, and saw that he must either behold his clan totally exterminated, or contrive some mode of pacifying Huntly's resentment. The idea of the first alternative was not to be endured, and of the last he saw no

chance, save by surrendering himself into the power of the Marquis, and thus personally atoning for the offence which he had committed. To perform this act of generous devotion with as much chance of safety as possible, he chose a time when the Marquis himself was absent, and asking for the lady, whom he judged likely to prove less inexorable than her husband, he presented himself as the unhappy Laird of MacIntosh, who came to deliver himself up to the Gordon, to answer for his burning of Auchindown, and only desired that Huntly would spare his clan. The Marchioness, a stern and haughty woman, had shared deeply in her husband's resentment. She regarded MacIntosh with a keen eye, as the hawk or eagle contemplates the prey within its clutch, and having spoken a word aside to her attendants, replied to the suppliant chief in this manner: "MacIntosh, you have offended the Gordon so deeply, that Huntly has sworn by his father's soul, that he will never pardon you, till he has brought your neck to the block." — "I will stoop even to that humiliation, to secure the safety of my father's house," said MacIntosh. And as this interview passed in the kitchen of the castle at Bog of Gicht, he undid the collar of his doublet, and kneeling down before the huge block on which, in the rude hospitality of the time, the slain bullocks and sheep were broken up for use, he laid his neck upon it, expecting, doubtless, that the lady would be satisfied with this token of unreserved submission. But the inexorable Marchioness made a sign to the cook, who stepped forward, with his hatchet raised, and struck MacIntosh's head from his body.

Another story, and I will change the subject. It is also of the family of Gordon; not that they were by any means more hard-hearted than other Scottish barons, who

had feuds with the Highlanders, but because it is the readiest which occurs to my recollection. The Farquharsons of Dee-side, a bold and warlike people, inhabiting the dales of Braemar, had taken offence at, and slain, a gentleman of consequence, named Gordon of Brackley. The Marquis of Huntly summoned his forces, to take a bloody vengeance for the death of a Gordon; and that none of the guilty tribe might escape, communicated with the Laird of Grant, a very powerful chief, who was an ally of Huntly, and a relation, I believe, to the slain Baron of Brackley. They agreed that, on a day appointed, Grant, with his clan in arms, should occupy the upper end of the vale of Dee, and move from thence downwards, while the Gordons should ascend the river from beneath, each party killing, burning, and destroying, without mercy, whatever and whomever they found before them. A terrible massacre was made of the Farquharsons, taken at unawares, and placed betwixt two enemies. Almost all the men and women of the race were slain, and when the day was done, Huntly found himself encumbered with about two hundred orphan children, whose parents had been killed. What became of them you shall presently hear.

About a year after this foray, the Laird of Grant chanced to dine at the Marquis's castle. He was, of course, received with kindness, and entertained with magnificence. After dinner was over, Huntly said to his guest, that he would show him some rare sport. Accordingly, he conducted Grant to a balcony, which, as was frequent in old mansions, overlooked the kitchen, perhaps to permit the lady to give an occasional eye to the operations there. The numerous servants of the Marquis and his visitors had already dined, and Grant beheld the re-

mains of the victuals which had furnished a plentiful meal, flung at random into a large trough, like that out of which swine feed. While Grant was wondering what this could mean, the master cook gave a signal with his silver whistle; on which a hatch, like that of a dog-kennel, was raised, and there rushed into the kitchen, some shrieking, some shouting, some yelling, — not a pack of hounds, which in number, noise, and tumult, they greatly resembled, but a huge mob of children, half naked, and totally wild in their manners, who threw themselves on the contents of the trough, and fought, struggled, bit, scratched, and clamored, each to get the largest share. Grant was a man of humanity, and did not see in that degrading scene all the amusement which his noble host had intended to afford him. “In the name of heaven,” he said, “who are these unfortunate creatures that are fed like so many pigs?” — “They are the children of those Farquharsons whom we slew last year on Dee-side,” answered Huntly. The Laird felt more shocked than it would have been prudent or polite to express. “My lord,” he said, “my sword helped to make these poor children orphans, and it is not fair that your lordship should be burdened with all the expense of maintaining them. You have supported them for a year and day, — allow me now to take them to Castle-Grant, and keep them for the same period at my cost.” Huntly was tired of the joke of the pig-trough, and willingly consented to have the undisciplined rabble of children taken off his hands. He troubled himself no more about them; and the Laird of Grant, carrying them to his castle, had them dispersed among his clan, and brought up decently, giving them his own name of Grant; but it is said their descendants are still called the Race of the Trough, to distinguish them from the families of the tribe into which they were adopted.

These are instances of the severe authority exercised by the great barons over their Highland neighbors and vassals. Still that authority produced a regard to the laws, which they would not otherwise have received. These mighty lords, though possessed of great power in their jurisdictions, never effected entire independence, as had been done by the old Lords of the Isles, who made peace and war with England, without the consent of the King of Scotland. On the contrary, Argyle, Huntly, Murray, and others, always used at least the pretext of the King's name and authority, and were, from habit and education, less apt to practise wild stretches of arbitrary power than the native chiefs of the Highlands. In proportion, therefore, as the influence of the nobles increased, the country approached more nearly to civilization.

It must not here be forgotten that the increase of power acquired by the sovereign, in the person of James VI., had been felt severely by one of his great feudal lords, for exercising violence and oppression, even in the most distant extremity of the empire. The Earl of Orkney, descended from a natural son of James V., and of course a cousin-german of the reigning monarch, had indulged himself in extravagant excesses of arbitrary authority amongst the wild recesses of the Orkney and Zetland Islands. He had also, it was alleged, shown some token of a wish to assume sovereign power, and had caused his natural son to defend the castle of Kirkwall, by force of arms, against the King's troops. Mr. Littlejohn is now something of a Latin scholar, and he will understand, that this wicked Earl of Orkney's ignorance of that language exposed him to two disgraceful blunders. When he had built the great tower of Scalloway, in Zetland, he asked a clergyman for a motto, who supplied him with the following Latin words: —

“Cujus fundamen saxum est, domus illa manebit
Stabilis; et contra, si sit arena, perit.”

The Earl was highly pleased with this motto, not understanding that the secret meaning implied, that a house, raised by honorable and virtuous means, was as durable as if founded upon a rock; whereas one like his new castle of Scalloway, constructed by injustice and oppressive means, was like one founded on the faithless sands, and would soon perish. It is now a waste ruin, and bears the defaced inscription as if prophetic of the event.

A worse error was that which occurred in the motto over another castle on the island of Birsá, in Orkney, built by his father and repaired by himself. Here he was pleased to inscribe his father's name and descent thus: ROBERTUS STUARTUS, FILIUS JACOBI QUINTI, REX SCOTORUM, HOC EDIFICIUM INSTRUXIT. SIC FUIT, EST, ET ERIT. It was probably only the meaning of this inscription to intimate, that Earl Robert was the son of James V. King of Scotland, which was an undeniable truth; but putting *Rex* in the nominative instead of *Regis*, in the genitive, as the construction required, Earl Patrick seemed to state, that his father had been the King of Scotland, and was gravely charged with high treason for asserting such a proposition.

If this was rather a severe punishment for false Latin, it must be allowed that Earl Patrick had deserved his condemnation by repeated acts of the greatest cruelty and oppression on the defenceless inhabitants of those remote islands. He was held in such terror by them, that one person who was brought as a witness against him, refused to answer any question till he had received a solemn assurance that the Earl would never be permitted to return to Orkney. Being positively assured

of this, he gave such a detail of his usurpation and crimes as made his guilt fully manifest.*

For these offences the Earl was tried and executed at Edinburgh; and his punishment struck such terror among the aristocracy as made even those great lords, ^{6th February,} whose power lay in the most distant and inac- ^{1614.} cessible places of Scotland, disposed to be amenable to the royal authority.

Having thus discussed the changes effected by the union of the crowns on the Borders, Highlands, and Isles, it remains to notice the effects produced in the Lowlands, or more civilized parts of the kingdom.

* "His pomp was so great that he never went from his castle to the kirk, nor abroad otherwise, without the convoy of fifty musketeers, and other gentlemen of guard; three trumpeters sounded as he sat at dinner and at supper," &c., &c. *Hist. James VI.* p. 386. — "This nobleman, having undone his estate by riot and prodigality, did seek by unlawful shifts to repair the same, making acts in his courts, and exacting penalties for the breach thereof; as if any man was tried to have concealed anything that might infer a pecuniary mulct, and bring profit to the Earl, his lands and goods were declared confiscated; or if any person did sue for justice before any other judge than his deputies, his goods were escheated; or if they went forth of the isle without his license or his deputy's, upon whatsoever occasions, they should forfeit their movables; and, which of all his acts was most inhuman, he had ordained that if any man tried to supply or give relief unto ships, or any vessels distressed by tempest, the same should be punished in his person, and fined at the Earl his pleasure." — *Spotswood*, p. 516.

CHAPTER XL.

INJURIOUS EFFECTS TO SCOTLAND OF THE REMOVAL OF THE COURT TO LONDON—NUMEROUS SCOTSMEN EMPLOYED IN FOREIGN MILITARY SERVICE—AND AS TRAVELLING MERCHANTS, OR PACKMEN, IN GERMANY—EXERTIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY TO PUT AN END TO FAMILY FEUDS, AND TO EXTEND EDUCATION—ESTABLISHMENT, BY THEIR MEANS, OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—JAMES VI.'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND IN 1617—HIS DEATH—HIS CHILDREN.

THE Scottish people were soon made sensible that if their courtiers and great men made fortunes by King James's favor, the nation at large was not enriched by the union of the crowns. Edinburgh was no longer the residence of the court, whose expenditure, though very moderate, was diffused among her merchants and citizens, and was so far of importance. The sons of the gentry and better classes, whose sole trade had been war and battle, were deprived of employment by the general peace with England, and the nation was likely to feel all the distress arising from an excess of population.

To remedy the last evil, the wars on the Continent afforded a resource peculiarly fitted to the genius of the Scots, who have always had a disposition for visiting foreign parts. The celebrated Thirty Years' War, as it was called, was now raging in Germany, and a large, national brigade of Scots was engaged in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, one of the most successful generals of the age. Their total numbers may

be guessed from those of the superior officers, which amounted to thirty-four colonels, and fifty lieutenant-colonels. The similarity of the religion of the Scots with that of the Swedes, and some congenial resemblances betwixt the nations, as well as the high fame of Gustavus, made most of the Scots prefer the service of Sweden; but there were others who went into that of the Emperor of Austria, of France, of the Italian States,—in short, they were dispersed as soldiers throughout all Europe. It was not uncommon, when a party of Scots was mounting a breach, for them to hear some of the defenders call out in the Scottish language, “Come on, gentlemen; this is not like gallanting it at the cross of Edinburgh!” and thus learn that they were opposed to some of their countrymen engaged on the opposite side. The taste for foreign service was so universal that young gentlemen of family, who wished to see the world, used to travel on the Continent from place to place, and from state to state, and defray their expenses by engaging for a few weeks or months in military service in the garrison or guards of the state in which they made their temporary residence. It is but doing the Scots justice to say that while thus acting as mercenary soldiers, they acquired a high character for courage, military skill, and a faithful adherence to their engagements.* The Scots regiments in the Swedish service were the first troops who employed platoon firing, by which they contributed greatly to achieve the victory in the decisive battle of Lutzen.†

* See Introduction to the “Legend of Montrose,” Waverley Novels.

† Lutzen is a small town of Saxony, in the principality of Merseburg, now belonging to Prussia. It has become well known in history from its vicinity having been the scene of two memorable battles: one in 1632 (alluded to in the text), in which the Austrians were defeated by Gustavus of Sweden, who was himself killed in the action; and the

Besides the many thousand Scottish emigrants who pursued the trade of war on the Continent, there was another numerous class who undertook the toilsome and precarious task of travelling merchants, or to speak plainly, of pedlers, and were employed in conducting the petty inland commerce which gave the inhabitants of Germany, Poland, and the northern parts of Europe in general, opportunities of purchasing articles of domestic convenience. There were at that time few towns, and in these towns there were few shops regularly open. When an inhabitant of the country, of high or low degree, wished to purchase any article of dress or domestic convenience which he did not manufacture himself, he was obliged to attend at the next fair, to which the travelling merchants flocked, in order to expose their goods to sale. Or if the buyer did not choose to take that trouble, he must wait till some pedler, who carried his goods on horseback, in a small wain, or perhaps in a pack upon his shoulders, made his wandering journey through the country. It has been made matter of ridicule against the Scots that this traffic fell into their hands, as a frugal, patient, provident, and laborious people, possessing some share of education, which we shall presently see was now becoming general among them. But we cannot think that the business which required such attributes to succeed in it, could be dishonorable to those who pursued it; and we believe that those Scots who, in honest commerce, supplied foreigners with the goods they required, were at least as well employed as those who assisted them in killing each other.*

other in 1818, when the French, under Bonaparte, defeated the combined force of Russia and Prussia.

* In the *Fortunes of Nigel*, King James is introduced as saying, "It would be as unseemly for a packman, or pedlar, as ye call a travelling merchant, whilk is a trade to which our native subjects

While the Scots thus continued to improve their condition by enterprise abroad, they gradually sunk into peaceful habits at home. In the wars of Queen Mary's time, and those of King James's minority, we have the authority of a great lawyer, the first Earl of Haddington, generally known by the name of Tom of the Cowgate, to assure us, that "the whole country was so miserably distracted, not only by the accustomed barbarity of the Highlands and Borders, which was greatly increased, but by the cruel dissensions arising from public factions and private feuds, that men of every rank daily wore steel-jacks, knapscaps or headpieces, plate-sleeves, and pistols and poniards being as necessary parts of their apparel as their doublets and breeches." Their disposition was, of course, as warlike as their dress; and the same authority informs us, that whatever was the cause of their assemblies or meetings, fights and affrays were the necessary consequence before they separated; and this not at parliaments, conventions, trysts, and markets only, but likewise in churchyards, churches, and places appointed for the exercise of religion.

This universal state of disorder was not owing to any want of laws against such enormities; on the contrary,

of Scotland are specially addicted, to be blazing his genealogy in the faces of those to whom he sells a bawbee's worth of ribbon, as it would be to him to have a beaver on his head, and a rapier by his side, when the pack was on his shoulders. 'Na, na — he hings his sword on the cleek, lays his beaver on the shelf, puts his pedigree into his pocket, and gangs as doucely and cannily about his pedling craft as if his blood was nae better than ditch-water; but let our pedlar be transformed, as I have kenned it happen mair than aince, into a bein thriving merchant, than ye shall have a transformation, my lads.

'In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas.'

Out he pulls his pedigree, on he buckles his sword, gives his beaver a brush, and cocks it in the face of all creation."

the Scottish legislature was more severe than that of England, accounting as murder the killing of any one in a sudden quarrel without previous malice, which offence the law of England rated under the milder denomination of manslaughter. And this severity was introduced into the law expressly to restrain the peculiarly furious temper of the Scottish nation. It was not, therefore, laws which were wanting to restrain violence, but the regular and due execution of such as existed. An ancient Scottish statesman and judge, who was also a poet, has alluded to the means used to save the guilty from deserved punishment. "We are allowed some skill," he says, "in making good laws, but God knows how ill they are kept and enforced; since a man accused of a crime will frequently appear at the bar of the court to which he is summoned with such a company of armed friends at his back, as if it were his purpose to defy and intimidate both judge and jury." The interest of great men, moreover, obtained often by bribes, interposed between a criminal and justice, and saved by court favor the life which was forfeited to the laws.

James made great reformation in these particulars, as soon as his power, increased by the union of the two kingdoms, gave him the means of doing so. The laws, as we have seen in more cases than one, were enforced with greater severity; and the assistance of powerful friends, nay, the interposition of courtiers and favorites, was less successful in interfering with the course of justice, or obtaining remissions and pardons for condemned criminals. Thus the wholesome terror of justice gradually imposed a restraint on the general violence and disorder which had followed the civil wars of Scotland. Still, however, as the barons held, by means of their

hereditary jurisdictions, the exclusive right to try and to punish such crimes as were committed on their own estates ; and as they often did not choose to do so, either because the action had been committed by the baron's own direction ; or that the malefactor was a strong and active partisan, of whose service the lord might have need ; or because the judge and criminal stood in some degree of relationship to each other ; in all such cases the culprit's escape from justice was a necessary consequence. Nevertheless, viewing Scotland generally, the progress of public justice at the commencement of the seventeenth century was much purer, and less liable to interruption, than in former ages, and the disorders of the country were fewer in proportion.

The law and its terrors had its effect in preventing the frequency of crime ; but it could not have been in the power of mere human laws, and the punishments which they enacted, to eradicate from the national feelings the proneness to violence and the thirst of revenge which had been so long a general characteristic of the Scottish people. The heathenish and accursed custom of deadly feud, or the duty, as it was thought, of exacting blood for blood, and perpetuating a chance quarrel by handing it down to future generations, could only give place to those pure religious doctrines which teach men to practise, not the revenge, but the forgiveness of injuries, as the only means of acquiring the favor of Heaven.

The Presbyterian preachers, in throwing away the external pomp and ceremonial of religious worship, had inculcated in its place the most severe observation of morality. It was objected to them, indeed, that, as in their model of church government, the Scottish clergy claimed an undue influence over state affairs, so, in their

professions of doctrine and practice, they verged towards an ascetic system, in which too much weight was laid on venial transgressions, and the opinions of other Christian churches were treated with too little liberality. But no one who considers their works and their history can deny to those respectable men the merit of practising, in the most rigid extent, the strict doctrines of morality which they taught. They despised wealth, shunned even harmless pleasures, and acquired the love of their flocks by attending to their temporal as well as spiritual diseases. They preached what they themselves seriously believed, and they were believed because they spoke with all the earnestness of conviction. They spared neither example nor precept to improve the more ignorant of their hearers, and often endangered their own lives in attempting to put a stop to the feuds and frays which daily occurred in their bounds. It is recorded of a worthy clergyman, whose parish was peculiarly distracted by the brawls of the quarrelsome inhabitants, that he used constantly to wear a stout, steel headpiece, which bore an odd appearance contrasted with his clerical dress. The purpose was, that when he saw swords drawn in the street, which was almost daily, he might run between the combatants, and thus separate them, with less risk of being killed by a chance blow. So that his venturous and dauntless humanity was perpetually placing his life in danger.

The clergy of that day were frequently respectable from their birth and connections, often from their learning, and at all times from their character. These qualities enabled them to interfere with effect, even in the feuds of the barons and gentry; and they often brought to milder and more peaceful thoughts men who would not have listened to any other intercessors. There is no doubt, that these

good men, and the Christianity which they taught, were one of the principal means of correcting the furious temper and revengeful habits of the Scottish nation, in whose eyes bloodshed and deadly vengeance had been till then a virtue.

Besides the precepts and examples of religion and morality, the encouragement of general information and knowledge is also an effectual mode of taming and subduing the wild habits of a military and barbarous people. For this also the Lowlands of Scotland were indebted to the Presbyterian ministers.

The Catholic clergy had been especially instrumental in the foundation of three universities in Scotland, namely, those of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen; but these places of education, from the very nature of their institutions, were only calculated for the education of students designed for the Church, or of those youths from among the higher classes of the laity, whom their parents desired should receive such information as might qualify them for lawyers and statesmen. The more noble view of the Reformed Church, was to extend the blessings of knowledge to the lower, as well as the higher classes of society.

The preachers of the Reformation had appealed to the Scriptures as the rule of their doctrine, and it was their honorable and liberal wish, that the poorest, as well as the richest man, should have an opportunity of judging, by his own perusal of the sacred volume, whether they had interpreted the text truly and faithfully. The invention of printing had made the Scriptures accessible to every one, and the clergy desired that the meanest peasant should be capable of reading them. John Knox, and other leaders of the Congregation, had, from the very era of the Reformation, pressed the duty of reserving from

the confiscated revenues of the Romish Church the means of providing for the clergy with decency, and of establishing colleges and schools for the education of youth ; but their wishes were for a long time disappointed by the avarice of the nobility and gentry, who were determined to retain for their own use the spoils of the Catholic establishment, and by the stormy complexion of the times, in which little was regarded save what belonged to politics and war.

At length the legislature, chiefly by the influence of the clergy, was induced to authorize the noble enactment which appoints a school to be kept in every parish of Scotland, at a low rate of endowment indeed, but such as enables every poor man within the parish to procure for his children the knowledge of reading and writing ; and affords an opportunity for those individuals who show a decided taste for learning to obtain such progress in classical knowledge, as may fit them for college studies. There can be no doubt that the opportunity afforded of procuring instruction thus easily, tended, in the course of a generation, greatly to civilize and humanize the character of the Scottish nation ; and it is equally certain that this general access to useful knowledge has not only given rise to the success of many men of genius, who otherwise would never have aspired above the humble rank in which they were born, but has raised the common people of Scotland in general, in knowledge, sagacity, and intelligence, many degrees above those of most other countries.

The Highlands and Islands did not share the influence of religion and education, which so essentially benefited their Lowland countrymen, owing to their speaking a language different from the rest of Scotland, as well as to the difficulty, or rather at that time the impossibility, of estab-

lishing churches or schools in such a remote country, and amongst natives of such wild manners.

To the reign of James VI. it is only necessary to add, that in 1617 he revisited his ancient kingdom of Scotland, from the same instinct, as his Majesty was pleased to express it, which induces salmon, after they have visited the sea, to return to the river in which they have been bred.

He was received with every appearance of affection by his Scottish subjects; and the only occasion of suspicion, doubt, or quarrel, betwixt the King and them, arose from the partiality he evinced to the form and ritual of the Church of England. The true Presbyterians groaned heavily at seeing choristers and singing-boys arrayed in white surplices, and at hearing them chant the service of the Church of England; and they were in despair when they saw his Majesty's private chapel adorned with pictures representing scriptural subjects. All this, and everything like an established and prescribed form in prayer, in garb or decoration, was, in their idea, a greater or less approximation to the practices of the Church of Rome. This was, indeed, mere prejudice, but it was a prejudice of little consequence in itself, and James ought to have rather respected than combated feelings connected with much that was both moral and religious, and honored the right which his Scottish subjects might justly claim to worship God after their own manner, and not according to the rules and ceremonies of a foreign country. His obstinacy on this point was, however, satisfied with carrying through the Articles of Perth, already mentioned, which were finally admitted in the year after his visit to Scotland. He left to his successor the task of endeavoring to accomplish a complete conformity, in ritual and

doctrine, between the Churches of South and North Britain, — and very dear the attempt cost him.

James died at Theobalds on the 27th March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second after his accession to the throne of England. He was the least dignified and accomplished of all his family; but at the same time the most fortunate. Robert II., the first of the Stuart family, died, it is true, in peace; but Robert III. had sunk under the family losses which he had sustained; James I. was murdered; James II. killed by the bursting of a cannon; James III. (whom James VI. chiefly resembled) was privately slain after the battle of Sauchie-Burn; James IV. fell at Flodden; James V. died of a broken heart; Henry Darnley, the father of James VI., was treacherously murdered; and his mother, Queen Mary, was tyrannically beheaded. He himself alone, without courage, without sound sagacity, without that feeling of dignity which should restrain a prince from foolish indulgences, became King of the great nation which had for ages threatened to subdue that of which he was born monarch; and the good fortune of the Stuart family, which seems to have existed in his person alone, declined and totally decayed in those of his successors.

James had lost his eldest son, Henry, a youth of extraordinary promise. His second, Charles I., succeeded him in the throne. He left also one daughter, Elizabeth, married to Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the German Empire. He was an unfortunate prince, and, with a view of obtaining the Kingdom of Bohemia, engaged in a ruinous war with the Emperor, by which he lost his hereditary dominions. But the Elector's evil fortune was redeemed in the person of his descendants, from whom

sprung the royal family which now possess the British throne, in right of the Princess Elizabeth.

“The character of James was rendered a subject of doubt amongst his contemporaries, and bequeathed as a problem to future historians. He was deeply learned, without possessing useful knowledge; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that, and of himself, to the most unworthy favorites; a big and bold assertor of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted; and one who feared war when conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity; capable of much public labor, yet often neglecting it for the meanest amusement; a wit, though a pedant, and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and the uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform; and there were moments of his life, and those critical, in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler where serious labor was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet too often profane in his language; just and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the iniquities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hands, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct; and, showing themselves as they occasionally did, only entitled James to the character bestowed on him by Sully, — that he was the wisest fool in Christendom.” — *Fortunes of Nigel*.

CHAPTER XLI.

DISCONTENTS EXCITED DURING JAMES'S REIGN—INCREASED UNDER CHARLES—INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH LITURGY INTO THE SCOTTISH CHURCH—RIOTS IN CONSEQUENCE—NATIONAL COVENANT—THE SCOTTISH ARMY—ENTERS ENGLAND—AND DEFEATS THE KING'S FORCES AT NEWBURN—CONCESSIONS OF THE KING TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT, UPON WHICH THE SCOTTISH ARMY RETURNS HOME—CHARLES VISITS SCOTLAND, AND GAINS OVER THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE TO THE ROYAL CAUSE—THE TWO PARTIES OF CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS—ARREST OF FIVE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND.

[1625—1648.]

CHARLES I., who succeeded his father James, was a prince whose personal qualities were excellent. It was said of him justly, that, considered as a private gentleman, there was not a more honorable, virtuous, and religious man in his dominions. He was a kind father, an indulgent master, and even too affectionate a husband, permitting the Queen Henrietta Maria, the beautiful daughter of Henry IV. of France, to influence his government in a degree beyond her sphere. Charles possessed also the personal dignity which his father totally wanted; and there is no just occasion to question that so good a man as we have described him, had the intention to rule his people justly and mercifully, in place of enforcing the ancient feudal thralldom. But, on the other hand, he entertained extravagant ideas of the regal power,

feelings which, being peculiarly unsuitable to the times in which he lived, occasioned his own total ruin, and, for a time, that of his posterity.

The English people had been now, for a century and more, relieved from the severe yoke of the nobles, and had forgotten how severely it had pressed upon their forefathers. What had galled them in the late reign were the exactions of King James, who, to indulge his prodigal liberality to worthless favorites, had extorted from Parliament large supplies, and having misapplied these, had endeavored to obtain others in an indirect and illegal manner, by granting to individuals, for sums of money, exclusive rights to sell certain commodities, which the monopolist immediately raised to a high rate, and made a large fortune, while the King got little by the bribe which he had received, and the subjects suffered extremely by the price of articles, perhaps necessaries of life, being unduly advanced. Yet James, finding that a spirit of opposition had arisen within the House of Commons, and that pecuniary grants were obtained with difficulty, could not be induced to refrain from such indirect practices to obtain money from the people without the consent of their representatives in Parliament.

It was James's object also to support the royal power in the full authority which, by gradual encroachments, it had attained during the reign of the Tudors; and he was disposed to talk high of his prerogative, for which he stated himself to be accountable to God alone; whereas it was the just principle of the House of Commons, that the power of the King, like every other power in the constitution, was limited by the laws, and was liable to be legally resisted when it trespassed beyond them. Such were the disputes which James held with his subjects.

His timidity prevented him from pushing his claims to extremity, and although courtly divines and ambitious lawyers were ready to have proved, as they pretended, his absolute and indefeasible right to obedience, even in unconstitutional commands, he shrunk from the contest, and left to his son the inheritance of much discontent which his conduct had excited, but which did not immediately break out into a flame.

Charles held the same opinions of his own rights as a monarch which had been infused into him by his father's instructions, and he was obstinate and persevering where James had been timid and flexible. Arbitrary courts of justice, particularly one termed the Star-Chamber, afforded the King the means of punishing those who opposed themselves to the royal will; but the violent exertion of authority only increased the sense of the evil, and a general discontent against the King's person and prerogative began to prevail throughout England.

These menacing appearances were much increased by religious motives. The Church of England had been, since the Reformation, gradually dividing into two parties, one of which, warmly approved of by King James, and yet more keenly patronized by Charles, was peculiarly attached to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, the strict observance of particular forms of worship, and the use of certain pontifical dresses when divine service was performed. A numerous party, called the Puritans, although they complied with the model of the Church of England, considered these peculiar rites and formalities, on which the High Churchmen, as the opposite party began to be called, laid such stress, as remains of Popery, and things therefore to be abolished.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, a man of

talents and learning, was devotedly attached to the High-Church interest, and, countenanced by Charles, he resolved to use all the powers, both of the civil and spiritual courts, to subdue the refractory spirit of the Puritans, and enforce their compliance with the ceremonies which he thought so essential to the well-being of the Church. If men had been left to entertain calm and quiet thoughts on these points, they would in time have discovered, that, having chosen what was esteemed the most suitable rules for the National Church, it would have been more wise and prudent to leave the consciences of the hearers to determine whether they would conform to them, or assemble for worship elsewhere. But prosecutions, fines, pillories, and imprisonments, employed to restrain religious opinions, only make them burn the more fiercely; and those who submitted to such sufferings with patience, rather than renounce the doctrines they had espoused, were counted as martyrs, and followed accordingly. These dissensions in Church and State continued to agitate England from year to year; but it was the disturbances in Scotland which brought them to a crisis.

The King had kept firmly in view his father's favorite project of bringing the Church of Scotland, in point of church government and church ceremonies, to the same model with that of England. But to settle a National Church, with a gradation of dignified clergy, required large funds, which Scotland could not afford for such a purpose. In this dilemma, the King and his counsellors resolved, by one sweeping act of revocation, to resume to the Crown all the titles and benefices which had been conferred upon laymen at the Reformation, and thus obtain the funds necessary to endow the projected bishoprics.

I must try to explain to you what tithes are: By the law delivered to the Jews, the tithes, that is the tenth part of the yearly produce of the land, whether in animals born on the soil, or in corn, fruit, and vegetable productions, were destined to the support of the priests who performed the religious service in the Temple of Jerusalem. The same rule was adopted by the Christian Church, and the tithes were levied from the farmer or possessor of the land, for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical establishments. When the Reformation took place, the great nobles and gentry of Scotland got grants of these tithes from the Crown, engaging to take upon themselves the support of the clergy, whom they paid at as low a rate as possible. Those nobles and gentry who held such gifts were called titulars of tithes, answering to the English phrase of impropiators. They used the privileges which they had acquired with great rigor. They would not suffer the farmer to lead a sheaf of corn from the field until the tithe had been selected and removed, and in this way exercised their right with far more severity than had been done by the Roman Catholic clergy, who usually accepted a certain reasonable sum of money, as a modification or composition for their claim, and thus left the proprietor of the crop to manage it as he would, instead of actually taking the tithes in kind. But the titulars, as they used their privilege with rigor and to the utmost, were equally tenacious in retaining it.

When assembled in Parliament, or, as it was termed, the Convention of Estates, the Scottish lords who were possessed of grants of tithes determined that, rather than yield to the revocation proposed by the Earl of Nithsdale, who was the royal commissioner, they would massacre him and his adherents in the face of the assembly. This

purpose was so decidedly entertained, that Lord Belhaven, an old, blind man, placed himself close to the Earl of Dumfries, a supporter of the intended revocation, and keeping hold of his neighbor with one hand, for which he apologized, as being necessary to enable him to support himself, he held in the other the hilt of a dagger concealed in his bosom, that, as soon as the general signal should be given, he might play his part in the tragedy by plunging it into Lord Dumfries's heart. Nithsdale, learning something of this desperate resolution, gave the proposed measure of revocation up for the time, and returned to court.

The King, however, was at length able, by the assistance of a convention of the clergy, summoned together by the bishops, and by the general clamor of the land-owners, who complained of the rigorous exactions of the titulars, to obtain a partial surrender of the tithes into the power of the Crown. The power of levying them in kind was suppressed; the landholder was invested with a right to retain every season's tithe upon paying a modified sum, and to purchase the entire right from the titular (if he had the means to do so) at a rate of purchase restricted to seven years' rent.

These alterations were attended with the greatest advantages to the country in process of time, but they were very offensive to the Scottish nobility, whom they deprived of valuable rights at an inadequate price.

Charles also made an attempt to reverse some of the attainders which had taken place in his father's time, particularly that of Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. Much of this turbulent nobleman's forfeited property had fallen to the lot of the Lords of Buccleuch and Cessford, who were compelled to surrender a part of their spoils. These pro-

ceedings, as well as the revocation of the grants of tithes, highly irritated the Scottish nobility, and some wild proposals were held among them for dethroning Charles and placing the Marquis of Hamilton on the throne.

The only remarkable consequence of this intrigue was a trial in the long-forgotten Court of Chivalry, the last, it may be supposed, that will ever take place. Donald Lord Reay affirmed, that Mr. David Ramsay had used certain treasonable expressions in his, the said Donald's, hearing. Both were summoned to appear before the High Constable of England. They appeared accordingly, in great pomp, attended by their friends.

"Lord Reay," says an eyewitness, "was clothed in black velvet, embroidered with silver, carried his sword in a silver-embroidered belt, and wore around his neck his badge as a Baronet of Nova Scotia. He was a tall, black, swarthy man, of a portly and stout demeanor." The defender was next ushered in, a fair man, and having a head of ruddy hair, so bushy and long that he was usually termed Ramsay Redhead. He was dressed in scarlet, so richly embroidered with gold that the cloth could scarcely be discerned, but he was totally unarmed. While they fixed their eyes on each other sternly, the charge was read, stating that Ramsay, the defendant, had urged him, Lord Reay, to engage in a conspiracy for dethroning the King and placing the Marquis of Hamilton upon the throne. He added, that if Ramsay should deny this, he would prove him a villain and a traitor by dint of sword. Ramsay, for answer, called Reay "a liar and a barbarous villain, and protested he should die for it." They exchanged gloves. After many delays, the Court named a day of combat, assigning as the weapons to be used, a spear, a long sword, and a short sword or a dagger. The

most minute circumstances were arranged, and provision was even made at what time the parties might have the assistance of armorers and tailors, with hammers, nails, files, scissors, bodkins, needles, and thread. But now, when you are perhaps expecting, with curiosity, a tale of a bloody fight, I have to acquaint you that the King forbade the combat,* and the affair was put to sleep. Times were greatly changed since the days when almost every species of accusation might be tried in this manner.

Charles visited his native country of Scotland in 1633, for the purpose of being crowned. He was received by the people at first with great apparent affection; but discontent arose on its being observed, that he omitted no opportunity of pressing upon the bishops, who had hitherto only worn plain black gowns, the use of the more splendid vestments of the English Church. This alteration of habit grievously offended the Presbyterians, who saw in it a further approximation to the Romish ritual; †

* See King Charles's letter to that effect, May 8, 1632, Burnet's *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 14.

† "The reception of Charles in Scotland was affectionate and sincere. The nobility vied with the English in the most profuse hospitality, and in the ruinous consequence of their present waste, historians have discovered a cause of their future disquiet. The coronation was performed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, but a splendid and religious ceremony was rendered less impressive by the introduction of an altar, and of unaccustomed rites, which the people viewed with abhorrence and were unable to discriminate from the Romish mass. These innovations were ascribed to Laud, a priest without private vices or public virtues, whose ascendancy over Charles began to be perceptible, and his interference in ecclesiastical transactions offensive to the nation. It was observed at the coronation, that he displaced the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the most indecent violence, from the King's side, because that moderate prelate scrupled to officiate in the embroidered habits prescribed for his order." — *LAINÉ*, vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

while the nobility, remembering that they had been partly deprived of their tithes, and that their possession of the church lands was in danger, saw with great pleasure the obnoxious prelates, for whose sake the revocation had been made, incur the odium of the people at large.

It was left for Archbishop Laud to bring all this slumbering discontent into action, by an attempt to introduce into the divine service of the Church of Scotland a Form of Common Prayer and Liturgy similar to that used in England. This, however reasonable an institution in itself, was at variance with the character of Presbyterian worship, in which the clergyman always addressed the Deity in extemporaneous prayer, and in no prescribed, or regular form of words. King James himself, when courting the favor of the Presbyterian party, had called the English service an ill-mumbled mass; forgetting that the objection to the mass applies, not to the prayers, which must be excellent, since they are chiefly extracted from Scripture, but to the worship of the Eucharist, which Protestants think idolatrous, and to the service being in a foreign language. Neither of these objections applies to the English form of prayer but the expression of the King was not forgotten, and he was reminded of it far more frequently than was agreeable to him.

Upon the whole, this new and most obnoxious change in the form of public worship, throughout Scotland, where the nobility were known to be in a state of great discontent, was very ill-timed. Right or wrong, the people in general were prejudiced against this innovation in a matter so serious as the form of devotion; and yet such a change was to be attempted, without any other authority than that of the King and the bishops; while both the Parliament, and a General Assembly of the Church of

Scotland, had a right to be consulted in a matter so important. Nor is it less extraordinary that the Government seems to have been totally unprovided with any sufficient force to overcome the opposition which was most certain to take place.

The rash and fatal experiment was made 23d July, 1637, in the High Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, where the dean of the city prepared to read the new service before a numerous concourse of persons, none of whom seem to have been favorably disposed to its reception. As the reader of the prayers announced the collect for the day, an old woman, named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green-stall in the High Street, bawled out, "The deil colick in the wame of thee, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" With that she flung at the dean's head the stool upon which she had been sitting, and a wild tumult instantly commenced. The women of lower condition [instigated, it is said, by their superiors] flew at the dean, tore the surplice from his shoulders, and drove him out of the church.* The Bishop of Edinburgh mounted the pulpit, but he was also assailed with missiles, and with vehement exclamations of "A Pope! a Pope! Antichrist! pull him down, stone him!" while the win-

* "On the Sunday morning, when the bishop and his dean in the great church, and the Bishop of Argyle in the Greyfriars, began to officiate, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound was given to any; yet such were the contumelies, in words, in clamors, runnings, and flinging of stones in the eyes of the magistrates, and chancellor himself, that a little opposition would have infallibly moved that enraged people to have rent sundry of the bishops in pieces. The day thereafter I had occasion to be in the town; I found the people nothing settled; but if that service had been presented to them again, resolved to have done some mischief." — PRINCIPAL BAILLIE'S *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

dows were broken with stones flung by a disorderly multitude from without. This was not all: the prelates were assaulted in the street, and misused by the mob. The life of the Bishop was with difficulty saved by Lord Roxburghe, who carried him home in his carriage, surrounded by his retinue with drawn swords.

This tumult, which has now something ludicrous in its details, was the signal for a general resistance to the reception of the Service-book throughout the whole country. The Privy Council of Scotland were lukewarm, or rather cold, in the cause. They wrote to Charles a detailed account of the tumults, and did not conceal that the opposition to the measure was spreading far and wide.

Charles was inflexible in his purpose, and so greatly incensed that he showed his displeasure even in trifles. It was the ancient custom to have a fool, or jester, maintained at court, privileged to break his satirical jests at random. The post was then held by one Archie Armstrong, who, as he saw the Archbishop of Canterbury posting to court, in consequence of the mortifying tidings from Scotland, could not help whispering in the prelate's ear the sly question, "Who's fool now, my lord?" For this jest, poor Archie, having been first severely whipped, was disgraced and dismissed from court,* where no fool has again been admitted, at least in an avowed and official capacity.

* "In more modern times," says Sir Walter Scott, "he might have found a court in which his virtues would have entitled him to a higher station. He was dismissed in disgrace in the year 1687, for his insolent wit, of which the following may serve as a specimen. One day, when Archbishop Laud was just about to say grace before dinner, Archie begged permission of the King to perform that office in his stead; and, having received it, said, 'All *praise* to God, and little *Laud* to the devil.'" — *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. iv. p. 381.

But Archie was a more accessible object of punishment than the malecontents in Scotland. It was in vain that Charles sent down repeated and severe messages, blaming the Privy Council, the Magistrates, and all who did not punish the rioters, and enforce the reading of the Service-book. The resistance to the measure, which was at first tumultuous, and the work of the lower orders, had now assumed quality and consistency. More than thirty peers, and a very great proportion of the gentry of Scotland, together with the greater part of the royal burghs, had, before the month of December, agreed not merely to oppose the Service-book, but to act together in resisting the further intrusions of prelacy. They were kept in union and directed by representatives appointed from among themselves, and forming separate committees, or, as they were termed, Tables or Boards of Management.

Under the auspices of these Tables, or Committees, a species of engagement, or declaration, was drawn up, the principal object of which was, the eradication of Prelacy in all its modifications, and the establishment of Presbytery on its purest and most simple basis. This engagement was called the National Covenant, as resembling those covenants which, in the Old Testament, God is said to have made with the people of Israel. The terms of this memorable league professed the Reformed faith, and abjured the rites and doctrines of the Romish Church, with which were classed the newly imposed Liturgy and Canons.* This covenant, which had for its object to

* "The liturgy was a transcript from the English, transposed or diversified with some slight alterations. Unfortunately, in receding from the English service, these minute alterations approached proportionably to the Romish missal. The communion-table, where the alms of the congregation were presented as an offertory, was decorated with a carpet and placed in the east. The presbyter, for the derivative ap-

annul all of prelatiſh innovation that James's policy and his ſon's violence had been able to introduce into the Presbyterian Church, was ſworn to by hundreds, ^{1st March, 1638.} thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of every age and deſcription, vowing, with uplifted hands and weeping eyes, that, with the Divine aſſiſtance, they would dedicate life and fortune to maintain the object of their ſolemn engagement.

Undoubtedly, many perſons who thus ſubſcribed the National Covenant did not ſeriously feel any apprehenſion that Prelacy would introduce Popery, or that the Book of Common Prayer was in itſelf a grievance which the people of Scotland did well or wiſely to oppoſe; but they were convinced, that in thus forcing a matter of conſcience upon a whole nation, the King diſregarded the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, and foreſaw, that if not now withſtood, he was moſt likely to make himſelf abſolute maſter of their rights and privileges in ſecular as well as religious affairs. They therefore joined in ſuch meaſures as procured a general reſiſtance to the arbitrary power ſo raſhly aſſumed by King Charles.

Meantime, while the King negotiated and procrastinated, Scotland, though ſtill declaring attachment to his perſon, was nearly in a ſtate of general reſiſtance.

The Covenanters, as they began to be called, held a General Aſſembly of the Church, at which the Marquis of Hamilton attended as Lord Commiſſioner for the King.

pellation of prieſt was ſuppreſſed, paſſed ſucceſſively in officiating at the eucharist, from the north ſide to the front of this altar, with his back to the congregation. The conſecration of the elements was a prayer expreſſive of the real preſence, and their elevation from the altar of an actual oblation. Thanks were given for departed ſaints, of whom the calendar received a large addition appropriated to Scotland." — LAING, vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

This important meeting was held at Glasgow. ^{21st Nov.,}
 There all the measures pointed at by the Cove- ^{1638.}
 nant were carried fully into effect. Episcopacy was abolished, the existing bishops were deprived of their power, and eight of them excommunicated for divers alleged irregularities.

The Covenanters took arms to support these bold measures. They recalled to Scotland the numerous officers who had been trained in the wars of Germany, and committed the command of the whole to Alexander Lesley, a veteran general of skill and experience, who had possessed the friendship of Gustavus Adolphus. They soon made great progress; for the castles of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, and other national fortresses, were treacherously surrendered to, or daringly surprised by the Covenanters.

King Charles, meantime, was preparing for the invasion of Scotland with a powerful army by land and sea. The fleet was commanded by the Marquis of Hamilton, who, unwilling to commence a civil war, or, as some supposed, not being on this occasion peculiarly zealous in the King's service, made no attempt to prosecute the enterprise. The fleet lay idle in the Frith of Forth, while Charles in person, at the head of an army of twenty-three thousand men, gallantly equipped by the English nobility, seemed as much determined upon the subjugation of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, as ever any of the Edwards or Henrys of England had been. But the Scottish Covenanters showed the same determined spirit of resistance, which, displayed by their ancestors, had frustrated so many invasions, and it was now mingled with much political discretion.

A great degree of military discipline had been introduced into the Scottish levies, considering how short time

they had been on foot. They lay encamped on Dunse Law, a gently sloping hill, very favorable for a military display.* Their camp was defended by forty field-pieces, and their army consisted of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men. The highest Scottish nobles, as Argyle, Rothes, Cassilis, Eglinton, Dalhousie, Lindsay, Loudoun, Balcarras, and others, acted as colonels; their captains were gentlemen of high rank and fortune; and the inferior commissions were chiefly bestowed on veteran officers who had served abroad. The utmost order was observed in their camp, while the presence of numerous clergymen kept up the general enthusiasm, and seemed to give a religious character to the war.† .

In this crisis, when a decisive battle was to have been ^{3d June,} expected, only one very slight action took place, ^{1690.} when a few English cavalry, retreating hastily and in disorder, from a still smaller number of Scots, seemed to show that the invaders had not their hearts engaged in the combat. The King was surrounded by many counsellors, who had no interest to encourage the war; and the whole body of English Puritans considered the resist-

* Dunse Law is a beautiful little hill, close by the town of the same name. It rises in a gradual ascent till it terminates in a plain of nearly thirty acres, and still bears on its broomy top marks of the encampment of the Covenanters.

† "At the door of each captain's tent a new color was displayed, upon which were the arms of Scotland, and in golden letters the words, 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' The most popular ministers, in military array, though exempted from all duty inconsistent with their profession, frequented the camp; sermons, calculated to animate and inflame, were regularly delivered; prayers were offered to God for the success of what was styled his own cause; the audience were assured that hitherto they had been conducted by a Divine hand; and from these religious exercises they retired with that intrepid fortitude which glowed in the breasts of the martyrs for the truth." — DR. COOK'S *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 485.

ance of Scotland as the triumph of the good cause over Popery and Prelacy. Charles's own courage seems to have failed him, at the idea of encountering a force so well provided, and so enthusiastic as that of the Covenanters, with a dispirited army acting under divided councils. A treaty was entered into, though of an insecure character. The King granted a declaration, in which, without confirming the acts of the Assembly of Glasgow, which he would not acknowledge as a lawful one, he agreed that all matters concerning the regulation of church government should be left to a new convocation of the Church.

Such an agreement could not be lasting. The Covenanting lords did, indeed, disband their forces, and restore to the King's troops the strong places which they had occupied; but they held themselves ready to take arms, and seize upon them again, on the slightest notice; neither was the King able to introduce any considerable degree of disunion into so formidable a league.

The General Assembly of the Church, convened according to the treaty, failed not to confirm all that had been done by their predecessors at Glasgow; the National Covenant was renewed, and the whole conclusions of the body were in favor of pure and unmingled Presbytery. The Scottish Parliament, on their part, demanded several privileges, necessary, it was said, to freedom of debate, and required that the Estates of the kingdom should be convened at least once every three years. On receiving these demands, Charles thought he beheld a formed scheme for undermining his royal authority, and prepared to renew the war.

His determination involved, however, consequences more important than even the war with Scotland. His

private economy had enabled the King to support, from the crown lands and other funds, independent of Parliamentary grants, the ordinary expenses of the State, and he had been able even to sustain the charges of the first army raised to invade Scotland, without having recourse to the House of Commons. But his treasures were now exhausted, and it became indispensable to convoke a Parliament, and obtain from the Commons a grant of money to support the war. The Parliament met, but were too much occupied by their own grievances, to take an immediate interest in the Scottish war, which they only viewed as affording a favorable opportunity for enforcing their own objects. They refused the supplies demanded. The King was obliged to dissolve them, and have recourse to the aid of Ireland, to the convocation of the Church, to compulsory loans, and other indirect methods of raising money, so that his resources were exhausted by the effort.

On hearing that the King was again collecting his army, and had placed himself at its head, the Parliament of Scotland resolved on re-assembling theirs. It was done with such facility, and so speedily, that it was plain they had been, during the short suspension of arms, occupied in preparing for a new rupture. They did not now wait till the King should invade Scotland, but boldly crossed the Tweed, entered England, and advancing to the banks of the Tyne, found Lord Conway posted at Newburn, with six thousand men, having batteries of cannon in his front, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river. On 28th August, 1640, the battle of Newburn was fought. The Scots, after silencing the artillery by their superior fire, entered the ford, girdle deep, and made their way across the river. The English fled with a speed and disorder unworthy of their national reputation.

The King, surprised at this defeat, and justly distrusting the faith of many who were in his army and near his person, directed his forces to retreat into Yorkshire, where he had arrived in person; and again, with more serious intentions of abiding by it, commenced a negotiation with his insurgent subjects. At the same time, to appease the growing discontent of the English nation, he resolved again to call a Parliament. There were, no doubt, in the royal camp, many persons to whom the presence of a Scottish army was acceptable, as serving to overawe the more violent royalists; and the Scots were easily induced to protract their stay, when it was proposed to them to receive pay and provisions at the expense of England.

The meeting of that celebrated body called in English history the Long Parliament took place on 3d November, 1640. The majority of the members were disaffected with the King's government, on account of his severity in matters of religion, and his tendency to despotism in state affairs. These malecontents formed a strong party, determined to diminish the royal authority, and reduce, if not altogether to destroy, the hierarchy of the Church. The negotiations for peace being transferred from Rippon to London, the presence of the Scottish commissioners was highly acceptable to those statesmen who opposed the King; and the preaching of the clergymen by whom they were accompanied appeared equally instructive to the citizens of London and their wives.

In this favorable situation, and completely successful over the royal will (for Charles I. could not propose to contend at once with the English Parliament and with the Scottish army), the peremptory demands of the Scots were neither light, nor easily gratified. They required

that the King should confirm every act of the Scottish Convention of Estates with which he had been at war, recall all the proclamations which he had sent out against them, place the fortresses of Scotland in the hands of such officers as the Convention should approve of, pay all the expenses of the war, and, last and bitterest, they stipulated, that those of the King's counsellors who had advised the late hostilities, should be punished as incendiaries. While the Scots were discussing these severe conditions, they remained in their quarters in England, much at their ease, overawing by their presence the King, and those who might be disposed to join him, and affording to the opposition party in the English Parliament an opportunity of obtaining redress for the grievances of which they, in their turn, complained.

The King, thus circumstanced, was compelled to give way. The oppressive courts in which arbitrary proceedings had taken place, were abolished; every species of contrivance by which Charles had endeavored to levy money without consent of Parliament, a subject on which the people of England were justly jealous, was declared unlawful; and it was provided, that Parliaments should be summoned every three years.

Thus the power of the King was reduced within the boundaries of the Constitution: but the Parliament were not satisfied with this general redress of grievances, though including all that had hitherto been openly complained of. A strong party among the members was determined to be satisfied with nothing short of the abolition of Episcopacy in England as well as in Scotland; and many, who did not aim at that favorite point, entertained fears, that if the King were left in possession of such powers as the Constitution allowed him he would find

means of re-establishing and perpetuating the grievances which, for the time, he had consented to abolish.

Gratified with a donation of three hundred thousand pounds, given under the delicate name of brotherly assistance, the Scottish army at length retired homeward, and left the King and Parliament of England to settle their own affairs. The troops had scarcely returned to Scotland and disbanded, when Charles proposed to himself a visit to his native kingdom. He arrived in Scotland on the 12th of August, 1641. There can be little doubt that the purpose of this royal progress was to inquire closely into the causes which had enabled the Scottish nation, usually divided into factions and quarrels, to act with such unanimity, and to try whether it might not be possible for the King to attach to his royal interest and person some of the principal leaders, and thus form a party who might not only prevent his English dominions from being again invaded by an army from Scotland, but might be disposed to serve him, in case he should come to an open rupture with his English Parliament. For this purpose he dispensed dignities and gifts in Scotland with an unsparing hand; made General Lesley Earl of Leven, raised the Lords Loudoun and Lindsay to the same rank, and received into his administration several nobles who had been active in the late invasion of England. On most of these persons, the King's benefits produced little effect. They considered him only as giving what, if he had dared, he would have withheld. But Charles made a convert to his interests of one nobleman, whose character and actions have rendered him a memorable person in Scottish history.

This was James Graham, Earl of Montrose; a man of high genius, glowing with the ambition which prompts

great actions, and conscious of courage and talents which enabled him to aspire to much by small and inadequate means. He was a poet and a scholar, deeply skilled in the art of war, and possessed of a strength of constitution and activity of mind, by which he could sustain every hardship, and find a remedy in every reverse of fortune. It was remarked of him by Cardinal du Retz, an unquestionable judge, that he resembled more nearly than any man of his age those great heroes whose names and history are handed down to us by the Greek and Roman historians. As a qualification to this high praise, it must be added, that Montrose's courage sometimes approached to rashness, and that some of his actions arose more from the dictates of private revenge, than became his nobler qualities.

The young Earl had attended the court of Charles when he came home from his travels, but not meeting with the attention or distinction which he was conscious of deserving, he withdrew into Scotland, and took a zealous share in forming and forwarding the National Covenant. A man of such talent could not fail to be employed and distinguished. Montrose was sent by the confederated lords of the Covenant to chastise the prelatie town of Aberdeen, and to disperse the Gordons, who were taking arms for the King under the Marquis of Huntly, and succeeded in both commissions. When the army of the Scottish Parliament entered England, he was the first man who forded the Tweed. He passed alone under the fire of the English, to ascertain the depth of the water, and returned to lead over the regiment which he commanded. Notwithstanding these services to the cause of the Covenant, Montrose had the mortification to see that the Earl of Argyle (the ancient feudal enemy of his house) was preferred to

him by the heads of the party, and chiefly by the clergy. There was something in the fiery ambition, and unyielding purpose of Montrose, which startled inferior minds; while Argyle, dark, close, and crafty, — a man well qualified to affect a complete devotion to the ends of others, when he was, in fact, bent on forwarding his own, — stooped lower to court popularity, and was more successful in gaining it.

The King had long observed that Montrose was dissatisfied with the party to which he had hitherto adhered, and found no difficulty in engaging his services for the future in the royal cause. The noble convert set so actively about inducing others to follow his example, that even during the course of the treaty at Rippon, he had procured the subscription of nineteen noblemen to a bond engaging themselves to unite in support of Charles. This act of defection being discovered by the Covenanters, Montrose was imprisoned; and the King, on coming to Scotland, had the mortification to find himself deprived of the assistance of this invaluable adherent.

Montrose contrived, however, to communicate with the King from his prison in the castle of Edinburgh, and disclosed so many circumstances respecting the purposes of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyle, that Charles had resolved to arrest them both at one moment, and had assembled soldiers for that purpose. They escaped, however, and retired to their houses, where they could not have been seized, but by open violence, and at the risk of a civil war. These noblemen were recalled to court; and to show that the King's confidence in them was unchanged, Argyle was raised to the rank of Marquis. This obscure affair was called the *Incident*; it was never well explained, but at the time excited much suspicion of

the King's purposes both in England and Scotland, and aggravated the disinclination of the English Parliament to leave his royal power on the present unreduced footing.

There can be little doubt that Montrose's disclosures to the King concerned the private correspondence which passed between the Scottish Covenanters and the Opposition party in the Parliament of England, and which Charles might hope to convert into an accusation of high treason against both. But as he did not feel that he possessed a party in Scotland strong enough to contend with the great majority of the nobles of that country, he judged it best to pass over all further notice of the *Incident* for the time, and to leave Scotland under the outward appearance at least of mutual concord. He was formally congratulated on departing a contented King from a contented people, — a state of things, which did not last long.

It was, indeed, impossible that Scotland should remain long tranquil, while England, with whom she was now so closely connected, was in such dreadful disorder. The King had no sooner returned from Scotland than the quarrel betwixt him and his Parliament was renewed with more violence than ever. If either party could have reposed confidence in the other's sincerity, the concessions made by the King were such as ought to have gratified the Parliament. But the strongest suspicions were entertained by the prevailing party that the King considered the grants which he had made as having been extorted from him by violence, and that he retained the steady purpose of reassuming, in its full extent, the obnoxious and arbitrary power of which he had been deprived for a season, but which he still considered as part of his royal right. They therefore resolved not to quit the ascendancy which they had attained until they had deprived

the King, for a season at least, of a large portion of his remaining prerogative, although bestowed on him by the Constitution, that they might thus prevent his employing it for the recovery of those arbitrary privileges which had been usurped by the throne during the reign of the Tudors.

While the Parliamentary leaders argued thus, the King, on his side, complained that no concession, however large, was found adequate to satisfy the demands of his discontented subjects. "He had already," he urged, "resigned all the points which had been disputed between them, yet they continued as ill-satisfied as before." On these grounds the partisans of the Crown were alarmed with the idea that it was the purpose of Parliament altogether to abrogate the royal authority, or at least to depose the reigning King.

On the return of Charles to London, the Parliament greeted him with a remonstrance, in which he was upbraided with all the real and supposed errors of his reign. At the same time, a general disposition ^{28th Nov.} to tumult showed itself throughout the city. Great mobs of apprentices and citizens, not always of the lowest rank, came in tumult to Westminster, under the pretence of petitioning the Houses of Parliament; and as they passed Whitehall, they insulted, with loud shouts, the guards and servants of the King. The parties soon came to blows, and blood was spilt between them.

Party names, too, were assumed to distinguish the friends of the King from those who favored the Parliament. The former were chiefly gay young men, who, according to the fashion of the times, wore showy dresses, and cultivated the growth of long hair, which, arranged in ringlets, fell over their shoulders. They were called Cav-

alians. In distinction, those who adhered to the Parliament, assumed, in their garb and deportment, a seriousness and gravity which rejected all ornament. They wore their hair, in particular, cropped short around the head, and thence gained the name of Roundheads.

But it was the difference in their ideas of religion, or rather of church government, which chiefly widened the division betwixt the two parties. The King had been bred up to consider the preservation of the Church of England and her hierarchy as a sacred point of his royal duty, since he was recognized by the Constitution as its earthly head and superintendent. The Presbyterian system, on the contrary, was espoused by a large proportion of the Parliament; and they were, for the time, seconded by the other numerous classes of Dissenters, all of whom desired to see the destruction of the Church of England, however unwilling they might be in their secret mind, that a Presbyterian church government should be set up in its stead. The enemies of the English hierarchy greatly predominating within the Houses of Parliament, the lords spiritual, or bishops, were finally expelled from their seats in the House of Lords, and their removal was celebrated as a triumph by the London citizens.

While matters were in this state, the King committed a great imprudence. Having conceived that he had acquired from Montrose's discovery, or otherwise, certain information that five of the leading members of the House of Commons had been guilty of holding such intimate communication with the Scots when in arms as might authorize a charge of high treason against them, he formed the highly rash and culpable intention of going to the House of Commons in person, with an armed train of attendants, and causing the accused members to be arrested. By this ill-

advised measure Charles doubtless expected to strike terror into the opposite party; but it proved altogether ineffectual. The five members had received private information of the blow to be aimed at them, and had fled into the city, where they found numbers willing to conceal or defend them. The King, by his visit to the House of Commons, only showed that he could stoop to act almost in the capacity of a common constable, or catchpole; and that he disregarded the respect due to the representatives of the British people, in meditating such an arrest of their members in the presence of that body.

After this very rash step on the part of the King, every chance of reconciliation seemed at an end. The Commons rejected all amicable proposals, unless the King would surrender to them, for a time at least, the command of the militia or armed force of the kingdom; and that would have been equivalent to laying his crown at their feet. The King refused to surrender the command of the militia, even for an instant; and both parties prepared to take up arms. Charles left London, where the power of the Parliament was predominant, assembled what friends he could gather at Nottingham, and hoisted the royal standard there as the signal of civil war, on 25th August, 1642.

The hostilities which ensued over almost all England were of a singular character. Long accustomed to peace, the English had but little knowledge of the art of war. The friends of the contending parties assembled their followers, and marched against each other, without much idea of taking strong positions, or availing themselves of able manœuvres, but with the simple and downright purpose of meeting, fighting with, and defeating those who were in arms on the other side. These battles were con-

tested with great manhood and gallantry, but with little military skill or discipline. It was no uncommon thing for one wing or division of the contending armies, when they found themselves victorious over the body opposed to them, to amuse themselves with chasing the vanquished party for leagues off the field of battle, where the victory was in the mean while lost for want of their support. This repeatedly happened through the precipitation of the King's cavalry; a fine body of men, consisting of the flower of the English nobility and gentry; but as ungovernable as they were valorous, and usually commanded by Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, a young man of fiery courage, not gifted with prudence corresponding to his bravery and activity.

In these unhappy civil contentions, the ancient nobility and gentry of England were chiefly disposed to the service of the King; and the farmers and cultivators of the soil followed them as their natural leaders. The cause of the Parliament was supported by London with all its wealth and its numbers, and by the other great towns, seaports, and manufacturing districts, throughout the country. At the commencement of the war, the Parliament, being in possession of most of the fortified places in England, with the magazines of arms and ammunition which they contained, having also numbers of men prepared to obey their summons, and with power to raise large sums of money to pay them, seemed to possess great advantages over the party of Charles. But the gallantry of the King's followers was able to restore the balance, and proposals were made for peace on equal terms, which, had all parties been as sincere in seeking it as the good and wise of each side certainly were, might then have been satisfactorily concluded.

A treaty was set on foot at Oxford in the winter and spring of 1643, and the Scottish Parliament sent to England a committee of the persons employed as conservators of the peace between the kingdoms, to negotiate, if possible, a pacification between the King and his Parliament, honorable for the Crown, satisfactory for the liberty of the subject, and secure for both. But the King listened to the warmer and more passionate counsellors, who pointed out to him that the Scots would, to a certainty, do their utmost to root out Prelacy in any system of accommodation which they might assist in framing; and that having, in fact, been the first who had set the example of a successful resistance to the Crown, they could not now be expected to act as friends to the King in any negotiation in which his prerogative was concerned. The result was that the Scottish Commissioners, finding themselves treated with coldness by the King, and with menace and scorn by the more vehement of his followers, left Oxford still more displeased with the Royal cause than they were when they had come hither.

CHAPTER XLII.

A SCOTTISH ARMY SENT TO ASSIST THAT OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT—MONTROSE TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THEIR ABSENCE, AND, BEING JOINED BY A BODY OF IRISHMEN, RAISES THE ROYAL STANDARD IN SCOTLAND—BATTLE OF TIBBERMUIR, AND SURRENDER OF PERTH—AFFAIR AT THE BRIDGE OF DEE, AND SACK OF PERTH—CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

[1643 — 1644.]

IN 1643, when the advance of spring permitted the resumption of hostilities, it was found that the state of the King's party was decidedly superior to that of the Parliament, and it was generally believed that the event of the war would be decided in the Royal favor, could the co-operation of the Scots be obtained. The King privately made great offers to the Scottish nation, to induce them to declare in his favor, or at least remain neuter in the struggle. He called upon them to remember that he had gratified all their wishes, without exception, and reminded them that the late peace between England and Scotland provided, that neither country should declare war against the other without due provocation, and the consent of Parliament. But the members of the Scottish Convention of Estates were sensible that if they should assist the King to conquer the English Parliament, for imitating their own example of insurrection, it would be naturally followed by their undergoing punishment themselves for the lesson which they had taught the English. They

feared for the Presbyterian system, — some of them, no doubt, feared for themselves, — and all turned a deaf ear to the King's proposals.

On the other hand, a deputation from Parliament pressed upon the Scottish Convention another clause in the treaty of peace made in 1641, namely, that the Parliament of either country should send aid to each other to repel invasion or suppress internal disturbances. In compliance with this article, the English Commissioners desired the assistance of a body of Scottish auxiliaries. The country being at this time filled with disbanded officers and soldiers who were eager for employment, the opportunity and the invitation were extremely tempting to them, for they remembered the free quarters and good pay which they had enjoyed while in England.* Nevertheless, the leading members of the Convention of Estates were aware that to embrace the party of the Parliament of England, and despatch to their assistance a large body of auxiliary forces, selected, as they must be, from their best levies, would necessarily expose their authority in Scotland to considerable danger; for the King's friends who had joined in the bond with Montrose, were men of power and influence, and, having the will, only waited for

* "For the souldiers their part, they had been employed in two former expeditiones, and wer now loytering at home (except some few employed against the Irish rebelles), these wer ready to fight for ther wages, and never spear (ask) the quarrell. Half-ane-croune to eat ther dinner, † (as I was certanely informed by one that receaved it himself, and is yet alyve,) was no contemptible pay to a foot souldier. By this we may conjecture what the officers did make by ther pay and purchase, if they were courtours." — *Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. ii. p. 217.

† "I presume," adds Sir Walter Scott, "this exorbitant consideration was paid by those on whom the military adventurers of Scotland were quartered when on the south of the Tweed." — Note, *Ibid.*

the opportunity, to act in his behalf; and might raise, perhaps, a formidable insurrection in Scotland itself, when relieved from the superiority of force which at present was so great on the side of the Convention. But the English Commissioners held out a bait which the Convention found it impossible to resist.

From the success which the ruling party had experienced in establishing the Church of Scotland on a Presbyterian model, and from the great influence which the clergy had acquired in the councils of the nation by the late course of events, both the clergy and laity of that persuasion had been induced to cherish the ambitious desire of totally destroying the hierarchy of the Church of England, and of introducing into that kingdom a form of church government on the Presbyterian model. To accomplish this favorite object, the leading Presbyterians in Scotland were willing to run every risk, and to make every exertion.

The Commissioners of England were most ready to join with this idea, so far as concerned the destruction of prelacy; but they knew that the English Parliament party were greatly divided among themselves on the propriety of substituting the Presbyterian system in its place. The whole body of Sectarians, or Independents, were totally opposed to the introduction of any national church government whatever, and were averse to that of Presbytery in particular, the Scottish clergy having, in their opinion, shown themselves disposed to be as absolute and intolerant in their church judicatories as the bishops had been while in power. But, with a crafty policy, the Commissioners conducted the negotiation in such a manner as to give the Scottish Convention reason to believe, that they would accomplish their favorite desire, of seeing the system

which they so much admired acknowledged and adopted in England, while, in fact, they bound their constituents, the English Parliament, to nothing specific on the subject.

The Commissioners proposed to join with the Scottish nation in a new edition of the Covenant, which had before proved such a happy bond of union among the Scots themselves. In this new bond of religious association, which was called the Solemn League and Covenant, it was provided that the church government of Scotland should be supported and maintained on its present footing; but with regard to England, the agreement was expressed with studied ambiguity, — the religious system of England, it was provided, should be reformed “according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches.” The Scots, usually, more cautious in their transactions, never allowed themselves to doubt for a moment, that the rule and example to be adopted under this clause must necessarily be that of Presbytery, and under this conviction, both the nobles and the clergy hastened with raptures, and even with tears of joy, to subscribe the proposed League. But several of the English Commissioners enjoyed in secret the reserved power of interpreting the clause otherwise, and of explaining the phrase in a sense applicable to their own ideas of emancipation from church government of every kind.

The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to in Scotland with general acclamation, and was received and adopted by the English Parliament with the same applause, all discussion of the dubious article being cautiously avoided. The Scots proceeded, with eager haste, to send to the assistance of the Parliament of England, a well-disciplined army of upwards of twenty thousand men,

under the command of Alexander Lesley, Earl of Leven. An officer of character, named Baillie, was Leven's lieutenant, and David Lesley, a man of greater military talents than either, was his major-general. Their presence ^{31 July,} contributed greatly to a decisive victory which the ^{1644.} Parliament forces gained at Marston Moor; and, indeed, as was to be expected from their numbers and discipline, quickly served to give that party the preponderance in the field.

But while the Scottish auxiliaries were actively serving the common cause of the Parliament in England, the courageous and romantic enterprise of the Earl of Montrose, advanced by the King to the dignity of Marquis, broke out in a train of success, which threatened to throw Scotland itself into the hands of the King and his friends. This nobleman's bold genius, when the Royalist party in Scotland seemed totally crushed and dispersed, devised the means of assembling them together, and of menacing the Convention of Estates with the destruction of their power at home, even at the moment when they hoped to establish the Presbyterian Church in both kingdoms, by the success of the army which they had despatched into England.

After obtaining his liberation from imprisonment, Montrose had repaired to England, and suggested to the King a plan of operations to be executed by a body of Irish, to be despatched by the Earl of Antrim from the county of Ulster, and landed in the West Highlands. With these he proposed to unite a force collected from the Highland clans, who were disinclined to the Presbyterian government, great enemies to the Marquis of Argyle, and attached to the Royal cause, because they regarded the King as a chieftain whose clan was in rebellion against

him, and who, therefore, deserved the support of every faithful mountaineer. The promise of pay, to which they had never been accustomed, and the certainty of booty, would, as Montrose judiciously calculated, readily bring many chieftains and clans to the Royal Standard. The powerful family of the Gordons, in Aberdeenshire, who, besides enjoying almost princely authority over the numerous gentlemen of their family, had extensive influence among the mountain tribes in their neighborhood, or, in the Scottish phrase, "could command a great Highland following," might also be reckoned upon with certainty; as they had been repeatedly in arms for the King, had not been put down without a stout resistance, and were still warmly disposed towards the royal cause. The support of many of the nobility and gentry in the north might also be regarded as probable, should Montrose be able to collect a considerable force. The Episcopal establishment, so odious to the lords and barons of the southern and western parts of Scotland, was popular in the north. The northern barons were displeased with the extreme strictness of the Presbyterian clergy, and dissatisfied with the power they had often assumed of interfering with the domestic arrangements of families, under pretext of maintaining moral discipline. Finally, there were in all parts of Scotland active and daring men disappointed of obtaining employment or preferment under the existing government, and therefore willing to join in any enterprise, however desperate, which promised a change.

All this was known to the Convention of Estates; but they had not fully estimated the magnitude of the danger. Montrose's personal talents were, to a certain extent, admitted; but ordinary men were incapable of estimating such a character as his; and he was generally esteemed

a vain, though able young man, whose remarkable ambition was capable of urging him into rash and impracticable undertakings. The great power of the Marquis of Argyle was relied upon as a sufficient safeguard against any attempt on the West Highlands, and his numerous, brave, and powerful clan had long kept all the other tribes of that country in a species of awe, if not of subjection.

But the character of the Highlanders was estimated according to a sort of calculation, which time had rendered very erroneous. In the former days of Scotland, when the Lowlands were inhabited by men as brave, and much better armed and disciplined than the mountaineers, the latter had indeed often shown themselves alert as light troops, unwearied in predatory excursions; but had been generally, from their tumultuary charge, liable to defeat, either from a steady body of spearmen, who received their onset with lowered lances, or from an attack of the feudal chivalry of the Lowlands, completely armed and well-mounted. At Harlaw, Corrichie, Glenlivet, and on many other occasions, the irregular forces of the Highlands had been defeated by an inferior number of their Lowland opponents.

These recollections might lead the governors of Scotland, during the civil war, to hold a Highland army in low estimation. But, if such was their opinion, it was adopted without considering that half a century of uninterrupted peace had rendered the Lowlander much less warlike, while the Highlander, who always went armed, was familiar with the use of the weapons which he constantly wore, and had a greater love for fighting than the Lowland peasant, who, called from the peaceful occupations of the farm, and only prepared by a few days' drill, was

less able to encounter the unwonted dangers of a field of battle. The burghers, who made a formidable part of the array of the Scottish army in former times, were now still more unwarlike than the peasant, being not only without skill in arms, and little accustomed to danger, but deficient also in the personal habits of exercise which the rustic had preserved. This great and essential difference between the Highlander and Lowlander of modern days could scarcely be estimated in the middle of the seventeenth century, the causes by which it was brought about being gradual, and attracting little attention.

Montrose's first plan was to collect a body of Royalist horse on the frontiers of England, to burst at once into the centre of Scotland at their head, and force his way to Stirling, where a body of cavaliers had promised to assemble and unite with him. The expedition was disconcerted by a sort of mutiny among the English horse who had joined him; in consequence of which Montrose disbanded his handful of followers, and exhorted them to make their way to the King, or to the nearest body of men in arms for the Royal cause, while he himself adopted a new and more desperate plan. He took with him only two friends, and disguised himself as the groom of one of them, whom he followed, ill-mounted and worse dressed, and leading a spare horse. They called themselves gentlemen belonging to Leven's army; for, of course, if Montrose had been discovered by the Covenanting party, a rigorous captivity was the least he might expect. At one time he seemed on the point of being detected. A straggling soldier passed his two companions, and coming up to Montrose, saluted him respectfully by his name and title. Montrose tried to persuade him that he was mistaken; but the man persisted, though with

the utmost respect and humility of deportment. "Do I not know my noble Lord of Montrose?" he said; "but go your way, and God be with you." The circumstance alarmed Montrose and his companions; but the poor fellow was faithful, and never betrayed his old leader.

In this disguise he reached the verge of the Highlands, and lay concealed in the house of his relation, Graham of Inchbraco, and afterwards, for still greater safety, in an obscure hut on the Highland frontier, while he despatched spies in every direction to bring him intelligence of the state of the Royalist party. Bad news came from all quarters. The Marquis of Huntly had taken arms hastily and imprudently, and had been defeated and compelled to fly; while Gordon of Haddow, the most active and gallant gentleman of the name, was made prisoner, and, to strike terror into the rest of the clan, was publicly executed by order of the Scottish Parliament.

Montrose's spirit was not to be broken even by this disappointment; and while anxiously awaiting further intelligence, an indistinct rumor reached him that a body of soldiers from Ireland had landed in the West Highlands, and were wandering in the mountains, followed and watched by Argyle with a strong party of his clan. Shortly after he learned, by a messenger despatched on purpose, that this was the promised body of auxiliaries sent to him from Ulster by the Earl of Antrim. Their commander was Alaster MacDonald, a Scoto-Irishman, I believe, of the Antrim family. He was called Coll Kittoch, or Colkitto, from his being left-handed; a very brave and daring man, but vain and opinionative, and wholly ignorant of regular warfare. Montrose sent orders to him to march with all speed into the district of Athole, and despatched emissaries to raise the gentlemen of that

country in arms, as they were generally well affected to the King's cause. He himself set out to join this little band, attired in an ordinary Highland garb, and accompanied only by Inchbraco as his guide. The Irish were surprised and disappointed to see their expected general appear so poorly dressed and attended; nor had Montrose greater reason to congratulate himself on the appearance of his army. The force which was assembled did not exceed fifteen hundred Irish, instead of the thousands promised, and these were but indifferently armed and appointed, while only a few Highlanders from Badenoch were yet come to the appointed rendezvous.

These active mountain warriors, however, few as they were, had a day or two before come to blows with the Covenanters. Macpherson of Cluny, chief of his name, had sent out a party of men under Macpherson of Invereshie, to look out for Montrose, who was anxiously expected in the Highlands. They beheld the approach of a detached body of horse, which they concluded was the escort of their expected general. But when they drew nearer, the Macphersons found it to be several troops of the cavalry of the Covenanters, commanded by Colonel Herries, and quartered in Glencairn for the purpose of keeping the Highlanders in check. While the horsemen were advancing in formidable superiority of numbers, Invereshie, who was drawing up his Highlanders for action, observed one of them in the act of stooping; and as he lifted his stick to strike him for such conduct in the face of the enemy, the Highlander arose, and proved to be Macpherson of Dalifour, one of the boldest men of the clan. Much surprised, Invereshie demanded how he, of all men, could think of stooping before an enemy. "I was only fastening a spur on the heel of my brogue," said Dalifour,

with perfect composure. "A spur! and for what purpose, at such a time and place as this?" asked Invereshie. "I intend to have a good horse before the day is over," answered the clansman with the same coolness. Dalifour kept his word; for the Lowland horse, disconcerted by a smart fire, and the broken nature of the ground, being worsted in the first onset, he got possession of a charger, on which he followed the pursuit, and brought in two prisoners.

The report of this skirmish gave a good specimen to Montrose of the mettle of the mountaineers, while the subsequent appearance of the Athole-men, eight hundred strong, and the enthusiastic shouts with which they received their general, soon gave confidence to the light-hearted Irishmen. Montrose instantly commenced his march upon Strathern, and crossed the Tay. He had scarce done so, when he discovered on the hill of Buchanty a body of about four hundred men, who, he had the satisfaction to learn by his scouts, were commanded by two of his own particular friends, Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond. They had taken arms, on hearing that a body of Irish were traversing the country; and learning that they were there under Montrose's command, for the King's service, they immediately placed themselves and their followers under his orders.

Montrose received these succors in good time, for while Argyle pursued him with a large body of his adherents, who had followed the track of the Irish, Lord Elcho, the Earl of Tullibardine, and Lord Drummond, had collected an army of Lowlanders to protect the city of Perth, and to fight Montrose, in case he should descend from the hills. Montrose was aware, that such an enterprise as he had undertaken could only be supported by an excess of activity and decision. He therefore advanced upon the

forces of Elcho, whom he found, on 1st September, 1644, drawn up in good order in a large plain called Tibbermuir, within three miles of Perth. They were nearly double Montrose's army in number, and much encouraged by numerous ministers, who exhorted them to fight valiantly, and promised them certain victory. They had cannon also, and cavalry, whereas Montrose had no artillery, and only three horses in his army. After a skirmish with the cavalry of his opponents, who were beaten off, Montrose charged with the Highlanders, under a heavy fire from his Irish musketeers. They burst into the ranks of the enemy with irresistible fury, and compelled them to fly. Once broken, the superiority of numbers became useless, as the means of supporting a main body by reserves was not then known or practised. The Covenanters fled in the utmost terror and confusion, but the light-footed Highlanders did great execution in the pursuit.* Many honest burghers, distressed by the extraordinary speed which they were compelled to exert, broke their wind, and died in consequence. Montrose sustained little or no loss.

The town of Perth surrendered, and for this act a long string of reasons were given, which are rather amusingly stated in a letter from the ministers of that town; but we have only space to mention a few of them. First, it is alleged, that out of Elcho's defeated army, only about twelve of the Fifeshire men offered themselves to the magistrates in defence of the town, unarmed, and most of

* Wishart says, "Most of the cavalry saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses; but there was a very great slaughter among the foot, the conquerors pursuing for about six or seven miles. The number of the slain was computed to be about two thousand, and many more were taken prisoners." — *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 81.

them were pot-valiant from liquor. Secondly, it is affirmed, that the citizens had concealed themselves in cellars and vaults, where they lay panting in vain endeavors to recover the breath which they had wasted in their retreat, scarcely finding words enough to tell the provost "that their hearts were away, and that they would fight no more though they should be killed." Thirdly, the letter states, that if the citizens had had the inclination to stand out, they had no means of resistance, most of them having flung away their weapons in their flight. Finally, the courage of the defenders was overpowered by the sight of the enemy, drawn up like so many hellhounds before the gates of the town, their hands deeply dyed in the blood recently shed, and demanding, with hideous cries, to be led to further slaughter.* The magistrates perhaps deserve no blame, if they capitulated in such circumstances, to avoid the horrors of a storm. But their conduct shows, at the same time, how much the people of the Lowlands had degenerated in point of military courage.

Perth consequently opened its gates to the victor. But Argyle, whose northern army had been augmented by a considerable body of cavalry, was now approaching with a force, against which Montrose could not pretend to defend an open town. He abandoned Perth, therefore, and marched into Angus-shire, hoping he might find adherents in that county. Accordingly, he was there joined by the

* "The paper above referred to, found among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, had been given in either to the Parliament or the Committee of Estates, by Messrs. John Robertson, and George Halyburton, ministers of Perth; the latter of whom, in spite of all the Covenanting fervor displayed in that curious document, deserted his party at the Restoration, and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld." — See it in *The Scots Magazine for November, 1817.*

old Earl of Airlie and two of his sons, who never forsook him in success or disaster.

This accession of strength was counterbalanced by a shocking event. There was a Highland gentleman in Montrose's camp, named James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, whose birth had been attended with some peculiar circumstances, which, though they lead me from my present subject, I cannot refrain from noticing. While his mother was pregnant, there came to the house of Ardvoirlich, a band of outlaws, called Children of the Mist, Macgregors, some say, others call them Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan. They demanded food, and the lady caused bread and cheese to be placed on the table, and went into the kitchen to order a better meal to be made ready, such being the unvarying process of Highland hospitality. When the poor lady returned, she saw upon the table, with its mouth stuffed full of food, the bloody head of her brother, Drummond of Drummondernoch, whom the outlaws had met and murdered in the wood. The unhappy woman shrieked, ran wildly into the forest, where, notwithstanding strict search, she could not be found for many weeks. At length she was secured, but in a state of insanity, which doubtless was partly communicated to the infant of whom she was shortly after delivered. The lad, however, grew up. He was an uncertain and dangerous character, but distinguished for his muscular strength, which was so great, that he could, in grasping the hand of another person, force the blood from under the nails. This man was much favored by the Lord Kilpont, whose accession to the King's party we lately mentioned; indeed, he was admitted to share that young nobleman's tent and bed. It appears that Ardvoirlich had disapproved of the step which his friend had taken in joining Montrose, and that

he had solicited the young lord to join him in deserting from the royal army, and, it is even said, in murdering the general. Lord Kilpont rejected these proposals with disdain; when, either offended at his expressions, or fearful of being exposed in his treacherous purpose, Ardvoirlich stabbed his confiding friend mortally with his dagger. He then killed the sentinel who kept guard on the tent, and escaped to the camp of Argyle, where he received preferment. Montrose was awaked by the tumult which this melancholy event excited in the camp, and rushing into the crowd of soldiers, had the unhappiness to see the bleeding corpse of his noble friend, thus basely and treacherously murdered. The death of this young nobleman was a great loss to the Royal cause.*

Montrose, so much inferior in numbers to his enemies, could not well form any fixed plan of operations. He resolved to make up for this, by moving with the most extraordinary celerity from one part of the country to another, so as to strike severe blows where they were least expected, and take the chance of awakening the drooping spirit of the Royalists. He therefore marched suddenly on Aberdeen, to endeavor to arouse the Gordons to arms, and defeat any body of Covenanters which might overawe the King's friends in that country. His army was now, however, greatly reduced in numbers; for the Highlanders, who had no idea of serving for a whole

* This narrative forms the groundwork of *The Legend of Montrose*, where, as in the text above, the author had proceeded upon the authority of Dr. WISHART'S *Memoirs of Montrose*, in relation to the murder of Lord Kilpont. After the publication of *Tales of a Grandfather*, Sir Walter Scott received from the present Robert Stewart of Ardvoirlich, a communication, of date 15th January, 1880, in which he impugns the statement of Wishart. See *Postscript, Introduction to The Legend of Montrose*.

campaign, had most of them returned home to their own districts, to lodge their booty in safety, and get in their harvest. It was, on all occasions, the greatest inconvenience attending a Highland army, that after a battle, whether they won the day or lost it, they were certain to leave their standard in great numbers, and held it their undoubted right to do so; insomuch, that a victory thinned their ranks as much as a defeat is apt to do those of other armies. It is true, that they could be gathered again with equal celerity; but this humor of deserting at their pleasure, was a principal reason why the brilliant victories of Montrose were productive of a few decided results.*

On reaching Aberdeen, Montrose hastened to take possession of the Bridge of Dee, the principal approach to that town, and having made good this important point, he found himself in front of an army commanded by Lord Burleigh. He had the mortification also to find, that part of a large body of horse in the Covenanting

* "Even so late as the year 1745 - 6," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the Chevalier Charles Edward, by way of making an example, caused a soldier to be shot for desertion, the Highlanders who composed his army were affected as much by indignation as by fear. They could not conceive any principle of justice upon which a man's life could be taken, for merely going home when it did not suit him to remain longer with the army. Such had been the uniform practice of their fathers. When a battle was over, the campaign was, in their opinion, ended; if it was lost, they sought safety in their mountains — if won, they returned there to secure their booty. At other times they had their cattle to look after, and their harvests to sow or reap, without which their families would have perished for want. This circumstance serves to show, even if history had not made us acquainted with the same fact, that the Highlanders had never been accustomed to make war with the view of permanent conquest, but only with the hope of deriving temporary advantage, or deciding some immediate quarrel." — *Legend of Montrose*, chap. xv.

army, were Gordons, who had been compelled to take arms in that cause by Lord Lewis Gordon, the third son of the Marquis of Huntly, a wild and wilful young man, whose politics differed from those of his father, and upon whom he had once committed a considerable robbery.*

Finding himself greatly inferior in horse, of which he had not fifty, Montrose intermingled with his cavalry some of his musketeers, who, for breath and speed, could keep up with the movements of such horse as he possessed. The Gordons, not perhaps very favorable to the side on which they ranked, made an ineffectual attack upon the horse of Montrose, which was repelled. And when the mingled musketeers and cavalry in their turn advanced on them, Lord Lewis's men fled, in spite of his own personal exertions; and Montrose, we are informed, found it possible to move his handful of cavalry to the other wing of his army, and to encounter and defeat the horse of the Covenanters on both flanks successively, with the same wearied party of riders. The terror struck into his opponents by the novelty of mixing musketeers with cavalry, contributed not a little to this extraordinary success. While this was passing, the two bodies of infantry cannonaded each other, for Montrose had in the field the guns which he took at Tibbermuir. The Covenanters

* "About this time," (February 1641), says Spalding, "Lewis Gordon, being with his father, the Lord Marquis of Huntly, at London, upon some alleged discontentment, left his father's company without his knowledge and to his great grief; for he unwisely carried away with him his father's hails jewells in a cabinet, being of great worth, and to Holland goes he, leaving his father sorrowful for his lewd miscarriage, whilk amongst the rest of his crosses, he behaved patiently to suffer, although he had not great store of wealth lying beside him at the time, for maintenance of his noble rank." — *History of the Troubles, &c.*, 8vo, p. 226. This Lord Lewis afterwards became third Marquis of Huntly, and died in 1653. — WOOD, v. i. pp. 652, 653.

had the superiority in this part of the action, but it did not daunt the Royalists. The gayety of an Irishman; whose leg was shot off by a cannon-ball, so that it hung only by a bit of skin, gave spirit to all around him: "Go on," he cried, "this bodes me promotion; as I am now disabled for the foot service, I am certain my lord the Marquis will make me a trooper."* Montrose left the courage of his men no time to subside—he led them daringly up to the enemy's teeth, and succeeded in a desperate charge, routing the Covenanters, and pursuing them into the town and through the streets. Stormed as it was by such a tumultuary army, Aberdeen and ^{14th Sept.} its inhabitants suffered greatly. Many were killed ¹⁶⁴⁴ in the streets; and the cruelty of the Irish in particular was so great, that they compelled the wretched citizens to strip themselves of their clothes before they killed them, to prevent their being soiled with blood! The women durst not lament their husbands or their fathers slaughtered in their presence, nor inter the dead, which remained unburied in the streets until the Irish departed. Montrose necessarily gave way to acts of pillage and cruelty, which he could not prevent, because he was unprovided with money to pay his half-barbarous soldiery. Yet the town of Aberdeen had two reasons for expecting better treatment: First, that it had always inclined to the King's party; and secondly, that Montrose himself had, when acting for the Covenanters, been the agent in oppressing

* "So saying, he took a knife from his pocket, and with his own hand, cut asunder the skin without the smallest shrink or emotion, and delivered his leg to one of his companions to bury it. Being recovered of his wound, he was afterwards actually made a trooper, and always behaved with great fidelity and courage."—WISHART, pp. 90, 91.

for its loyalty the very city which his troops were now plundering on the opposite shore.

Argyle always continued following Montrose with a superior army, but it would appear not with a very anxious desire to overtake him. With a degree of activity that seemed incredible, Montrose marched up the Spey, hoping still to raise the Gordons. But that clan too strongly resented his former conduct towards them as General for the Covenant, besides being sore with recollections of their recent check at the Bridge of Dee; and on all these accounts declined to join him. On the other hand, the men of Moray, who were very zealous against Montrose, appeared on the northern bank of the Spey to oppose his passage. Thus hemmed in on all sides, and headed back like an animal of chase from the course he intended to pursue, Montrose and his little army showed an extremity of courage. They hid their cannon in a bog, destroyed what they had of heavy baggage, entered Badenoch, where the clan Chattan had shown themselves uniformly friendly, and descended from thence upon Athole, and so on to Angus-shire. After several long and rapid marches, Montrose returned again into Strathbogie, recrossing the great chain of the Grampians; and clinging still to the hope of being able to raise the gentlemen of the name of Gordon, who were naturally disposed to join the Royal standard, again repaired to Aberdeenshire.

Here this bold leader narrowly escaped a great danger. His army was considerably dispersed, and he himself lying at the castle of Fyvie, when he found himself at once threatened and nearly surrounded by Argyle and Lothian, at the head of very superior forces. A part of the enemy had already occupied the approach to Montrose's position by means of ditches and enclosures, through

which they had insinuated themselves, and his own men were beginning to look out of countenance, when Montrose, disguising his apprehensions called to a gay and gallant young Irish officer, as if he had been imposing a trifling piece of duty, "What are you doing, O'Kean? can you not chase these troublesome rascals out of the ditches and enclosures?" O'Kean obeyed the command in the spirit in which it was given; and driving the enemy before him, got possession of some of their gunpowder, which was much needed in Montrose's army. The remark of the Irishman on this occasion, who heavily complained of the neglect of the enemy in omitting to leave a supply of ball corresponding to the powder, showed the confidence with which Montrose had been able to inspire his men.

The Earl of Lothian, on the other side, came with five troops of horse upon Montrose's handful of cavalry, amounting scarcely to fifty men. But Montrose had on the present occasion, as at the Bridge of Dee, sustained his troopers by mingling them with musketry. So that Lothian's men, receiving an unexpected and galling fire, wheeled about, and could not again be brought to advance. Many hours were spent in skirmishing, with advantage on Montrose's part, and loss on that of Argyle, until at length the former thought most advisable to retreat from Fyvie to Strathbogie.

On the road he was deserted by many Lowland gentlemen who had joined him, and who saw his victories were followed with no better results than toilsome marches among wilds where it was nearly impossible to provide subsistence for man or horse, and which the approach of winter was about to render still more desolate. They left his army, therefore, promising to return in summer;

and of all his Lowland adherents, the old Earl of Airlie and his sons alone remained. They had paid dearly for their attachment to the Royal cause, Argyle having plundered their estates, and burnt their principal mansion, the "Bonnie house of Airlie," situated on the river Isla, the memory of which conflagration is still preserved in Scottish song. June, 1640.

But the same circumstances which wearied out the patience of Montrose's Lowland followers, rendered it impossible for Argyle to keep the field; and he sent his army into winter quarters, in full confidence that his enemy was cooped up for the season in the narrow and unprovided country of Athole and its neighborhood, where he might be suffered to exist with little inconvenience to the rest of Scotland, till spring should enable the Covenanters to attack him with a superior force. In the mean time the Marquis of Argyle returned to his own domains.

CHAPTER XLIII.

INVASION OF ARGYLE'S COUNTRY BY MONTROSE — BATTLES OF INVERLOCHY, AULDERNE, ALFORD, AND KILSYTH GAINED BY MONTROSE, WHO, BY THE VICTORY AT KILSYTH, BECOMES MASTER OF SCOTLAND — HE IS APPOINTED CAPTAIN-GENERAL — AND LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF SCOTLAND — MARCHES UPON THE BORDERS — IS DEFEATED BY LESLEY AT PHILIPHAUGH — RETIRES TO THE HIGHLANDS, AND LEAVES SCOTLAND.

[1644, 1645.]

It was about the middle of December that Argyle was residing at his castle of Inverary, in the most perfect confidence that the enemy could not approach him; for he used to say he would not for a hundred thousand crowns that any one knew the passes from the eastward into the country of the Campbells. While the powerful Marquis was enjoying the fancied security of his feudal dominions, he was astounded with the intelligence that Montrose, with an army of Highlanders, wading through drifts of snow, scaling precipices, and traversing the mountain-paths, known to none save the solitary shepherd or huntsman, had forced an entry into Argyleshire, which he was laying waste with all the vindictive severity of deadly feud. There was neither time nor presence of mind for defence. The able-bodied men were slaughtered, the cattle driven off, the houses burnt; and the invaders had divided themselves into three bands, to make the devas-

tation more complete. Alarmed by this fierce and unexpected invasion, Argyle embarked on board a fishing-boat, and left his friends and followers to their fate. Montrose continued the work of revenge for nearly a month,* and then concluding he had destroyed the influence which Argyle, by the extent of his power, and the supposed strength of his country, had possessed over the minds of the Highlanders, he withdrew towards Inverness, with the purpose of organizing a general gathering of the clans. But he had scarce made this movement, when he learned that his rival, Argyle, had returned into the Western Highlands with some Lowland forces; that he had called around him his numerous clan, burning to revenge the wrongs which they had sustained, and was lying with a strong force near the old castle of Inverlochry, situated at the western extremity of the chain of lakes through which the Caledonian Canal is now conducted.

The news at once altered Montrose's plans.

He returned upon Argyle by a succession of the most difficult mountain passes covered with snow, and the vanguard of the Campbells saw themselves suddenly engaged ^{2d Feb.,} with that of their implacable enemy. Both parties ^{1644.} lay all night on their arms; but, by break of day, Argyle betook himself to his galley, and rowing off shore remained a spectator of the combat, when, by all the rules of duty and gratitude, he ought to have been at the head of his devoted followers. His unfortunate clansmen supported the honor of the name with the greatest courage, and many of the most distinguished fell on the field of battle. Montrose gained a complete victory,

* "From about the 13th of December, 1644, till near the end of January." — WISHART.

which greatly extended his influence over the Highlands, and in proportion diminished that of his discomfited rival.

Having collected what force he could, Montrose now marched triumphantly to the northeast; and in the present successful posture of his affairs, at length engaged the Gordons to join him with a good body of cavalry, commanded by their young chief, Lord Gordon. The Convention of Estates were now most seriously alarmed. While Montrose had roamed through the Highlands, retreating before a superior enemy, and every moment apparently on the point of being overwhelmed, his progress was regarded as a distant danger. But he was now threatening the low country, and the ruling party were not so confident of their strength there as to set so bold an adventurer at defiance. They called from the army in England General Baillie, an officer of skill and character, and Sir John Urry, or, as the English called him, Hurry, a brave and good partisan, but a mere soldier of fortune, who had changed sides more than once during the civil war.*

These generals commanded a body of veteran troops, with which they manœuvred to exclude Montrose from the southern districts, and prevent his crossing the Tay, or Forth. At the same time, the mandate of the Marquis of Huntly, or the intrigues of Lord Lewis Gordon, again recalled most of the Gordons from Montrose's standard,

* A Dugald Dalgetty! — "He had first fought on the Parliament side against the King; afterwards turned over for the King, and fought under him against them; now, having abandoned both sides, came home, and embraced this charge against Montrose; and many prophesied that ere all were done, he would change again, and join himself to Montrose, which at length came to pass." — GUTHRY'S (Bishop of Dunkeld) *Memoirs*, p. 174.

and his cavalry was reduced to one hundred and fifty. He was compelled once more to retire to the mountains, but, desirous to dignify his retreat by some distinguished action, he resolved to punish the town of Dundee for their steady adherence to the cause of the Covenant.

Accordingly, suddenly appearing before it with a
 4th April. chosen body selected for the service, he stormed the place on three points at once. The Highlanders and Irish, with incredible fury, broke open the gates, and forced an entrance. They were dispersing in quest of liquor and plunder, when at the very moment that Montrose threatened to set the town on fire, he received intelligence that Baillie and Urry, with four thousand men, were within a mile of the place. The crisis required all the activity of Montrose; and probably no other authority than his would have been able to withdraw the men from their revelling and plundering, to get his army into order, and to effect a retreat to the mountains, which he safely accomplished in the face of his numerous enemies, and with a degree of skill which established his military character as firmly as any of his victories.

Montrose was well seconded, in this difficulty, by the hardihood and resolution of his men, who are said to have marched about sixty miles, and to have passed three days and two nights in manœuvring and fighting, without either food or refreshment.* In this manner that leader repeatedly baffled the numerous forces and able generals who were employed against him. The great check upon his enterprise was the restlessness of the Highlanders, and

* After mention of this, Wishart says, that, when Montrose was alarmed by the enemy at Carestown, "his men had fallen so dead asleep, that they could hardly be awakened by any means;" and adds, "Whether these things will gain credit abroad, or with after ages, I cannot pretend to say; but I am certain that this narration is

the caprice of the gentlemen who formed his cavalry, who all went and came at their own pleasure.

I have told you that the Gordons had been withdrawn from Montrose's standard, contrary to their own inclinations, by the command of Huntly, or the address of Lord Lewis Gordon. By employing his followers in enterprises in which the plunder was certain and the danger small, this young nobleman collected under his standard all those who were reluctant to share the toilsome marches, military hardships, and bloody fights to which they were led under that of Montrose. Hence a rhyme, not yet forgotten in Aberdeenshire :—

“ If you with Lord Lewis go,
You 'll yet reif and prey enough;
If you with Montrose go,
You 'll get grief and wae enough.”

But the Lord Gordon, Lewis's elder brother, continuing attached in the warmest manner to Montrose, was despatched by him to bring back the gentlemen of his warlike family, and his influence soon assembled considerable forces. General Baillie, learning this, detached Urry, his colleague, with a force which he thought sufficient to destroy Lord Gordon, while he himself proposed to engage the attention of Montrose till that point was gained.

But Montrose, penetrating the intention of the Covenanted generals, eluded Baillie's attempts to bring him to action, and traversed the mountains of the North like a whirlwind, to support Lord Gordon, and crush Urry.

taken from the best information and the most credible evidence. And truly I have often heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march of Montrose to his most celebrated victories.” — *Memoirs*, pp. 126, 127.

He accomplished his first object; the second appeared more difficult. Urry had been joined by the Covenanters of the shire of Moray, with the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland, and others who maintained the same cause, and had thus collected an army more numerous than that of Montrose, even when united to Lord Gordon.

Montrose prepared, nevertheless, to give battle at the village of Aulderne, and drew up his men in an unusual manner, to conceal his inequality of force. The ^{4th May,} ^{1645.} village, which is situated on an eminence, with high ground behind, was surrounded by enclosures on each side and in front.* He stationed on the right of the hamlet Alexander MacDonald, called Colkitto, with four hundred Irishmen and Highlanders, commanding them to maintain a defensive combat only, and giving them strict orders not to sally from some strong sheepfolds and enclosures, which afforded the advantages of a fortified position. As he wished to draw the attention of the enemy towards that point, he gave this wing charge of the Royal standard, which was usually displayed where he commanded in person. On the left side of the village of Aulderne, he drew up the principal part of his force, he himself commanding the infantry, and Lord Gordon the cavalry. His two wings being thus formed, Montrose had in reality no centre force whatever; but a few resolute men were

* Mr. Pennant says, "Just beneath the church of Aulderne — between Elgin and Inverness — is the place where *Montrose* obtained a signal victory over the Covenanters, many of whose bodies lie in the church, with an inscription, imputing, according to the cant of the time, that they died fighting for their religion and their king." He adds, "I was told this anecdote of that hero: that he always carried with him a *Cæsar's Commentaries*, on whose margins were written, in *Montrose's* own hand, the generous sentiments of his heart, verses out of the Italian poets, expressing contempt of everything but glory." — *Tour*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

posted in front of the village, and his cannon being placed in the same line, made it appear as if the houses covered a body of infantry.

Urry, deceived by these dispositions, attacked with a preponderating force the position of MacDonald on the right. Colkitto beat the assailants back with the Irish musketeers, and the bows and arrows of the Highlanders, who still used these ancient missile weapons. But when the enemy, renewing their attack, taunted MacDonald with cowardice for remaining under shelter of the sheepfolds, that leader, whose bravery greatly excelled his discretion, sallied forth from his fastness, contrary to Montrose's positive command, to show he was not averse to fight on equal ground. The superiority of numbers, and especially of cavalry, which was instantly opposed to him, soon threw his men into great disorder, and they could with difficulty be rallied by the desperate exertions of Colkitto, who strove to make amends for his error, by displaying the utmost personal valor.

A trusty officer was despatched to Montrose to let him know the state of affairs. The messenger found him on the point of joining battle, and whispered in his ear that Colkitto was defeated. This only determined Montrose to pursue with the greater audacity the plan of battle which he had adopted. "What are we doing?" he called out to Lord Gordon; "MacDonald has been victorious on the right, and if we do not make haste he will carry off all the honors of the day." Lord Gordon instantly charged with the gentlemen of his name, and beat the Covenanters' horse off the field; but the foot, though deserted by the horse, stood firm for some time, for they were veteran troops. At length they were routed on every point, and compelled to fly with great loss.

Montrose failed not instantly to lead succors to the relief of his right wing, which was in great peril. Colkitto had got his men again secured in the enclosures; he himself having been all along the last to retreat, was now defending the entrance sword in hand, and with a target on his left arm. The pikemen pressed him so hard as to fix their spears in his target, while he repeatedly freed himself of them by cutting the heads from the shafts, in threes and fours at a time, by the unerring sweep of his broadsword.

While Colkitto and his followers were thus hard pressed, Montrose and his victorious troops appeared, and the face of affairs was suddenly changed. Urry's horse fled, but the foot, which were the strength of his army, fought bravely, and fell in the ranks which they occupied. Two thousand men, about a third of Urry's army, were slain in the battle of Alderne,* and completely disabled by the overthrow, that commander was compelled once more to unite his scattered forces with those of Baillie.

After some marching and countermarching, the armies

* Wishart, Chaplain to Montrose, says, "There were slain of the enemy about *three thousand foot*, among whom the veteran soldiers fought very bravely; but almost all their horse escaped by a more timely than honorable flight." — p. 136. Spalding has, "This overthrow was attributed to one Crowner or Major Drummond, who wheeled about unskilfully through his own foot, and brake their ranks, whereby they were all slain by the enemy, and for which, by a council of war thereafter holden at Inverness, he was shot standing on his feet, but not at a post. There was reckoned to be slain here at this bloody battle above *two thousand men* to Hurry, and some twenty-four gentlemen hurt to Montrose, and some few Irishes killed, which is miraculous, and only foughten with God's own finger, as would appear, so many to be cut down on the one side and so few on the other; yet no thanks was given to God for this great victory." — *History of the Troubles, &c.*, 8vo, p. 494.

again found themselves in the neighborhood of each other, near to the village of Alford.*

Montrose occupied a strong position on a hill, and it was said that the cautious Baillie would have avoided the encounter, had it not been that, having crossed the River Don in the belief that Montrose was in full retreat, he only discovered his purpose of giving battle when it was too late to decline it. The number of infantry was about two thousand in each army. But Baillie had more than double his opponent's number of cavalry. Montrose's, indeed, were gentlemen, and therefore in the day of battle were more to be relied on than mere hirelings. The Gordons dispersed the Covenanting horse on the first shock; and the musketeers, throwing down their muskets and mingling in the tumult with their swords drawn, prevented the scattered cavalry from rallying. But as Lord Gordon threw himself for the second time into the heat of the fight, he fell from his horse mortally wounded by a shot from one of the fugitives. This accident, which gave the greatest distress to Montrose, suspended the exertions of the cavalry, who, chiefly friends, kinsmen, and vassals of the deceased, flocked around him to lament the general loss. But the veterans of Montrose, charging in separate columns of six and ten men deep along a line of three men only, broke the battle array of the Covenanters on various points, and utterly destroyed the remnant of Baillie's array, though they defended themselves bravely. This battle was fought 2d July, 1645.

These repeated victories gave such lustre to Montrose's arms that he was now joined by the Highland clans in great numbers, and by many of the Lowland Anti-Cove-

* On the Don, 28 miles north of Aberdeen.

nanters, who had before held back from doubt of his success in so unequal a contest.

On the other hand, the Convention of Estates, supported by the counsels of Argyle, who was bold in council though timid in battle, persevered in raising new troops, notwithstanding their repeated misfortunes and defeats. It seemed, indeed, as if Heaven had at this disastrous period an especial controversy with the kingdom of Scotland. To the efforts necessary to keep up and supply their auxiliary army in England was added the desolation occasioned by a destructive civil war, maintained in the north with the utmost fury, and conducted on both sides with deplorable devastation. To these evils, as if not sufficient to exhaust the resources of a poor country, were now added those of a wide-wasting plague, or pestilence, which raged through all the kingdom, but especially in Edinburgh, the metropolis. The Convention of Estates were driven from the capital by this dreadful infliction, and retreated to Perth, where they assembled a large force under General Bailie, while they ordered a new levy of ten thousand men generally throughout the kingdom. While Lanark, Cassilis, Eglinton, and other lords of the western shires, went to their respective counties to expedite the measure, Montrose, with his usual activity, descended from the mountains at the head of an army augmented in numbers and flushed with success.

He first approached the shores of the Forth by occupying the shire of Kinross. And here I cannot help mentioning the destruction of a noble castle belonging to the House of Argyle. Its majestic ruins are situated on an eminence occupying a narrow glen of the Ochil chain of hills. In former days it was called, from the character of its situation perhaps, the castle of Gloom ; and the

names of the parish, and the stream by which its banks are washed, had also an ominous sound. The castle of Gloom was situated on the brook of Grief or Gryfe, and in the parish of DouLOUR or Dollar. In the sixteenth century the Earl of Argyle, the owner of this noble fortress, obtained an act of Parliament for changing its name to Castle Campbell. The feudal hatred of Montrose and of the clans composing the strength of his army, the vindictive resentment also of the Ogilvies for the destruction of "the Bonnie House of Airlie," and that of the Stirlingshire cavaliers for that of Menstrie,* doomed this magnificent pile to flames and ruin. The destruction of many a meaner habitation by the same unscrupulous and unsparing spirit of vengeance has been long forgotten, but the majestic remains of Castle Campbell still excite a sigh in those that view them, over the miseries of civil war.

After similar acts of ravage, not to be justified, though not unprovoked, Montrose marched westward along the northern margin of the Forth, insulting Perth, where the army of the Covenanters remained in their intrenchments, and even menacing the castle of Stirling, which, well garrisoned and strongly situated, defied his means of attack. About six miles above Stirling, Montrose crossed the Forth, by the deep and precarious ford which the river presents before its junction with the Teith. Having attained the southern bank, he directed his course westward, with the purpose of dispersing the levies which

* Argyle ordered the house of Menstrie, belonging to the Earl of Stirling, and the house of Aithrey, the property of Graham of Braco (a relation of Montrose) to be burnt. He sent a message to the Earl of Marr, threatening Alloa Castle with the same calamity, for the hospitality Montrose had recently found in it." — NIMMO'S *History of Stirlingshire*, p. 532.

the western lords were collecting, and doubtless with the view of plundering the country, which had attached itself chiefly to the Covenant. Montrose had, however, scarcely reached Kilsyth, when he received the news that Baillie's army, departing from Perth, had also crossed the Forth at the bridge of Stirling, and was close at hand. With his usual alacrity, Montrose prepared for battle,* which Baillie, had he been left to his own judgment, would have avoided; for that skilful though unfortunate general knew by experience the talents of Montrose, and that the character of his troops was admirably qualified for a day of combat; he also considered that an army so composed might be tired out by cautious operations, and entertained the rational hope that the Highlanders and Lowland Cavaliers would alike desert their leader in the course of a protracted and indecisive warfare. But Baillie was no longer the sole commander of the Covenanting army. A Committee of the Estates, consisting of Argyle, Lanark, and Crawford-Lindsay, had been nominated to attend his army, and control his motions; and these, especially the Earl of Lindsay, insisted that the veteran general should risk the last regular army which the Covenanters possessed in Scotland, in the perils of a decisive battle. They marched against Montrose, accordingly, at break of day on the 15th August, 1645.

When Montrose beheld them advance, he exclaimed that it was what he had most earnestly desired. He

* "The little hill where Montrose encamped the night before the engagement, is somewhat remarkable. The tents have been raised with sod, and it is easy at this day to distinguish the place where they stood, and the form and size of each. The station was extremely well chosen, and gave him every advantage over the enemy." — *Statist. Acct.*, vol. xviii. p. 298.

caused his men to strip to their shirts, in token of their resolution to fight to the death. Meantime the Covenanters approached. Their vanguard attacked an advanced post of Montrose, which occupied a strong position among cottages and enclosures. They were beaten off with loss. A thousand Highlanders, with their natural impetuosity, rushed without orders, to pursue the fugitives, and to assault the troops who were advancing to support them. Two regiments of horse, against whom this mountain torrent directed its fury, became disordered and fell back. Montrose saw the decisive moment, and ordered first a troop of horse, under command of Lord Airly, and afterwards, his whole army, to attack the enemy, who had not yet got into line, their rearguard and centre coming up too slowly to the support of their vanguard. The hideous shout with which the Highlanders charged, their wild appearance, and the extraordinary speed with which they advanced, nearly naked, with broadsword in hand, struck a panic into their opponents, who dispersed without any spirited effort to get into line of battle, or maintain their ground. The Covenanters were beaten off the field, and pursued with indiscriminate slaughter * for more than ten miles. Four or five thou-

* "To this day, numberless scenes of blood and cruelty are recorded. One in particular is mentioned. A poor countryman having fled with his four sons, was overtaken by a flying party. Being suspected by them, they instantly fell upon the old man, though feeble and unarmed. The generous youths clung around their aged sire, either to plead for or defend him. In this posture, it is said, they were all cut to pieces, and now lie in one tomb." — *Statistical Account*, vol. xviii. p. 298. "Near the field of battle on the south lies a large morass, called Dullator Bog, through the midst of which the Forth and Clyde Canal now stretches. Several of Baillie's cavalry, in the hurry of flight, ran unawares into it and perished. Both men and horses have been dug up there, in the memory of people yet alive. As moss

sand men were slain in the field and in the flight ; and the force of the Convention was for the time entirely broken.*

Montrose was now master, for the moment, of the kingdom of Scotland. Edinburgh surrendered ; Glasgow paid a heavy contribution ; the noblemen and other individuals of distinction who had been imprisoned as Royalists in Edinburgh, and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, were set at liberty ; and so many persons of quality now declared for Montrose, either from attachment to the Royal cause, which they had hitherto concealed, or from the probability of its being ultimately successful, that he felt himself in force sufficient to call a Parliament at Glasgow, in the King's name.

Still, however, the success of this heroic leader had only given him possession of the open country ; all the strong fortresses were still in possession of the Covenanters ; and it would have required a length of time, and the services of an army regularly disciplined and supplied with heavy artillery, to have reduced the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbarton, and other places of great strength. But if Montrose had possessed the forces necessary for

is endowed with an antiseptic quality, the corpses were not greatly consumed." — НИММО, p. 588.

* " Montrose lost only six men (Guthrie says seven or eight, p. 194); three of them were gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, who fell in the attack by Lord Airly, to which the victory was in a great measure owing. The noblemen who were in the Covenanters' army saved themselves by a timely retreat, and the swiftness of their horses. Some of them reached the castle of Stirling, while others got to the Frith of Forth, and went aboard some ships they found lying at anchor in the roads. Among these was Argyle, who now for the third time, saved himself by means of a boat; and even then he did not reckon himself secure, till they had weighed anchor and carried the vessel out to sea." — WISHART, pp. 170, 171.

such a work, he had neither leisure nor inclination to undertake it. From the beginning of his extraordinary, and hitherto successful career, he had secretly entertained the dazzling hope of leading a victorious army into England, and replacing King Charles in possession of his disputed authority. It was a daring scheme, and liable to many hazards; yet if the King's affairs in England had remained in any tolerable condition, especially if there had been any considerable army of Royalists in the north of England to join or co-operate with Montrose, there is no calculating what the talents and genius of such an enterprising leader might have ultimately done in support of the Royal cause.

But Charles, as I will presently tell you more particularly, had suffered so many and such fatal losses, that it may be justly doubted whether the assistance of Montrose, unless at the head of much larger forces than he could be expected to gather, would have afforded any material assistance against the numerous and well-disciplined army of the Parliament. The result of a contest which was never tried can only be guessed at. Montrose's own hopes and confidence were as lofty as his ambition; and he did not permit himself to doubt the predictions of those who assured him that he was doomed to support the tottering throne, and reinstate in safety the falling monarch.

Impressed with such proud anticipations, he wrote to the King, urging him to advance to the northern border, and form a junction with his victorious army, and concluding his request with the words which Joab, the lieutenant of King David, is recorded in Scripture to have used to the King of Israel: "I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters. Now therefore

gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it; lest I take the city, and it be called after my name." *

While Montrose was thus urging King Charles, by the brilliant prospects which he held out, to throw himself on his protection, his own army mouldered away and dispersed, even in a greater degree than had been the case after his less distinguished successes. The Highland clans went home to get in their harvest, and place their spoil in safety. It was needless and useless to refuse them leave, for they were determined to take it. The north-country gentlemen also, wearied of the toils of the campaign, left his army in numbers; so that when Montrose received, by the hands of Sir Robert Spottiswood, the King's commission under the Great Seal, naming him Captain-General and Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, he commanded a force scarcely more effective than when he was wandering through Athole and Badenoch. The King's orders, however, and his own indomitable spirit of enterprise, determined his march towards the Borders.

About fifty years before, these districts would have supplied him, even upon the lighting of their beacons, with ten thousand cavalry, as fond of fighting and plunder as any Highlander in his army. But that period, as I have told you, had passed away. The inhabitants of the Border-land had become peaceful, and the chiefs and lords, whose influence might still have called them out to arms, were hostile to the Crown, or, at best, lukewarm in its cause. The Earl of Buccleuch, and his friends of the name of Scott, who had never forgotten the offence given by the revocation of James's donations to their chief, were

* 2 Samuel, chap. xii. verses 27, 28.

violent Covenanters, and had sent a strong clan-regiment with the Earl of Leven and the Scottish auxiliaries. Traquair, Roxburghe, and Hume, all entertained, or affected regard to the King, but made no effectual effort in raising men. The once formidable name of Douglas, and the exertions of the Earl of Annandale, could only assemble some few troops of horse, whom the historian, Bishop Guthrie, describes as truthless trained bands. Montrose expected to meet a body of more regular cavalry, who were to be despatched from England; but the King's continued misfortunes prevented him from making such a diversion.

Meanwhile the Scottish army in England received an account of the despair to which the battle of Kilsyth had reduced the Convention of Estates, and learned that several of its most distinguished members were already exiles, having fled to Berwick and other strong places on the Border, which were garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces. The importance of the crisis was felt, and David Lesley was despatched, at the head of five or six thousand men, chiefly cavalry, and the flower of the Scottish auxiliary army, with the charge of checking the triumphs of Montrose.

Lesley crossed the Border at Berwick, and proceeded on his march towards the metropolis, as if it had been his view to get between Montrose and the Highlands, and to prevent his again receiving assistance from his faithful mountaineers. But that sagacious general's intentions were of a more decisive character; for, learning that Montrose with his little army, lay quartered in profound security near Selkirk, he suddenly altered his march, left the Edinburgh road when he came to Edgebucklingbrae, above Musselburgh, crossed the country to Middleton, and

then turning southward, descended the vale of the Gala to Melrose, in which place, and the adjacent hamlets, he quartered his army for the night.

Montrose's infantry, meanwhile, lay encamped on an elevated ascent, called Philiphaugh,* on the left bank of the Ettrick, while his cavalry, with their distinguished general in person, were quartered in the town of Selkirk; a considerable stream being thus interposed betwixt the two parts of his army, which should have been so stationed as to be ready to support each other on a sudden alarm. But Montrose had no information of the vicinity of Lesley, though the Covenanters had passed the night within four miles of his camp. This indicates that he must have been very ill-served by his own patrols, and that his cause must have been unpopular in that part of the country, since a single horseman, at the expense of half an hour's gallop, might have put him fully on his guard.

On the morning of the 13th September, 1645, Lesley, under cover of a thick mist, approached Montrose's camp,

* "The river Ettrick, immediately after its junction with the Yarrow, and previous to its falling into the Tweed, makes a large sweep to the southward, and winds almost beneath the lofty banks on which the town of Selkirk stands, having upon the northern side a large and level plain, extending in an easterly direction, from a hill covered with natural copse-wood, called the Harehead-wood, to the high ground which forms the banks of the Tweed, near Sunderland-hall. This plain is called Philiphaugh. It is about a mile and a half in length, and a quarter of a mile broad; and being defended, to the northward, by the hills which separate Tweed from Yarrow, by the river Ettrick in front, and by the high grounds, already mentioned, on each flank, it forms, at once, a convenient and a secure field of encampment." — *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171. Sir Walter here adds, "The Scottish language is rich in words expressive of local situation. The single word *haugh* conveys to a Scotsman almost all that I have endeavored to explain in the text by circumlocutory description."

and had the merit, by his dexterity and vigilance, of surprising him, whom his enemies had never before found unprepared. The Covenanting general divided his troops into two divisions, and attacked both flanks of the enemy at the same time. Those on the left made but a tumultuary and imperfect resistance; the right wing, supported by a wood, fought in a manner worthy of their general's fame. Montrose himself, roused by the firing and noise of the action, hastily assembled his cavalry, crossed the Ettrick, and made a desperate attempt to recover the victory, omitting nothing which courage or skill could achieve to rally his followers. But when at length left with only thirty horse, he was compelled to fly, and, retreating up the Yarrow, crossed into the vale of Tweed, and reached Peebles, where some of his followers joined him.

The defeated army suffered severely. The prisoners taken by the Covenanters were massacred without mercy, and in cold blood. They were shot in the court-yard of Newark Castle, upon Yarrow, and their bodies hastily interred at a place, called, from that circumstance, Slainmen's-lee. The ground being, about twenty years since, opened for the foundation of a school-house, the bones and skulls, which were dug up in great quantities, plainly showed the truth of the country tradition. Many cavaliers, both officers and others, men of birth and character, the companions of Montrose's many triumphs, fell into the hands of the victors, and were, as we shall afterwards see, put to an ignominious death. The prisoners, both of high and low degree, would have been more numerous, but for the neighborhood of the Harehead-wood, into which the fugitives escaped. Such were the immediate consequences of this battle; concerning which the country people often quote the following lines:—

“ At Philiphaugh the fray began;
 At Harehead-wood it ended.
 The Scots out owre the Grahams they ran,
 Sae merrily they bended.” *

Montrose, after this disastrous action, retreated again into the Highlands, where he once more assembled an army of mountaineers. But his motions ceased to be of the consequence which they had acquired before he had experienced defeat. General Middleton, a man of military talents, but a soldier of fortune, was despatched against him by the Convention of Estates, which was eager to recover the same power in the Highlands, which David Lesley's victory had re-established throughout the Lowlands.

While Montrose was thus engaged in an obscure mountain warfare, the King having already surrendered himself to the Scottish auxiliaries, in total despair of the ultimate success, and anxious for the safety of his adventurous general, sent orders to him to dissolve his army, and to provide for his personal security, by leaving the kingdom. Montrose would not obey the first order, concluding it had been extorted from the monarch. To a second and more peremptory injunction, he yielded obedience, and disbanding his army, embarked in a brig bound for Bergen, in Norway, with a few adherents, who were too obnoxious to the Covenanters, to permit of their remaining in Scotland. Lest their little vessel should be searched by an English ship of war, Montrose wore the disguise of a domestic, and passed for the servant of his chaplain and biographer, Dr. George Wishart. You may

* For more particulars regarding the battle of Philiphaugh, see this ballad, with Introduction and Notes, in the *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 166 - 182.

remember that he wore a similar disguise on entering Scotland, in order to commence his undertaking.

This, and the preceding chapter, give an account of the brief, but brilliant period of Montrose's success. A future one will contain the melancholy conclusion of his exertions, and of his life.

CHAPTER XLIV.

INTERFERENCE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY TO PROCURE THE EXECUTION OF THE PRISONERS TAKEN AT PHILIPHAUGH—REFLECTIONS ON THE UNHAPPY EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION—RESPECTIVE VIEWS OF THE INDEPENDENTS AND PRESBYTERIANS—CROMWELL'S SUCCESSES—KING CHARLES'S SURRENDER TO THE SCOTTISH ARMY—THEIR SURRENDER OF HIM TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

[1645 — 1647.]

I MUST now tell you the fate of the unfortunate cavaliers who had been made prisoners at Philiphaugh. The barbarous treatment of the common soldiers you are already acquainted with.

Argyle, the leader of the Convention of Estates, had to resent the devastation of his country, and the destruction of his castles; and his desire of vengeance was so common to the age that it would have been accounted neglect of his duty to his slain kinsmen and plundered clan, if he had let slip the favorable opportunity of exacting blood for blood. Other noblemen of the Convention had similar motives; and, besides, they had all been greatly alarmed at Montrose's success; and nothing makes men more pitiless than the recollection of recent fears. It ought partly to have assuaged these vindictive feelings, that Montrose's ravages, although they were sufficiently wasting, were less encouraged by the officers, than arising from the uncontrollable license of an unpaid soldiery.

The prisoners had always been treated with honor and humanity, and frequently dismissed on parole. So that, if the fate of Montrose's companions had depended on the Convention alone, it is possible that almost all might have been set at liberty upon moderate conditions. But unfortunately the Presbyterian clergy thought proper to interfere strenuously between the prisoners, and the mercy which they might otherwise have experienced.

And here it must be owned, that the Presbyterian ministers of that period were, in some respects, a different kind of men from their predecessors, in the reign of James VI. Malice cannot, indeed, accuse them of abusing the power which they had acquired since their success in 1640, for the purpose of increasing either their own individual revenues, or those of the Church; nor had the system, of strict morality, by which they were distinguished been in any degree slackened. They remained in triumph, as they had been in suffering, honorably poor and rigidly moral. But, yet, though inaccessible to the temptations of avarice or worldly pleasure, the Presbyterian clergy of this period cannot be said to have been superior to ambition and the desire of power; and as they were naturally apt to think that the advancement of religion was best secured by the influence of the Church to which they belonged, they were disposed to extend that influence by the strictest exertion of domestic discipline. Inquiry into the conduct of individuals was carried on by the church-courts with indecent eagerness; and faults or follies, much fitter for private censure and admonition, were brought forward in the face of the public congregation. The hearers were charged every Sabbath-day, that each individual should communicate to the Kirk Session (a court composed of the clergymen and certain selected lay-

men of the parish) whatever matter of scandal or offence against religion and morality should come to their ears; and thus an inquisitorial power was exercised by one half of the parish over the other. This was well meant, but had bad consequences. Every idle story being made the subject of anxious investigation, the private happiness of families was disturbed, and discord and suspicion were sown where mutual confidence is most necessary.

This love of exercising authority in families, was naturally connected with a desire to maintain that high influence in the State, which the Presbyterian Church had acquired since the downfall of Prelacy. The Scottish clergy had of late become used to consider their peculiar form of church government, which unquestionably has many excellences, as something almost as essential as religion itself; and, it was but one step further, to censure every one who manifested a design to destroy the system, or limit the power, of the Presbyterian discipline, as an enemy to religion of every kind, nay, even to the Deity himself. Such opinions were particularly strong amongst those of the clergy who attended the armies in the field, seconded them by encouragement from the pulpits, or aided them by actually assuming arms themselves. The ardor of such men grew naturally more enthusiastic in proportion to the opposition they met with, and the dangers they encountered. The sights and sentiments which attend civil conflict are of a kind to reconcile the human heart, however generous and humane by nature, to severe language and cruel actions. Accordingly, we cannot be surprised to find that some of the clergy forgot that a *malignant*, for so they called a Royalist, was still a countryman and fellow-Christian, born under the same Government, speaking the same language, and hoping to be saved

by the power of the same creed, with themselves ; or that they directed against such Cavaliers and Episcopalians those texts of Scripture, in which the Jews were, by especial commission, commanded to extirpate the Heathen inhabitants of the Promised Land.

One of these preachers enlarged on such a topic after Lesley's victory, and chose his text from the 15th chapter of 1st Samuel, where the Prophet rebukes Saul for sparing the King of the Amalekites, and for having saved some part of the flocks and herds of that people, which Heaven had devoted to utter destruction : "What meaneth, then, this bleating of the sheep in mine ears?" In his sermon he said that Heaven demanded the blood of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh, as devoted by the Divine command to destruction ; nor could the sins of the people be otherwise atoned for, or the wrath of Heaven averted from the land. It is probable that the preacher was himself satisfied with the doctrine which he promulgated ; for it is wonderful how people's judgment is blinded by their passions, and how apt we are to find plausible, and even satisfactory reasons, for doing what our interest, or that of the party we have embraced, strongly recommends.

The Parliament, consisting entirely of Covenanters, instigated by the importunity of the clergy, condemned eight of the most distinguished cavaliers to execution. Four were appointed to suffer at St. Andrews, that their blood might be an atonement, as the phrase went, for the number of men (said to exceed five thousand) whom the county of Fife had lost during Montrose's wars. Lord Ogilvy was the first of these ; but that young nobleman escaped from prison and death in his sister's clothes. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, one of the bravest men and

best soldiers in Europe, and six other cavaliers of the first distinction, were actually executed.

We may particularly distinguish the fate of Sir Robert Spottiswood, who, when the wars broke out, was Secretary Lord President of the Court of Session, and accounted a judge of great talent and learning. He had never borne arms; but the crime of having brought to Montrose his commission as Captain-General of Scotland, and of having accepted the office of Secretary, which the Parliament had formerly conferred on Lanark, was thought quite worthy of death, without any further act of treason against the Estates. When on the scaffold he vindicated his conduct with the dignity of a judge, and the talents of a lawyer. He was rudely enjoined to silence by the Provost of St. Andrews, who had formerly been a servant of his father's, when prelate of that city. The victim submitted to this indignity with calmness, and betook himself to his private devotions. He was even in this task interrupted by the Presbyterian minister in attendance, who demanded of him whether he desired the benefit of his prayers and those of the assembled people. Sir Robert replied, that he earnestly demanded the prayers of the people, but rejected those of the preacher; for that, in his opinion, God had expressed his displeasure against Scotland by sending a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets,—a far greater curse, he said, than those of sword, fire, and pestilence. An old servant of his family took care of Spottiswood's body, and buried him privately. It is said that this faithful domestic, passing through the market-place a day or two afterwards, and seeing the scaffold on which his master had suffered still unremoved, and stained with his blood, was so greatly affected that he sunk down in a swoon, and died as they were lifting him over his own

threshold. Such are the terrible scenes which civil discord gives occasion to; and, my dear child, you will judge very wrong if you suppose them peculiar to one side or other of the contending parties in the present case. You will learn hereafter that the same disposition to abuse power, which is common, I fear, to all who possess it in an unlimited degree, was exercised with cruel retaliation by the Episcopalian party over the Presbyterians, when their hour of authority revived.

We must now turn our thoughts to England, the stage on which the most important scenes were acting, to which these in Scotland can only be termed very subordinate. And here I may remark that, greatly to the honor of the English nation, — owing, perhaps, to the natural generosity and good-humor of the people, or to the superior influence of civilization, — the civil war in that country, though contested with the utmost fury in the open field, was not marked by anything approaching to the violent atrocities of the Irish, or the fierce and ruthless devastation exercised by the Scottish combatants. The days of deadly feud had been long past, if the English ever followed that savage custom, and the spirit of malice and hatred which it fostered had no existence in that country. The English parties contended manfully in battle, but, unless in the storming of towns, when all evil passions are afloat, they seem seldom to have been guilty of cruelty or wasteful ravage. They combated like men who have quarrelled on some special point, but having had no ill-will against each other before, are resolved to fight it out fairly, without bearing malice. On the contrary, the cause of Prelacy or Presbytery, King or Parliament, was often what was least in the thoughts of the Scottish barons, who made such phrases indeed the pretext for the war, but in

fact looked forward to indulging, at the expense of some rival family, the treasured vengeance of a hundred years.

But though the English spirit did not introduce into their civil war the savage aspect of the Scottish feuds, they were not free from the religious dissensions which formed another curse of the age. I have already said that the party which opposed itself to the King and the Church of England was, with the followers of the Parliament and the Parliament itself, divided into two factions, that of the Presbyterians and that of the Independents. I have also generally mentioned the points on which these two parties differed. I must now notice them more particularly.

The Presbyterian Establishment, as I have often stated, differs from that of the Church of England, in the same manner as a republic, all the members of which are on a footing of equality, differs from a monarchical constitution. In the Kirk of Scotland, all the ministers are on an equality; in the Church of England, there is a gradation of ranks, ascending from the lowest order of clergymen to the rank of bishop. But each system is alike founded upon the institution of a body of men, qualified by studies of a peculiar nature to become preachers of the Gospel, and obliged to show they are so qualified, by undergoing trials and examinations of their learning and capacity, before they can take holy orders, that is to say, become clergymen. Both Churches also agree in secluding from ordinary professions and avocations the persons engaged in the ministry, and in considering them as a class of men set apart for teaching religious duties and solemnizing religious rites. It is also the rule, alike of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, that the National Church, as existing in its courts and judicatories, has

power to censure, suspend from their functions, and depose from their clerical character and clerical charge, such of its members as, either by immoral and wicked conduct, or by preaching and teaching doctrines inconsistent with the public creed, shall render themselves unfit to execute the trust reposed in them. And further, both these National Churches maintain that such courts and judicatories have power over their lay hearers, and those who live in communion with them, to rebuke transgressors of every kind, and to admonish them to repentance; and if such admonitions are neglected, to expel them from the congregation by the sentence of excommunication.

Thus far most Christian Churches agree; and thus far the claims and rights of a National Church are highly favorable to the existence of a regular government; since reason, as well as the general usage of the religious world, sanctions the establishment of the clergy as a body of men separated from the general class of society, that they may set an example of regularity of life by the purity of their morals. Thus set apart from the rest of the community, they are supported at the expense of the State, in order that the reverence due to them may not be lessened by their being compelled, for the sake of subsistence, to mingle in the ordinary business of life, and share the cares and solitudes incidental to those who must labor for their daily bread.

How far the civil magistrate can be wisely intrusted with the power of enforcing spiritual censures, or seconding the efforts of the Church to obtain general conformity, by inflicting the penalties of fines, imprisonment, bodily punishment, and death itself, upon those who differ in doctrinal points from the established religion, is a very different question. It is no doubt true, that wild sects

have sometimes started up, whose tenets have involved direct danger to the State. But such offenders ought to be punished, not as offenders against the Church, but as transgressors against the laws of the kingdom. While their opinions remain merely speculative, the persons entertaining them may deserve expulsion from the National Church, with which indeed they could consistently desire no communion; but while they do not carry these erroneous tenets into execution, by any treasonable act, it does not appear the province of the civil magistrate to punish them for opinions only. And if the zeal of such sectaries should drive them into action, they deserve punishment, not for holding unchristian doctrines, but for transgressing the civil laws of the realm. This distinction was little understood in the days we write of, and neither the English nor the Scottish Church can be vindicated from the charge of attempting to force men's consciences, by criminal persecutions for acts of non-conformity, though not accompanied by any civil trespass.

Experience and increasing knowledge have taught the present generation, that such severities have always increased the evil they were intended to cure; and that mild admonition patient instruction, and a good example, may gain many a convert to the Established Churches, whom persecution and violence would have only confirmed in his peculiar opinions. You have read the fable of the traveller who wrapped his cloak the faster about him when the storm blew loud, but threw it aside in the serene beams of the sunshine. It applies to the subject I have been speaking of, as much as to the advantages of gentleness and mild persuasion in social life.

I return to the distinction between the Independents and Presbyterians during the civil wars of the reign of

Charles I. The latter, as you already know, stood strongly out for a National Church and an established clergy, with full powers to bind and loose, and maintained by the support of the civil government. Such a Church had been fully established in Scotland, and it was the ardent wish of its professors that the English should adopt the same system. Indeed, it was in the hope of attaining this grand object that the consent of the Scottish Convention of Estates was given to sending an auxiliary army to assist the Parliament of England; and they had never suffered themselves to doubt that the adoption of the Presbyterian discipline in that country was secured by the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. But the Independents had from the beginning entertained the secret resolution of opposing the establishment of a National Church of any kind in England.

The opinions of these sectaries stood thus on matters of church government. Every one, they said, had a right to read the Scriptures, and draw such conclusions respecting the doctrines which are there inculcated as his own private judgment should hold most conformable to them. They went further, and argued, that every man who felt himself called upon to communicate to others the conclusions which he had derived from reading the Bible, and meditating on its contents, had a right, and a call from Heaven, to preach and teach the peculiar belief which he had thus adopted. It was no matter how obscure had been the individual's condition in life, or how limited the course of his education; he was equally entitled, in their opinion, to act as a minister, as if he had studied with success for twenty years, and taken orders from a bishop, or from a presbytery. If such a gifted preacher could prevail on six persons to admit his doc-

trines, these six persons, according to the doctrine of the Independents, made a Christian congregation; and, as far as religious instruction was concerned, the orator became their spiritual head and teacher. Be his hearers many or few, they were thenceforward his sheep, and he their spiritual shepherd. But to all the rest of the world, except his own congregation, the Independents held, that every preacher remained an ordinary layman, having no claim on the State for revenue or subsistence. If he could persuade his congregation to contribute to his support, he was the more fortunate. If not, he lived by his ordinary calling, of a baker, a tailor, or a shoemaker, and consoled himself that he resembled St. Paul, who wrought with his hands for his livelihood.

Of the congregations or sects thus formed, there were in England hundreds, perhaps thousands, most of them disagreeing from each other in doctrine, and only united by the common opinion, peculiar to them all as Independents, that each private Christian had a right to teach or to listen to whatever doctrines he thought fit; that there ought to exist no church courts of any kind; that the character of a preacher was only to be recognized by those disciples who chose to be taught by him; and that, in any more extensive point of view, there ought not to exist any body of priests or clergymen by profession, any church government or church judicatories, or any other mode of enforcing religious doctrine, save by teaching it from the pulpit, and admonishing the sinner, or, if necessary, expelling him from the congregation. This last, indeed, could be no great infiction where there were so many churches ready to receive him, or where, if he pleased, he might set up a church for himself.

The Sectaries, as the Independents were termed, enter-

tained, as may be supposed, very wild doctrines. Men of an enthusiastic spirit, and sometimes a crazed imagination, as opinionative as they were ignorant, and many of them as ignorant as the lowest vulgar, broached an endless variety of heresies, some of them scandalous, some even blasphemous ; others, except on account of the serious subject they referred to, extremely ludicrous.

But the preachers and hearers of these strange doctrines were not confined to the vulgar and ignorant. Too much learning made some men mad. Sir Henry Vane, one of the subtlest politicians in England, and Milton, one of the greatest poets ever born, caught the spirit of the times, and became Independents. But above all, Oliver Cromwell, destined to rise to the supreme power in England, was of that form of religion.

This remarkable person was of honorable descent, but, inheriting a small fortune, had practised at one time the occupation of a brewer. After a course of gayety and profligacy during early youth, he caught a strong taint of the enthusiasm of the times, and made himself conspicuous by his aversion to Prelacy, and his zealous opposition to the arbitrary measures of the King. He became a member of Parliament, but, as he spoke indifferently, made no figure in that body, being only prominent for his obstinacy and uncompromising zeal. When, however, the Parliament raised their army, the military talents of Cromwell made him early distinguished. It was remarked that he was uniformly successful in every contest in which he was personally engaged, and that he was the first officer who could train and bring to the field a body of cavalry capable of meeting the shock of the Cavaliers, whose high birth, lofty courage, and chivalrous bravery, made them formidable opponents of the Parliamentary

forces. His regiment of Ironsides, as they were called, from the cuirasses which the men wore, were carefully exercised, and accustomed to strict military discipline, while their courage was exalted by the enthusiasm which their commander contrived to inspire. He preached to them himself, prayed for them and with them, and attended with an air of edification to any who chose to preach or pray in return. The attention of these military fanatics was so fixed upon the mysteries of the next world that death was no terror to them; and the fiery valor of the Cavaliers was encountered and repelled by men who fought for their own ideas of religion as determinedly as their enemies did for honor and loyalty. The spirit of the Independent sectaries spread generally through the army, and the Parliament possessed no troops so excellent as those who followed these doctrines.

The great difference betwixt the Presbyterians and Independents consisted, as I have told you, in the desire of the former to establish their form of religion and church government as the national church establishment of England, and of course to compel a general acquiescence in their articles of faith. For this a convention of the most learned and able divines was assembled at Westminster, who settled the religious creed of the intended Church according to the utmost rigor of the Presbyterian creed. This assumption of exclusive power over the conscience alarmed the Independents, and in the dispute which ensued the consciousness of their own interest with the army gave the sectaries new courage and new pretensions.

At first the Independents had been contented to let the Presbyterians of England, a numerous and wealthy body, take the lead in public measures. But as their own numbers increased, and their leaders became formidable from

their interest with the army, they resisted the intention which the Presbyterians showed of establishing their own faith in England as well as Scotland. Sir Henry Vane persuaded them to temporize a little longer, since to oppose Presbytery was to disgust the Scottish Auxiliaries, enamored as they were of their national system. "We cannot yet dispense with the assistance of the Scots," he said; "the sons of Zeruiah are still too many for us." But the progress of the war, while it totally ruined the King's party, gradually diminished the strength of the Presbyterians, and increased that of the Independents. The Earls of Essex and Manchester, generals chosen from the former party, had sustained many losses, which were attributed to incapacity; and they were accused of having let slip advantages, from which it was supposed they had no wish to drive the King to extremity. People began to murmur against the various high offices in the army and state being exclusively occupied by members of Parliament, chiefly Presbyterians; and the protracted length of the civil hostilities was imputed to the desire of such persons to hold in their possession as long as possible the authority which the war placed in their hands.

The Parliament felt that their popularity was in danger of being lost, and looked about for means of recovering it. While their minds were thus troubled, Cromwell suggested a very artful proposal. To recover the confidence of the nation, the members of Parliament, he said, ought to resign all situations of trust or power which they possessed, and confine themselves exclusively to the discharge of their legislative duty. The Parliament fell into the snare. They enacted what was called the self-denying ordinance; by which, in order to show their disinterested patriotism, the members laid down all their offices, civil

and military, and rendered themselves incapable of resuming them. This act of self-deprivation proved in the event a death-blow to the power of the Presbyterians; the places which were thus simply resigned being instantly filled up by the ablest men in the Independent party.

Two members of Parliament, however, were allowed to retain command. The one was Sir Thomas Fairfax, a Presbyterian, whose military talents had been highly distinguished during the war, but who was much under the guidance of Oliver Cromwell. The other was Cromwell himself, who had the title of Lieutenant-General only, but in fact enjoyed, through his influence over the soldiers, and even over Fairfax himself, all the advantage of supreme command.

The success of Cromwell in this grand measure led to remodelling the army after his own plan, in which he took care their numbers should be recruited, their discipline improved, and, above all, their ranks filled up with Independents. The influence of these changes was soon felt in the progress of the war. The troops of the King sustained various checks, and at length a total defeat in the battle of Naseby, from the effect of which the affairs of Charles could never recover. Loss after loss succeeded; the strong places which the Royalists possessed were taken one after another; and the King's cause was totally ruined. The successes of Montrose had excited a gleam of hope, which disappeared after his defeat at Philiphaugh. Finally, King Charles was shut up in the city of Oxford, which had adhered to his cause with the most devoted loyalty; the last army which he had in the field was destroyed; and he had no alternative save to remain in Oxford till he should be taken pris-

oner, to surrender himself to his enemies, or to escape abroad.

In circumstances so desperate, it was difficult to make a choice. A frank surrender to the Parliament, or an escape abroad, would have perhaps been the most advisable conduct. But the Parliament and their own Independent army were now on the brink of quarrelling. The establishment of the Presbyterian Church was resolved upon, though only for a time and in a limited form, and both parties were alike dissatisfied; the zealous Presbyterians because it gave the church courts too little power; the Independents because it invested them with any control, however slight, over persons of a different communion. Amidst the disputes of his opponents, the King hoped to find his way back to the throne.

For this purpose, and to place himself in a situation, as he hoped, from whence to negotiate with safety, Charles determined to surrender himself to that Scottish army which had been sent into England, under the Earl of Leven, as auxiliaries of the English Parliament. The King concluded that he might expect personal protection, if not assistance, from an army composed of his own countrymen. Besides, the Scottish army had lately been on indifferent terms with the English. The Independent troops, who now equalled, or even excelled them in discipline, and were actuated by an enthusiasm which the Scots did not possess, looked with an evil eye on an army composed of foreigners and Presbyterians. The English in general, as soon as their assistance was no longer necessary, began to regard their Scottish brethren as an encumbrance; and the Parliament, while they supplied the Independent forces liberally with money and provisions, neglected the Scots in both these essentials,

whose honor and interest were affected in proportion. A perfect acquaintance with the discontent of the Scottish army, induced Charles to throw himself upon their protection in his misfortunes.

He left Oxford in disguise, on 27th April, 1646, having only two attendants. Nine days after his departure, he surprised the old Earl of Leven and the Scottish camp, who were then forming the siege of Newark, by delivering himself into their hands. The Scots received the unfortunate monarch with great outward respect, but guarded his person with vigilance. They immediately broke up the siege, and marched with great speed to the north, carrying the person of the King along with them, and observing the strictest discipline on their retreat. When their army arrived at Newcastle, a strong town which they themselves had taken, and where they had a garrison, they halted to await the progress of negotiations at this singular crisis.

Upon surrendering himself to the Scottish army, King Charles had despatched a message to the Parliament, expressing his having done so, desiring that they would send him such articles of pacification as they should agree upon, and offering to surrender Oxford, Newark, and whatever other garrisons or strong places he might still possess, and order the troops he had on foot to lay down their arms. The places were surrendered accordingly, honorable terms being allowed; and the army of Montrose in the Highlands, and such other forces as the Royalists still maintained throughout England, were disbanded, as I have already told you, by the King's command.

The Parliament showed great moderation, and the civil war seemed to be ended. The articles of pacification which they offered were not more rigorous than the des-

perate condition of the King must have taught him to expect. But questions of religion interfered to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

In proportion as the great majority of the Parliament were attached to the Presbyterian forms, Charles was devoted to the system of Episcopacy. He deemed himself bound by his coronation oath to support the Church of England, and he would not purchase his own restoration to the throne by consenting to its being set aside. Here, therefore, the negotiation betwixt the King and his Parliament was broken off; but another was opened between the English Parliament and the Scottish army, concerning the disposal of the King's person.

If Charles could have brought his mind to consent to the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, it is probable that he would have gained all Scotland to his side. This, however, would have been granting to the Scots what he had refused to the Parliament; for the support of Presbytery was the essential object of the Scottish invasion. On the other hand, it could hardly be expected that the Scottish Convention of Estates should resign the very point on which it had begun and continued the war. The Church of Scotland sent forth a solemn warning, that all engagement with the King was unlawful. The question, therefore, was, what should be done with the person of Charles.

The generous course would have been to have suffered the King to leave the Scottish army as freely as he came there. In that case he might have embarked at Tyne-mouth, and found refuge in foreign countries. And even if the Scots had determined that the exigencies of the times, and the necessity of preserving the peace betwixt England and Scotland, together with their engagements

with the Parliament of England, demanded that they should surrender the person of their King to that body, the honor of Scotland was intimately concerned in so conducting the transaction, that there should be no room for alleging that any selfish advantage was stipulated by the Scots as a consequence of giving him up. I am almost ashamed to write, that this honorable consideration had no weight.

The Scottish army had a long arrear of pay due to them from the English Parliament, which the latter had refused, or at least delayed to make forthcoming. A treaty for the settlement of these arrears had been set on foot; and it had been agreed that the Scottish forces should retreat into their own country, upon payment of two hundred thousand pounds, which was one half of the debt finally admitted. Now, it is true that these two treaties, concerning the delivery of the King's person to England, and the payment by Parliament of their pecuniary arrears to Scotland, were kept separate, for the sake of decency; but it is certain that they not only coincided in point of time, but bore upon and influenced each other. No man of candor will pretend to believe that the Parliament of England would ever have paid this considerable sum, unless to facilitate their obtaining possession of the King's person; and this sordid and base transaction, though the work exclusively of a mercenary army, stamped the whole nation of Scotland with infamy. In foreign countries they were upbraided with the shame of having made their unfortunate and confiding sovereign a hostage, whose liberty or surrender was to depend on their obtaining payment of a paltry sum of arrears; and the English nation reproached them with their greed and treachery, in the popular rhyme: —

“ Traitor Scot
Sold his King for a groat.”

The Scottish army surrendered the person of Charles to the Commissioners for the English Parliament, ^{28th Jan.,} on receiving security for their arrears of pay, and ^{1647.} immediately evacuated Newcastle and marched for their own country. I am sorry to conclude the chapter with this mercenary and dishonorable transaction ; but the limits of the work require me to bring it thus to a close.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE KING TAKEN PRISONER BY THE ENGLISH ARMY, AND PLACED IN THE PALACE OF HAMPTON COURT—HIS ESCAPE TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT, AND IMPRISONMENT IN CARISBROOK CASTLE—TREATY WITH THE SCOTCH, KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE ENGAGEMENT—THE ENGAGERS ENTER ENGLAND WITH AN ARMY, AND ARE DEFEATED—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE APPOINTED TO TRY THE KING—THE TRIAL—EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

[1647 — 1649.]

OUR last chapter concluded with the dishonorable transaction by which the Scottish army surrendered Charles I. into the hands of the Parliament of England, on receiving security for a sum of arrears due to them by that body.

The Commissioners of Parliament, thus possessed of the King's person, conducted him as a state prisoner to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, which had been assigned as his temporary residence; but from which a power different from theirs was soon about to withdraw him.

The Independents, as I have said, highly resented as a tyranny over their consciences the establishment of Presbytery, however temporary, or however mitigated, in the form of a National Church; and were no less displeased, that the army, whose ranks were chiefly filled with these military saints, as they called themselves, who were principally of the Independent persuasion, was, in the event

of peace, which seemed close at hand, threatened either to be sent to Ireland, or disbanded. The discontent among the English soldiery became general; they saw that the use made of the victories, which their valor had mainly contributed to gain, would be to reduce and disarm them, and send out of the kingdom such regiments as might be suffered to retain their arms and military character. And besides the loss of pay, profession, and importance, the sectaries had every reason to apprehend the imposition of the Presbyterian yoke, as they termed the discipline of that Church. These mutinous dispositions were secretly encouraged by Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, officers of high rank and influence, to whom the Parliament had intrusted the charge of pacifying them. At length the army assumed the ominous appearance of a separate body in the state, whose affairs were managed by a council of superior officers, with assistance from a committee of persons, called Agitators, being two privates chosen from each company. These bold and unscrupulous men determined to gain possession of the person of the King, and to withdraw him from the power of the Parliament.

In pursuance of this resolution, Joyce, originally a tailor, now a cornet, and a furious agitator for the cause of the army, on the 4th of June, 1647, appeared suddenly at midnight before Holmby House. The troops employed by the Commissioners to guard the King's person, being infected, it may be supposed, with the general feeling of the army, offered no resistance. Joyce, with little ceremony, intruded himself, armed with his pistols, into the King's sleeping apartment, and informed his Majesty that he must please to attend him. "Where is your commission?" said the unfortunate King. "Yonder it is," answered the rude soldier, pointing to his troop of fifty horse,

which, by the early dawning, was seen drawn up in the court-yard of the place. — “It is written in legible characters,” replied Charles; and, without further remonstrance, he prepared to attend the escort.

The King was conducted to Newmarket, and from thence to the palace of Hampton Court; and though in the hands of a body which had no lawful authority or responsible character, he was at first treated with more respect, and even kindness, than he had experienced either from the Scottish army, or from the English Commissioners. The officers distrusted, perhaps, the security of their own power, for they offered a pacification on easy terms. They asked an equal national representation, freely chosen; stipulated that the two Houses of Parliament should enjoy the command of the militia for fourteen years; and even agreed that the order of Bishops should be re-established, but without any temporal power or coercive jurisdiction. So far the terms were more moderate than, from such men and in such a moment, the King could have expected. But on one point the council of officers were rigidly determined; they insisted that seven of the adherents of Charles, chosen from those who had, with wisdom or with valor, best supported the sinking cause of Royalty, should be declared incapable of pardon. Charles was equally resolute in resisting this point; his conscience had suffered too deeply on the occasion of Strafford's execution, to which he had yielded in the beginning of these troubles, to permit him ever to be tempted again to abandon a friend.

In the mean time the Parliament was preparing to exert its authority in opposing and checking the unconstitutional power assumed by the army; and the city of London, chiefly composed of Presbyterians, showed a gen-

eral disposition to stand by the Houses of Legislature. But when that formidable army drew near to London, both Parliament and citizens became intimidated; and the former expelled from their seats the leading Presbyterian members, and suffered the Independents to dictate to the dispirited remainder what measures they judged necessary. Prudence would, at this moment, have strongly recommended to Charles an instant agreement with the army. But the Presbyterians of England had not resigned hopes; and the whole kingdom of Scotland, incensed at the triumph of the Sectaries, and the contumely offered to the Solemn League and Covenant, which had been stigmatized, in the House of Commons, as an almanac out of date, their Commissioners made, in private, liberal offers to restore the King by force of arms. In listening to these proposals, Charles flattered himself that he should be able to hold the balance betwixt the Presbyterians and Independents; but he mistook the spirit of the latter party, from whom this private negotiation did not long remain a secret, and who were highly incensed by the discovery.

The Presbyterians had undertaken the war with professions of profound respect towards the King's person and dignity. They had always protested that they made war against the evil counsellors of the King, but not against his person; and their ordinances, while they were directed against the Malignants, as they termed the Royalists, ran in the King's own name, as well as in that of the two Houses of Parliament, by whose sole authority they were sent forth. The Independents, on the contrary, boldly declared themselves at war with *the Man* Charles, as the abuser of the regal power, and the oppressor of the saints. Cromwell himself avouched such doctrines in open Parliament. He said it was childish to talk of there

being no war with the King's person, when Charles appeared in armor, and at the head of his troops in open battle; and that he himself was so far from feeling any scruple on the subject, that he would fire his pistol at the King as readily as at any of his adherents, should he meet him in the fight.

After the discovery of the King's treaty with the Scottish Commissioners, Cromwell, admitting Charles's powers of understanding and reasoning, denounced him as a man of the deepest dissimulation, who had broken faith, by professing an entire reliance on the wisdom of the Parliament, while by a separate negotiation with the Scottish Commissioners, he was endeavoring to rekindle the flames of civil war between the sister kingdoms. After speaking to this purpose, Cromwell required, and by the now irresistible interest of the Independents he obtained, a declaration from the House, that the Parliament would receive no further applications from Charles, and make no addresses to him in future.

The unfortunate King, while in the power of this uncompromising faction, by whom his authority seemed to be suspended, if not abolished, ought to have been aware, that if he was to succeed in any accommodation with them at all, it could only be by accepting, without delay or hesitation, such terms as they were disposed to allow him. If he could have succeeded in gratifying their principal officers by promises of wealth, rank, and distinction which were liberally tendered to them,* it is probable that their

* "To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that they could reasonably, from their birth or former situation, entertain more ambitious views." — RUSSELL'S *Modern Europe*, vol. iii. p. 354.

influence might have induced their followers to acquiesce in his restoration, especially if it afforded the means of disconcerting the plans of the Presbyterians. But Charles ought, at the same time, to have reflected that any appearance of procrastination on his part must give rise to suspicions of his sincerity on the part of the military leaders; and that the Independents, having once adopted an idea that he was trifling with or deceiving them, had none of that sanctimonious respect for his title or person that could prevent his experiencing the utmost rigor.

The Independents and their military council, accordingly, distrusting the sincerity of Charles, and feeling every day the increase of their own power, began to think of establishing it on an entirely different basis from that of monarchy.* They withdrew from the King the solemn marks of respect with which he had been hitherto indulged, treated him with neglect and incivility, deprived him of his chaplains, confined his person more closely, doubled the guards upon him, and permitted none to have access to him but such as possessed their confidence.

Alarmed at these ominous severities, Charles now resolved to escape by flight, and left Hampton Court accordingly. Unhappily, either misled by his attendant or by his own indiscretion, he took refuge ^{11th Nov.} in the Isle of Wight, where the governor of Carisbrook

* "Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, 'that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the King, or to do anything towards his restoration,' and they two steered the whole body, and therefore it was advised, 'that some way might be found to remove his Majesty out of their hands.'" — CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, vol. v. p. 75.

Castle [Colonel Hammond] was the friend of Cromwell, and a fierce Independent. Here the unfortunate monarch only fell into a captivity more solitary, more severe, and more comfortless, than any which he had yet experienced. He himself, from his window, pointed out to Sir Philip Warwick an old gray-headed domestic on the street, who brought in wood to the fire, and observed to him that the conversation of that menial was the best that he had been suffered to enjoy for months.* There is even reason to think his life was aimed at, and that the King was privately encouraged to make an effort to escape from a window in the castle, while a person was placed in readiness to shoot him in the attempt.

The council of war renounced all further communication with Charles; the Parliament, now under the Independent influence, sent down Commissioners to treat, but with preliminary conditions harder than any yet offered to him. Two resources remained to him,—the services of the disbanded Loyalists, whom his faithful adherents might again summon to arms,—but they were dispersed, disarmed, and heart-broken; or the assistance of the Scots,—but they were distant and disunited. Yet Charles resolved to try his fortunes on this perilous cast, rather than treat with the Parliament, influenced as it was by the army.

The presence of two Scottish Commissioners, who had accompanied those of the Parliament to Carisbrook, enabled Charles to execute a secret treaty with them, by

* "One evening," adds Sir Philip Warwick, "his dog scraping at his door, he commanded me to let in Gypsey; whereupon I took the boldness to say, 'Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than a spaniel;' 'Yes,' says he, 'for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much.'" — *Memoirs*, p. 329.

which he agreed to confirm the Solemn League and Covenant, establish Presbytery, at least for a season, and concur in the extirpation of the Sectaries. These articles, if they had been granted while Charles was at Newcastle, would have been sufficient to have prevented the surrender of his person by the Scottish army; but it was the King's unfortunate lot, on this, as on all former occasions, to delay his concessions until they came too late, and were liable to be considered insincere.

When this treaty (which was called the Engagement, because the Commissioners engaged to restore the King by force of arms) was presented to the Scottish Parliament, it was approved by the more moderate part of the Presbyterians, who were led by the Duke of Hamilton, together with his brother the Earl of Lanark, the Lord Chancellor Loudoun, and the Earl of Lauderdale; this last being destined to make a remarkable figure in the next reign. But the majority of the Presbyterian clergy, supported by the more zealous among their hearers, declared that the concessions of the King were totally insufficient to engage Scotland in a new war, as affording no adequate cause for a quarrel with England. This party was headed by the Marquis of Argyle.

I may here mention respecting this nobleman, that after Montrose's army was disbanded, he had taken severe vengeance on the MacDonalds and other clans who had assisted in the desolation of Argyleshire. Having the aid of David Lesley with a body of regular troops, he reduced successively some forts into which Alaster MacDonald (Colkitto) had thrown garrisons, and uniformly put the prisoners to the sword. The MacDougals were almost exterminated in one indiscriminate slaughter, and the Lamonts were put to death in another act of massacre.

Sir James Turner, an officer who served under Lesley, lays the blame of these inhumanities on a hard-hearted clergyman called Neaves. David Lesley was disgusted at it, and when, after some such sanguinary execution, he saw his chaplain with his shoes stained with blood, he asked him reproachfully, "Have you enough of it now, Master John?"

These atrocities, by whomever committed, must have been perpetrated in revenge of the sufferings of Argyle and his clan; and to these must be added the death of old Colkitto, the father of Alaster MacDonal, likewise so called, who, being taken in one of these Highland forts, was tried by a jury convened by authority of George Campbell, the Sheriff-Substitute of Argyle, from whose sentence we are told very few escaped, and was executed of course.

All these grounds of offence having been given to the Royalists in a corner of the country where revenge was considered as a duty and a virtue, it is not extraordinary that Argyle should have objected most earnestly to the engagement, which was an enterprise in which the King's interest was to be defended with more slender precautions against the influence of the Malignants, or pure Royalists, than seemed consistent with the safety of those who had been most violent against them. Many of the best officers of the late army declined to serve with the new levies until the Church of Scotland should approve the cause of quarrel. The Parliament, however, moved by compassion for their native monarch, and willing to obliterate the disgrace which attached to the surrender of the King at Newcastle, appointed an army to be levied to act in his behalf. The kingdom was thus thrown into the utmost confusion between the various factions of the En-

gagers and their opponents. The civil magistrates, obeying the commands of the Parliament, ordered the subjects to assume arms under pain of temporal punishment; while the clergy from the pulpit denounced the vengeance of Heaven against those who obeyed the summons.

The Engagers prevailed so far as to raise a tumultuary and ill-disciplined army of about fifteen thousand men, which was commanded by the Duke of Hamilton. This ill-fated nobleman deserved the praise of being a moderate man during all the previous struggles; and, though loving his King, seems uniformly to have endeavored to reconcile his administration with the rights, and even the prejudices of his countrymen. But he had little decision of character, and less military skill. While the Scotch were preparing their succors slowly and with hesitation, the English Cavaliers, impatient at the danger and captivity of the King, took arms. But their insurrections were so ill connected with each other that they were crushed successively save in two cases, where the insurgents made themselves masters of Colchester and Pembroke, in which towns they were instantly besieged.

Hamilton ought to have advanced with all speed to raise the siege of these places; but instead of this he loitered away more than forty days in Lancashire, until Cromwell came upon him near Warrington, where head and heart seem alike to have failed the unfortunate Duke. Without even an attempt at resistance, he abandoned his enterprise, and made a disorderly retreat, leaving his artillery and baggage. Baillie, with the infantry, being deserted by his general, surrendered to the enemy at Uxtoxeter; and Hamilton himself, with the cavalry, took the same deplorable course. None escaped save a resolute body of men under the Earl of Callender, who broke

through the enemy, and forced their way back to their own country.

The news of this disaster flew to Scotland. The refractory clergy took the merit of having prophesied the downfall of the Engagers, and stirred up the more zealous Presbyterians to take possession of the government. Argyle drew to arms in the Highlands, whilst the western peasantry assembling, and headed by their divines, repaired to Edinburgh. This insurrection was called the Whigamore's Raid, from the word *whig*, *whig*, that is, *get on, get on*, which is used by the western peasants in driving their horses, — a name destined to become the distinction of a powerful party in British history.

The Earl of Lanark was at the head of some troops on the side of the Engagement, but, afraid of provoking the English, in whose hands his brother Hamilton was a prisoner, he made no material opposition to the Whigamores. Argyle became once more the head of the government. It was during this revolution that Cromwell advanced to the Borders, when, instead of finding any enemies to fight with, he was received by the victorious Whigamores as a friend and brother. Their horror at an army of Sectaries had been entirely overpowered by their far more violent repugnance to unite with Cavaliers and Malignants in behalf of the King. Cromwell on that occasion held much intimate correspondence with Argyle; which made it generally believed that the Marquis, in their private conferences, acquiesced in the violent measures which were to be adopted by the successful general against the captive King, whose fate was now decided upon. The unfortunate Marquis always denied this, nor was the charge ever supported by any tangible evidence.

During these military and political transactions, Charles

had been engaged in a new treaty with the English Parliament, which was conducted at Newport in the Isle of Wight. It was set on foot in consequence of Cromwell's absence with his army, which restored the Parliament to some freedom of debate, and the Presbyterian members to a portion of their influence. If anything could have saved that unfortunate Prince, it might have been by accomplishing an agreement with the House of Commons, while Hamilton's army was yet entire, and before the insurrections of the Royalists had been entirely suppressed. But he delayed closing the treaty until the army returned, flushed with victory over the English Cavaliers and Scottish Engagers, and denouncing vengeance on the head of the King, whom they accused of being the sole author of the civil war, and liable to punishment as such. This became the language of the whole party. The pulpits rung with the exhortations of the military preachers, demanding that the King should be given over, as a public enemy, to a public trial.

It was in vain that Charles had at length, with lingering reluctance, yielded every request which the Parliament could demand of him. It was equally in vain that the Parliament had publicly declared that the concessions made by the King were sufficient to form the basis of a satisfactory peace. The army, stirred up by their ambitious officers and fanatic preachers, were resolved that Charles should be put to an open and ignominious death; and a sufficient force of soldiery was stationed in and around London to make resistance impossible, either on the part of the Presbyterians or the Royalists.

In order to secure a majority in the House of Commons, Colonel Pride, a man who had been a brewer, drew up his regiment at the doors of the House of Parliament and

in the streets adjacent, and secured the persons of upwards of forty members, who, being supposed favorable to reconciliation with the King, were arrested and thrown into prison; above one hundred more were next day excluded. This act of violence was called Pride's Purge. At the same time the House of Lords was shut up. The remainder of the House of Commons, who alone were permitted to sit and vote, were all of the Independent party, and ready to do whatever should be required by the soldiers.* This remnant of a Parliament, under the influence of the swords of their own soldiers, proceeded to nominate what was called a High Court of Justice for the trial of King Charles, charged with treason, as they termed it, against the people of England. The Court consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, chosen from the army, the Parliament, and from such of the citizens of London as were well affected to the proposed change of government from a kingdom to a commonwealth. Many of the judges so nominated refused,† notwithstanding, to act upon such a commission. Meantime, the great body of the English people beheld these strange preparations with grief and terror. The Scots, broken by the defeat of Hamilton and the success of the Whigamore's Raid, had no means of giving assistance.

Those who drove this procedure forward were of different classes, urged by different motives.

* "And thus," says Sir Philip Warwick, "both Houses soon found of how little value unarmed authority is with an armed army; and they that were late agents are become patients, and are taught that punishment is the anagram of sin, or may be read in it; for like Adonibezek, they that were lately cutting off thumbs and toes, are now the same way losing them." — (See Book of Judges, i. 5, 6, 7.) — *Memoirs of K. Charles I.*, 8vo, 1701, p. 300.

† Not more than seventy usually attended.

The higher officers of the army, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, seeing they could not retain their influence by concluding a treaty with Charles, had resolved to dethrone and put him to death, in order to establish a military government in their own persons. These men had a distinct aim, and they in some degree attained it. There were others among the Independent party who thought they had offended the King so far beyond forgiveness, that his deposition and death were necessary for their own safety. The motives of these persons are also within the grasp of common apprehension.

But there were also among the Independent members of Parliament men of a nobler character. There were statesmen who had bewildered themselves with meditating upon theoretical schemes till they had fancied the possibility of erecting a system of republican government on the foundation of the ancient monarchy of England. Such men, imposed on by a splendid dream of unattainable freedom, imagined that the violence put upon the Parliament by the soldiery, and the death of the King, when it should take place, were but necessary steps to the establishment of this visionary fabric of perfect liberty, like the pulling down of an old edifice to make room for a new building. After this fanciful class of politicians came enthusiasts of another and coarser description, influenced by the wild harangues of their crack-brained preachers, who saw in Charles not only the head of the enemies with whom they had been contending for four years with various fortune, but also a wicked King of Amalekites, delivered up to them to be hewn in pieces in the name of Heaven. Such were the various motives which urged the actors in this extraordinary scene.

The pretext by which they colored these proceedings

was, that the King had levied war against his people, to extend over them an unlawful authority. If this had been true in point of fact, it was no ground of charge against Charles in point of law; for the constitution of England declares that the King can do no wrong, that is, cannot be made responsible for any wrong which he does. The vengeance of the laws, when such wrong is committed, is most justly directed against those wicked ministers by whom the culpable measure is contrived, and the agents by whom it is executed. The constitution of England wisely rests on the principle, that if the counselors and instruments of a prince's pleasure are kept under wholesome terror of the laws, there is no risk of the monarch, in his own unassisted person, transgressing the limits of his authority.*

But in fact the King had not taken arms against the Parliament to gain any *new* and extraordinary extent of power. It is no doubt true that the Parliament, when summoned together, had many just grievances to complain of; but these were not, in general, innovations of Charles, but such exertions of power as had been customary in the four last reigns, when the crown of England had been freed from the restraint of the barons, without

* "Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindsay, applied to the Commons. They represented, that they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master. That in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blamable action of the Prince; and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honor; but contributed nothing towards the King's safety." — HUME.

being sufficiently subjected to the control of the House of Commons, representing the people at large. They were, however, very bad precedents; and, since the King had shown a desire to follow them, the Parliament were most justly called upon to resist the repetition of old encroachments upon their liberty. But before the war broke out, the King had relinquished in favor of the Commons all they had demanded. The ultimate cause of quarrel was, which party should have the command of the militia or public force of the kingdom. This was a constitutional part of the King's prerogative; for the executive power cannot be said to exist unless united with the power of the sword. Violence on each side heightened the general want of confidence. The Parliament, as has been before stated, garrisoned and held out the town of Hull against Charles; and the King infringed the privileges of the Commons, by coming with an armed train to arrest five of their members during the sitting of Parliament. So that the war must be justly imputed to a train of long-protracted quarrels, in which neither party could be termed wholly right, and still less entirely wrong, but which created so much jealousy on both sides as could scarcely terminate otherwise than in civil war.

The High Court of Justice, nevertheless, was opened, and the King was brought to the bar on 19th January, 1649. The soldiers, who crowded the avenues, were taught to cry out for justice upon the royal prisoner. When a bystander, affected by the contrast betwixt the King's present and former condition, could not refrain from saying aloud, "God save your Majesty," he was struck and beaten by the guards around him: "A rude chastisement," said the King, "for so slight an offence." Charles behaved throughout the whole of the trying scene

with the utmost dignity. He bore, without complaining, the reproaches of murderer and tyrant, which were showered on him by the riotous soldiery; and when a ruffian spit in his face, the captive monarch wiped it off with his handkerchief, and only said, "Poor creatures! for half a crown they would do the same to their father."

When the deed of accusation, stated to be in the name of the people of England, was read, a voice from one of the galleries exclaimed, "not the tenth part of them!" Again as the names of the judges were called over, when that of General Fairfax occurred, the same voice replied, "He has more sense than to be here." Upon the officer who commanded the guard ordering the musketeers to fire into the gallery from which the interruption came, the speaker was discovered to be Lady Fairfax, wife of Sir Thomas, the general of the forces, and a daughter of the noble house of Vere, who in this manner declared her resentment at the extraordinary scene.

The King, when placed at the bar, looked around on the awful preparations for trial, on the bench, crowded with avowed enemies, and displaying, what was still more painful, the faces of one or two ungrateful friends,* without losing his steady composure. When the public accuser began to speak, he touched him with his staff, and sternly admonished him to forbear. He afterwards displayed both talent and boldness in his own defence. He dis-

* Clarendon says: "One was Sir Harry Mildmay, master of the King's jewel-house, who had been bred up in the court, and prosecuted with so great favors and bounties by King James and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate. The other was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the King." And adds: "Nor did that party of miscreants (Cromwell's) look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay." — *History*, vol. v. pp. 255, 256.

owned the authority of the novel and incompetent court before which he was placed ; reminded those who sat as his judges that he was their lawful king, answerable indeed to God for the use of his power, but declared by the constitution incapable of doing wrong. Even if the authority of the people were sufficient to place him before the bar, he denied that such authority had been obtained. The act of violence, he justly stated, was the deed, not of the English nation, but of a few daring men, who had violated, by military force, the freedom of the House of Commons, and altogether destroyed and abolished the House of Peers. He declared that he spoke not for himself, but for the sake of the laws and liberties of England.

Though repeatedly interrupted by Bradshaw, a lawyer, president of the pretended High Court of Justice, Charles pronounced his defence in a manly, yet temperate manner. Being then three times called on to answer to the charge, he as often declined the jurisdiction of the court. Sentence of death was then pronounced, to be executed in front of the royal palace, lately his own.

On the 30th January, 1649, Charles I. was brought forth through one of the windows in front of the banqueting house at Whitehall, upon a large scaffold, hung with black, and closely surrounded with guards. Two executioners in masks attended (one wearing a long gray beard) beside a block and cushion. Juxon, a bishop of the Church of England, assisted the King's devotions. As Charles laid his head on the block, he addressed to the Bishop, emphatically, the word *remember*,* and then gave the signal

* " It being remarked that the King, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word REMEMBER ! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression ; and the generals vehemently

for the fatal stroke. One executioner struck the head from the shoulders at a single blow; the other held it up, and proclaimed it the head of a traitor. The soldiers shouted in triumph, but the multitude generally burst out into tears and lamentations.

This tragic spectacle was far from accomplishing the purpose intended by those who had designed it. On the contrary, the King's serene and religious behavior at his trial and execution excited the sympathy and sorrow of many who had been his enemies when in power; the injustice and brutality which he bore with so much dignity overpowered the remembrance of the errors of which he had been guilty; and the almost universal sense of the iniquity of his sentence, was a principal cause of the subsequent restoration of his family to the throne.*

insisted with the prelate that he should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them that the King, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of the murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies." — HUME.

* Mr. Fox, in his introductory chapter to the "History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.," says of King Charles I.: "It must be confessed, however, that, if the Republican Government had suffered the King to escape, it would have been an act of *justice and generosity wholly unexampled*; and to have granted him even his life would have been among the *more rare efforts of virtue*." — p. 14. Sir Walter Scott's copy of Mr. Fox's volume has the words in italics underlined, and on the margin this MS. note: "So this abominable murder, committed by wretches who erected their own usurped domination in place of the legal government, is reckoned among the lesser failings of humanity! One might as well say of the villain who robs a house, that his leaving the owner unmurdered, when that additional horror would add to his safety, is (God bless the mark!) 'one among the rare efforts of virtue.' Fox has infinite sympathy for strong temptation — when on his own side of the question."

CHAPTER XLVI.

MONTROSE MAKES A DESCENT UPON THE HIGHLANDS, IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND EXECUTED — CHARLES II., BEING DECLARED KING, ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND — CROMWELL'S INVASION OF SCOTLAND — BATTLE OF DUNBAR — THE START — CORONATION OF CHARLES II. — HE TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY, MARCHES INTO ENGLAND, IS DEFEATED AT WORCESTER, AND ESCAPES ABROAD — WAR IN SCOTLAND UNDER GENERAL MONK — SIEGE OF DUNDEE — CROMWELL MAKES HIMSELF LORD PROTECTOR OF THE REPUBLICS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND — GLENCAIRN'S RISING — EXPLOITS OF EVAN DHU, OF LOCHIEL, CHIEF OF THE CAMERONS.

[1649 — 1654.]

THE death of Charles I. was nowhere more deeply represented than in his native country of Scotland; and the national pride of the Scots was the more hurt, that they could not but be conscious that the surrender of his person by their army at Newcastle was the event which contributed immediately to place him in the hands of his enemies.

The government, since the Whigamore's Raid, had continued in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians; but even they, no friends to the House of Stuart, were bound by the Covenant, which was their rule in all things, to acknowledge the hereditary descent of their ancient Kings, and call to the throne Charles, the eldest son of the deceased monarch, providing he would consent to unite with his subjects in taking the Solemn League and Covenant, for the support of Presbytery, and the

putting down of all other forms of religion. The Scottish Parliament met, and resolved accordingly to proclaim Charles II. their lawful sovereign; but, at the same time, not to admit him to the actual power as such, until he should give security for the religion, unity, and peace of the kingdoms. Commissioners were sent to wait upon Charles, who had retreated to the Continent, in order to offer him the throne of Scotland on these terms.

The young Prince had already around him counsellors of a different character. The celebrated Marquis of Montrose, and other Scottish nobles, few in number, but animated by their leader's courage and zeal, advised him to reject the proposal of the Presbyterians to recall him to the regal dignity on such conditions, and offered their swords and lives to place him on the throne by force of arms.

It appears that Charles II., who never had any deep sense of integrity, was willing to treat with both of these parties at one and the same time; and that he granted a commission to the Marquis to attempt a descent on Scotland, taking the chance of what might be accomplished by his far-famed fortune and dauntless enterprise, while he kept a negotiation afloat with the Presbyterian Commissioners, in case of Montrose's failure.

That intrepid but rash enthusiast embarked at Hamburg, with some arms and treasure, supplied by the northern courts of Europe. His fame drew around him a few of the emigrant Royalists, chiefly Scottish, and he recruited about six hundred German mercenaries. His first descent was on the Orkney Islands, where he forced to arms a few hundreds of unwarlike fishermen. He next disembarked on the mainland; but the natives fled from him, remembering the former excesses of his army.

Strachan, an officer under Lesley, came upon the Marquis by surprise, near a pass called Invercharon, on the confines of Ross-shire.* The Orkney men ^{April, 1650.} made but little resistance; the Germans retired to a wood and there surrendered; the few Scottish companions of Montrose fought bravely, but in vain. Many gallant Cavaliers were made prisoners.† Montrose, when the day was irretrievably lost, threw off his cloak bearing the star, and afterwards changed clothes with an ordinary Highland kern, that he might endeavor to effect his escape, and swam across the river Kyle. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he was at length taken by a Ross-shire chief, MacLeod of Assint, who happened to be out with a party of his men in arms. The Marquis discovered himself to this man, thinking himself secure of favor, since Assint had been once his own follower. But, tempted by a reward of four hundred bolls of meal, this wretched chief delivered his old commander into the unfriendly hands of David Lesley.‡

* "In the parish of Kincardine is Craigchonichen, where the gallant Marquis of Montrose fought his last battle. The ground where the battle was fought took its present name from the event of that memorable day; it may be translated the *Rock of Lamentation*. Its ancient name is still known, though rarely used." — *Statistical Account*, vol. iii. pp. 510, 511.

† "There were killed two hundred men, and twelve hundred taken, very few having escaped; for the whole country being in arms, especially the Earl of Sutherland's people, who came not to the fight but to the execution, they killed and took prisoners all that fled. The standard was also taken, which Montrose had caused to be made of purpose to move the affections of the people, with the portrait of the late King beheaded, and this motto, *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!* — the standard-bearer being killed, after he had several times refused quarter. Among the prisoners were Colonel Ury, Lord Frendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, Colonel Hay of Naughton, Colonel Gray, with most of the officers, and two ministers." — WISHART, p. 376.

‡ "Assint was afterwards tried at Edinburgh for his treachery, but

The Covenanters, when he who had so often made them tremble was at length delivered into their hands, celebrated their victory with all the exultation of mean, timid, and sullen spirits, suddenly released from apprehension of imminent danger. Montrose was dragged in a sort of triumph from town to town, in the mean garb in which he had disguised himself for flight. To the honor of the town of Dundee, which, you will recollect, had been partly plundered, and partly burnt by Montrose's forces during his eventful progress in 1645, the citizens of that town were the first who supplied their fallen foe with clothes befitting his rank, with money, and with necessaries. The Marquis himself must have felt this as a severe rebuke for the wasteful mode in which he had carried on his warfare; and it was a still more piercing reproach to the unworthy victors, who now triumphed over a heroic enemy in the same manner as they would have done over a detected felon.

While Montrose was confined in the house of the Laird of Grange, in Fifeshire, he had almost made his escape through the bold stratagem of the Laird's wife, a descendant of the house of Somerville. This lady's address had drenched the guards with liquor; and the Marquis, disguised in female attire, with which she had furnished him, had already passed the sleeping sentinels, when he was challenged and stopped by a half-drunken soldier, who had been rambling about without any duty or purpose. The alarm being given, he was again secured, and the lady's plot was of no avail. She escaped punishment only by her husband's connection with the ruling party.

Before Montrose reached Edinburgh, he had been conveyed by means of bribery and the corrupt influence of the times, he escaped punishment." — WISHART, p. 377.

demned by the Parliament to the death of a traitor. The sentence was pronounced, without further trial, upon an act of attainder, passed whilst he was plundering Argyle in the winter of 1644; and it was studiously aggravated by every species of infamy.

The Marquis was, according to the special order of Parliament, met at the gates by the magistrates, attended by the common hangman, who was clad for the time in his own livery. He was appointed, as the most infamous mode of execution, to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on the tolbooth, or prison of Edinburgh, his body to be quartered, and his limbs to be placed over the gates of the principal towns of Scotland. According to the sentence, he was conducted to jail on a cart, whereon was fixed a high bench on which he was placed, bound and bareheaded, the horse led by the executioner, wearing his bonnet, and the noble prisoner exposed to the scorn of the people, who were expected to hoot and revile him. But the rabble, who came out with the rudest purposes, relented when they saw the dignity of his bearing; and silence, accompanied by the sighs and tears of the crowd, attended the progress, which his enemies had designed should excite other emotions.* The only observation he made was, that "the ceremonial of his entrance had been somewhat fatiguing and tedious."

He was next brought before the Parliament to hear the terms of his sentence, where he appeared with the same manly indifference. He gazed around on his assembled enemies with as much composure as the most

* "Whereby their ministers were so far exasperated and transported with rage and fury at the disappointment, that next day, which was Sunday, they were not ashamed, openly in their sermons, to exclaim against the people for not embracing that opportunity of abusing him." — WISHART, p. 385.

unconcerned spectator ; heard Loudoun, the Chancellor, upbraid him, in a long and violent declamation, with the breach of both the first and second Covenant ; with his cruel wars at the head of the savage Irish and Highlandmen ; and with the murders, treasons, and conflagrations which they had occasioned. When the Chancellor had finished, Montrose with difficulty obtained permission to reply.

He told the Parliament, with his usual boldness, that if he appeared before them uncovered, and addressed them with respect, it was only because the King had acknowledged their assembly, by entering into a treaty with them. He admitted he had taken the first, or National Covenant, and had acted upon it so long as it was confined to its proper purposes, but had dissented from and opposed those who had used it as a pretext for assailing the Royal authority. "The second, or Solemn League and Covenant," he said, "he had never taken, and was therefore in no respect bound by it. He had made war by the King's express commission ; and although it was impossible in the course of hostilities absolutely to prevent acts of military violence, he had always disowned and punished such irregularities. He had never," he said, "spilt the blood of a prisoner, even in retaliation of the cold-blooded murder of his officers and friends,— nay, he had spared the lives of thousands in the very shock of battle. His last undertaking," he continued, "was carried on at the express command of Charles II., whom they had proclaimed their sovereign, and with whom they were treating as such. Therefore he desired to be used by them as a man and a Christian, to whom many of them had been indebted for life and property, when the fate of war had placed both in his power. He

required them, in conclusion, to proceed with him according to the laws of nature and nations, but especially according to those of Scotland, as they themselves would expect to be judged when they stood at the bar of Almighty God."

The sentence already mentioned was then read to the undaunted prisoner, on which he observed, he was more honored in having his head set on the prison for the cause in which he died, than he would have been had they decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or in having his picture in the King's bedchamber. As to the distribution of his limbs, he said he wished he had flesh enough to send some to each city of Europe, in memory of the cause in which he died. He spent the night in reducing these ideas into poetry.*

Early on the morning of the next day he was awakened by the drums and trumpets calling out the guards, by orders of Parliament, to attend on his execution. "Alas!" he said, "I have given these good folks much trouble while alive, and do I continue to be a terror to them on the day I am to die?"

The clergy importuned him, urging repentance of his sins, and offering, on his expressing such compunction, to

* The following lines were written with the point of a diamond upon the window of his prison:—

"Let them bestow on every airth † a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
Then place my parboil'd head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strew them in the air.
Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou 'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou 'lt raise me with the just."

† *Airth* — point of the compass.

relieve him from the sentence of excommunication under which he labored. He calmly replied, that though the excommunication had been rashly pronounced, yet it gave him pain, and he desired to be freed from it, if a relaxation could be obtained by expressing penitence for his offences as a man; but that he had committed none in his duty to his Prince and country, and, therefore, had none to acknowledge or repent of.

Johnstone of Warriston, an eminent Covenanter, intruded himself on the noble prisoner while he was combing the long curled hair which he wore as a Cavalier. Warriston, a gloomy fanatic, hinted as if it were but an idle employment at so solemn a time. "I will arrange my head as I please to-day, while it is still my own," answered Montrose; "to-morrow it will be yours, and you may deal with it as you list."

The Marquis walked on foot* from the prison to the Grassmarket, the common place of execution for the basest felons, where a gibbet of extraordinary height, with a scaffold covered with black cloth, were erected. Here he was again pressed by the Presbyterian clergy to own his guilt. Their cruel and illiberal officiousness could not disturb the serenity of his temper. To exaggerate the infamy of his punishment, or rather to show the mean spite of his enemies, a book containing the printed history of his exploits was hung around his neck

* "About two o'clock in the afternoon he was brought from the prison to the place of execution, dressed in a scarlet cloak trimmed with gold lace; he walked along the street with such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance as shook the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him; and extorted even from his enemies their unwilling confession that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced."—WISHART, p. 394.

by the hangman. This insult, likewise, he treated with contempt, saying, he accounted such a record of his services to his Prince as a symbol equally honorable with the badge of the Garter which the King had bestowed on him. In all other particulars Montrose bore himself with the same calm dignity, and finally submitted to execution with such resolved courage that many, even of his bitterest enemies, wept on the occasion. He suffered on the 21st of May, 1650.

Argyle, the mortal foe of Montrose, exulted in private over the death of his enemy, but abstained from appearing in Parliament when he was condemned, and from witnessing his execution. He is even said to have shed tears when he heard the scene rehearsed. His son, Lord Lorn, was less scrupulous; he looked on his feudal enemy's last moments, and even watched the blows of the executioner's axe, while he dissevered the head from the body. His cruelty was requited in the subsequent reign; and indeed Heaven soon after made manifest the folly, as well as guilt, which destroyed this celebrated commander at a time when approaching war might have rendered his talents invaluable to his country.

Other noble Scottish blood was spilt at the same time, both at home and in England. The Marquis of Huntly, who had always acted for the King, though he had injured his affairs by his hesitation to co-operate with Montrose, was beheaded at Edinburgh; and Urry,* who had been sometimes the enemy, sometimes the follower of Montrose, was executed with others of the Marquis's principal followers.

The unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, a man of a gentle

* "A man," says Wishart, "who had engaged in all quarrels, but never prospered in any." — p. 371.

but indecisive character, was taken, as I have told you, in his attempt to invade England and deliver the King, whom he seems to have served with fidelity, though he fell under his suspicion, and even suffered a long imprisonment by the royal order. While he was confined at Windsor, Charles, previous to his trial, was brought there by the soldiers. The dethroned King was permitted a momentary interview with the subject who had lost fortune and liberty in his cause. Hamilton burst into tears, and flung himself at the King's feet, exclaiming, "My dear master!" "I have been a *dear* master to you indeed," said Charles, kindly raising him. After the execution of the King, Hamilton, with the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, and others, who had promoted the rising of the Royalists on different points, were condemned to be beheaded. A stout old Cavalier, Sir John Owen, was one of the number. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed it was a great honor to a poor Welsh knight to be beheaded with so many nobles, adding with an oath, "I thought they would have hanged me." This gallant old man's life was spared, when his companions in misfortune were executed.*

While these bloody scenes were proceeding, the Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament continued to carry on the treaty with Charles II. He had nearly broken it

* "Sir John answered them without any application, 'that he was a plain gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught to obey the King; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavored to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the High Sheriff endeavored to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided had he staid at home;' and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him." — CLARENDON, vol. v. p. 267. "Ireton told them 'there had been great en-

off when Montrose's execution was reported to him ; but a sense of his own duplicity in maintaining a treaty with the Parliament while he gave Montrose a commission to invade and make war on them, smothered his complaints on the subject. At length Charles, seeing no other resource, agreed to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered, which were those of the most absolute compliance with the will of the Scottish Parliament in civil affairs, and with the pleasure of the General Assembly of the Kirk in ecclesiastical concerns. Above all, the young King promised to take upon him the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, and to further them by every means in his power. On these conditions the treaty was concluded ; Charles sailed from Hol-^{16th June,} land, and arriving on the coast of Scotland,^{1650.} landed near the mouth of the River Spey, and advanced to Stirling.

Scotland was at this time divided into three parties, highly inimical to each other. There was, **FIRST**, the rigid Presbyterians, of whom Argyle was the leader. This was the faction which had since the Whigamore's Raid been in possession of the supreme power of government, and with its leaders the King had made the treaty in Holland. **SECONDLY**, the moderate Presbyterians, called the Engagers, who had joined with Hamilton in his incursion into England. These were headed by the

deavors and solicitations used to save all those lords ; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them ; and therefore he desired that Sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself ;' which found little opposition ; whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them." — *Ibid.* p. 271.

Earl of Lanark, who succeeded to the dukedom of Hamilton on the execution of his brother ; by Lauderdale, a man of very considerable talents ; Dunfermline and others. **THIRDLY**, there was the party of the Absolute Loyalists, friends and followers of Montrose ; such as the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Ogilvy, a few other nobles and gentlemen, and some Highland chiefs, too ignorant and too remotely situated to have any influence in state affairs.

As all these three parties acknowledged with more or less warmth the sovereignty of King Charles, it might have seemed no very difficult matter to have united them in the same patriotic purpose of maintaining the national independence of the kingdom. But successful resistance to the English was a task to which the high Presbyterians, being the ruling party, thought themselves perfectly competent. Indeed they entertained the most presumptuous confidence in their own strength, and their clergy assured them that, so far from the aid of either Engagers or Malignants being profitable to them in the common defence, the presence of any such profane assistants would draw down the curse of Heaven on the cause, which, if trusted to the hands of true Covenanters only, could not fail to prosper.

Argyle, therefore, and his friends, received the young King with all the outward marks of profound respect. But they took care to give him his own will in no one particular. They excluded from attendance on his person all his English adherents, suspicious of their attachment to Prelacy and malignant opinions. The ministers beset him with exhortations and sermons of immoderate length, introduced on all occasions, and exhausting the patience of a young prince, whose strong sense of the ridiculous, and impatience of serious subjects, led him to receive

with heartfelt contempt and disgust the homely eloquence of the long-winded orators. The preachers also gave him offence, by choosing frequently for their themes the sins of his father, the idolatry of his mother, who was a Catholic, and what they frankly termed his own ill-disguised disposition to malignity. They numbered up the judgments which, they affirmed, these sins had brought on his father's house, and they prayed that they might not be followed by similar punishments upon Charles himself.* These ill-timed and ill-judged admonitions were so often repeated as to impress on the young King's mind a feeling of dislike and disgust, with which he remembered the Presbyterian preachers and their doctrines as long as he lived.†

Sometimes their fanaticism and want of judgment led to ridiculous scenes. It is said, that on one occasion a devout lady, who lived opposite to the royal lodgings, saw from her window the young King engaged in a game at cards, or some other frivolous amusement, which the

* "Not contented with the contumelies they had heaped upon their sovereign, they prepared for him a scene of still greater indignity. Nothing now would satisfy the clergy, but that the King should do public penance before the whole land. The General Assembly drew up twelve articles, in which they mustered all the pretended sins of his Majesty, and his predecessors, for four generations back; and for these they ordained, that the King, his household, and the whole land, should do solemn and public penance; an event, however, happened (the battle of Dunbar) which saved him from that disgrace." — SIR EDWARD WALKER, apud ARNOT'S *History of Edinburgh*, 4to, p. 133.

† "The gloomy austerity of the preachers," says Dr. Cook, "which cast its influence over social enjoyment, and branded his levity with a sternness little calculated to conciliate, or to amend, disgusted Charles at those whom he should have labored to gain, and strengthened that indifference to religion and that proneness to dissipation by which his whole life was unhappily distinguished." — *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 191.

rigor of the Covenanters denounced as sinful. The lady communicated this important discovery to her minister, and it reached the ears of the Commission of the Kirk, who named a venerable member of their body to rebuke the monarch personally for this act of backsliding. The clergyman to whom this delicate commission was intrusted, was a shrewd old man, who saw no great wisdom in the proceedings of his brethren, but executed their commands with courtly dexterity, and summed up his ghostly admonition with a request, that when his Majesty indulged in similar recreations, he would be pleased to take the precaution of shutting the windows. The King laughed, and was glad to escape so well from the apprehended lecture. But évents were fast approaching which had no jesting aspect.

England, to which you must now turn your attention, had totally changed its outward constitution since the death of the King. Cromwell, who, using the victorious army as his tools, was already in the real possession of the supreme power, had still more tasks than one to accomplish, before he dared venture to assume the external appearance of it. He suffered, therefore, the diminished and mutilated House of Commons to exist for a season, during which the philosophical Republicans of the party passed resolutions that monarchy should never be again established in England; that the power of the Executive Government should be lodged in a Council of State; and that the House of Lords should be abolished.

Meantime, Cromwell led in person a part of his victorious army to Ireland, which had been the scene of more frightful disorders than England, or even Scotland. These had begun by the Catholic inhabitants rising upon the Protestants, and murdering many thousands of them in

what is termed the Irish Massacre. This had been followed by a general war between the opposite parties in religion, but at length the address of the Duke of Ormond, as devoted a Loyalist as Montrose, contrived to engage a large portion of the Catholics on the side of Charles; and Ireland became the place of refuge to all the Cavaliers, or remains of the Royal party, who began to assume a formidable appearance in that island. The arrival of Cromwell suddenly changed this gleam of fortune into cloud and storm. Wherever this fated general appeared he was victorious; and in Ireland, in order perhaps to strike terror into a fierce people (for Oliver Cromwell was not bloodthirsty by disposition), he made dreadful execution among the vanquished, particularly at the storming of the town of Drogheda, where his troops spared neither sex nor age. He now returned to England, with even greater terror attached to his name than before.

The new Commonwealth of England had no intention that the son of the King whom they had put to death, should be suffered to establish himself quietly in the sister kingdom of Scotland, and enjoy the power, when opportunity offered, of again calling to arms his numerous adherents in England, and disturbing, or perhaps destroying, their new-modelled republic. They were resolved to prevent this danger by making war on Scotland, while still weakened by her domestic dissensions; and compelling her to adopt the constitution of a republic, and to become confederated with their own. This proposal was of course haughtily rejected by the Scots, as it implied a renunciation at once of king and kirk, and a total alteration of the Scottish constitution in civil and ecclesiastical government. The ruling parties of both nations, therefore, prepared for the contest.

The rigid Presbyterians in Scotland showed now a double anxiety to exclude from their army all, however otherwise well qualified to assist in such a crisis, whom they regarded as suspicious, whether as absolute malignants, or as approaching nearer to their own doctrines, by professing only a moderate and tolerant attachment to Presbytery.

Yet even without the assistance of these excluded parties, the Convention of Estates assembled a fine army, full of men enthusiastic in the cause in which they were about to fight, and feeling all the impulse which could be given by the rude eloquence of their favorite ministers. Unfortunately the preachers were not disposed to limit themselves to the task of animating the courage of the soldiers; but were so presumptuous as to interfere with and control the plans of the general, and movements of the army.

The army of England, consisting almost entirely of Independents, amongst whom any man who chose might exert the office of a clergyman, resembled the Presbyterian troops of Scotland; for both armies professed to appeal to Heaven for the justice of their cause, and both resounded with psalms, prayers, exhortations, and religious exercises, to confirm the faith, and animate the zeal of the soldiers. Both likewise used the same language in their proclamations against each other, and it was such as implied a war rather on account of religion than of temporal interests. The Scottish proclamations declared the army commanded by Cromwell to be a union of the most perverse heretical sectaries, of every different persuasion, agreeing in nothing, saving their desire to effect the ruin of the unity and discipline of the Christian Church, and the destruction of the Covenant, to which most of their leaders had sworn fidelity. The army of Cromwell re-

plied to them in the same style. They declared that they valued the Christian Church ten thousand times more than their own lives. They protested that they were not only a rod of iron to dash asunder the common enemies, but a hedge (though unworthy) about the Divine vineyard. As for the Covenant, they protested that, were it not for making it an object of idolatry, they would be content, if called upon to encounter the Scots in this quarrel, to place that national engagement on the point of their pikes, and let God himself judge whether they or their opponents had best observed its obligations.

Although the contending nations thus nearly resembled each other in their ideas and language, there was betwixt the Scottish and English soldiers one difference, and it proved a material one. In the English army the officers insisted upon being preachers, and though their doctrine was wild enough, their ignorance of theology had no effect on military events. But with the Scots, the Presbyterian clergy were unhappily seized with the opposite rage of acting as officers and generals, and their skill in their own profession of divinity could not redeem the errors which they committed in the art of war.

Fairfax having declined the command of the English army, his conscience (for he was a Presbyterian) not permitting him to engage in the war, Cromwell accepted with joy the supreme military authority, and prepared for the invasion of Scotland.

The wars between the sister kingdoms seemed now about to be rekindled, after the interval of two thirds of a century ; and notwithstanding the greatly superior power of England, there was no room for absolute confidence in her ultimate success. The Scots, though divided into parties so far as church government was concerned, were

unanimous in acknowledging the right of King Charles, whereas the English were far from making common cause against his claims. On the contrary, if the stern army of Sectaries, now about to take the field, should sustain any great disaster, the Cavaliers of England, with great part of the Presbyterians in that country, were alike disposed to put the King once more at the head of the government; so that the fate not of Scotland alone, but of England also, was committed to the event of the present war.

Neither were the armies and generals opposed to each other unworthy of the struggle. If the army of Cromwell consisted of veteran soldiers, inured to constant victory, that of Scotland was fresh, numerous, and masters of their own strong country, which was the destined scene of action. If Cromwell had defeated the most celebrated generals of the Cavaliers, David Lesley, the effective commander-in-chief in Scotland, had been victor over Montrose, more renowned perhaps than any of them. If Cromwell was a general of the most decisive character, celebrated for the battles which he had won, Lesley was, by early education, a trained soldier, more skilful than his antagonist in taking positions, defending passes, and all the previous arrangements of a campaign. With these advantages on the different sides, the eventful struggle commenced.

Early in the summer of 1650 Cromwell invaded Scotland at the head of his veteran and well-disciplined troops. But on marching through Berwickshire and East Lothian he found that the country was abandoned by the population, and stripped of everything which could supply the hostile army. Nothing was to be seen save old spectre-looking women, clothed in white flannel, who told the

English officers that all the men had taken arms, under command of the barons.

Subsisting chiefly on the provisions supplied by a fleet which, sailing along the coast, accompanied his movements, the English general approached the capital, where Lesley had settled his head-quarters. The right wing of the Scottish army rested upon the high grounds at the rise of the mountain called Arthur's Seat, and the left wing was posted at Leith; while the high bank formerly called Leith Walk made a part of his lines, which, defended by a numerous artillery, completely protected the metropolis. Cromwell skirmished with the Scottish advanced posts near to Restalrig, but his cuirassiers were so warmly encountered that they gained no advantage, and their general was obliged to withdraw to Musselburgh. His next effort was made from the westward.

The English army made a circuit from the coast, proceeding inland to Colinton, Redhall, and other places near to the eastern extremity of the Pentland hills, from which Cromwell hoped to advance on Edinburgh. But Lesley was immediately on his guard. He left his position betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, and took one which covered the city to the westward, and was protected by the Water of Leith, and the several cuts, drains, and mill-leads, at Saughton, Coltbridge, and the houses and villages in that quarter. Here Cromwell again found the Scots in order of battle, and again was obliged to withdraw after a distant cannonade.

The necessity of returning to the neighborhood of his fleet, obliged Cromwell to march back to his encampment at Musselburgh. Nor was he permitted to remain there in quiet. At the dead of night, a strong body of cavalry, called the regiment of the Kirk, well armed at all points,

broke into the English lines, with loud cries of "God and the Kirk! all is ours!" It was with some difficulty that Cromwell rallied his soldiers upon this sudden alarm, in which he sustained considerable loss, though the assailants were finally compelled to retreat.

The situation of the English army now became critical; their provisions were nearly exhausted, the communication with the fleet grew daily more precarious, while Lesley, with the same prudence which had hitherto guided his defence, baffled all the schemes of the English leader, without exposing his army to the risk of a general action; until Cromwell, fairly outgeneralled by the address of his enemy, was compelled to retire towards England.

Lesley, on his part, left his encampment without delay, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the English. Moving by a shorter line than Cromwell, who was obliged to keep the coast, he took possession with his army of the skirts of Lammermoor, a ridge of hills terminating on the sea near the town of Dunbar, abounding with difficult passes, all of which he occupied strongly. Here he proposed to await the attack of the English, with every chance, nay, almost with the certainty, of gaining a great and decisive victory.

Cromwell was reduced to much perplexity. To force his way, it was necessary to attack a tremendous pass called Cockburn's Path,* where, according to Cromwell's

* The pass of Cockburn's Path is situated in the parish, and a little eastward of the village of the same name, formerly called *Coldbrand's Path*, about eight miles east of Dunbar. The pass, issuing from betwixt the Lammermoor hills, extends along a deep ravine or chasm to the sea-shore. Over this ravine, about fifty years ago, there was erected a bridge of three hundred feet in length, in height one hundred and twenty-three feet, called the Pease or Peaths Bridge. It is said to be the highest in the world, and its romantic site constantly attracts the admirers of the picturesque. — See an engraving of it in *GROSE'S Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 94.

own description, one man might do more to defend than twelve to make way. And if he engaged in this desperate enterprise, he was liable to be assaulted by the numerous forces of Lesley in flank and rear. He saw all the danger, and entertained thoughts of embarking his foot on board of his ships, and cutting his own way to England as he best could, at the head of his cavalry.

At this moment, the interference of the Presbyterian preachers, and the influence which they possessed over the Scottish army and its general, ruined his fair promise of success. In spite of all the prudent remonstrances of Lesley, they insisted that the Scottish army should be led from their strong position, to attack the English upon equal ground. This, in the language of Scripture, they called going down against the Philistines at Gilgal.

Cromwell had slept at the Duke of Roxburghe's house, called Broxmouth, within half a mile east of Dunbar, and his army was stationed in the park there, when he received news that the Scots were leaving their fastnesses, and about to hazard a battle on the level plain. He exclaimed, "that God had delivered them into his hands;" and calling for his horse, placed himself at the head of his troops. Coming to the head of a regiment of Lancashire men, he found one of their officers, while they were in the act of marching to battle, in a fit of sudden enthusiasm holding forth or preaching to the men. Cromwell also listened and seemed affected by his discourse. At this moment the sun showed his broad orb on the level surface of the sea, which is close to the scene of action. "Let the Lord arise," he said "and let his enemies be scattered;" and presently after, looking upon the field

where the battle had now commenced, he added, "I profess they flee."

Cromwell's hopes did not deceive him. The hastily raised Scottish levies, thus presumptuously opposed ^{2d Sept.} to the veteran soldiers of the English commander, proved unequal to stand the shock. Two regiments fought bravely, and were almost all cut off; but the greater part of Lesley's army fell into confusion without much resistance. Great slaughter ensued, and many prisoners were made, whom the cruelty of the English government destined to a fate hitherto unknown in Christian warfare. They transported to the English settlements in America those unfortunate captives, subjects of an independent kingdom, who bore arms by order of their own lawful government, and there sold them for slaves.

The decisive defeat at Dunbar opened the whole of the south of Scotland to Cromwell. The Independents found a few friends and brother Sectaries among the gentry, who had been hitherto deterred, by the fear of the Presbyterians, from making their opinions public. Almost all the strong places on the south side of the Forth were won by the arms of the English, or yielded by the timidity of their defenders. Edinburgh Castle was surrendered, not without suspicion of gross treachery; and Tantallon, Hume, Roslin, and Borthwick, with other fortresses, fell into their hands.

Internal dissension added to the calamitous state of Scotland. The Committee of Estates, with the King, and the remainder of Lesley's army, retreated to Stirling, where they still hoped to make a stand, by defending the passes of the Forth. A Parliament, held at Perth, was in this extremity disposed to relax in the extreme rigor of its exclusive doctrines, and to admit into the army,

which it labored to reinforce, such of the moderate Presbyterians or Engagers, and even of the Royalists and Malignants, as were inclined to make a formal confession of their former errors. The Royalists readily enough complied with this requisition; but as their pretended repentance was generally regarded as a mere farce, submitted to that they might obtain leave to bear arms for the King, the stricter Presbyterians looked upon this compromise with Malignants as a sinful seeking for help from Egypt. The Presbyterians of the western counties, in particular, carried this opinion so far as to think this period of national distress an auspicious time for disclaiming the King's interest and title. Refusing to allow that the victory of Dunbar was owing to the military skill of Cromwell and the disciplined valor of his troops, they set it down as a chastisement justly inflicted on the Scottish nation for espousing the Royal cause. Under this separate banner there assembled an army of about four thousand men, commanded by Kerr and Strachan. They were resolved, at the same time, to oppose the English invasion, and to fight with the King's forces, and thus embroil the kingdom in a threefold war. The leaders of this third party, who were called Remonstrators, made a smart attack on a large body of English troops, stationed in Hamilton, under General Lambert, and were at first successful; but falling into disorder, owing to their very success, they were ultimately defeated. Kerr, one of their leaders, was wounded, and made prisoner; and Strachan soon afterwards revolted, and joined the English army.

Cromwell, in the mean while, made the fairest promises to all who would listen to him, and labored, not altogether in vain, to impress the rigid Presbyterian party with a

belief, that they had better join with the Independents, although disallowing of church government, and thus obtain peace and a close alliance with England, than adhere to the cause of the King, who, with his father's house, had, he said, been so long the troublers of Israel. And here I may interrupt the course of public events, to tell you an anecdote, not generally known, but curious as illustrating the character of Cromwell.

Shortly after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell visited Glasgow, and on Sunday attended the Presbyterian service in the principal church of that city. The preacher, a rigid Presbyterian, was nothing intimidated by the presence of the English General; but entering freely upon state affairs, which were then a common topic in the pulpit, he preached boldly on the errors and heresies of the Independent Sectaries, insisted on the duty of resisting their doctrines, and even spoke with little respect of the person of Cromwell himself. An officer who sat behind Cromwell whispered something in his ear more than once, and the General as often seemed to impose silence upon him. The curiosity of the congregation was strongly excited. At length the service was ended, and Cromwell was in the act of leaving the church, when he cast his eyes on one Wilson, a mechanic, who had long resided at Glasgow, and called on him by name. The man no sooner saw the General take notice of him than he ran away. Cromwell directed that he should be followed and brought before him, but without injury. At the same time he sent a civil message to the clergyman who had preached, desiring to see him at his quarters. These things augmented the curiosity of the town's people; and when they saw Wilson led as prisoner to the General's apartments, many remained about the door, watching the

result. Wilson soon returned, and joyfully showed his acquaintances some money which the English General had given him to drink his health. His business with Cromwell was easily explained. This man had been son of a footman who had attended James VI. to England. By some accident Wilson had served his apprenticeship to a shoemaker in the same town where Cromwell's father lived, had often played with Master Oliver while they were both children, and had obliged him by making balls and other playthings for him. When Wilson saw that his old companion recognized him, he ran away, because, recollecting his father had been a servant of the Royal family, he thought the General, who was known to have brought the late King to the block, might nourish ill-will against all who were connected with him. But Cromwell had received him kindly, spoken of their childish acquaintance, and gave him some money. The familiarity with which he seemed to treat him, encouraged Wilson to ask his former friend what it was that passed betwixt the officer and him, when the preacher was thundering from the pulpit against the Sectaries and their general. "He called the clergyman an insolent rascal," said Cromwell, not unwilling, perhaps, that his forbearance should be made public, "and asked my leave to pull him out of the pulpit by the ears; and I commanded him to sit still, telling him the minister was one fool, and he another." This anecdote serves to show Cromwell's recollection of persons and faces. He next gave audience to the preacher, and used arguments with him which did not reach the public; but were so convincing, that the minister pronounced a second discourse in the evening, in a tone much mitigated towards Independency and its professors.

While the south of Scotland was overawed, and the

Western Remonstrators were dispersed by Cromwell, the Scottish Parliament, though retired beyond the Forth, still maintained a show of decided opposition. They resolved upon the coronation of Charles, a ceremony hitherto deferred, but which they determined now to perform as a solemn pledge of their resolution to support the constitution and religion of Scotland to the last.

But the melancholy solemnity had been nearly prevented by the absence of the principal personage. Charles, disgusted with the invectives of the Presbyterian clergy, and perhaps remembering the fate of his father at Newcastle, formed a hasty purpose of flying from the Presbyterian camp. He had not been sufficiently aware of the weakness of the Royalists, who recommended this wild step, and he actually went off to the hills. But he found only a few Highlanders at Clova,* without the appearance of an army, which he had promised himself, and was easily induced to return to the camp with a party who had been despatched in pursuit of him.

This excursion, which was called the *Start*, did not greatly tend to increase confidence betwixt the young King and his Presbyterian counsellors. The ceremony
1st January, of the coronation was performed with such so-
1651. lemnities as the time admitted, but mingled with circumstances which must have been highly disgusting to Charles. The confirmation of the Covenant was introduced as an essential part of the solemnity; and the coronation was preceded by a national fast and humiliation,

* The village of Clova is situated in the northern extremity of Forfarshire, near to the source of the South Esk, in a glen of the Grampians, along which that river flows in a southeastward direction for upwards of ten miles, issuing at length into a more open course in the romantic vicinity of Cortachy Castle, a seat of the Earl of Airly.

expressly held on account of the sins of the Royal Family. A suspected hand, that of the Marquis of Argyle, placed an insecure crown on the head of the son,* whose father he had been one of the principal instruments in dethroning.

These were bad omens. But, on the other hand, the King enjoyed more liberty than before; most of the Engagers had resumed their seats in Parliament; and many Royalist officers were received into the army.

Determined at this time not to be tempted to a disadvantageous battle, the King, who assumed the command of the army in person, took up a line in front of Stirling, having in his front the river of Carron. Cromwell approached, but could neither with prudence attack the Scots in their lines, nor find means of inducing them to hazard a battle, unless on great advantage. After the armies had confronted each other for more than a month, Cromwell despatched Colonel Overton into Fife, to turn the left flank of the Scottish army, and intercept their supplies. He was encountered near the town of Inverkeithing by the Scots, commanded by Holborn and Brown. The first of these officers behaved basely, and perhaps treacherously. Brown fought well and bravely, but finally sustaining a total defeat, was made prisoner, and afterwards died of grief.

The situation of the main Scottish army, under Charles

* "Upon that occasion," says Sir Walter Scott, "the King, clad in a prince's robe, walked in procession from the hall of the palace to the church, the spurs, sword of state, sceptre and crown being carried before him by the principal nobility. It was remarkable that upon this occasion the crown was borne by the unhappy Marquis of Argyle, who was put to death in no very legal manner immediately after the Restoration, using upon the scaffold these remarkable words, 'I placed the crown on the King's head, and in reward he brings mine to the block.'"— See *Regalia of Scotland*, Scott's *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, 1884, vol. vii. pp. 309–313.

in person, became hazardous after this defeat, for their position was rendered precarious by the footing which the English obtained in the counties of Fife and Kinross, which enabled them to intercept the King's supplies and communications from the north. In this distressed situation Charles adopted a bold and decisive measure. He resolved to transfer the war from Scotland to England, and suddenly raising his camp, he moved to the south-westward by rapid marches, hoping to rouse his friends in England to arms before Cromwell could overtake him. But the Cavaliers of England were now broken and dispirited, and were, besides, altogether unprepared for this hasty invasion, which seemed rather the effect of despair than the result of deliberate and settled resolution. The Presbyterians, though rather inclined to the Royal cause, were still less disposed to hazard a junction with him until terms of mutual accommodation could be settled. They were divided and uncertain, while the Republicans were resolved and active.

The English militia assembled under Lambert to oppose Charles in front, and Cromwell followed close in his rear, to take every advantage that could offer. The Scots reached without much opposition the city of Worcester, ^{3d Sept.,} where the militia, commanded by Lambert, and ^{1651.} the regular forces under Cromwell, attacked the Royalists with double the number of their forces. Clarendon and other English authors represent the Scottish army as making little resistance. Cromwell, on the contrary, talks of the battle of Worcester, in his peculiar phraseology, as "stiff a business, — a very glorious mercy, — as stiff a contest as he had ever beheld." But, well or ill disputed, the day was totally lost. Three thousand men were slain in the field, ten thousand were taken, and

such of them as survived their wounds, and the horrors of over-crowded jails, were shipped off to the plantations as slaves.

Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and having given sufficient proofs of personal valor, escaped from the field, and concealed himself in obscure retreats, under various disguises. At one time he was obliged to hide himself in the boughs of a spreading oak-tree; hence called the Royal Oak. At another time he rode before a lady, Mrs. Lane, in the quality of a groom; and in this disguise passed through a part of the Parliament forces. After infinite fatigue, many romantic adventures, and the most imminent risk of discovery, he at length escaped by sea,* and for eight years continued to wander from one foreign court to another, a poor, neglected, and insulted adventurer, the claimant of thrones which he seemed destined never to possess.

* Previous to finding a vessel for embarkment, which he at last did at the then obscure fishing village of *Brighthelmstone*, Charles had wandered about in various disguises, or lain in concealment, during a period of five-and-forty days, in which the secret of his life had been intrusted to fifty persons. A report of his death being generally credited, at length happily relaxed the search of his enemies. "It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times," says Clarendon, "that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in these sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions; so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbors, but, upon conference with their friends, could choose fit houses at any distance to repose themselves in security from one end of the kingdom to another, without trusting the hospitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence, upon such occasions, but the persons with whom they were at any time could conduct them to another house of the same affection."—*History*, vol. vi. p. 418. See CLARENDON, vol. vi. pp. 410–426, and *Account of the Preservation of Charles after the battle of Worcester*, drawn up by himself, published by Lord Hailes, 8vo, 1766.

The defeat at Worcester was a death-blow to the resistance of the King's party in Scotland. The Parliament, driven from Stirling to the Highlands, endeavored in vain to assemble new forces. The English troops, after Cromwell's departure, were placed under the command of General Monk, who now began to make a remarkable figure in those times. He was a gentleman of good birth, had been in arms for the King's service, but being made prisoner, had finally embraced the party of the Parliament, and fought for them in Ireland. He was accounted a brave and skilful commander, totally free from the spirit of fanaticism so general in the army of Cromwell, and a man of deep sagacity, and a cold, reserved temper. Under Monk's conduct, seconded by that of Overton, Alured, and other Parliamentary officers, the cities, castles, and fortresses of Scotland were reduced one after another. The partial resistance of the wealthy seaport of Dundee, in particular, was punished with the

1st Sept.,
1651. extremities of fire and sword, so that Montrose, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews became terrified, and surrendered without opposition.*

* "The loss of people in the siege by Monk, and especially on the carnage at the storming of Dundee, appears to have been very great, and cannot be estimated at much less than a sixth part of the whole inhabitants. In this destruction many strangers were involved, those especially who appeared as defenders of the town. The governor, Lumsden, of the family of Invergally in Fife, is said, on the irruption of the English, to have taken possession of the great steeple; and being soon after obliged to surrender at discretion, he and all with him were massacred in the churchyard. In the same place also the two battalions of Lord Duffus's regiment are said to have been slaughtered, and another body suffered the like fate in the square called the Fish Market. No unusual provocation appears to have been given for this severity. On the contrary, Mr. Gumble, General Monk's chaplain and biographer, speaks in high terms of the Governor for his gallant and brave defence. His head was, notwithstanding, cut off, and fixed

The castle of Dunottar, in Kincardineshire, the hereditary fortress of the Earls Marischal, made an honorable defence under George Ogilvy of Barras. It is situated upon a rock, almost separated from the land by a deep ravine on the one side, and overhanging the ocean on the other.* In this strong fortress the Honors of Scotland, as they were called, had been deposited after the battle of Dunbar. These were the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the symbols of Scottish sovereignty, which were regarded by the nation with peculiar veneration. The terror was great lest pledges, with which the national honor was so intimately connected, should fall into the hands of foreign schismatics and republicans. On the other hand, the English, ardently desirous to possess themselves of these trophies (the rather that they had formed a disproportioned idea of their intrinsic value), besieged the castle closely, and blockaded it by sea and land. As their provisions began to fail, the Governor foresaw that further defence must speedily become impossible; and, with the assistance of Mr. Granger, minister of Kinneff, he formed a stratagem for securing the ancient and venerable *regalia* from the dishonor which threatened them. The first preparation was to spread a report, that these national treasures had been carried abroad by Sir John Keith, a younger son of the Earl Marischal, ancestor of the

upon a spike in one of the abutments of the southwest corner of the steeple: and till a few years, when the stone where the spike was inserted fell down, the remains of it were observable. The same indignity appears also to have been done to others. It is a tradition here, that the carnage did not cease till the third day, when a child was seen in a lane, called the Thorter Row, sucking its murdered mother." — Dr. SMALL, *Statistical Account* (1793), vol. viii. p. 209 — 212.

* On the eastern coast, nigh to the town of Stonehaven, and seventeen miles south of Aberdeen.

family of Kintore. Mrs. Granger, the minister's wife, was the principal agent in the subsequent part of the scheme. Having obtained of the English General the permission to bring out of the castle some *hards* (or bundles) of lint, which she said was her property, she had the courage and address to conceal the regalia within the hards of lint, and carried them boldly through the English camp, at the risk of much ill-usage, had she been discovered in an attempt to deprive the greedy soldiery of their prey. Mrs. Granger played her part so boldly, that she imposed on the General himself, who courteously saluted her, and helped her to mount on horseback as she left the encampment, little guessing with what a valuable part of his expected booty she was loaded. Arriving with her precious charge at Kinneff, the minister buried the relics of royalty under the pulpit of his church, and visited them from time to time, in order to wrap them in fresh packages, and preserve them from injury. Suspicion attached to the Governor of Dunottar; and when the castle was finally surrendered, for want of provisions, he was rigorously dealt with, imprisoned, and even tortured, to make him discover where the regalia were concealed. His lady, who had been active in the stratagem, was subjected to similar severities, as were also the minister of Kinneff and his courageous spouse. All, however, persisted in keeping the secret. Rewards were distributed, after the Restoration, to those who had been concerned in saving the honors, but they do not appear to have been very accurately accommodated to the merits of the parties. Sir John Keith, whose name had only been used in the transaction as a blind, to put the English on a wrong scent, was created Earl of Kintore, and Ogilvy was made a baronet; but the courageous minister, with

his heroic wife, were only rewarded with a pension in money.*

The towns and castles of Scotland being thus reduced, the national resistance was confined to a petty warfare, carried on by small bands, who lurked among the mountains and morasses, and took every advantage which these afforded to annoy the English troops, and cut off small parties, or straggling soldiers. These were called Moss-troopers, from a word formerly appropriated to the freebooters of the Border. But the English, who observed a most rigid discipline, were not much in danger of suffering from such desultory efforts; and as they seldom spared the prisoners taken in the skirmishes, the Scots found themselves obliged to submit, for the first time, to an invader more fortunate than all the preceding rulers of England. Their resistance ceased, but their hatred watched for a safer opportunity of vengeance. The Highlanders, however, being strong in the character of the country and its inhabitants, continued refractory to the English authority, and if the soldiery ventured to go through the country alone, or in small parties, they were sure to be surprised and slain, without its being possible to discover the actors. The English officers endeavored to obtain from the neighboring chiefs, who pretended complete ignorance of these transactions, such redress as the case admitted of, but their endeavors were in general ingeniously eluded.

For example, an English garrison had lost cattle, horses, and even men, by the incursion of a Highland clan who had their residence in the neighboring mountains, so that the incensed governor demanded peremptorily that the actors of these depredations should be delivered up to

* See Regalia of Scotland, Prose Works, vol. vii. pp. 320 - 338.

him to suffer punishment. The chief was in no condition to resist, but was not the less unwilling to deliver up the men actually concerned in the *creagh*, who were probably the boldest, or, as it was then termed, the *prettiest*, men of his name. To get easily out of the dilemma, he is said to have selected two or three old creatures, past all military service, whom he sent down to the English commandant, as if they had been the caterans, or plunderers, whom he wanted. The English officer caused them instantly to be hanged *in terrorem*, which was done accordingly, no protestations which they might make of their innocence being understood or attended to. It is to be hoped that other refractory chiefs found more justifiable means of preserving their authority.

In the mean time, Oliver Cromwell accomplished an extraordinary revolution in England, which I can here but barely touch upon. He and his council of officers, who had so often offered violence to the Parliament, by excluding from the sittings such members as were obnoxious to them, now resolved altogether to destroy the very remnant of this body. For this purpose Cromwell came to the house while it was sitting, told them, in a violent manner, that they were no longer a Parliament, and, upbraiding several individuals with injurious names, he called in a body of soldiers, and commanded one of them to "take away that bauble," meaning the silver mace, which is an emblem of the authority of the House. Then, turning the members forcibly out of the hall, he locked the doors, and thus dissolved that memorable body, which had made war against the King, defeated, dethroned, and beheaded him, yet sunk at once under the authority of one of their own members, and an officer of their own naming, who had, in the beginning of these struggles, been regarded as a man

of very mean consideration. Oliver Cromwell now seized the supreme power into his hands, with the title of Protector of the Republics of Great Britain and Ireland, under which he governed these islands till his death, with authority more ample than was ever possessed by any of their lawful monarchs.

The confusion which the usurpation of Cromwell was expected to have occasioned in England, determined the Royalists to attempt a general rising, in which it was expected that great part of the Highland chieftains would join. The successes of Montrose were remembered, although it seems to have been forgotten that it was more his own genius, than his means, that enabled him to attain them. The Earl of Glencairn was placed by the King's commission at the head of the insurrection; he was joined by the Earl of Athole, by the son of the heroic Montrose, by Lord Lorn, the son of the Marquis of Argyle, and other nobles. A romantic young English cavalier, named Wogan, joined this insurgent army at the head of a body of eighty horse, whom he brought by a toilsome and dangerous march through England and the Lowlands of Scotland. This gallant troop was frequently engaged with the Republican forces and particularly with a horse regiment, called "the Brazen Wall," from their never having been broken. Wogan defeated, however, a party of these invincibles, but received several wounds, which, though not at first mortal, became so for want of good surgeons; and thus in an obscure skirmish, ended the singular career of an enthusiastic Royalist.

The army under Glencairn increased to five thousand men, numbers much greater than Montrose usually commanded. Their leader, however, though a brave and accomplished nobleman, seems to have been deficient in

military skill, or at any rate, in the art of securing the good-will and obedience of the various chiefs and nobles who acted under him. It was in vain that Charles, to reconcile their feuds, sent over, as their commander-in-chief, General Middleton, who, after having fought against Montrose in the cause of the Covenant, had at length become an entire Royalist, and was trusted as such. But his military talents were not adequate to surmount the objections which were made to his obscure origin, and the difficulties annexed to his situation.

General Middleton met with but an indifferent welcome from the Highland army, as the following scene, which took place at an entertainment given by him on taking the command, will show. Glencairn had spoken something in praise of the men he had assembled for the King's service, especially the Highlanders. In reply, up started Sir George Munro, an officer of some reputation, but of a haughty and brutal temper, and who, trained in the wars of Germany, despised all irregular troops, and flatly swore that the men of whom the Earl thus boasted, were a pack of thieves and robbers, whose place he hoped to supply with very different soldiers. Glengarry, a Highland chief, who was present, arose to resent this insolent language; but Glencairn, preventing him, replied to Munro, "You are a base liar! — these men are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen and brave soldiers."

In spite of Middleton's attempts to preserve peace, this altercation led to a duel. They fought on horseback, first with pistols, and then with broadswords. Sir George Munro, having received a wound on the bridle-hand, called to the Earl that he was unable to command his horse, and therefore desired to continue the contest on

foot. "You base churl," answered Glencairn, "I will match you either on foot or on horseback." Both dismounted, and encountered fiercely on foot, with their broadswords, when Munro received a wound across his forehead, from which the blood flowed so fast into his eyes that he could not see to continue the combat. Glencairn was about to thrust his enemy through the body, when the Earl's servant struck up the point of his master's sword, saying, "You have enough of him, my Lord, — you have gained the day." Glencairn, still in great anger, struck the intrusive peacemaker across the shoulders, but returned to his quarters, where he was shortly after laid under arrest, by order of the General.

Ere this quarrel was composed, one Captain Livingstone, a friend of Munro's, debated the justice of the question betwixt the leaders so keenly with a gentleman, named Lindsay, that they must needs fight a duel also, in which Lindsay killed Livingstone on the spot. General Middleton, in spite of Glencairn's intercessions, ordered Lindsay to be executed by martial law, on which Glencairn left the army with his own immediate followers, and soon after returning to the Lowlands, made peace with the English. His example was followed by most of the Lowland nobles, who grew impatient of long marches, Highland quarters, and obscure skirmishes, which were followed by no important result.

Middleton still endeavored to keep the war alive, though Cromwell had sent additional forces into the Highlands. At length he sustained a defeat at Loch-Gary, 26th July, 1654, after which his army dispersed, and he himself retired abroad. The English forces then marched through the Highlands, and compelled the principal clans to submit to the authority of the Protector. And here

I may give you an account of one individual chieftain, of great celebrity at that time, since you will learn better the character of that primitive race of men from personal anecdotes, than from details of obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronounceable names.

Evan Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the numerous and powerful clan of Cameron, was born in 1629. He was called MacConnuill Dhu (the son of Black Donald), from the patronymic that marked his descent, and Evan Dhu, or Black Evan, a personal epithet derived from his own complexion. Young Lochiel was bred up under the directions of the Marquis of Argyle, and was in attendance on that nobleman, who regarded him as a hostage for the peaceable behavior of his clan. It is said that in the civil war the young chief was converted to the side of the King by the exhortations of Sir Robert Spottiswood, then in prison at St. Andrews, and shortly afterwards executed, as we have elsewhere noticed, for his adherence to Montrose.

Evan Dhu, having embraced these principles, was one of the first to join in the insurrection of 1652, of which I have just given a short account. During the best part of two years he was always, with his clan, in the very front of battle, and behaved gallantly in the various skirmishes which took place. He was compelled, however, on one occasion, to withdraw from the main body, on learning that the English were approaching Lochaber, with the purpose of laying waste the country of Lochiel. He hastened thither to protect his own possessions, and those of his clan.

On returning to his estates, Lochiel had the mortification to find that the English had established a garrison at Inverlochry, with the purpose of reducing to submission

the Royalist clans in the neighborhood, particularly his own and the MacDonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch. He resolved to keep a strict watch on their proceedings, and dismissing the rest of his followers, whom he had not the means of maintaining without attracting attention to his motions, he lay in the woods with about fifty chosen men, within a few miles of Inverlochy.

It was the constant policy of Cromwell and his officers, both in Ireland and Scotland, to cut down and destroy the forests in which the insurgent natives found places of defence and concealment. In conformity with this general rule, the commandant of Inverlochy embarked three hundred men in two light-armed vessels, with directions to disembark at a place called Achdalew, for the purpose of destroying Lochiel's cattle and felling his woods. Lochiel, who watched their motions closely, saw the English soldiers come ashore, one half having hatchets and other tools as a working party, the other half under arms, to protect their operations. Though the difference of numbers was so great, the chieftain vowed that he would make the red soldier (so the English were called from their uniform) pay dear for every bullock or tree which he should destroy on the black soldier's property (alluding to the dark color of the tartan, and perhaps to his own complexion). He then demanded of some of his followers who had served under Montrose, whether they had ever seen the Great Marquis encounter with such unequal numbers. They answered, they could recollect no instance of such temerity. "We will fight, nevertheless," said Evan Dhu, "and if each of us kill a man, which is no mighty matter, I will answer for the event." That his family might not be destroyed in so doubtful an enterprise, he ordered his brother Allan to be bound to a tree, mean-

ing to prevent his interference in the conflict. But Allan prevailed on a little boy, who was left to attend him, to unloose the cords, and was soon as deep in the fight as Evan himself.

The Camerons, concealed by the trees, advanced so close on the enemy as to pour on them an unexpected and destructive shower of shot and arrows, which slew thirty men; and ere they could recover from their surprise, the Highlanders were in the midst of them, laying about them with incredible fury with their ponderous swords and axes. After a gallant resistance, the mass of the English began to retire towards their vessels, when Evan Dhu commanded a piper and a small party to go betwixt the enemy and their barks, and then sound his pibroch and war-cry, till their clamor made it seem that there was another body of Highlanders in ambush to cut off their retreat. The English, driven to fury and despair by this new alarm, turned back, like brave men, upon the first assailants, and if the working party had possessed military weapons, Lochiel might have had little reason to congratulate himself on the result of this audacious stratagem.

He himself had a personal rencontre, strongly characteristic of the ferocity of the times. The chief was singled out by an English officer of great personal strength, and as they were separated from the general strife, they fought in single combat for some time. Lochiel was dexterous enough to disarm the Englishman; but his gigantic adversary suddenly closed on him, and in the struggle which ensued both fell to the ground, the officer uppermost. He was in the act of grasping at his sword, which had fallen near the place where they lay in deadly struggle, and was naturally extending his neck in the same direction,

when the Highland chief, making a desperate effort, grasped his enemy by the collar, and snatching with his teeth at the bare and outstretched throat, he seized it as a wildcat might have done, and kept his hold so fast as to tear out the windpipe. The officer died in this singular manner. Lochiel was so far from disowning, or being ashamed of this extraordinary mode of defence, that he was afterwards heard to say, it was the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted.

When Lochiel, thus extricated from the most imminent danger, was able to rejoin his men, he found they had not only pursued the English to the beach, but even into the sea, cutting and stabbing whomever they could overtake. He himself advanced till he was chin-deep, and observing a man on board one of the armed vessels take aim at him with a musket, he dived under the water, escaping so narrowly that the bullet grazed his head. Another marksman was foiled by the affection of the chief's foster-brother, who threw himself betwixt the Englishman and the object of his aim, and was killed by the ball designed for his lord.

Having cut off a second party who ventured to sally from the fort, and thus, as he thought, sufficiently chastised the garrison of Inverlochy, Lochiel again joined Middleton, but was soon recalled to Lochaber by new acts of devastation. Leaving most of his men with the Royalist general, Evan Dhu returned with such speed and secrecy, that he again surprised a strong party when in the act of felling his woods, and assaulting them suddenly, killed on the spot a hundred men, and all the officers, driving the rest up to the very walls of the garrison.

Middleton's army being disbanded, it was long ere Lochiel could bring himself to accept of peace from the hands of the English. He continued to harass them by

attacks on detached parties who straggled from the fort, — on the officers who went out into the woods in hunting parties, — on the engineer officers who were sent to survey the Highlands, of whom he made a large party prisoners, and confined them in a desolate island, on a small lake called Loch Ortuigg. By such exploits he rendered himself so troublesome, that the English were desirous to have peace with him on any moderate terms. Their overtures were at first rejected, Evan Dhu returning for answer, that he would not abjure the King's authority, even though the alternative was to be his living and dying in the condition of an exile and outlaw. But when it was hinted to him that no express renunciation of the King's authority would be required, and that he was only desired to live in peace under the existing government, the chief made his submission to the existing powers with much solemnity.

Lochiel came down on this occasion at the head of his whole clan in arms, to the garrison of Inverlochy. The English forces being drawn up in a line opposite to them, the Camerons laid down their arms in the name of King Charles, and took them up again in that of the States, without any mention of Cromwell, or any disowning of the King's authority. In consequence of this honorable treaty, the last Scotsman who maintained the cause of Charles Stuart submitted to the authority of the republic.

It is related of this remarkable chieftain, that he slew with his own hand the last wolf that was ever seen in the Highlands of Scotland. Tradition records another anecdote of him. Being benighted, on some party for the battle or the chase, Evan Dhu laid himself down with his followers to sleep in the snow. As he composed himself to rest he observed that one of his sons, or nephews,

had rolled together a great snow-ball, on which he deposited his head. Indignant at what he considered as a mark of effeminacy, he started up and kicked the snow-ball from under the sleeper's head, exclaiming: "Are you become so luxurious that you cannot sleep without a pillow?"

After the accession of James II., Lochiel came to court to obtain pardon for one of his clan, who, being in command of a party of Camerons, had fired by mistake on a body of Athole men, and killed several. He was received with the most honorable distinction, and his request granted. The King desiring to make him a knight, asked the chieftain for his own sword, in order to render the ceremony still more peculiar. Lochiel had ridden up from Scotland, being then the only mode of travelling, and a constant rain had so rusted his trusty broadsword, that at the moment no man could have unsheathed it. Lochiel, affronted at the idea which the courtiers might conceive from his not being able to draw his own sword, burst into tears.

"Do not regard it, my faithful friend," said King James, with ready courtesy, "your sword would have left the scabbard of itself, had the Royal cause required it."

With that he bestowed the intended honor with his own sword, which he presented to the new knight as soon as the ceremony was performed.

Sir Evan Dhu supported the cause of the Stuart family, for the last time, and with distinguished heroism, in the battle of Killiecrankie. After that civil strife was ended, he grew old in peace, and survived until 1719, aged about ninety, and so much deprived of his strength and faculties, that this once formidable warrior was fed like an infant, and like an infant rocked in a cradle.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC JUSTICE IN SCOTLAND UNDER CROMWELL — HEAVY TAXES IMPOSED BY HIM — CHURCH AFFAIRS — RESOLUTIONISTS AND REMONSTRATORS — TRIALS FOR WITCHCRAFT.

[1655 — 1658.]

WE will now take a general glance of Scotland, reduced as the country was to temporary submission under Cromwell, whose power there and elsewhere was founded upon military usurpation only. He built strong citadels at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Glasgow. Eighteen garrisons were maintained throughout the kingdom, and a standing army of ten thousand men kept the country in subjection. Monk, so often mentioned, commanded this army, and was, besides, member of a Council of State, to whom the executive government was committed. Lord Broghill was President of this body, and out of nine members, two only, Swinton and Lockhart, were natives of Scotland.

To regulate the administration of public justice, four English, and three Scottish judges, were appointed to hear causes, and to make circuits for that purpose. The English judges, it may be supposed, were indifferently versed in the law of Scotland; but they distributed justice with an impartiality to which the Scottish nation had been entirely a stranger, and which ceased to be expe-

rienced from the native judges after the Restoration. The peculiar rectitude of the men employed by Cromwell being pointed out to a learned judge, in the beginning of the next century, his Lordship composedly answered, "Devil thank them for their impartiality! a pack of kinless loons,—for my part, I can never see a cousin or friend in the wrong."

This shameful partiality in the Scottish courts of justice revived, as just noticed, with the Restoration, when the judges were to be gained, not only by the solicitation of private friends, and by the influence of kinsfolk, but by the interference of persons in power, and the application of downright bribery.*

In point of taxation, Oliver Cromwell's Scottish government was intolerably oppressive, since he appears to have screwed out of that miserable country an assessment of £ 10,000 per month, which, even when gradually diminished to £ 72,000 yearly, was paid with the utmost difficulty. Some alleviation was indeed introduced by the circulation of the money with which England paid her soldiers and civil establishment, which was at one time calculated at half a million yearly, and was never beneath the moiety of that sum.

With regard to the Presbyterian Church, Cromwell prudently foresaw that the importance of the preachers would gradually diminish if they were permitted to abuse each other, but prevented from stirring up their congrega-

* "The Court of Session was at times so corrupt, that, in the public opinion, the rich had never occasion to lose their cause; at times so venal, that money was notoriously dispensed to purchase the votes on the bench. Personal solicitation was not disused till a later period; and it is observed that nothing contributed more to the early authority which the clergy acquired than their popular invectives against the partial or venal decrees of the bench." — LAING, vol. i. p. 449.

tions to arms. They continued to be rent asunder by the recent discord which had followed upon the King's death. The majority were Resolutionists, who owned the King's title, and would not be prohibited from praying for him at any risk. The Remonstrants, who had never been able to see any sufficient reason for embracing the cause, or acknowledging the right of Charles the Second, yielded obedience to the English government, and disowned all notice of the King in their public devotions. The Independents treated both with contemptuous indifference, and only imposed on them the necessity of observing toleration towards each other.

But, though divided into different classes, Presbyterianism continued on the whole predominant. The temper of the Scottish nation seemed altogether indisposed to receive any of the various sects which had proved so prolific in England. The quiet and harmless Quakers were the only sectaries who gained some proselytes of distinction. Independents of other denominations made small progress, owing to the vigilance with which the Presbyterian clergy maintained the unity of the Church.

Even Cromwell was compelled to show deference to the prevailing opinions in favor of Presbytery in Scotland, though contrary to his principles as an Independent. He named a commission of about thirty ministers from the class of Remonstrators, and declared that, without certificates from three or four of these select persons, no minister, though he might be called to a church, should enjoy a stipend. This put the keys of the Church (so far as emolument was concerned) entirely into the hands of the Presbyterians; and it may be presumed that such of the commissioners as acted (for many declined the office, thinking the duties of the Ecclesiastical Commission too

much resembled the domination of Episcopacy) took care to admit no minister whose opinions did not coincide with their own. The sectaries who were concerned in civil affairs were also thwarted and contemned; and on the whole, in spite of the victories of the Independents in the field, their doctrines made little progress in Scotland.

During the four years which ensued betwixt the final cessation of the Civil War, by the dispersion of the Royalist army, and the Restoration of Monarchy, there occurred no public event worthy of notice. The spirit of the country was depressed and broken. The nobles, who hitherto had yielded but imperfect obedience to their native monarchs, were now compelled to crouch under the rod of an English usurper.* Most of them retired to their country-seats, or castles, and lived in obscurity, enjoying such limited dominion over their vassals as the neighborhood of the English garrisons permitted them to retain. These, of course, precluded all calling of the people at arms, and exercise of the privilege, on the part of the barons, of making open war on each other.

Thus far the subjection of the country was of advantage to the tenantry and lower classes, who enjoyed more peace and tranquillity during this period of national subjugation, than had been their lot during the civil wars. But

* "During the usurpation of Cromwell," says Laing, "the history of Scotland is suspended and almost entirely silent. Its historians seem to avert their eyes from a period of ignominious, yet not intolerable servitude; but the silence ascribed to their vexation and shame may be better explained by the inglorious state to which the nation was reduced. As the origin, and as an active confederate, it maintained a distinguished character during the civil wars; but its importance was lost and its independence extinguished, when incorporated by a compulsive union with England. As the nation had no share in the naval expeditions and triumphs of Cromwell, its external history ceased with its government." — *History*, vol. i. p. 435.

the weight of oppressive taxes, collected by means of a foreign soldiery, and the general sense of degradation, arising from the rule of a foreign power, counterbalanced, for the time, the diminution of feudal oppression.

In the absence of other matter, I may here mention a subject which is interesting, as peculiarly characteristic of the manners of Scotland. I mean the frequent recurrence of prosecutions for witchcraft, which distinguishes this period.

Scripture refers more than once to the existence of witches; and though divines have doubted concerning their nature and character, yet most European nations have, during the darker periods of their history, retained in their statutes laws founded upon the text of Exodus: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."* The Reformers, although rejecting the miracles of the Catholic Church, retained with tenacity the belief of the existence of such sorceresses, and zealously enforced the penalties against all unfortunate creatures whom they believed to fall under the description of witches, wizards, or the like. The increase of general information and common sense, has, at a later period, occasioned the annulling of those cruel laws in most countries of Europe. It has been judiciously thought, that, since the Almighty has ceased to manifest his own power, by direct and miraculous suspension of the ordinary laws of nature, it is inconsistent to suppose

* "In the Law of Moses, dictated by the Divinity himself, was announced a text, which as interpreted literally, having been inserted into the criminal code of all Christian nations, has occasioned much cruelty and bloodshed, either from its tenor being misunderstood, or that, being exclusively calculated for the Israelites, it made part of the judicial Mosaic dispensation, and was abrogated, like the greater part of that law, by the more benign and clement dispensation of the Gospel." — SIR W. SCOTT, *Letters on Demonology*, p. 52.

that evil spirits should be left at liberty in the present day to form a league with wretched mortals, and impart to them supernatural powers of injuring or tormenting others. And the truth of this reasoning has been proved by the general fact, that where the laws against witchcraft have been abolished, witches are rarely heard of or thought of, even amongst the lowest vulgar.

But in the seventeenth century the belief in this imaginary crime was general, and the prosecutions, especially in Scotland, were very frequent. James VI, who often turned the learning he had acquired to a very idle use, was at the trouble to write a treatise against witchcraft, as he composed another against smoking tobacco; and the Presbyterian clergy, however little apt to coincide with that monarch's sentiments, gave full acceptance to his opinion on the first point of doctrine, and very many persons were put to death as guilty of this imaginary crime.

I must, however, observe, that some of those executed for witchcraft well deserved their fate. Impostors of both sexes were found, who deluded credulous persons, by pretending an intercourse with supernatural powers, and furnished those who consulted them with potions, for the purpose of revenging themselves on their enemies, which were in fact poisonous compounds, sure to prove fatal to those who partook of them.

Among many other instances, I may mention that of a lady of high rank, the second wife of a northern earl, who, being desirous of destroying her husband's eldest son by the former marriage, in order that her own son might succeed to the father's title and estate, procured drugs to effect her purpose from a Highland woman, who pretended to be a witch or sorceress. The fatal ingredi-

ents were mixed with ale, and set aside by the wicked countess, to be given to her victim on the first fitting opportunity. But Heaven disappointed her purpose, and, at the same time, inflicted on her a dreadful punishment. Her own son, for whose advantage she meditated this horrible crime, returning fatigued and thirsty from hunting, lighted by chance on this fatal cup of liquor, drank it without hesitation, and died in consequence. The wretched mixer of the poison was tried and executed; but, although no one could be sorry that the agent in such a deed was brought to punishment, it is clear she deserved death, not as a witch, but as one who was an accomplice in murder by poison.

But most of the poor creatures who suffered death for witchcraft were aged persons, usually unprotected females, living alone, in a poor and miserable condition, and disposed, from the peevishness of age and infirmity, to rail against or desire evil, in their froward humor, to neighbors by whom they were abused or slighted. When such unhappy persons had unwittingly given vent to impotent anger in bad wishes or imprecations, if a child fell sick, a horse became lame, a bullock died, or any other misfortune chanced in the family against which the ill-will had been expressed, it subjected the utterer instantly to the charge of witchcraft, and was received by judges and jury as a strong proof of guilt. If, in addition to this, the miserable creature had, by the oddity of her manners, the crossness of her temper, the habit of speaking to herself, or any other signs of the dotage which attends comfortless old age and poverty, attracted the suspicions of her credulous neighbors, she was then said to have been held and reputed a witch, and was rarely permitted to escape being burnt to death at the stake.

It was equally fatal for an aged person of the lower ranks, if, as was frequently the case, she conceived herself to possess any peculiar receipt or charm for curing diseases, either by the application of medicines, of which she had acquired the secret, or by repeating words, or using spells and charms, which the superstition of the time supposed to have the power of relieving maladies that were beyond the skill of medical practitioners.

Such a person was accounted a *white* witch; one, that is, who employed her skill for the benefit, not the harm, of her fellow-creatures. But still she was a sorceress, and, as such, was liable to be brought to the stake. A doctress of this kind was equally exposed to a like charge whether her patient died or recovered; and she was, according to circumstances, condemned for using sorcery whether to cure or to kill. Her allegation that she had received the secret from family tradition, or from any other source, was not admitted as a defence; and she was doomed to death with as little hesitation for having attempted to cure by mysterious and unlawful means, as if she had been charged, as in the instance already given, with having assisted to commit murder.

The following example of such a case is worthy of notice. It rests on tradition, but is very likely to be true. An eminent English judge was travelling the circuit, when an old woman was brought before him for using a spell to cure dimness of sight, by hanging a clew of yarn round the neck of the patient. Marvellous things were told by the witnesses, of the cures which this spell had performed on patients far beyond the reach of ordinary medicine. The poor woman made no other defence than by protesting, that if there was any witchcraft in the ball of yarn, she knew nothing of it. It had been given her,

she said, thirty years before, by a young Oxford student, for the cure of one of her own family, who having used it with advantage for a disorder in her eyes, she had seen no harm in lending it for the relief of others who labored under similar infirmity, or in accepting a small gratuity for doing so. Her defence was little attended to by the jury; but the judge was much agitated. He asked the woman where she resided when she obtained possession of this valuable relic. She gave the name of a village, in which she had in former times kept a petty alehouse. He then looked at the clew very earnestly, and at length addressed the jury. "Gentlemen," he said, "we are on the point of committing a great injustice to this poor old woman; and to prevent it, I must publicly confess a piece of early folly, which does me no honor. At the time this poor creature speaks of, I was at college, leading an idle and careless life, which, had I not been given grace to correct it, must have made it highly improbable that ever I should have attained my present situation. I chanced to remain for a day and night in this woman's alehouse, without having money to discharge my reckoning. Not knowing what to do, and seeing her much occupied with a child who had weak eyes, I had the meanness to pretend that I could write out a spell that would mend her daughter's sight, if she would accept it instead of her bill. The ignorant woman readily agreed; and I scrawled some figures on a piece of parchment, and added two lines of nonsensical doggerel, in ridicule of her credulity, and caused her to make it up in that clew which has so nearly cost her her life. To prove the truth of this, let the yarn be unwound, and you may judge of the efficacy of the spell." The clew was unwound accordingly; and the following pithy couplet was found on the enclosed bit of parchment: —

“The Devil scratch out both thine eyes,
And spit into the holes likewise.”

It was evident that those who were cured by such a spell, must have been indebted to nature, with some assistance, perhaps, from imagination. But the users of such charms were not always so lucky as to light upon the person who drew them up; and doubtless many innocent and unfortunate creatures were executed, as the poor alewife would have been, had she not lighted upon her former customer in the unexpected character of her judge.

Another old woman is said to have cured many cattle of the murrain, by a repetition of a certain verse. The fee which she required, was a loaf of bread and a silver penny; and when she was commanded to reveal the magical verses which wrought such wonders, they were found to be the following jest on the credulity of her customers:

“My loaf in my lap, and my penny in my purse,
Thou art never the better, and I never the worse.”

It was not medicine only which witchery was supposed to mingle with; but any remarkable degree of dexterity in an art or craft, whether attained by skill or industry, subjected those who possessed it to similar suspicion. Thus it was a dangerous thing to possess more thriving cows than those of the neighborhood, though their superiority was attained merely by paying greater attention to feeding and cleaning the animals. It was often an article of suspicion that a woman had spun considerably more thread than her less laborious neighbors chose to think could be accomplished by ordinary industry; and, to crown these absurdities, a yeoman of the town of Malling, in Kent, was accused before a justice of peace as a sorcerer, because he used more frequently than his com-

panions to hit the mark which he aimed at. This dexterity, and some idle story of the archer's amusing himself with letting a fly hum and buzz around him, convinced the judge, that the poor man's skill in his art was owing to the assistance of some imp of Satan. So he punished the marksman severely, to the great encouragement of archery, and as a wise example to all justices of the peace.

Other charges, the most ridiculous and improbable, were brought against those suspected of witchcraft. They were supposed to have power, by going through some absurd and impious ceremony, to summon to their presence the Author of Evil, who appeared in some mean or absurd shape, and, in return for the invokers renouncing their redemption, gave them the power of avenging themselves on their enemies; which privilege, with that of injuring and teasing their fellow-creatures, was almost all they gained from their new master. Sometimes, indeed, they were said to obtain from him the power of flying through the air on broomsticks, when the Foul Fiend gave public parties; and the accounts given of the ceremonies practised on such occasions are equally disgusting and vulgar, totally foreign to any idea we can have of a spiritual nature, and only fit to be invented and believed by the most ignorant and brutal of the human species.

Another of these absurdities was, the belief that the evil spirits would attend if they were invoked with certain profane and blasphemous ceremonies, such as reading the Lord's Prayer backwards, or the like; and would then tell the future fortunes of those who had *raised* them, as it was called, or inform them what was become of articles which had been lost or stolen. Stories are told of such exploits by grave authors, which are to the full as ridicu-

lous, and indeed more so, than anything that is to be found in fairy tales, invented for the amusement of children. And for all this incredible nonsense, unfortunate creatures were imprisoned, tortured, and finally burnt alive, by the sentence of their judges.

It is strange to find, that the persons accused of this imaginary crime in most cases paved the way for their own condemnation, by confessing and admitting the truth of all the monstrous absurdities which were charged against them by their accusers. This may surprise you ; but yet it can be accounted for.

Many of these poor creatures were crazy, and infirm in mind as well as body ; and, hearing themselves charged with such monstrous enormities by those whom they accounted wise and learned, became half persuaded of their own guilt, and assented to all the nonsensical questions which were put to them. But this was not all. Very many made these confessions under the influence of torture, which was applied to them with cruel severity.

It is true, the ordinary courts of justice in Scotland had not the power of examining criminals under torture, a privilege which was reserved for the Privy Council. But this was a slight protection ; for witches were seldom tried before the ordinary Criminal Courts, because the judges and lawyers, though they could not deny the existence of a crime for which the law had assigned a punishment, yet showed a degree of incredulity respecting witchcraft, which was supposed frequently to lead to the escape of those accused of this unpopular crime, when in the management of professional persons. To avoid the ordinary jurisdiction of the Justiciary, and other regular criminal jurisdictions, the trial of witchcraft in the provinces was usually brought before commissioners appointed

by the Privy Council. These commissioners were commonly country gentlemen and clergymen, who, from ignorance on the one side, misdirected learning on the other, and bigotry on both, were as eager in the prosecution as the vulgar could desire.* By their commission they had the power of torture, and employed it unscrupulously, usually calling in to their assistance a witch-finder; a fellow, that is, who made money by pretending to have peculiar art and excellence in discovering these offenders, and who sometimes undertook to rid a parish or township of witches at so much a head, as if they had been foxes, wild-cats, or other vermin. These detestable impostors directed the process of the torture, which frequently consisted in keeping the aged and weary beings from sleep, and compelling them to walk up and down their prison, whenever they began to close their eyes, and in running needles into their flesh, under pretence of discovering a mark, which the witch-finders affirmed the Devil had impressed on their skin, in token that they were his property and subjects.† It is no wonder that wretched creatures,

* "These instances afford," says Arnot, "a sufficient specimen of the mode of prosecution against the multitude of miserable persons who were sacrificed at the altar of the Fatal Sisters, — Ignorance, Superstition, and Cruelty. But it is impossible to form an estimate of the numbers of the victims. For not only the Lords of Justiciary, but bailies of regalities, sheriffs of counties, and the endless tribe of commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, and sometimes by Parliament, officiated as the priests who dragged the victims to the altar. There is an instance of the Council, at one sederunt, granting *fourteen separate Commissions to take trial of witches.*" — *Criminal Trials*, p. 386.

† "Such the *ordinary* treatment of a witch. But if the prisoner was endued with uncommon fortitude, other methods were used to extort confession. *The boots, the caspieclaws, and the piniewinks*, engines for torturing the legs, the arms, and the fingers, were applied to either sex; and that with such violence, that sometimes the blood

driven mad by pain and want of sleep, confessed anything whatever to obtain a moment's relief, though they were afterwards to die for it.

But besides the imbecility of such victims, and the torture to which they were subjected, shame and weariness of life often caused their pleading guilty to accusations in themselves absurd and impossible. You must consider, that the persons accused of witchcraft were almost always held guilty by the public and by their neighbors, and that if the Court scrupled to condemn them, it was a common thing for the mob to take the execution into their own hands, and duck the unhappy wretches to death, or otherwise destroy them. The fear of such a fate might determine many of the accused, even though they were in their sound mind, and unconstrained by bodily torture, to plead guilty at once, and rather lose their wretched life by the sentence of the law, than expose themselves to the fury of the prejudiced multitude. A singular story is told to this effect.

An old woman and her daughter were tried as witches at Haddington. The principal evidence of the crime was, that though miserably poor, the two females had contrived to look "fresh and fair," during the progress of a terrible famine, which reduced even the better classes to straits, and brought all indigent people to the point of starving; while, during the universal distress, these two women lived on in their usual way, and never either begged for assistance or seemed to suffer by the general calamity. The jury were perfectly satisfied that this could not take place by any natural means; and, as the accused persons,

would have spouted from the limbs; loading with heavy irons, and whipping with cords, till the skin and flesh were torn from the bones, have also been the adopted methods of torment." — ARNOT, p. 368.

on undergoing the discipline of one Kincaid, a witch-finder, readily admitted all that was asked about their intercourse with the Devil, the jury, on their confession, brought them in guilty of witchcraft without hesitation.

The King's Advocate for the time (I believe Sir George Mackenzie is named) was sceptical on the subject of witchcraft. He visited the women in private, and urged them to tell the real truth. They continued at first to maintain the story they had given in their confession. But the Advocate, perceiving them to be women of more sense than ordinary, urged upon them the crime of being accessory to their own death, by persisting in accusing themselves of impossibilities, and promised them life and protection, providing they would unfold the true secret which they used for their subsistence. The poor women looked wistfully on each other, like people that were in perplexity. At length, the mother said, "You are very good, my lord, and I dare say your power is very great, but you cannot be of use to my daughter and me. If you were to set us at liberty from the bar, you could not free us from the suspicion of being witches. As soon as we return to our hut, we shall be welcomed by the violence and abuse of all our neighbors, who, if they do not beat our brains out, or drown us on the spot, will retain hatred and malice against us, which will be shown on every occasion, and make our life so miserable, that we have made up our minds to prefer death at once."

"Do not be afraid of your neighbors," said the Advocate. "If you will trust your secret with me, I will take care of you for the rest of your lives, and send you to an estate of mine in the north, where nobody can know anything of your history, and where, indeed, the people's ideas are such, that, if they even thought you witches,

they would rather regard you with fear and respect than hatred."

The women, moved by his promises, told him that, if he would cause to be removed an old empty trunk which stood in the corner of their hut, and dig the earth where he saw it had been stirred, he would find the secret by means of which they had been supported through the famine; protesting to Heaven, at the same time, that they were totally innocent of any unlawful arts, such as had been imputed to them, and which they had confessed in their despair. Sir George Mackenzie hastened to examine the spot, and found concealed in the earth two firkins of salted snails, one of them nearly empty. On this strange food the poor women had been nourished during the famine. The Advocate was as good as his word; and the story shows how little weight is to be laid on the frequent confessions of the party in cases of witchcraft.

As this story is only traditional, I will mention two others of the same kind, to which I can give a precise date.

The first of these instances regards a woman of rank, much superior to those who were usually accused of this imaginary crime. She was sister of Sir John Henderson of Fordel, and wife to the Laird of Pittardo, in Fife. Notwithstanding her honorable birth and connections, this unfortunate matron was, in the year 1649, imprisoned in the common jail of Edinburgh, from the month of July till the middle of the month of December, when she was found dead, with every symptom of poison. Undoubtedly the infamy of the charge, and the sense that it must destroy her character and disgrace her family, was the cause which instigated her to commit suicide.

The same sentiment which drove this poor lady to her

death, was expressed by a female, young and handsome, executed at Paisley in 1697, in the following short answer to some of her friends, who were blaming her for not being sufficiently active in defending herself upon her trial. "They have taken away my character," she said, "and my life is not worth preserving."

But the most affecting instance of such a confession being made, and persisted in to the last, by an innocent person, is recorded by one who was a diligent collector of witch stories, and a faithful believer in them. He says, that in the village of Lauder, there was a certain woman accused of witchcraft, who for a long time denied her guilt. At length, when all her companions in prison had been removed, and were appointed for execution, and she herself about to be left to total solitude, the poor creature became weary of life, and made a false confession, avowing that she was guilty of certain facts, which, in the opinion of the times, amounted to witchcraft. She, therefore, made it her petition that she should be put to death with the others on the day appointed for their execution. Her clergyman and others, on considering this young woman's particular case, entertained, for once, some doubts that her confession was not sincere, and remonstrated strongly with her upon the wickedness of causing her own death by a false avowal of guilt. But as she stubbornly adhered to her confession, she was condemned, and appointed to be executed with the rest, as she had so earnestly desired. Being carried forth to the place of execution, she remained silent during the first, second, and third prayer, and then perceiving that there remained no more but to rise and go to the stake, she lift up her body, and with a loud voice cried out, "Now, all you that see me this day, know that I am now to die as a witch, by my own confession; and I

free all men, especially the ministers and magistrates, of the guilt of my blood. I take it wholly upon myself, — my blood be upon my own head; and, as I must make answer to the God of Heaven presently, I declare I am as free of witchcraft as any child; but being delated by a malicious woman, and put in prison under the name of a witch, — disowned by my husband and friends, — and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of prison, or ever coming in credit again, through the temptation of the Devil I made up that confession, on purpose to destroy my own life, being weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live." — And so died.*

It was remarkable that the number of supposed witches seemed to increase in proportion to the increase of punishment. On the 22d of May, 1650, the Scottish Parliament named a committee for inquiry into the depositions of no less than fifty-four witches, with power to grant such commissions as we have already described, to proceed with their trial, condemnation, and execution. Supposing these dreaded sorceresses to exist in such numbers, and to possess the powers of injury imputed to them, it was to be expected, as Reginald Scot expresses himself, that "there would neither be butter in the churn, nor cow in the close, nor corn in the field, nor fair weather without,

* "The bloody zeal of these inquisitors attained to a refinement in cruelty so shocking to humanity, and so repugnant to justice, as to be almost incredible. Not satisfied with torturing *the person* of the accused, their ingenious malice assailed the more delicate feelings and ardent affections of *the mind*. An aged husband, an infant daughter, would have been tortured in presence of the accused, in order to subdue her resolution. Nay, death itself did not screen the remains of those miserable persons from the malice of their persecutors. If an unfortunate woman, trembling at a citation for witchcraft, ended her sufferings by her own hands, she was dragged from her house at a horse's-tail, and buried under the gallows." — ARNOT, p. 368.

nor health within doors." Indeed the extent to which people indulged their horrors and suspicions, was in itself the proof of their being fanciful. If, in a small province, or even a petty town, there had existed scores of people possessed of supernatural power, the result would be that the laws of nature would have been liable to constant interruption.

The English judges appointed for Scotland, in Cromwell's time, saw the cruelty and absurdity of witch-trials, and endeavored to put a stop to them; but the thanks which they received were only reflections on their principles of toleration, the benefit of which, in the opinion of the Scots, was extended, by this lenity, not only to heretics of every denomination, but even to those who worshipped the Devil. Some went still further, and accused the Sectaries of holding intercourse with evil spirits in their devotions. This was particularly reported and believed of the Quakers, the most simple and moral of all dissenters from the Church.

Wiser and better views on the subject began to prevail in the end of the seventeenth century, and capital prosecutions for this imaginary crime were seen to decrease. The last instance of execution for witchcraft took place in the remote province of Sutherland, in 1722, under the direction of an ignorant provincial judge, who was censured by his superiors for the proceeding.* The victim was an old woman in her last dotage, so silly that she was delighted to warm her wrinkled hands at the fire

* "The last person who was prosecuted before the *Lords of Justice* for witchcraft was *Elspeth Rule*, who was tried before Lord Anstruther, at the Dumfries Circuit, on the 8d of May, 1709. No special act of witchcraft was charged against her; the indictment was of a very general nature, — that the prisoner was *habite and repete* a witch, and that she had used threatening expressions against persons

which was to consume her ; and who, while they were preparing for her execution, repeatedly said, that so good a blaze, and so many neighbors gathered round it, made the most cheerful sight she had seen for many years !

The laws against witchcraft, both in England and Scotland, were abolished ; and persons who pretend to fortune-telling, the use of spells, or similar mysterious feats of skill, are now punished as common knaves and impostors. Since this has been the case, no one has ever heard of witches or witchcraft, even among the most ignorant of the vulgar ; so that the crime must have been entirely imaginary, since it ceased to exist so soon as men ceased to hunt it out for punishment.

at enmity with her, who were afterwards visited with the loss of cattle, or the death of friends, and one of whom ran mad. The jury, by a majority of voices, found these articles proved, and the judge ordained the prisoner to be burned on the cheek, and to be banished Scotland for life." — ARNOT, pp. 366, 367.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CROMWELL'S SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT — HIS DEATH — RICHARD CROMWELL'S ACCESSION TO THE PROTECTORATE, AND RETIREMENT FROM IT — ANECDOTES OF HIM — GENERAL MONK'S ADVANCE TO LONDON — DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT — SIR JOHN GRENVILLE'S INTERVIEW WITH MONK, AND PROPOSAL FOR THE RECALL OF THE EXILED STEWARTS — THE RESTORATION — ARRIVAL OF CHARLES II. AT DOVER.

[1658 — 1660.]

OLIVER CROMWELL, who, in the extraordinary manner I have told you, raised himself to the supreme sovereignty of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was a man of great talents, and, as has been already said, not naturally of a severe or revengeful disposition. He made the kingdoms which he ruled formidable to foreign powers; and perhaps no government was ever more respected abroad than that of the Lord Protector.

At home Cromwell had a very difficult task to perform, in order to maintain his usurped authority. He was obliged on several occasions, as has been successfully done in other countries by usurpers of his class, to convoke some kind of Senate or Parliament, consisting of his own creatures, who might appear to divide with him the power, and save him, in appearance at least, the odium of governing by his sole authority. But such was the spirit of the English nation, that whenever Cromwell convoked a Parliament, though in a great measure con-

sisting of his own partisans, and though the rest were studiously chosen as mean and ignorant persons, the instant that they met they began to inquire into the ground of the Protector's authority, and proposed measures which interfered with his assumption of supreme power.

In addition to this, the various factions into which the country was divided, all agreed in hating the usurped power of the Protector, and were frequently engaged in conspiracies against him, which were conceived and carried on not only by Cavaliers and Presbyterians, but by Republicans, and even by soldiers among his own ranks.

Thus hard pressed on every side, the Protector displayed the utmost sagacity in his mode of defending himself. On two or three occasions, indeed, he held what he called High Courts of Justice, by whose doom both Cavaliers and Presbyterians suffered capital punishment for plots against his government. But it was with reluctance Cromwell resorted to such severe measures. His general policy was to balance parties against each other, and make each of them desirous of the subsistence of his authority, rather than run the risk of seeing it changed for some other than their own. At great expense, and by constant assiduity, he maintained spies in the councils of every faction of the state, and often the least suspected, and apparently most vehement, among the hostile parties, were, in private, the mercenary tools of Cromwell.

In the wandering court of Charles II. in particular, one of the most noted Cavaliers was Sir Richard Willis, who had fought bravely, and suffered much, in the cause both of the late King and of his son. There was no man among the Royalists who attended on Charles's person so much trusted and honored as this gentleman, who, nevertheless, enjoyed a large pension from Cromwell, and be-

trayed to him whatever schemes were proposed for the restoration of the exiled monarch. By this and similar intercourse, the Protector had the means of preventing the numerous conspiracies against him from coming to a head, and also of opposing the machinations of one discontented party by means of the others.

It is believed, however, that, with all his art, the Protector would not have been able to maintain his power for many years. A people long accustomed to a free government were generally incensed at being subjected to the unlimited authority of one man, and the discontent became universal. It seemed that, towards the end of his life, Cromwell was nearly at the end of his expedients; and it is certain that his own conduct then displayed an apprehension of danger which he had never before exhibited. He became morose and melancholy, always wore secret armor under his ordinary dress, never stirred abroad unless surrounded with guards, never returned by the same road, nor slept above thrice in the same apartment, from the dread of assassination. His health broke down under these gloomy apprehensions; and on the 3d of September, 1658, he died at the age of sixty. His death was accompanied by a general and fearful tempest; * and by another circumstance equally striking in those superstitious times, namely, that he died on the day and month in which he had gained his decisive victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

* "We must resign. Heaven his great soul doth claim
In storms, as loud as his immortal fame;
His dying groans — his last breath shakes our isle,
And trees uncut, fall for his funeral pile;
About his palace their broad roots are tost
Into the air — So Romulus was lost;
New Rome in such a tempest missed her king,
And, from obeying, fell to worshipping." — WALLER.

The sceptre, which Oliver had held with so firm a grasp, was transferred to that of his son, Richard Cromwell; while the funeral of the deceased Protector was solemnized at an expense superior far to what England had bestowed on the obsequies of any of her kings. But this apparent transmission of Oliver's authority to his son was only nominal. A Parliament, which Richard assembled that they might vote him supplies, commenced an inquiry into the nature of the new Lord Protector's title; and a council of officers whom he convoked became refractory, and assumed an authority which he dared not dispute with them. These military despots compelled Richard to dissolve the Parliament, and subsequently obliged him to resign the office of ^{22d April,} ^{1659.} Protector. He descended quietly into humble life, burdened not only by many personal debts, but also by the demands of those who had supplied the exorbitant expenses of his father's funeral, which the state unworthily and meanly suffered to descend upon him.

Richard Cromwell, removed from the dangers and the guilt of power, lived a long and peaceable life, and died in 1712, at the age of eighty-six. Two anecdotes, respecting him, are worth mentioning. When he was obliged to retire abroad on account of his debts, Richard Cromwell, travelling under a borrowed name, was led, from curiosity, to visit Pezenas, a pleasant town and castle in Languedoc. The proprietor was the Prince of Conti, a French prince of the blood royal, who, hearing an English traveller was in the palace, had the curiosity to receive him, that he might learn the latest news from England, which at this time astonished Europe by its frequent changes of government. The French prince spoke to the stranger of Oliver Cromwell as a wicked man, and a law-

less usurper of the government: but then he acknowledged his deep sagacity, high talents, and courage in danger, and admired the art and force with which he had subjected three kingdoms to his own individual authority. "He knew how to command," continued the prince, "and deserved to be obeyed. But what has become of the poor poltroon, Richard,—the coward, the dastard, who gave up, without a blow or struggle, all that his father has gained? Have you any idea how the man could be such a fool, and mean-spirited caitiff?" Poor Richard, glad to remain unknown where he was so little esteemed, only replied, "that the abdicated Protector had been deceived by those in whom he most trusted, and to whom his father had shown most kindness." He then took leave of the Prince, who did not learn till two days afterwards, that he had addressed so unpleasing a discourse to the person whom it principally regarded.

The other anecdote is of a later date, being subsequent to 1705. Some lawsuit of importance required that Richard Cromwell should appear in the King's Bench Court. The judge who presided showed a generous deference to fallen greatness, and to the mutability of human affairs. He received with respect the man who had been once sovereign of England, caused a chair to be placed for him within the bar, and requested him to be covered. When the counsel on the opposite side began his speech, as if about to allude to Richard's descent from the obnoxious Oliver, the judge checked him with generous independence. "I will hear nothing on that topic, sir," he said; "speak to the merits of the cause before us." After his appearance in court, Richard Cromwell's curiosity carried him to the House of Peers, where he stood below the bar, looking around him, and making observations on the alter-

ations which he saw. A person who heard a decent-looking old man speaking in this way, said to him, civilly, "It is probably a long while, sir, since you have been in this house?" — "Not since I sat in that chair," answered the old gentleman, pointing to the throne, on which he had been, indeed, seated as sovereign when, more than fifty years before, he received the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, on his succeeding to his father in the supreme power.

To return to public affairs in London, where, after the abdication of Richard, changes succeeded with as little permanence as the reflection of faces presented to a mirror, — the attempt of the officers of the army to establish a purely military government was combated by the return to Parliament of those republican members whom Oliver Cromwell had expelled, and whom the common people, by a vulgar but expressive nickname, now called the Rump Parliament. This assembly, so called because it was the sitting part of that which commenced the civil war, was again subjected to military violence, and dissolved by General Lambert,* who unquestionably designed in his own person to act the part of Oliver Cromwell, though without either the talents or high reputation of the original performer. But a general change had taken place in the sentiments of the nation.

* "Merley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace-yard, resolute to oppose the violence of Lambert; but that artful general knèw an easy way of disappointing them. He placed his soldiers in the streets which led to Westminster Hall. When the Speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, observing that they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterprise, a solemn fast had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the usual prelude to every signal violence which they committed." — HUME.

The public had been, to a certain degree, patient under the government of Oliver, to whom it was impossible to deny all the praise which belongs to firmness and energy ; but they saw with disgust these feeble usurpers, by whom his vigorous government was succeeded, bustle amongst themselves, and push each other from the rudder of the state, without consulting the people at large. Remembering the quiet and peaceful condition of the kingdom before the civil wars, when its kings succeeded by hereditary right to a limited power, and when the popular and monarchical branches of the Constitution so judiciously balanced each other, that the whole British nation looked back to the period as one of liberty, peace, and lawful order ; and comparing this happy and settled state of public affairs with the recent manner in which every successive faction seized upon power when they could snatch it, and again yielded it up to the grasp of another and stronger party, all men were filled with dissatisfaction.

Upon the whole, the thoughts of all the judicious part of the nation were turned towards the exiled Prince, and there was a general desire to call him back to the exercise of the government, an inclination which was only suppressed by the strong hand of the armed fanatics. It was absolutely necessary that some military force should be on foot, in order to cope with these warlike saints, as they called themselves, before the general disposition of the kingdom could have room or freedom to express itself.

As it was the disturbances in Scotland which first shook the throne of Charles the First, so it was from the same country that the movement took place which eventually replaced on the throne his son and heir. We have already noticed that the kingdom of Scotland had been finally subdued by the efforts of General Monk, who afterwards

governed it during the protectorate of Cromwell, and in obedience to his authority.

Monk was a man of a grave, reserved, and sagacious character, who had gained general esteem by the manner in which he managed Scottish affairs. He had taken care to model the veteran troops under his command in that kingdom so as to subject them to his own separate control, and to detach from their command such officers as were either violent enthusiasts, or peculiarly attached to Lambert and his council of officers. Thus having under his immediate command a movable force of between seven and eight thousand men, besides those necessary to garrison Scotland, Monk eagerly watched the contest of the factions in London, in order to perceive and seize on the fit opportunity for action.

This seemed to arrive when the army under Lambert again thrust the Rump Parliament out of doors, and commenced a new military government, by means of a committee of officers, called the Council of Safety. Monk then threw aside the mask of indifference which he had long worn, assembled his forces on the Borders, and declared for the freedom of Parliament, and against the military faction by which they had been suppressed. The persuasion was universal throughout Britain, that Monk, by these general expressions, meant something more effectual than merely restoring the authority of the Rump, which had fallen into the common contempt of all men, by the repeated acts of violence to which they had tamely submitted. But General Monk, allowing all parties to suppose what they thought most probable, proceeded to make his preparations for marching towards England with the greatest deliberation, without suffering even a whisper to escape concerning the ultimate objects of the

expedition. He assembled the Scottish Convention of Estates, and asked and received from it a supply of six months' pay, for the maintenance of his troops. The confidence entertained of his intentions was such that the Convention offered him the support of a Scottish army of twenty-four thousand men; but Monk declined assistance which would have been unpopular in England. He then proceeded in his plan of new-modelling his army, with more boldness than before, dismissing many of the Independent officers whom he had not before ventured to cashier, and supplying their places with Presbyterians, and even with secret Royalists.

The news of these proceedings spread through England, and were generally received with joy. Universal resistance was made to the payment of taxes; for the Rump Parliament had, on the eve of its expulsion by Lambert, declared it high treason to levy money without consent of Parliament; and the provinces where Lambert and his military council had no power of enforcing their illegal exactions refused to obey them. The Council of Safety wanted money, therefore, even for the payment of their troops, and were reduced to extreme perplexity.

Lambert himself, a brave man and a good officer, saw the necessity of acting with promptitude; and placing himself at the head of a considerable force of veteran soldiers, marched towards Scotland. His numbers were enhanced by the report of the various spies and agents whom he sent into Monk's army under the guise of envoys. "What will you do?" said one of these persons, addressing a party of Monk's soldiers; "Lambert is coming down against you with such numerous forces, that your army will not be a breakfast for him."

"The north must have given Lambert a good appe-

tite," answered one of Monk's veterans, "if he be willing to chew bullets, and feed upon pikes and musket-barrels."

In this tone of defiance the two armies moved against each other. Lambert took up his head-quarters at Newcastle. Monk, on the other hand, placed his at Coldstream, on the Tweed, a place which commanded the second best passage over that river, Berwick being already in his hands. Coldstream, now a thriving town, was then so miserable that Monk could get no supper, even for his own table, but was fain to have recourse to chewing tobacco to appease his hunger. Next day provisions were sent from Berwick; and the camp at Coldstream is still kept in memory in the English army, by the second regiment of guards, which was one of those that composed Monk's vanguard, being called to this day the Coldstream Regiment.

The rival generals at first engaged in a treaty, which Monk, perceiving Lambert's forces to be more numerous than his own, for some time encouraged, aware that want of pay, and of the luxuries to which they were accustomed in London, would soon induce his rival's troops to desert him.

Disaffection and weariness accordingly began to diminish Lambert's forces, when at length they heard news from the capital by which they were totally dispirited. During Lambert's absence, the presidency in the military committee, and the command of such of the army as remained to overawe London, devolved on General Fleetwood, a weak man, who really was overcome by the feelings of fanaticism, which others only affected.* Incapable of any exertion, this person suffered the troops under

* "When he received intelligence of any murmur among the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his

his command to be seduced from his interest to that of the Rump Parliament, which thus came again, and for the last time, into power. With these tidings came to Newcastle others of a nature scarce less alarming. The celebrated General Fairfax had taken arms in Yorkshire, and was at the head of considerable forces, both Cavaliers and Presbyterians, who declared for calling a free Parliament, that the national will might be consulted in the most constitutional manner, for once more regaining the blessing of a settled government. The soldiers of Lambert, disconcerted by these events, and receiving no pay, began to break up; and when Lambert himself attempted to lead them back to London, they left him in such numbers that his army seemed actually to melt away, and leave the road to the capital open to Monk and the forces from Scotland.

That general moved on accordingly, without opposition, carefully concealing his own intentions, receiving favorably all the numerous applications which were made to him for calling a new and free Parliament, in order to regenerate the national constitution, but returning no reply which could give the slightest intimation of his ultimate purpose. Monk observed this mystery, in order, perhaps, that he might reserve to himself the power of being guided by circumstances, — at all events, knowing well that if he prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was among them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself on his knees before them; and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him than that 'God had spitten in his face and would not hear him;' so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of General, and been content with the second command for himself." — CLARENDON, vol. vi. pp. 705, 706.

were to declare in favor of any one party or set of principles among the various factious opinions which divided the state, the others would at once unite against him, a course which they would be loath to adopt, while each as yet entertained hopes that he might turn to their side.

With the eyes of all the nation fixed upon him and his forces, Monk advanced to Barnet, within ten miles of London, and from thence caused the Parliament to understand that they would do well to send from the city the remains of the army of Fleetwood, in case of discord between his troops and those which at present occupied the capital. The Rump Parliament had no alternative but to take the hint, unless they had resolved to try the fate of battle at the head of those insubordinate troops, who had more than once changed sides between Lambert and Fleetwood on one side, and themselves on the other, against the steady veterans of the Scottish wars. The late army of Fleetwood, excepting two regiments commanded by men whom Monk could perfectly trust, were ordered to leave the city, and the general of the army of Scotland entered at the head of his troops, who, rough from a toilsome march, and bearing other marks of severe service, made a far more hardy and serviceable, though a less showy appearance, than those who had so long bridled the people of London.

General Monk and the remnant of the Parliament met each other with external civility, but with great distrust on both sides. They propounded to him the oath of abjuration, as it was called, by which he was to renounce and abjure all allegiance to the House of Stuart, and all attempts to restore Charles II. But the General declined taking the oath; too many oaths, he said, had been already imposed on the public, unless they had been

better kept. This circumstance seemed to throw light on Monk's intentions, and the citizens of London, now as anxious for the King's restoration as ever they had been for the expulsion of his father, passed a vote in common council, by which they declared they would pay no taxes or contributions to this shadow of a Parliament, until the vacant seats in it should be filled up to the full extent of a genuine House of Commons.

The Rump Parliament had now, they conceived, an opportunity of ascertaining Monk's real purpose, and forcing him to a decisive measure. They laid their express commands on him to march into the city, seize upon the gates, break down the portcullises, destroy the ports, chains, and other means of defending the streets, and take from the contumacious citizens all means of protecting, in future, the entrance into the capital.

Monk, to the astonishment of most of his own officers, obeyed the commands thus imposed on him. He was probably desirous of ascertaining whether the disposition of his troops would induce them to consider the task as a harsh and unworthy one. Accordingly, he no sooner heard his soldiers exclaiming at the disgrace of becoming the tools of the vengeance of the Rump members against the city of London, than he seemed to adopt their feelings and passions as his own, and like them complained, and complained aloud, of having been employed in an unjust and unpopular task, for the express purpose of rendering him odious to the citizens.

At this crisis, the rashness of the ruling junto, for it would be absurd to term them a parliament, gave the General, whom it was their business to propitiate if possible, a new subject of complaint. They encouraged a body of the most fanatical sectaries, headed by a ridiculous

personage called Praise-God Barebone,* to present a violent petition to the House, demanding that no one should be admitted to any office of public trust, or so much as to teach a school, without his having taken the abjuration oath; and proposing that any motion made in Parliament for the restoration of the King should be visited with the pains of high treason.

The tenor of this petition, and the honor and favor which it received when presented, gave Monk the further cause of complaint against the Rump, or Remnant of the Parliament, which perhaps was what he chiefly desired. He refused to return to Whitehall, where he had formerly lodged, and took up his abode in the city, where he found it easy to excuse his late violence upon their defences, and to atone for it by declaring himself the protector and ally of the magistrates and community. From his quar-

* Of the Parliament chosen by Cromwell in 1653, Hume says: "They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the House, there was an active member much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in [Fleet-street] London: his name *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of 'Barebone's Parliament.'" "It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their name from Henry, Edward, &c., which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly; even the New Testament names, James, Peter, &c., were not held in such regard as those borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, &c., &c. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. There are the names of a Sussex jury enclosed about that time: 'Accepted, Trevor of Norsham,' — 'Make-Peace, Heaton of Hare,' — 'Standfast-on-High, Stringer of Crowhurst,' — 'Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith, White of Emer,' &c., &c. The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for name, "*If Christ had not died for you, you had been damn'd, Barebone.*" But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone.*" — HUME.

ters in the heart of London, the General wrote to the Parliament an angry expostulation, charging them with a design to arm the more violent fanatics, and call in the assistance of Fleetwood and Lambert against the army he had marched from Scotland; and recommending to them, in a tone of authority, forthwith to dissolve themselves and call a new Parliament, which should be open to all parties. The Parliament, greatly alarmed at this intimation, sent two of their members to communicate with the General; but they could only extract from him, that if writs went instantly forth for the new elections, it would be very well, otherwise he and they were likely to disagree.

The assurance that General Monk had openly quarrelled with the present rulers, and was disposed to insist for a free and full Parliament, was made public by the printing and dispersing of the General's letter, and the tidings filled the city with most extravagant rejoicings. The Royalists and Presbyterians, forgetting past animosities, mingled in common joy, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of factious tyrants by their calamitous divisions. The rabble rung all the bells, lighted immense bonfires in every street, and danced around them, while they drank healths to the General, the secluded members, and even to the King. But the principal part of their amusement was roasting rumps of poultry, or fragments of butcher-meat cut into that form, in ridicule of their late rulers, whose power they foresaw would cease whenever a full Parliament should be convened. The revelry lasted the whole night, which was that of 11th February, 1660.

Monk, supported at once by military strength and the consciousness of general popularity, did not wait until the

new Parliament should be assembled, or the present dissolved, to take measures for destroying the influence of the junto now sitting at Westminster. He compelled them to open their doors, and admit to their deliberations and votes all the secluded members of their body, who had been expelled from their seats by military violence, since it was first practised on the occasion called Colonel Pride's Purge. These members, returning to Parliament accordingly, made by their numbers such a predominant majority in the House, that the fifty or sixty persons who had lately been at the head of the government were instantly reduced to the insignificance, as a party, from which they had only emerged by dint of the force which had been exercised to exclude the large body who were now restored to their seats.

The first acts of the House thus renovated were to disband the refractory part of the army, to dispossess the disaffected officers, of whom there were very many, and to reduce the country to a state of tranquillity; after which they dissolved themselves, 16th March, having first issued writs to summon a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of April. Thus, then, finally ended the Long Parliament, as it is called, which had sat for nearly twenty years; the most eventful period, perhaps, in British history.

While this important revolution was on the eve of taking place, Charles the Second's affairs seemed to be at a lower ebb than they had almost ever been before. A general insurrection of the Cavaliers had been defeated by Lambert a few months before, and the severe measures which followed had, for the time, totally subdued the spirit, and almost crushed the party of the Royalists. It was in vain that Charles had made advances to Monk while in Scotland, both through the General's own brother,

and by means of Sir John Grenville, one of his nearest and most valued relatives and friends. If Monk's mind was then made up concerning the part which he designed to perform, he at least was determined to keep his purpose secret in his own bosom, and declined therefore, though civilly, to hear any proposition on the part of the banished family. The accounts which the little exiled court received concerning Monk's advance into England were equally disconsolate. All intercourse with the Cavaliers had been carefully avoided by the cloudy and mysterious soldier in whose hands Fortune seemed to place the fate of the British kingdoms. The general belief was that Monk would renew, in his own person, the attempt in which Cromwell had succeeded and Lambert had failed, and again place a military commander at the head of the government; and this opinion seemed confirmed by his harsh treatment of the city.

While Charles and his attendants were in this state of despondence, they were suddenly astonished by the arrival from England of a partisan, named Baillie, an Irish Royalist, who had travelled with extreme rapidity to bring the exiled Prince the news of Monk's decided breach with the remnant of the Long Parliament, and the temper which had been displayed by the city of London when his letter became public. The King and his small Council listened to the messenger as they would have done to one speaking in a dream. Overwearyed and fatigued by the journey, and strongly excited by the importance of the intelligence which he brought them, the officer seemed rather like one under the influence of temporary derangement or intoxication, than the deliberate bearer of great tidings. His character was, however, known as a gentleman of fidelity and firmness; and they heard him, with

wonder, again and again affirm that London was blazing with bonfires, that the universal wish of the people of all sorts, boldly and freely expressed, demanded the restoration of the King to his authority, and that Monk had insisted upon the summoning of a free Parliament, which the junto called the Rump had no longer the power of opposing. He produced also a copy of Monk's letter to the Parliament, to show that the General had completely broken with that body.

Other messengers soon confirmed the joyful tidings, and Sir John Grenville was despatched to London in all haste, with full powers to offer the General everything which could gratify ambition or love of wealth, on condition of his proving the friend of Charles at this crisis.

This faithful and active Royalist reached the metropolis, and, cautiously refusing to open his commission to any one, obtained a private interview with the mysterious and reserved General. He boldly communicated his credentials, and remained unappalled, when Monk, stepping back in surprise, asked him, with some emotion, how he dared become the bearer of such proposals. Sir John replied, firmly, that all danger which might be incurred in obedience to his sovereign's command had become familiar to him from frequent practice, and that the King, from the course which Monk had hitherto pursued, entertained the most confident hope of his loyal service. On this General Monk either laid aside the mask which he had always worn, or only now formed his determination upon a line of conduct that had hitherto been undecided in his own mind. He accepted of the high offers tendered to him by the young Prince; and, from that moment, if not earlier, made the interest of Charles the principal object of his thoughts. It has been indeed stated, that he had ex-

pressed his ultimate purpose of serving Charles before leaving Scotland; but whatever may have been his secret intentions, it seems improbable that he made any one his confidant.

At the meeting of the new Parliament, the House of Peers, which regained under this new aspect of things the privileges which Cromwell had suspended, again assumed their rank as a branch of the legislature. As the Royalists and Presbyterians concurred in the same purpose of restoring the King, and possessed the most triumphant majority, if not the whole votes, in the new House of Commons, the Parliament had only to be informed that Grenville awaited without, bearing letters from King Charles, when he was welcomed into the House with shouts and rejoicings; and the British Constitution, by King, Lords, and Commons, after having been suspended for twenty years, was restored at once and by acclamation.

Charles Stewart, instead of being a banished pretender, whose name it was dangerous to pronounce, and whose cause it was death to espouse, became at once a lawful, beloved, almost adored prince, whose absence was mourned by the people, as they might have bemoaned that of the sun itself; and numbers of the great or ambitious hurried to Holland, where Charles now was, some to plead former services, some to excuse ancient delinquencies, some to allege the merit of having staked their lives in the King's cause, others to enrich the monarch, by sharing with him the spoils which they had gained by fighting against him.

It has been said by historians, that this precipitate and general haste in restoring Charles to the throne, without any conditions for the future, was throwing away all the advantage which the nation might have derived from the

Civil Wars, and that it would have been much better to have readmitted the King upon a solemn treaty, which should have adjusted the prerogative of the Crown, and the rights of the subject, and settled forever those great national questions which had been disputed between Charles the First and his Parliament. This sounds all well in theory; but in practice there are many things, and perhaps the Restoration is one of them, which may be executed easily and safely, if the work is commenced and carried through in the enthusiasm of a favorable moment, but which is likely enough to miscarry, if protracted beyond that happy conjuncture. The ardor in favor of monarchy, with which the mass of the English nation was at this time agitated, might probably have abated during such a lengthened treaty, providing for all the delicate questions respecting the settlement of the Church and State, and necessarily involving a renewal of all the discussions which had occasioned the Civil War. And supposing that the old discord was not rekindled by raking among its ashes, still it should be remembered that great part of Cromwell's army was not yet dissolved, and that even Monk's troops were not altogether to be confided in. So that the least appearance of disunion, such as the discussions of the proposed treaty were certain to give rise to, might have afforded these warlike enthusiasts a pretext for again assembling together, and reinstating the military despotism, which they were pleased to term the Reign of the Saints.

A circumstance occurred which showed how very pressing this danger was, and how little wisdom there would have been in postponing the restoration of a legal government to the event of a treaty. Lambert, who had been lodged in the Tower as a dangerous person, made his

escape from that state prison, fled to Daventry, and began to assemble forces. The activity of Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been, like Lambert himself, an officer ^{26d April.} under Cromwell, but who was now firmly attached to Monk, stifled a spark which might have raised a mighty conflagration. He succeeded in gaining over and dispersing the troops who had assembled under Lambert, and making his former commander prisoner with his own hand, brought him back in safety to his old quarters in the Tower of London. But as the roads were filled with soldiers of the old Cromwellian army, hastening to join Lambert, it was clear that only the immediate suppression of his force, and the capture of his person, prevented the renewal of general hostilities.

In so delicate a state of affairs, it was of importance that the Restoration, being the measure to which all wise men looked as the only radical cure for the distresses and disorders of the kingdom, should be executed hastily, leaving it in future to the mutual prudence of the King and his subjects to avoid the renewal of those points of quarrel which had given rise to the Civil War of 1641; since which time, both Royalists and Parliamentarians had suffered such extreme misery as was likely to make them very cautious how the one made unjust attempts to extend the power of the Crown, or the other to resist it while within its constitutional limits.

The King landed at Dover on 26th May, 1660, and was received by General Monk, now gratified and honored with the dukedom of Albemarle, the Order of the Garter, and the command of the army. He entered London on the 29th, which was also his birthday; and with him came his two brothers, James, Duke of York, of whom we shall have much to say, and the Duke of Gloucester,

who died early. They were received with such extravagant shouts of welcome, that the King said to those around him, "It must surely have been our own fault, that we have been so long absent from a country where every one seems so glad to see us." *

* "In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged nearly twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword could be instruments of. It was but five months since Lambert's fanatical army was scattered and confounded, and General Monk's marched into England: it was but three months since the secluded members were restored: and shortly after, the monstrous Long Parliament finally dissolved: it was but a month since the King's Letters and Declarations were delivered to the New Parliament. On the first of May they were delivered, and his Majesty was at Whitehall on the 29th of the same month."

CHAPTER XLIX.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES II. — MIDDLETON SENT AS HIGH COMMISSIONER TO SCOTLAND — MEASURES OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF EPISCOPACY — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLE — TRIAL OF JUDGE SWINTON AND OTHERS — ACT OF UNIFORMITY — THE NONCONFORMING CLERGY DISPLACED — THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE SUCCEEDS TO THE POWER OF MIDDLETON.

[1660 — 1665.]

OF Charles the Second, who thus unexpectedly, and as it were by miracle, was replaced on his father's throne in spite of so many obstacles as within even a week or two of the event seemed to render it incredible, I have not much that is advantageous to tell you. He was a prince of an excellent understanding, of which he made less use than he ought to have done; a graceful address, much ready wit, and no deficiency of courage. Unfortunately, he was very fond of pleasure, and, in his zeal to pursue it, habitually neglected the interests of his kingdom. He was very selfish, too, like all whose own gratification is their sole pursuit; and he seems to have cared little what became of friends or enemies, providing he could maintain himself on the throne, get money to supply the expenses of a luxurious and dissolute court, and enjoy a life of easy and dishonorable pleasure. He was good-natured in general; but any apprehension of his own safety easily induced him to be severe and even cruel, for his love of

self predominated above both his sense of justice and his natural clemency of temper. He was always willing to sacrifice sincerity to convenience, and perhaps the satirical epitaph, written upon him at his own request, by his witty favorite, the Earl of Rochester, is not more severe than just: —

“ Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.”

After this sketch of the King's character, we must return to Scotland, from which we have been absent since Monk's march from Coldstream to accomplish the Restoration.

This great event was celebrated with the same general and joyful assent in Scotland which had hailed it in the sister country. Indeed the Scots, during the whole war, can hardly be said to have quitted their sentiments of loyalty to the monarchy. They had fought against Charles I., first to establish Presbytery in their own country, and then to extend it into England; but then even the most rigid of the Presbyterians had united in the resistance to the English invasion, had owned the right of Charles the Second, and asserted it to their severe national loss at the battle of Dunbar. Since that eventful overthrow, the influence of the Church of Scotland over the people at large had been considerably diminished, by disputes among the ministers themselves, as they espoused more rigid or more moderate doctrines, and by the various modes in which it had been Cromwell's policy to injure their respectability, and curb their power. But the Presbyterian interest was still very strong in Scotland. It entirely engrossed the western counties, had a large share of influence in the south and midland provinces, and was only less predomi-

nant in the northern shires, where the Episcopal interest prevailed.

The Presbyterian Church was sufficiently alive to their own interest and that of their body, for they had sent to Monk's army, ere it had reached London, an agent or commissioner to take care of the affairs of the Scottish Church in any revolution which should take place in consequence of the General's expedition.

This agent was James Sharpe, famous during his life, and still more in his deplorable death. At this time he was a man competently learned, bold, active, and ambitious, displaying much zeal for the interest of the Church, and certainly by no means negligent of his own. This Master James Sharpe quickly found, while in London, that there was little purpose of establishing the Presbyterian religion in Scotland. It is true, that King Charles had, on his former expedition into Scotland, deliberately accepted and sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, the principal object of which was the establishment of Presbytery of the most rigid kind. It was also true that the Earl of Lauderdale, who, both from his high talents, and from the long imprisonment which he had sustained ever since the battle of Worcester, had a peculiar title to be consulted on Scottish affairs, strongly advised the King to suffer his northern subjects to retain possession of their darling form of worship; and though he endeavored to give this advice in the manner most agreeable to the King, ridiculing bitterly the pedantry of the Scottish ministers, and reprobating the uses made of the Covenant, and in so far gratifying and amusing the King, still he returned to the point, that the Covenant and Presbyterian discipline ought not to be removed from Scotland while the people continued so partial to them. They should be

treated, he argued, like froward children, whom their keepers do not vex by struggling to wrest from them an unfitting plaything, but quietly wait to withdraw it when sleep or satiety makes it indifferent to them.

But the respect due to the King's personal engagement, as well as the opinion thus delivered by this worldly-wise nobleman, were strongly contested by those Cavaliers who professed absolute loyalty and devotion to the King, and affected to form their political opinions on those of Montrose. They laid upon the Presbyterian Church the whole blame of the late rebellion, and contended that the infamous transaction of delivering up Charles the First to the Parliamentary forces, was the act of an army guided by Presbyterian counsels. In short, they imputed to the Church of Scotland the whole original guilt of the war, and though it was allowed that they at length joined the Royal cause, it was immediately added that their accession only took place when they were afraid of being deprived of their power over men's consciences, by Cromwell and his independent schismatics. The King was then reminded, that he had been received by the Presbyterians less as their Prince than as a passive tool and engine, whom they determined to indulge in nothing save the name of a sovereign; and that his taking the Covenant had been under a degree of moral restraint which rendered it as little binding as if imposed by personal violence. Lastly, the King was assured that the whole people of Scotland were now so much delighted with his happy restoration, that the moment was highly favorable for any innovation, either in Church or State, which might place the crown firmer on his head; that no change could be so important as the substitution of Episcopacy for Presbytery; and that the opportunity, if lost, might never return.

The King himself had personal reasons, though they ought not to have entered into such a discussion, for recollecting with disgust the affronts and rigorous treatment which he had received from the Presbyterian leaders, before the battle of Dunbar had diminished their power. He had then adopted a notion that Presbytery was not a religion "for a gentleman," and he now committed to Lord Middleton, who was to be his High Commissioner and representative in the Scottish Parliament, full powers to act in the matter of altering the national religious establishment to the Episcopal model, as soon as he should think proper.

This determination was signing the doom of Presbytery, as far as Charles could do so; for Middleton, though once in the service of the Covenantee Parliament, and as such opposed to Montrose, by whom he was beaten at the Bridge of Dee, had afterwards been Major-General of the Duke of Hamilton's ill-fated army, which was destroyed at Utoxeter in 1648, and ever since that period had fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, in the cause of Charles, maintaining at the same time the tenets of the most extravagant Royalism. He was a good soldier, but in other respects a man of inferior talents, who had lived the life of an adventurer, and who, in enjoying the height of fortune which he had attained, was determined to indulge without control all his favorite propensities. These were, unhappily, of a coarse and scandalous nature. The Covenanters had assumed an exterior of strict demeanor and precise morality, and the Cavaliers, in order to show themselves their opposites in every respect, gave into the most excessive indulgences in wine and revelry, and conceived that in doing so they showed their loyalty to the King, and their contempt of what they termed the formal

hypocrisy of his enemies. When the Scottish Parliament met, the members were, in many instances, under the influence of wine, and they were more than once obliged to adjourn, because the Royal Commissioner was too intoxicated to behave properly in the chair.

While the Scottish Parliament was in this jovial humor, it failed not to drive forward the schemes of the Commissioner Middleton, and of the very violent Royalists, with a zeal which was equally imprudent and impolitic. At once, and by a single sweeping resolution, it annulled and rescinded every statute and ordinance which had been made by those holding the supreme authority in Scotland since the commencement of the civil wars; although in doing so, it set aside many laws useful to the subject, many which had received the personal assent of the sovereign, and some that were entered into expressly for his defence, and the acknowledgment and protection of his right. By a statute subsequent to the Act Rescissory, as it was called, the whole Presbyterian Church government was destroyed, and the Episcopal institutions, to which the nation had shown themselves so averse, were rashly and precipitately established. James Sharpe, to whom allusion has already been made, who had yielded to the high temptations held out to him, was named Lord Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Primate of Scotland,*

* "The great stain," says Sir Walter Scott, "will always remain, that Sharpe deserted and probably betrayed a cause which his brethren intrusted to him, and abused to his own purposes a mission which he ought not to have undertaken but with the determination of maintaining its principal object. Kirkton says, that when Sharpe returned from Scotland, he himself, affecting no ambition for the prelacy, pressed the acceptance of the See of St. Andrews upon Mr. Robert Douglas, one of his former colleagues. The stern Presbyterian saw into his secret soul, and when he had given his own positive rejection,

and other persons, either ancient members of the Episcopal Church, or new converts to the doctrines which seemed a sure road to preferment, were appointed Prelates, with seats in Parliament, and who afterwards attained great influence in the councils of the nation.

It may seem wonderful that such great changes, and in a matter so essential, should have been made without more violent opposition. But the general joy at finding themselves delivered from the domination of England; the withdrawing the troops, and abandoning the citadels by which Cromwell had ruled them, as a foreign conqueror governs a subdued country; and the pleasure of enjoying once more their own Parliament under the authority of their native prince, had a great effect, amid the first tumult of joy, in reconciling the minds of the Scottish people to the change even of the form of religion, when proposed and carried through as the natural consequences (it was pretended) of the restoration of Royal power.

The Scottish nobility, and many of the gentry, especially the younger men, had long resented the interference of the Presbyterian preachers, in searching out scandals and improprieties within the bosoms of families; and this right, which the clergy claimed and exercised, became more and more intolerable to those who were disposed to adopt the gay and dissolute manners which distinguished the Cavaliers of England, and who had for some time

demande of his former friend what he would do himself were the offer made to him? Sharpe hesitated: 'I perceive,' said Douglas, 'you are clear, — you will engage, — you will be Primate of Scotland; take it, then,' he added, laying his hand on his shoulder, 'and take the curse of God along with it.' (p. 185.) The subject would suit a painter." — *Review of Kirkton*, in SCOTT'S *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, vol. xix. pp. 289, 240.

regarded with resentment the interference and rebukes with which the Presbyterian clergy claimed the right of checking their career of pleasure.

The populace of the towns were amused with processions, largesses, free distribution of liquor, and such like marks of public rejoicing, by which they are generally attracted. And I cannot help mentioning as remarkable, that on 23d April, 1661, Jenny Geddes, the very woman who had given the first signal of civil broil, by throwing her stool at the Dean of Edinburgh's head, when he read the service-book on the memorable 23d July, 1637, showed her conversion to Loyalty by contributing the materials of her green stall, her baskets, shelves, forms, and even her own wicker-chair, to augment a bonfire kindled in honor of his Majesty's coronation, and the proceedings of his Parliament.

There were many, however, in Scotland, who were very differently affected by the hasty proceedings of Middleton and his jovial Parliament, of whose sentiments I shall have much to say hereafter.

The greatest evil to be apprehended from the King's return, was the probability that he might be disposed to distinguish the more especial enemies of himself and his father, and perpetuate the memory of former injuries and quarrels, by taking vengeance for them. Charles had indeed published a promise of indemnity and of oblivion, for all offences during the civil war, against his own or his father's person. But this proclamation bore an exception of such persons as Parliament should point out as especially deserving of punishment. Accordingly, those who had been actively concerned in the death, or, as it may well be termed, the murder of Charles I., were, with one or two others, who had been peculiarly violent

during the late times, excepted from pardon; and although but few were actually executed, yet it had been better, perhaps, to have spared several even of the most obnoxious class. But that is a question belonging to English history. In order that Scotland might enjoy the benefit of similar examples of severity, it was resolved also to bring to trial some of the most active persons there.

Among these, the Marquis of Argyle, whom we have so often mentioned, was by far the most considerable. He had repaired to London on the Restoration, hoping to make interest with the King, but was instantly arrested, and imprisoned in the Tower, and afterwards sent down to Scotland to undergo a trial, according to the laws of that country. There was a strong desire on the part of the Cavalier party, that Argyle should be put to death, in revenge for the execution of Montrose, to whom, you must remember, he had been a deadly and persevering enemy. Undoubtedly this powerful nobleman had been guilty of much cruelty in suppressing the Royalist party in the Highlands; and had, probably, been privately accessory to Montrose's tragical fate, though he seemed to hold aloof from the councils held on the subject. But it was then greatly too late to call him into judgment for these things.* The King, when he came to Scotland,

* "His defence was vigorous and plausible at least, if not always just. He affirmed that the atrocities imputed to his clan were partly fictitious, partly exaggerated; committed during his absence in England from the violence of the times; and that a cruel revenge was to be expected from his people, whose country had been twice wasted with fire, and devoted to the sword. We may judge of the extravagance of the charge, and the fanaticism of the accusers themselves, from a fact asserted in his first indictment; that a tree on which thirty-six of his enemies were hanged, was immediately blasted, and when hewn down, a miraculous and copious stream of a bloody hue, with which

after Montrose's execution, had acknowledged all that was done against that illustrious Loyalist as good service rendered to himself, had entered the gate of Edinburgh, over which the features of his faithful General were blackening in the sun, and had received, in such circumstances, the attendance and assistance of Argyle as of a faithful and deserving subject. Nay, besides all this, which in effect implied a pardon for Argyle's past offences, the Marquis was protected by the general Act of Remission, granted by Charles in 1651, for all state offences committed before that period.

Sensible of the weight of this defence, the Crown counsel and judges searched anxiously for some evidence of Argyle's having communicated with the English army subsequently to 1651. The trial was long protracted, and the accused was about to be acquitted for want of testimony to acts of more importance than that compulsory submission which the conquering Englishmen demanded from all, and which no one had the power to refuse. But just when the Marquis was about to be discharged, a knock was heard at the door of the court, and a despatch just arrived from London was handed to the Lord Advocate. As it was discovered that the name of the messenger was Campbell, it was concluded that he bore the pardon, or remission of the Marquis; but the contents were very different, being certain letters which had been written by Argyle to General Monk, when the latter was acting under Cromwell, in which he naturally endeavored to gain the General's good opinion, by expressing a zeal for the English interest, then headed and managed by his correspondent. Monk, it seems, had not intended to produce the earth was deeply saturated, was emitted for several years from the root." — LAING, vol. ii. p. 11; *State Trials*, ii. 422.

these letters, if other matter had occurred to secure Argyle's condemnation, desirous, doubtless, to avoid the ignominy of so treacherous an action; yet he resolved to send them, that they might be produced in evidence, rather than that the accused should be acquitted. This transaction leaves a deep blot on the character of the restorer of the English monarchy.

These letters, so faithlessly brought forward, were received as full evidence of the Marquis's ready compliance with the English enemy; and being found guilty, though only of doing that which no man in Scotland dared refuse to do at the time, he received sentence of death by beheading.

As Argyle rose from his knees, on which he had received the sentence, he offered to speak, but the trumpets sounding, he stopped till they ended; then he said, "This reminds me that I had the honor to set the crown upon the King's head" (meaning at the coronation at Scone), "and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own!" Then turning to the Commissioner and Parliament, he added, "You have the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and have denied me a share in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings; and shortly you must be before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to account for all your actings, and this among the rest."

He faced death with a courage which other passages of his life had not prepared men to expect, for he was generally esteemed to be of a timorous disposition. On the scaffold, he told a friend that he felt himself capable of braving death like a Roman, but he preferred submitting to it with the patience of a Christian. The rest of his

behavior made his words good; and thus died the celebrated Marquis of Argyle, so important a person during this melancholy time. He was called by the Highlanders Gillespie Grumach, or the Grim, from an obliquity in his eyes, which gave a sinister expression to his countenance. The Marquis's head replaced on the tower of the Tolbooth that of Montrose, his formidable enemy, whose scattered limbs were now assembled, and committed with much pomp to an honorable grave.*

John Swinton of Swinton, representative of a family which is repeatedly mentioned in the preceding series of these tales, was destined to share Argyle's fate. He had taken the side of Cromwell very early after the battle of Dunbar, and it was by his counsels and those of Lockhart of Lee, that the Usurper chiefly managed the affairs of Scotland. He was, therefore, far more deeply engaged in compliances with Cromwell than the Marquis of Argyle, though less obnoxious in other respects. Swinton was a man of acute and penetrating judgment, and great activity of mind; yet, finding himself beset with danger, and sent down to Scotland in the same ship with Argyle, he chose, from conviction, or to screen himself from danger, to turn Quaker. As he was determined that his family should embrace the same faith, his eldest son, when about to rise in the morning, was surprised to see that his laced scarlet coat, his rapier, and other parts of

* "The public hatred which Argyle had incurred while alive was converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was justly imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and insatiate desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his titles and estate; and, as happens wherever a statesman suffers, whether from national justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and relieve his character from the obloquy which would have continued attached to it had he been permitted to survive." — LAING.

a fashionable young gentleman's dress at the time, were removed, and that a plain suit of gray cloth, with a slouched hat, without loop or button, was laid down by his bedside. He could hardly be prevailed on to assume this simple habit.

His father, on the contrary, seemed entirely to have humbled himself to the condition he had assumed; and when he appeared at the bar in the plain attire of his new sect, he declined to use any of the legal pleas afforded by the act of indemnity, or otherwise, but answered according to his new religious principles of non-resistance, that it was true he had been guilty of the crimes charged against him, and many more, but it was when he was in the gall of wickedness and bond of iniquity; and that now, being called to the light, he acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to atone for them with his life. The mode of his delivery was at once so dignified and so modest, and the sight of a person who had enjoyed great power placed under such altered circumstances, appears to have so much affected the Parliament before whom he stood, that his life was spared, though he was impoverished by forfeiture and confiscation. The people in his own country said, that if Swinton had not *trembled*, he would not have *quaked*; but, notwithstanding this pun, his conversion seems to have been perfectly sincere. It is said, that he had a principal share in converting to the opinions of the Friends, the celebrated Robert Barclay, who afterwards so well defended their cause in the "Apology for the people called, in scorn, Quakers." Swinton remained a member of their congregation till his death, and was highly esteemed among them.

The escape of Judge Swinton might be accounted

almost miraculous, for those who followed him through the same reign, although persons chiefly of inferior note, experienced no clemency. Johnstone of Warriston, executed for high treason, was indeed a man of rank and a lawyer, who had complied with all the measures of Cromwell and of the following times. But it seemed petty vengeance which selected as subjects for capital punishment, Mr. Guthrie, a clergyman, who had written a book imputing the wrath of Heaven against Scotland to the sins of Charles I. and his house, and a man called Govan, merely because he had been the first to bring to Scotland the news of Charles's death, and had told it in terms of approbation.

An act of oblivion was at length passed; but it contained a fatal clause, that those who might be entitled to plead the benefit of it, should be liable to certain fines, in proportion to their estates. The imposition of those fines was remitted to a committee of Parliament, who secretly accepted large bribes from those who were the most guilty, and inflicted severe penalties on such as were comparatively innocent, but who disdained to compound for their trespasses.

A transaction of a description still more daring, shows the rapacious and reckless character of the commissioner Middleton, in the strongest light.

The Marquis of Argyle, as I have already said, had been executed, and his son succeeded to the title of Earl of Argyle only. He had repaired to London, in order to make some interest at court, and had been persuaded that some of the minions of Lord Clarendon, then at the head of affairs, would, for a thousand pounds, undertake to procure for him that minister's patronage and favor. Argyle upon this wrote a confidential letter to Lord Duffus,

in which he told him, that providing he could raise a thousand pounds, he would be able to obtain the protection of the English minister; that in such case he trusted the present would prove but a *gowk* storm;* and after some other depreciating expressions concerning the prevailing party in the Scottish Parliament, he added, that "then the King would see their tricks."

This letter fell into the hands of Middleton, who determined, that for expressions so innocent and simple, being in fact the natural language of a rival courtier, Argyle should be brought to trial for *leasing-making*; a crime, the essence of which consisted in spreading abroad falsehoods, tending to sow dissension between the King and the people. On this tyrannical law, which had been raked up on purpose, but which never could have been intended to apply to a private letter, Argyle was condemned to lose his head, and forfeit his estate. But the account of such a trial and sentence for a vague expression of ill-humor, struck Charles and his Privy Council with astonishment when it reached England, and the Chancellor Clarendon was the first to exclaim in the King's presence, that did he think he lived in a country where such gross oppression could be permitted, he would get out of his Majesty's dominions as fast as the gout would permit him. An order was sent down, forbidding the execution of Argyle, who was nevertheless detained prisoner until the end of Middleton's government, — a severe penalty for imputing tricks to the Royal Ministry. He was afterwards restored to his liberty and estates, to become at a later period a victim to similar persecution.

It was by driving on the alteration of church govern-

* A short storm, such as comes in the spring, the season of the cuckoo, which the Scotch call the Gowk.

ment in Scotland, that Middleton hoped to regain the place in Charles's favor, and Clarendon's good opinion, which he had lost by his excesses and severity. A general act of uniformity was passed for enforcing the observances of the Episcopal Church, and it was followed up by an order of council of the most violent ^{1st Oct.} character, framed, it is said, during the heat of a ^{1662.} drunken revel at Glasgow.* This furious mandate commanded that all ministers who had not received a presentation from their lay patrons, and spiritual induction into their livings from the prelates, should be removed from them by military force, if necessary. All their parishioners were prohibited from attending upon the ministry of such nonconformists, or acknowledging them as clergymen. This was at one stroke displacing all Presbyterian ministers who might scruple at once to become Episcopalians.

It appeared by this rash action, that Middleton entertained an opinion that the ministers, however attached to

* "At Middleton's desire," says the Reverend Mr. James Kirkton, "the Council is convened, and because it was an extraordinary one, I shall give their names. There were present, Middleton, commissioner, Glencairn, chancellor, Duke Hamilton, Montrose, Morton, Eglington, Lithgow, Callendar, Newburgh, Sinclair, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and Blackhall; and the report was, being convened at Glasgow, there was never a man among them but he was drunk at the time, except only Lee. But when they were sett, the commissioner propounds the case and the bishop's overture, which all approve except the Lord Lee. He told them they would all be mistaken; that proclamation would only lay the country desolate, and increase the hatred to bishops, and confusion among the people; and that they would find the young ministers would suffer more than loss of stipend before they would acknowledge bishops; and both sides pawned the reputation of their judgment upon the success of the proclamation." — *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 149. See Sir Walter Scott's review of this work, in *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, vol. xix. pp. 249. &c.

Presbyterianism, would submit to the Episcopal model rather than lose their livings, which were the only means most of them had for the support of themselves and families. But, to the great astonishment of the Commissioners, about three hundred and fifty ministers resigned their churches without hesitation, and determined to submit to the last extremity of poverty, rather than enjoy comfort at the price of renouncing the tenets of their Church. In the north parts of Scotland, in the midland counties, and along the eastern side of the Borders, many or most of the clergy conformed. But the western shires, where Presbytery had been ever most flourishing, were almost entirely deprived of their pastors; and the result was, that a number equal to one third of the whole parish ministers of Scotland, were at once expelled from their livings, and the people deprived of their instructions.

The congregations of the exiled preachers were strongly affected by this sweeping change, and by the fate of their clergymen. Many of the latter had, by birth or marriage, relations and connections in the parishes from which they were summarily banished, and they had all been the zealous instructors of the people in religion, and often their advisers in secular matters also. It was not in nature that their congregations should have seen them with indifference suddenly reduced from decent comfort to indigence, and submitting to it with patience, rather than sacrifice their conscientious scruples to their interest. Accordingly, they showed, in almost every case, the deepest sympathy with the distresses of their pastors,* and

* "I believe there was never such a sad Sabbath in Scotland, as when the poor persecuted ministers took leave of their people. It did not content the congregation to weep all of them, but they howled with a loud voice, weeping with the weeping of *Jazer*, as when a

corresponding indignation against the proceedings of the Government.

The cause, also, for which the clergy suffered, was not indifferent to the laity. It is true, the consequences of the Solemn League and Covenant had been so fatal, that at the time of the Restoration none but a few high-flying and rigid Presbyterians would have desired the re-establishment of that celebrated engagement. It depended only on the temper and moderation of the Court, to have reduced what was once the idol of all true Presbyterians, to the insignificance of an old almanac, as it had been termed by the Independents. But there was great difference between suffering the Covenant to fall into neglect, as containing doctrines too highly pitched and readily susceptible of misrepresentation, and in complying with the Government by ridiculing as absurd, and renouncing as odious, a document which had been once so much respected.

The Parliament, however, commanded the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned at the Cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with every mark of dishonor; while figures, dressed up to resemble Western Whigamores, as they were called, were also committed to the flames, to represent a burning of Presbyterianism in effigy. But as those who witnessed these proceedings could not but recollect, at the same time, that upon its first being formed, the same Covenant had been solemnly sworn to by almost all Scotland,—nobility, gentry,

besieged city is sackt. Then Middleton began to curse and swear (as he spared not), what would these mad fellows do? He knew very well many of them had not a stock could maintain their poor families for six months, and that was very true; but he understood not they resolved to live by faith, as sufferers used to do." — KIRKTON, p. 150.

clergy burgesses, and people with weeping eyes, and uplifted hands, and had been solemnly taken by the King himself, and a very large proportion of the statesmen, including the present ministers, — it was natural they should feel involuntary respect for that which once appeared so sacred to themselves, or to their fathers, and and feel the unnecessary insults directed against it as a species of sacrilege.

The oaths, also, which imposed on every person in public office the duty of renouncing the Covenant, as an unlawful engagement, were distressing to the consciences of many, particularly of the lower class; and, in general, the efforts made to render the Covenant odious and contemptible, rather revived its decaying interest with the Scottish public.

There was yet another aggravation of the evils consequent on the expulsion of the Presbyterian clergy. So many pulpits became vacant at once, that the prelates had no means of filling them up with suitable persons, whose talents and influence might have supplied the place of the exiled preachers. Numbers of half-educated youths were hastily sent for from the northern districts, in order that they might become *curates*, which was the term used in the Scottish Episcopal Church for a parish priest, although commonly applied in England to signify a clergyman hired to discharge the duty of another. From the unavoidable haste in filling the vacancies in the Church, these raw students, so hastily called into the spiritual vineyard, had, according to the historians of the period, as little morality as learning, and still less devotion than either. A northern country gentleman is said to have cursed the scruples of the Presbyterian clergy, because, he said, ever since they threw up their livings,

it was impossible to find a boy to herd cows — they had all gone away to be curates in the west.

The natural consequences of all these adverse circumstances were, that the Presbyterian congregations withdrew themselves in numbers from the parish churches, treated the curates with neglect and disrespect,* and seeking out their ancient preachers in the obscurity to which they had retired, begged and received from them the religious instruction which the deprived clergymen still thought it their duty to impart to those who needed and desired it, in despite of the additional severities imposed by the government upon their doing so.

The Episcopal Church Courts, or Commission Courts, as they were termed, took upon them to find a remedy for the defection occasioned by the scruples of the people. Nine prelates, and thirty-five commissioners from the laity, of whom a bishop, with four assistants, made a quorum, were intrusted with the power of enforcing the acts for the preservation of the newly re-established Episcopal Church. These oppressive ecclesiastical courts were held

* “Kirkton has given a whimsical account of their reception,” says Sir Walter Scott, “some points of which he frankly admits to be little to the credit of his own sect, who were the actors on those occasions. In some places, the new incumbents were welcomed with tears and requests to get them gone; in others with reasoning and disputes; in others with affronts and indignities. Sometimes the clapper of the bell was stolen; sometimes the church doors were barricadoed; sometimes the unfortunate incumbent was received with volleys of stones. On one occasion a box-full of pismires was emptied into the curate’s boots. On another, which our Presbyterian divine tells at more length than we care to rehearse it after him, a trick, something like that played off on the miller of Trompington, was practised on two of these hated divines. Kirkton adds, candidly: ‘I have known some profane people, that if they committed an error at night, thought affronting a curate to-morrow a testimony of their repentance.’” — *Review of Kirkton, Prose Works*, vol. xix. pp. 252, 253.

wherever there was a complaint of nonconformity; and they employed all the rigors of long imprisonment, heavy fines, and corporal punishment, upon those who either abandoned the worship of their own parish church, or went to hear the doctrine of the Presbyterian clergy, whose private meetings for worship were termed conventicles.

These conventicles were at first held in private houses, barns, or other buildings, as was the case in England, where (though in a much more moderate degree, and by milder measures) the general conformity of the Church was also enforced. But as such meetings, especially if numerous attended, were liable to be discovered and intruded upon by peace-officers and soldiers, who dispersed them rudely, sometimes plundering the men of their purses, and the women of their cloaks and plaids, the Scottish Presbyterians had recourse to an expedient of safety, suggested by the wild character of their country, and held these forbidden meetings in the open air, remote alike from observation and interruption, in wild, solitary, and mountainous places, where it was neither easy to find them, nor safe to disturb them, unless the force which assailed the congregation was considerable.*

On the other hand, the Privy Council doubled their

“The first who began to preach in the fields were Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Gabriel Semple, and were indeed, because of their painfulness and boldness, in no small respect among the common people; but, partly because of the deep disdain the people bore to the curats, partly because of their scandals and insufficiency, and partly because of the admonitions some of the ministers gave the people to be constant in the good old way of the Church of Scotland, and to beware of false teachers coming among them, very many of the people refused to hear the curats after they were settled in their pulpits. And the first fruit of their ministry was scattering of the flocks.” — KIRKTON, p. 164.

exertions to suppress, or rather to destroy, the whole body of nonconformists. But the attention of the English ministers had been attracted by the violence of their proceedings. Middleton began to fall into disfavor with Charles, and was sent as governor to Tangier, in a kind of honorable banishment, where he lost the life which he had exposed to so many dangers in battle, by a fall down a staircase.*

Lauderdale, who succeeded to his power, had much more talent. He was ungainly in his personal appearance, being a big man, with shaggy red hair, coarse features, and a tongue which seemed too large for his mouth. But he possessed a great portion of sense, learning, and wit. He was originally zealous for the Covenant, and his enemies at court had pressed forward the oaths by which it was to be renounced with the more eagerness, that they hoped Lauderdale would scruple to take them; but he only laughed at the idea of their supposing themselves capable of forming any oath which could obstruct the progress of his rise to political power.

Being now in full authority, Lauderdale distinctly perceived that the violent courses adopted were more likely to ruin Scotland than to establish Episcopacy. But he also knew, that he could not retain the power he had obtained, unless by keeping on terms with Sharpe, the Primate of Scotland, and the other bishops, at whose instigation these wild measures were adopted and carried on; and it is quite consistent with Lauderdale's selfish

* "There (at Tangier) he lived some little time, in misery and contempt enough, till death caught him, when, by a fall in his drunkenness, he broke the bone of his right arm; and the broken bone, at the next tumble down a pair of stairs, so wounded him in the side, that he first turned stupid, and then died." — KIRKTON, p. 159.

and crafty character, to suppose that he even urged them on to further excesses, in order that, when the consequences had ruined their reputation, he might succeed to the whole of that power, of which, at present, the prelates had a large share. The severities against dissenters, therefore, were continued; and the ruinous pecuniary penalties which were imposed on nonconformists, were raised by quartering soldiers upon the delinquents, who were entitled to have lodging, meat, and drink, in their houses, and forage for their horses, without any payment, till the fine was discharged. These men, who knew they were placed for the purpose of a punishment in the families where they were quartered, took care to be so insolent and rapacious, that if selling the last article he had of any value could raise money to rid him of these unwelcome guests, the unfortunate landlord was glad to part with them at whatever sacrifice.

The principal agents in this species of crusade against Calvinism, were the soldiers of the King's horse-guards, a body raised since the Restoration, upon the plan of the French household troops, the privates of which were accounted gentlemen, being frequently the younger sons of men of some pretension to family; cavaliers by profession, accustomed to practise the debauchery common among the dissolute youth of the period, and likely, from habit and inclination, to be a complete pest and torment to any respectable house in which they might be quartered. Other regiments of horse, upon the ordinary establishment, were raised for the same purpose.

The west of Scotland, and in particular Dumfries-shire, Ayrshire, and Galloway, were peculiarly harassed, as being more averse to the Episcopalian establishment, or, as the Council termed it, more refractory and obstinate than

any others. For the purpose of punishing those nonconformists, Sir James Turner was sent thither with a considerable party of troops, and full commission from the Privy Council to impose and levy fines, and inflict all the other penalties, for enforcing general compliance with the Episcopal system. Sir James was a soldier of fortune, who had served under David Lesley, and afterwards in the army of Engagers, under the Duke of Hamilton. He was a man of some literature, having written a treatise on the Art of War, and some other works, besides his own Memoirs. Nevertheless, he appears, by the account he gives of himself in his Memoirs, to have been an unscrupulous plunderer, and other authorities describe him as a fierce and dissolute character. In such hands the powers assigned by the Commission were not likely to slumber, although Sir James assures his readers that he never extorted above one half of the fine imposed. But a number of co-operating circumstances had rendered the exercise of such a commission as was intrusted to him, less safe than it had hitherto been.

CHAPTER L.

CONVENTICLES — THE PENTLAND RISING — BATTLE OF RULLION GREEN — THE INDULGENCE GRANTED — WITHDRAWN — THE OUTLAWED COVENANTERS — ARMED CONVENTICLES — SUPERSTITIONS OF THE COVENANTERS — PERSECUTION OF THEM — ADVENTURE OF CAPTAIN CREICHTON.

[1665 — 1678.]

WHEN the custom of holding field conventicles was adopted, it had the effect of raising the minds of those who frequented them to a higher and more exalted pitch of enthusiasm. The aged and more timid could hardly engage on distant expeditions into the wild mountainous districts and the barren moors, and the greater part of those who attended divine worship on such occasions, were robust of body and bold of spirit, or at least men whose deficiency of strength and courage were more than supplied by religious zeal. The view of the rocks and hills around them, while a sight so unusual gave solemnity to their acts of devotion, encouraged them in the natural thought of defending themselves against oppression, amidst the fortresses of nature's own construction, to which they had repaired to worship the God of nature, according to the mode their education dictated and their conscience acknowledged.* The recollection, that in these fastnesses

* " Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland muirs, where rivers, there but brooks,

their fathers had often found a safe retreat from foreign invaders, must have encouraged their natural confidence, and it was confirmed by the success with which a stand was sometimes made against small bodies of troops, who were occasionally repulsed by the sturdy Whigs whom they attempted to disperse. In most cases of this kind they behaved with moderation, inflicting no further penalty upon such prisoners as might fall into their hands, than detaining them to enjoy the benefit of a long sermon. Fanaticism added marvels to encourage this newborn spirit of resistance. They conceived themselves to be under the immediate protection of the Power whom they worshipped, and in their heated state of mind expected even miraculous interposition. At a conventicle held on one of the Lomond hills in Fife, it was reported and believed that an angelic form appeared in the air, hovering above the assembled congregation, with his foot advanced, as if in the act of keeping watch for their safety,

Disport to different seas; fast by such brooks,
 A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat
 With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
 Amid the heathery wild, that all around
 Fatigues the eye; in solitudes like these,
 Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foiled
 A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
 There leaning on his spear (one of the array,
 Whose gleam, in former days, had scathed the Rose
 On England's banner, and had powerless struck
 The infatuate monarch and his wavering host,)
 The lyart veteran heard the word of God
 By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
 In gentle stream; then rose the song, the loud
 Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
 Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
 And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
 Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-born note."

GRAHAME'S *Sabbath*.

On the whole, the idea of repelling force by force, and defending themselves against the attacks of the soldiers and others who assaulted them when employed in divine worship, began to become more general among the harassed nonconformists. For this purpose many of the congregation assembled in arms, and I received the following description of such a scene from a lady whose mother had repeatedly been present on such occasions.

The meeting was held on the Eildon hills, in the bosom betwixt two of the three conical tops which form the crest of the mountain. Trusty sentinels were placed on advanced posts all around, so as to command a view of the country below, and give the earliest notice of the approach of any unfriendly party. The clergyman occupied an elevated temporary pulpit, with his back to the wind. There were few or no males of any quality or distinction, for such persons could not escape detection, and were liable to ruin from the consequences. But many women of good condition, and holding the rank of ladies, ventured to attend the forbidden meeting, and were allowed to sit in front of the assembly. Their side-saddles were placed on the ground to serve for seats, and their horses were *tethered*, or picketed, as it is called, in the rear of the congregation. Before the females, and in the interval which divided them from the tent, or temporary pulpit, the arms of the men present, pikes, swords, and muskets, were regularly piled in such order as is used by soldiers, so that each man might in an instant assume his own weapons. When scenes of such a kind were repeatedly to be seen in different parts of the country, and while the Government relaxed none of that rigor which had thrown the nation into such a state, it was clear that a civil war could not be far distant.

It was in the autumn of 1666, that the severities of Sir James Turner, already alluded to, seem to have driven the Presbyterians of the west into a species of despair, which broke out into insurrection. Some accounts say, that a party of peasants having used force to deliver an indigent old man, whom a guard of soldiers, having pinioned and stretched upon the ground, were dragging to prison, in order to compel payment of a church fine, they reflected upon the penalties they had incurred by such an exploit, and resolved to continue in arms, and to set the Government at defiance. Another account affirms, that the poor people were encouraged to take up arms by an unknown person, calling himself Captain Gray, and pretending to have orders to call them out from superior persons, whom he did not name. By what means soever they were first raised, they soon assembled a number of peasants, and marched to Dumfries with such rapidity, that they surprised Sir James Turner in his lodgings, and seized on his papers and his money. Captain Gray took possession of the money, and left the party, never to re-join them; having, it is probable, discharged his task, when he had hurried these poor ignorant men into such a dangerous mutiny. Whether he was employed by some hot-headed Presbyterian, who thought the time favorable for a rising against the prelates, or whether by Government themselves, desirous of encouraging an insurrection which, when put down, might afford a crop of fines and forfeitures, cannot now be known.*

The country gentlemen stood on their guard, and none of them joined the insurgents; but a few of the most violent of the Presbyterian ministers took part with them.

* Kirkton says, "one Andrew Gray, ane Edinburgh merchant, who immediately deserted them." — p. 232.

Two officers of low rank were chosen to command 'so great an undertaking; their names were Wallace and Learmont. They held council together whether they should put Sir James Turner to death or not; but he represented to them that, severe as they might think him, he had been much less so than his commission and instructions required and authorized; and as, upon examining his papers, he was found to have spoken the truth, his life was spared, and he was carried with them as a prisoner or hostage. Being an experienced soldier, he wondered to see the accurate obedience of these poor countrymen, the excellent order in which they marched, and their attention to the duties of outposts and sentinels. But, probably, no peasant of Europe is sooner able to adapt himself to military discipline than a native of Scotland, who is usually prudent enough to consider, that it is only mutual co-operation and compliance with orders which can make numbers effectual.

When they had attained their greatest strength, and had assembled at Lanark, after two or three days' wandering, the insurgents might amount to three thousand men. They there issued a declaration, which bore that they acknowledged the King's authority, and that the arms which they had assumed were only to be used in self-defence. But as, at the same time, they renewed the Covenant, of which the principal object was, not to obtain for Presbytery a mere toleration, but a triumphant superiority, they would probably, as is usual in such cases, have extended or restricted their objects as success or disaster attended their enterprise.

Meantime, General Dalziel, commonly called Tom Dalziel, a remarkable personage of those times, had marched from Edinburgh at the head of a small body of regular

forces, summoning all the lieges to join him on pain of being accounted traitors. Dalziel had been bred in the Russian wars, after having served under Montrose. He was an enthusiastic Royalist, and would never shave his beard after the King's death. His dress was otherwise so different from what was then the mode, that Charles the Second used to accuse him of a plan to draw crowds of children together, that they might squeeze each other to death while they gazed on his singular countenance and attire.* He was a man of a fierce and passionate temper, as appears from his once striking a prisoner on the face with the hilt of his dagger till the blood sprung, — an unmanly action, though he was provoked by the language of the man, who called the General “a Muscovian beast, who used to roast men.”

This ferocious commander was advancing from Glas-

* “Dalziel was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey-coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of K. Charles I. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice a year, and then only to kiss the King's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valor. His usual dress and figure when he was in London never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to and from the Court. As he was a man of humor, he would always thank them for their civilities when he left them, and let them know exactly at what hour he intended to return. In compliance with his Majesty, he went once to Court in the very height of the fashion; but as soon as the King and those about him laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his Court dress.” — CAPT. CREICHTON'S *Memoirs, in Swift's Works*, vol. xii. pp. 60, 61.

gow to Lanark, when he suddenly learned that the insurgents had given him the slip, and were in full march towards the capital. The poor men had been deceived into a belief that West Lothian was ready to rise in their favor, and that they had a large party of friends in the metropolis itself. Under these false hopes, they approached as far as Colinton, within four miles of Edinburgh. Here they learned that the city was fortified, and cannon placed before the gates; that the College of Justice, which can always furnish a large body of serviceable men, was under arms, and, as their informer expressed it, every advocate in his bandaliers.* They learned at the same time that their own depressed party within the town had not the least opportunity or purpose of rising.

Discouraged with these news, and with the defection of many of their army, — for their numbers were reduced to eight or nine hundred, dispirited and exhausted by want, disappointment, and fatigue, — Learmont and Wallace drew back their diminished forces to the eastern shoulder of the Pentland Hills, and encamped on an eminence called Rullion Green. They had reposed themselves for some hours, when, towards evening, they observed a body of horse coming through the mountains, by a pass leading from the west. At first the Covenanters entertained the flattering dream that it was the expected reinforcement from West Lothian. But the standards and kettle-drums made it soon evident that it was the vanguard of Dalziel's troops, which, having kept the opposite skirts of the Pentland ridge till they passed the village of

* "The bandalier was a small wooden case covered with leather, containing a charge of powder for a musket; twelve generally hung on the same shoulder-belt."

Currie, had there learned the situation of the insurgents, and moved eastward in quest of them by a road through the hills.

Dalziel instantly led his men to the assault. The insurgents behaved with courage. They twice ^{28th Nov.,} repulsed the attack of the Royalists. But it ^{1696.} was renewed by a large force of cavalry on the insurgents' right wing, which bore down and scattered a handful of wearied horse who were there posted, and broke the ranks of the infantry. The slaughter in the field and in the chase was very small, not exceeding fifty men, and only a hundred and thirty were made prisoners. The King's cavalry, being composed chiefly of gentlemen, pitied their unfortunate countrymen, and made little slaughter; but many were intercepted, and slain by the country people in the neighborhood, who were unfriendly to their cause, and had sustained some pillage from their detached parties.

About twenty of the prisoners were executed at Edinburgh as rebels, many of them being put to the torture. This was practised in various ways, — sometimes by squeezing the fingers with screws called thumbikins, sometimes by the *boot*, a species of punishment peculiar to Scotland. It consisted in placing the leg of the unfortunate person in a very strong wooden case, called a *Boot*, and driving down wedges between his knee and the frame, by which the limb was often crushed and broken.

But though these horrid cruelties could tear the flesh, and crush the bones of the unfortunate victims, they could not abate their courage. Triumphant in the cause for which they died, they were seen at the place of execution contending which should be the first victim, while he who obtained the sad preference actually shouted for

joy. Most of the sufferers, though very ignorant, expressed themselves with such energy on the subject of the principles for which they died, as had a strong effect on the multitude. But a youth, named Hugh M'Kail, comely in person, well educated, and of an enthusiastic character, acted the part of a martyr in its fullest extent. He had taken but a small share in the insurrection, but was chiefly obnoxious for a sermon, in which he had said that the people of God had been persecuted by a Pharaoh or an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the Church; words which were neither forgotten nor forgiven. He was subjected to extreme torture, in order to wring from him some information concerning the causes and purposes of the rising; but his leg was crushed most cruelly in the boot, without extracting from him a sigh or sound of impatience. Being then condemned to death, he spoke of his future state with a rapturous confidence, and took leave of the numerous spectators in the words of a dying saint, careless of his present suffering, and confident in his hopes of immortality.

“I shall speak no more with earthly creatures,” he said, “but shall enjoy the aspect of the ineffable Creator himself. Farewell, father, mother, and friends, — farewell, sun, moon, and stars, — farewell, perishable earthly delights, — and welcome those which are everlasting, — welcome, glory, — welcome eternal life, — and welcome, death!” There was not a dry eye among the spectators of his execution, and it began to be perceived by the authors of these severities that the last words and firm conduct of this dying man, made an impression on the populace the very reverse of what they desired. After this, the superintendents of these executions resorted to the cruel expedient which

had been practised when the Royalist followers of Montrose suffered, and caused trumpets to be sounded, and drums beaten, to drown the last words of these resolute men.

The vengeance taken for the Pentland rising was not confined to these executions in the capital. The shires of Galloway, Ayr,* and Dumfries, were subjected to military severities, and all who had the slightest connection with the rebellion were rigorously harassed. A party of Ayrshire gentlemen had gathered together for the purpose of joining the insurgents, but had been prevented from doing so. They fled from the consequences of their rashness; yet they were not only arraigned, and doom of forfeiture passed against them in their absence, but, contrary to all legal usage, the sentence was put in execution without their being heard in their defence; and their estates were conferred upon General Dalziel, and General Drummond, or retained by the officers of state to enrich themselves.

But the period was now attained which Lauderdale aimed at. The violence of the government in Scotland at length attracted the notice of the English court; and, when inquired into, was found much too gross to be tolerated. The Primate Sharpe was ordered to withdraw from administration; Lauderdale, with Tweeddale, Sir

* "At Ayr the executioner fled from the town because he would not murder the innocent; so the condemned had almost escaped if the provost had not invented this expedient, that one of the eight who were to suffer should have his life spared if he would execute the rest, which one of them agreed to do; but when the execution day came, lest he should have fainted, the provost caused fill him almost drunk with brandy." — KIRKTON, p. 252. For the extraordinary proceedings in the case of William Sutherland, executioner at Irvine, see KIRKTON, pp. 253, 254.

Robert Murray, and the Earl of Kincardine, were placed at the head of affairs, and it was determined, by affording some relief to the oppressed Presbyterians, to try at least the experiment of lenity towards them.

Such of the ejected clergy as had not given any particular offence, were permitted to preach in vacant parishes, and even received some pecuniary encouragement from government. This was termed the Indulgence. Had some such measure of toleration been adopted when Presbytery was first abolished, it might have been the means of preventing the frequency of conventicles; but, when resorted to in despair, as it were, of subduing them by violence, the mass of discontented Presbyterians regarded accession to the measure as a dishonorable accommodation with a government by whom they had been oppressed. It is true, the gentry, and those who at once preferred Presbytery, and were unwilling to suffer in their worldly estate by that preference, embraced this opportunity to hear their favorite doctrines without risk of fine and imprisonment. The Indulged clergy were also men, for the most part, of wisdom, and learning, who, being unable to vindicate the freedom and sovereignty of their Church, were contented to preach to and instruct their congregations, and discharge their duty as clergymen, if not to the utmost, at least as far as the evil times permitted.

But this modified degree of zeal by no means gratified the more ardent and rigid Covenanters, by whom the stooping to act under the Indulgence was accounted a compromise with the Malignants, — a lukewarm and unacceptable species of worship, resembling salt which had lost its savor. Many, therefore, held the indulged clergy as a species of king's curates; and rather than listen to

their doctrines, which they might have heard in safety, followed into the wilderness those bold and daring preachers, whose voices thundered forth avowed opposition and defiance against the mighty of the earth. The Indulged were accused of meanly adopting Erastian opinions, and acknowledging the dependence and subjection of the Church to the civil magistrate, — a doctrine totally alien from the character of the Presbyterian religion. The elevated wish of following the religion of their choice, in defiance of danger and fear, and their animosity against a government by whom they had been persecuted, induced the more zealous Presbyterians to prefer a conventicle to their parish church; and a congregation where the hearers attended in arms to defend themselves, to a more peaceful meeting, when, if surprised, they might save themselves by submission or flight. Hence these conventicles became frequent, at which the hearers attended with weapons. The romantic and dangerous character of this species of worship recommended it to such as were constitutionally bold and high-spirited; and there were others, who, from the idle spirit belonging to youth, liked better to ramble through the country as the lifeguard to some outlawed preacher, than to spend the six days of the week in ordinary labor, and attend their own parish church on the seventh, to listen to the lukewarm doctrine of an Indulged minister.

From all these reasons, the number of armed conventicles increased; and Lauderdale, incensed at the failure of his experiment, increased his severity against them, while the Indulgence was withdrawn, as a measure inadequate to the intended purpose, though, perhaps, it chiefly failed for want of perseverance on the part of the Government.

As if Satan himself had suggested means of oppression, Lauderdale raked up out of oblivion the old and barbarous laws which had been adopted in the fiercest times, and directed them against the nonconformists, especially those who attended the field conventicles. One of those laws inflicted the highest penalties upon persons who were intercommuned, as it was called, — that is, outlawed by legal sentence. The nearest relations were prohibited from assisting each other, the wife the husband, the brother the brother, and the parent the son, if the sufferers had been intercommuned. The government of this cruel time applied these ancient and barbarous statutes to the outlawed Presbyterians of the period, and thus drove them altogether from human society.* In danger, want, and necessity, the inhabitants of the wilderness, and expelled from civil intercourse, it is no wonder that we find many of these wanderers avowing principles and doctrines hostile to the government which oppressed them, and carrying their resistance beyond the bounds of mere self-defence. There were instances, though less numerous than might have been expected of their attacking the houses of the curates, or of others by whose information they had been accused of nonconformity; and several deaths en-

* "But years more gloomy followed; and no more
The assembled people dared, in face of day,
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,
And thunder-peals compelled the men of blood
To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell
By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful pastor's voice: he by the gleam
Of sheeted lightning oped the sacred book,
And words of comfort spake; over their souls
His accents soothing came." — GRAHAME.

sued in those enterprises, as well as in skirmishes with the military.

Superstitious notions also, the natural consequences of an uncertain, melancholy, and solitary life among the desolate glens and mountains, mingled with the intense enthusiasm of this persecuted sect. Their occasional successes over their oppressors, and their frequent escapes from the pursuit of the soldiery, when the marksmen missed their aim, or when a sudden mist concealed the fugitives, were imputed, not to the operation of those natural causes by means of which the Deity is pleased to govern the world, and which are the engines of his power, but to the direct interposition of a miraculous agency, overruling and suspending the laws of nature, as in the period of Scripture history.

Many of the preachers, led away by the strength of their devotional enthusiasm, conceived themselves to be the vehicles of prophecy, and poured out tremendous denunciations of future wars, and miseries more dreadful than those which they themselves sustained; and, as they imagined themselves to be occasionally under the miraculous protection of the heavenly powers, so they often thought themselves in a peculiar manner exposed to the envy and persecution of the spirits of darkness, who lamed their horses when they were pursued, betrayed their footsteps to the enemy, or terrified them by ghastly apparitions in the dreary caverns and recesses where they were compelled to hide themselves.

But especially the scattered Covenanters believed firmly that their chief persecutors received from the Evil Spirit a proof against leaden bullets, — a charm, that is, to prevent their being pierced or wounded by them. There were many supposed to be gifted with this necro-

matic privilege. In the battle of Rullion Green, on the Pentland Hills, many of the Presbyterians were willing to believe that the balls were seen hopping like hailstones from Tom Dalziel's buff-coat and boots. Silver bullets were not supposed to be neutralized by the same spell ; but that metal being scarce among the persecuted Covenanters, it did not afford them much relief.

I have heard of an English officer, however, who fell by baser metal. He was attacking a small house in Ayrshire, which was defended by some of the Wanderers. They were firing on both sides, when one of the defenders, in scarcity of ammunition, loaded his piece with the iron ball which formed the top of the fire-tongs, and taking aim at the officer with that charge, mortally wounded him whom lead had been unable to injure. It is also said, that the dying man asked to know the name of the place where he fell ; and being told it was Caldens, or Caldons, he exclaimed against the Evil Spirit, who, he said, had told him he was to be slain among the Chaldeans, but who, as it now appeared, had deceived him, by cutting him off when his death was totally unexpected.

To John Graham, of Claverhouse, a Scottish officer of high rank, who began to distinguish himself as a severe executor of the orders of the Privy Council against non-conformists, the Evil Spirit was supposed to have been still more liberal than to Dalziel, or to the Englishman who died at Caldons. He not only obtained proof against lead, but the Devil is said to have presented him with a black horse, which had not a single white hair upon its body. This horse, it was said, had been cut out of the belly of its dam, instead of being born in the usual manner. On this animal Claverhouse was supposed to perform the most unwonted feats of agility flying almost like

a bird along the sides of precipitous hills, and through pathless morasses, where an ordinary horse must have been smothered or dashed to pieces. It is even yet believed, that, mounted on this steed, Claverhouse (or Clavers, as he is popularly called) once turned a hare on the mountain named the Brandlaw, at the head of Moffatdale, where no other horse could have kept its feet. But these exertions were usually made whilst he was in pursuit of the Wanderers, which was considered as Satan's own peculiar pleasing work.*

These superstitious notions were the natural consequences of the dreary and precarious existence to which these poor fugitives were condemned, and which induced them to view as miraculous whatever was extraordinary. The persons supposed to be proof against bullets were only desperate and bold men, who had the good fortune to escape the dangers to which they fearlessly exposed themselves; and the equestrian exploits of Claverhouse, when stripped of exaggeration, were merely such as could be executed by any excellent horseman, and first-rate horse, to the amazement of those who were unaccustomed to witness feats of the kind.

The peculiar character and prejudices of the Covenanters are easily accounted for. Yet when it is considered that so many Scottish subjects were involved in the snares of these cruel laws, and liable to be prosecuted under them (the number is said to have reached eighteen or twenty thousand persons), it may seem wonderful that the Government could find a party in the kingdom to approve of and help forward measures as impolitic as they were cruel. But, besides the great command which the very

* See Notes "Claverhouse's Charger," and "Proof against shot." — *Waverley Novels*, vol. x. p. 140.

worst government must always possess over those who look for advancement and employment under it, these things, it must be considered, took place shortly after the Royalists, the prevalent party at that time, had been themselves subjected to proscription, exile, judicial executions, and general massacre. The fate of Montrose and his followers, the massacres of Dunnavertie and Philiphaugh, above all, the murder of King Charles, had taken place during the predominance of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and were imputed, however unjustly, to their religious principles, which were believed by the Cavaliers to be inconsistent with law, loyalty, and good order. Under such mistaken sentiments, many of the late Royalist party lent their arms eagerly to suppress the adherents of a sect, to the pre-eminence of which they traced the general misery of the civil wars, and their own peculiar misfortunes.

Thus we find the Lady Methven of the day (a daughter of the house of Marischal, and wife of Patrick Smythe of Methven), interrupting a conventicle in person. A large meeting of this kind had assembled on the grounds of her husband, then absent in London, when the lady approached them at the head of about sixty followers and allies, she herself leading them on with a light-horseman's carabine ready cocked over her arm, and a drawn sword in the other hand. The congregation sent a party of a hundred armed men to demand her purpose, and the Amazonian lady protested, if they did not leave her husband's estate, it should be a bloody day. They replied, that they were determined to preach, whether she would or not; but Dame Anne Keith's unshaken determination overcame their enthusiasm, and at length compelled them to retreat. After this affair, she wrote to her husband that she was

providing arms, and even two pieces of cannon, hearing that the Whigs had sworn to be revenged for the insult she had put on them. "If the fanatics," she concludes, "chance to kill me, comfort yourself it shall not be for naught. I was once wounded for our gracious King, and now, in the strength of Heaven, I will hazard my person with the men I can command, before these rebels rest where you have power." No doubt Lady Methven acted against these "vagueing gypsies," as she terms them, with as much honesty and sincerity of purpose, as they themselves entertained in resisting her.*

But the principal agents of government, in the persecution of these oppressed people, were the soldiery, to whom, contrary to the rule in all civilized countries, unless in actual warfare, power was given to arrest, examine, detain, and imprison such persons as they should find in the wildernesses, which they daily ransacked to discover delinquents, whose persons might afford plunder, or their purses pay fines. One of these booted apostles, as the Presbyterians called the dragoons, Captain Creighton by name, has left his Memoirs, in which he rather exults in, than regrets, the scenes of rapine and violence he had witnessed, and the plunder which he collected. The following is one of his stories.

Being then a Lifeguardsman, and quartered at Bathgate, he went out one Sunday on the moors with his comrade Grant, to try if they could discover any of the Wanderers. They were disguised like countrymen, in gray coats and bonnets. After eight or ten miles walking, they descried three men on the top of a hill, whom they judged to be placed there as sentinels. They were armed with long poles. Taking precautions to come suddenly upon

* See Review of "Kirkton's Church History," vol. xix. pp. 270-272.

this outpost, Creighton snatched one of the men's poles from him, and asking what he meant by carrying such a pole on the Lord's Day, immediately knocked him down. Grant secured another; the third fled to give the alarm, but Creighton overtook and surprised him also, though armed with a pistol at his belt. They were then guided onward to the conventicle by the voice of the preacher, Master John King (afterwards executed), which was so powerful, that Creighton professes he heard him distinctly at a quarter of a mile's distance, the wind favoring his force of lungs.

The meeting was very numerously attended; nevertheless, the two troopers had the temerity to approach, and commanded them, in the King's name, to disperse. Immediately, forty of the congregation arose in defence, and advanced upon the troopers, when Creighton, observing a handsome horse, with a lady's pillion on it, grazing near him, seized it, and leaping on its back, spurred through the morasses, allowing the animal to choose its own way. Grant, though on foot, kept up with his comrade for about a mile, and the whole conventicle followed in full hue and cry, in order to recover the palfrey, which belonged to a lady of distinction. When Grant was exhausted, Creighton gave him the horse in turn, and being both armed with sword and pistol, they forced their way through such of the conventiclors as attempted to intercept them,* and gained the house of a gentleman, whom

* "By this time," says Creighton, "we saw twelve Covenanters on horseback, who advanced to us by a shorter cut, and filled and blocked up a gap through which we were of necessity to pass. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues with my broadsword and pistol, soon forced them to open to the right and left. My comrade got through, and was pursued a good way; but he so laid about him with his broadsword, that the pursuers, being un-

Creighton calls Laird of Poddishaw. Here they met another gentleman of fortune, the Laird of Polkemmet, who, greatly to his disturbance, recognized in the horse which the troopers had brought off his own lady's nag, on which, without his knowledge as he affirmed, she had used the freedom to ride to the conventicle. He was now at the mercy of the Lifeguardsmen, being liable to a heavy fine for his wife's delinquency, besides the forfeiture of the palfrey. In this dilemma, Mr. Baillie of Polkemmet invited the Lifeguardsmen to dine with him next day, and offered them the horse with its furniture as a lawful prize. But Creighton, perceiving that the lady was weeping, very gallantly gave up his claim to the horse, on condition that she would promise never to attend a conventicle again. The military gentlemen were no losers by this liberality; for as the lady mentioned the names of some wealthy persons who were present at the unlawful meeting, her husband gave the parties concerned to understand that they must make up a purse of hush-money for the benefit of Creighton and his comrade, who lived plentifully for a twelvemonth afterwards on the sum thus obtained.

This story, though it shows the power intrusted to the soldiers, to beat and plunder the persons assembled for religious worship, is rather of a comic than a serious cast. But far different were the ordinary rencounters which took place between the Covenanters and the military. About forty or fifty years ago, melancholy tales of the armed, durst not seize him. In the mean time I, who was left on foot, kept the Covenanters who followed me at a proper distance; but they pelted me with clods, which I sometimes returned; till at last, after chasing me above a mile, they saw a party of troopers in red passing by at some distance, and they gave over their pursuit." — SWIFT'S *Works*, vol. xii. p. 24.

strange escapes, hard encounters, and cruel exactions of this period, were the usual subject of conversation at every cottage fireside; and the peasants, while they showed the caverns and dens of the earth in which the Wanderers concealed themselves, recounted how many of them died in resisting with arms in their hands, how many others were executed by judicial forms, and how many were shot to death without even the least pretence of a trial. The country people retained a strong sense of the injustice with which their ancestors had been treated, which showed itself in a singular prejudice. They expressed great dislike of that beautiful bird, the green plover, in Scottish called the peese-weep. The reason alleged was, that these birds being by some instinct led to attend to and watch any human beings whom they see in their native wilds, the soldiers were often guided in pursuit of the Wanderers, when they might otherwise have escaped observation, by the plover being observed to hover over a particular spot. For this reason the shepherds, within my own remembrance, often destroyed the nests of this bird when they met with them.

A still sadder memorial of those calamitous days was the number of headstones and other simple monuments which, after the Revolution, were erected over the graves of the persons thus destroyed, and which usually bore, along with some lines of rude poetry, an account of the manner in which they had been slain.

These mortal resting-places of the victims of persecution were held so sacred, that about forty years since an aged man dedicated his life to travel through Scotland, for the purpose of repairing and clearing the tombs of the sufferers. He always rode upon a white pony, and from that circumstance, and the peculiarity of his appearance

and occupation, acquired the nickname of Old Mortality.* In later days, the events of our own time have been of such an engrossing character, that this species of traditional history is much forgotten, and moss and weeds are generally suffered to conceal the monuments of the martyrs.

* See the Author's Introduction (1830) to his tale of *Old Mortality*.

CHAPTER LI.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE'S ADMINISTRATION — DESCENT OF THE HIGHLAND HOST — WRITS OF LAW-BURROWS ON BEHALF OF THE KING TAKEN OUT AGAINST THE GENTLEMEN OF THE WEST — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MITCHELL, FOR ASSASSINATING HONEYMAN, BISHOP OF THE ORKNEYS — MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARPE — THE NONCONFORMISTS TAKE UP ARMS IN THE WEST — DEFEAT OF CLAVERHOUSE AT DRUMCLOG — THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH SENT TO SCOTLAND TO SUPPRESS THE INSURRECTION — BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE.

[1678, 1679.]

WE have said before, that Lauderdale, now the chief minister for Scotland, had not originally approved of the violent measures taken with the nonconformists, and had even recommended a more lenient mode of proceeding, by granting a toleration or Indulgence, as it was called, for the free exercise of the Presbyterian religion. But being too impatient to wait the issue of his own experiment, and fearful of being represented as lukewarm in the King's service, he at length imitated and even exceeded Middleton in his extreme severities against the nonconformists.

The Duke of Lauderdale, for to that rank he was raised when the government was chiefly intrusted to him, married Lady Dysart, a woman of considerable talent, but of inordinate ambition, boundless expense, and the most unscrupulous rapacity. Her influence over her

husband was extreme, and, unhappily, was of a kind which encouraged him in his greatest errors. In order to supply her extravagance, he had recourse to the public fines for nonconformity, church penalties, and so forth, prosecutions for which, with the other violent proceedings we have noticed, were pushed on to such an extremity as to induce a general opinion that Lauderdale really meant to drive the people of Scotland to a rebellion, in order that he himself might profit by the confiscations which must follow on its being subdued.*

The Scottish nobility and gentry were too wise to be caught in this snare; but although they expressed the utmost loyalty to the King, yet many, with the Duke of Hamilton, the Premier Peer of Scotland, at their head, remonstrated against courses which, while they beggared

* "The revenues of Scotland were engrossed and wasted by Lauderdale and his friends. The Parliament was prolonged above four years, that he might enjoy the emoluments and rank of Commissioner; and his revenues during his abode in Scotland, exceeded those of its ancient kings. His salary was sixteen thousand pounds sterling; the donations which he obtained, twenty-six thousand; but the annual revenues of the Crown, the surplus revenue accumulated by Murray, and an assessment of seventy-two thousand pounds, were insufficient to support his profusion, and disappeared in his hands. But the most lucrative and oppressive sources of extortion were the penalties and compositions for attending conventicles, of which it is impossible to estimate the amount. On one occasion two gentlemen compounded for fifteen hundred pounds. Thirty thousand pounds were imposed on ten gentlemen, nor these the most considerable, in the shire of Renfrew. Injustice was aggravated by the insolence of Lauderdale, whose unfeeling jests insulted such as compounded for their fines. The penalties of nonconformity within particular districts were farmed out or assigned to his dependents. Nineteen hundred pounds sterling were exacted by Athol, the Justice-general, for his own behoof, in a single week; and the estates of those who withdrew from Lauderdale's rage and insolence, were plundered and wasted by gifts of escheat." — LAING, vol. ii. pp. 459, 460.

the tenantry, impoverished the gentry, and ruined their estates. By way of answer to their expostulations, the western landholders were required to enter into bonds, under the same penalties which were incurred by those who were actual delinquents, that neither they nor their families, nor their vassals, tenants, or other persons residing on their property, should withdraw from church, attend conventicles, or relieve intercommuned persons. The gentry refused to execute these bonds. They admitted that conventicles were become very frequent, and expressed their willingness to assist the officers of the law in suppressing them ; but, as they could exercise no forcible control over their tenants and servants, they declined to render themselves responsible for their conformity. Finally, they recommended a general indulgence, as the only measure which promised the restoration of tranquillity.

Both parties, at that unhappy period (1678), were in the habit of imputing their enemies' measures to the suggestions of Satan ; but that adopted by Lauderdale, upon the western gentlemen's refusing the bond,* had really some appearance of being composed under the absolute dictation of an evil spirit. He determined to treat the whole west country as if in a state of actual revolt. He caused not only a body of the guards and militia, with field artillery, to march into the devoted districts, but invited, for the same purpose, from the Highland mountains, the clans by which they were inhabited. These wild mountaineers

* " Upon their refusing this, Duke Lauderdale writ to the King, that the country was in a state of rebellion, and that it was necessary to proceed to hostilities for reducing them. So by a letter, such as he sent up, the King left it to him and the Council to take care of the public peace in the best way they could." — *BURNER'S History of his own Times.*

descended, under their different chiefs, speaking an unknown language, and displaying to the inhabitants of the Lowlands their strange attire, obsolete arms, and singular manners. The clans were surprised in their turn. They had come out expecting to fight, when, to their astonishment, they found an innocent, peaceful, and unresisting country, in which they were to enjoy free quarters, and full license for plunder. It may be supposed, that such an invitation to men, to whom marauding habits were natural, offered opportunities not to be lost, and accordingly the western counties long had occasion to lament the inroad of the Highland host. A committee of the Privy Council, most of whom were themselves chiefs of clans or commanders in the army, attended to secure the submission of the gentry, and enforce the bonds. But the noblemen and gentry continuing obstinate in their refusal to come under obligations which they had no means of fulfilling, the Privy Council issued orders to disarm the whole inhabitants of the country, taking even the gentlemen's swords, riding-horses, and furniture, and proceeding with such extreme rigor, that the Earl of Cassilis, among others, prayed they would either afford him the protection of soldiers, or return him some of his arms to defend his household, since otherwise he must be subject to the insolence and outrages of the most paltry of the rabble.

To supply the place of the bonds, which were subscribed by few or none, this unhappy Privy Council fell upon a plan, by a new decree, of a nature equally oppressive. There was, and is, a writ in Scotland, called *lawburrows*, by which a man who is afraid of violence from his neighbor, upon making oath to the circumstances affording ground for such apprehension, may have the party

bound over to keep the peace, under security. Of this useful law a most oppressive application was now made. The King was made to apply for a lawburrows throughout a certain district of his dominions, against all the gentlemen who had refused to sign the bond; and thus an attempt was made to extort security from every man so situated, as one of whom the King had a natural right to entertain well-founded apprehensions!*

These extraordinary provisions of law seem to have driven, not the Presbyterians alone, but the whole country of the west into absolute despair.

No supplication or remonstrance had the least effect on the impenetrable Lauderdale. When he was told that the oppression of the Highlanders and of the soldiery would totally interrupt the produce of agriculture, he replied, "it were better that the west bore nothing but windle-straws and sandy-laverocks,† than that it should bear rebels to the King." † In their despair the suffering

* "A government swearing the peace against its subjects was a new spectacle; but if a private subject, under fear of another, hath a right to such a security, how much more the government itself? was thought an unanswerable argument. Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory." — Fox's *Hist. of James II.* p. 119.

† Dog's grass and sea-larks.

‡ "These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion; which they thought would be soon quashed, and would give a good color for keeping up an army. And Duke Lauderdale's party depended so much on this that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them; so that on Valentine's day, instead of drawing mistresses, they drew estates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection: and they were as much dejected, when they knew it was false. It was happy for the public peace, that the people were universally possessed with this opinion: for when they saw a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that." — BURNET, vol. ii. p. 185.

parties determined to lay their complaints against the Minister before the King in person. With this purpose, not less than fourteen peers, and fifteen gentlemen, of whom many were threatened with writs of lawburrows, repaired to London, to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne. This journey was taken in spite of an arbitrary order, by which the Scottish nobility had been forbidden, in the King's name, either to approach the King's person, or to leave their own kingdom; as if it had been the purpose to chain them to the stake, like baited bears, without the power of applying for redress, or escaping from the general misery.

Lauderdale had so much interest at court as to support himself against this accusation, by representing to the King that it was his object to maintain a large army in Scotland, to afford assistance when his Majesty should see it time to extend his authority in England. He retained his place, therefore, and the supplicants were sent from court in disgrace.* But their mission had produced some beneficial effects, for the measures concerning the lawburrows and the enforced bonds were withdrawn, and orders given for removing the Highlanders from the west countries, and disbanding the militia.

When the Highlanders went back to their hills, which was in February, 1678, they appeared as if returning from the sack of some besieged town. They carried with them plate, merchant-goods, webs of linen and of cloth, quantities of wearing-apparel, and household furni-

* "It is reported that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scottish affairs, said: 'I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has acted anything contrary to my interest;' a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign." — HUME.

ture, and a good number of horses to bear their plunder. It is, however, remarkable, and to the credit of this people, that they are not charged with any cruelty during three months' residence at free-quarters, although they were greedy of spoil, and rapacious in extorting money. Indeed, it seems probable, that, after all, the wild Highlanders had proved gentler than was expected, or wished, by those who employed them.

An event now occurred, one of the most remarkable of the time, which had a great effect upon public affairs and the general feeling of the nation. This was the murder of James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland. This person, you must remember, having been the agent of the Presbyterians at the time of the Restoration, had, as was generally thought, betrayed his constituents; at least he had certainly changed his principles, and accepted the highest office in the new Episcopal establishment. It may be well supposed that a person so much hated as he was, from his desertion of the old cause, and violence in the new, was the object of general hostility, and that amongst a sect so enthusiastic as the nonconformists, some one should be found to exercise judgment upon him, — in other words, to take his life.

The avenger who first conceived himself called to this task was one Mitchell, a fanatical preacher, of moderate talents and a heated imagination. He fired a pistol, loaded with three bullets, into the coach of the Archbishop, and missing the object of his aim, broke the arm of Honeyman, Bishop of the Orkneys, who sat with Sharpe in the carriage, of which wound he never entirely recovered, though he lingered for some years. The assassin escaped during the confusion. This was in 1668, and in 1674

the Archbishop again observed a man who seemed to watch him, and whose face was imprinted upon his mind. The alarm was given, and Mitchell was seized. Being closely examined by the Lords of the Privy Council, he at first absolutely denied the act charged against him. But to the Chancellor he confessed in private — having at first received a solemn promise that his life should be saved — that he had fired the shot which wounded the Bishop of Orkney. After this compromise, the assassin's trial was put off from time to time, from the determined desire to take the life which had been promised to him. In order to find matter against Mitchell, he was examined concerning his accession to the insurrection of Pentland; and as he refused to confess anything which should make against himself, he was appointed to undergo the torture of the boot.

He behaved with great courage when the frightful apparatus was produced, and not knowing, as he said, that he could escape such torture with life, declared that he forgave from his heart those at whose command it was to be inflicted, the men appointed to be the agents of their cruelty, and those who satiated their malevolence by looking on as spectators. When the executioner demanded which leg should be enclosed in the dreadful boot, the prisoner, with the same confidence, stretched out his right leg, saying, "Take the best; I willingly bestow it in this cause." He endured nine blows of the mallet with the utmost firmness, each more severely crushing the limb. At the ninth blow he fainted, and was remanded to prison. After this he was sent to the Bass, a desolate islet, or rather rock, in the Frith of Forth, where was a strong castle, then occupied as a state prison.

On the 7th January, 1678, ten years after the deed

was committed, and four years after he was made prisoner, Mitchell was finally brought to his trial; and while his own confession was produced against him as evidence, he was not allowed to plead the promise of life upon which he had been induced to make the fatal avowal. It is shameful to be obliged to add, that the Duke of Lauderdale would not permit the records of the Privy Council to be produced, and that some of the privy counsellors swore, that no assurance of life had been granted, although it had been accurately entered, and is now to be seen on the record. The unfortunate man was therefore condemned. Lauderdale, it is said, would have saved his life; but the Archbishop demanding his execution as necessary to guard the lives of privy counsellors from such attempts in future, the Duke gave up the cause with a profane and brutal jest, and the man was executed, with more disgrace to his judges than to himself, the consideration of his guilt being lost in the infamous manœuvres used in bringing him to punishment.*

18th Jan.,
1678.

I have already said that in the commencement of Lauderdale's administration, Archbishop Sharpe was removed from public affairs. But this did not last long, as the Duke found that he could not maintain his interest at court without the support of the Episcopal party. The Primate's violence of disposition was supposed to have greatly influenced the whole of Lauderdale's latter government. But in Fife, where he had his archiepiscopal

* "Upon Mitchell's examination, 'he being asked what induced him to make so wicked an attempt upon the person of the Archbishop, replied, that he did it for the glory of the Lord;' for this reason afterward, when it was resolved to hang him, the Duke said, 'Let Mitchell glorify God in the Grassmarket'" (the place of execution). — *Note from HIGGONS's Remarks*, ap. BURNET, vol. ii. p. 181.

residence, it was most severely felt; and, as the nonconformists of that county were fierce and enthusiastic in proportion to the extremity of persecution which they underwent, there was soon found a band among them who sent abroad an anonymous placard, threatening that any person who might be accessory to the troubles inflicted upon the Whigs in that county, should be suitably punished by a party strong enough to set resistance at defiance.

The chief person among these desperate men was David Hackston of Rathillet, a gentleman of family and fortune. He had been a free liver in his youth, but latterly had adopted strong and enthusiastic views of religion, which led him into the extreme opinions entertained by the fiercest of the Whig party.* John Balfour of Kinloch, called Burley, the brother-in-law of Hackston, is described, by a Covenanted author, as a little man, of stern aspect, and squint-eyed; none of the most religious,† but very willing to engage in any battles or quarrels which his comrades found it necessary to sustain. He was at this time in danger from the law, on account of a late affray, in which he had severely wounded one of the lifeguards. It is alleged that both these persons had private enmity at Archbishop Sharpe. Balfour had been his factor in the management of some property, and had failed to give account of the money he had received, and Hackston, being bail for his brother-in-law, was thrown into jail till the debt was made good. The remainder of the band were either small proprietors of land, or por-

* "He is said in his younger years to have been without the least sense of anything religious, until it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to induce him to go out and attend the Gospel, then preached in the fields." — *Scots Worthies*.

† *Scots Worthies*.

tioners, as they are called in Scotland, or mechanics, such as weavers and the like.

These enthusiasts, to the number of nine, were out, and in arms, on 3d May, 1679, with the purpose of assaulting (in the terms of their proclamation) one Carmichael, who acted as a commissioner for receiving the fines of the nonconformists.* This person had indeed been in the fields hunting that morning, but chancing to hear that there was such a party looking out for him, he left his sport and went home.

When Rathillet and his friends were about to disperse, in sullen disappointment, the wife of a farmer at Baldinny sent a lad to tell them, that the Archbishop's coach was upon the road returning from Ceres towards St. Andrews. The conspirators were in that mood when our own wishes and thoughts, strongly fostered and cherished, are apt to seem to us like inspiration from above. Balfour, or Burley, affirmed he had felt a preternatural impulse, forcing him to return to Fife, when it was his purpose to have gone to the Highlands, and that on going to prayers, he had been confirmed by the Scripture text, "Go, have not I sent thee?" Russell, another of the party, also affirmed he had been long impressed with the idea that some great enemy to the Church was to be cut off, and spoke of some text about Nero, which assuredly does not exist in Scripture.

They all agreed, in short, that the opportunity offered

* "Carmichael was peculiarly noted for his cruelties in Fife. If we may believe his enemies, he was accustomed, among other enormities, to beat and abuse the women and children, and to torture the servants with lighted matches, to discover where their husbands, their fathers, or masters, were concealed." — LAING, vol. ii. p. 87. *Account of the murder of Sharpe, by James Russell, an actor therein*, ap. KIRKTON, p. 404.

was the work of Heaven ; that they should not draw back, but go on ; and that, instead of the inferior agent, for whom they had been seeking in vain, it was their duty to cut off the prime source of the persecution, whom heaven had delivered into their hands. This being determined upon, the band chose Hackston for their leader ; but he declined the office, alleging, that the known quarrel betwixt him and the Archbishop would mar the glory of the action, and cause it to be imputed to private revenge. But he added, with nice distinction, that he would remain with them, and would not interfere to prevent what they felt themselves called upon to do. Upon this Balfour said, " Gentlemen, follow me."

They then set off at speed in pursuit of the carriage, which was driving along a desolate heath, about three or four miles from St. Andrews, called Magus-Moor.* Fleming and Russell, two of the assassins, rode into a farm-yard, and demanded of the tenant, if the equipage on the road before them was the Archbishop's coach. Guessing their purpose, he was too much frightened to answer ; but one of the female servants came out and assured them, with much appearance of joy, that they were on the right scent. The whole party then threw away their cloaks, and pursued as fast as they could gallop, firing their carabines on the carriage, and crying out, " Judas, be taken !" The coachman drove rapidly, on seeing they were pursued by armed men ; but a heavy coach on a rugged road could not outstrip horsemen. The servants who attended the carriage offered some resistance, but were dismounted and disarmed by the pursuers. Having come up with the carriage, they stopped

* The precise spot of Sharpe's death is now enclosed in a plantation, about three miles to the west of St. Andrews.

it by cutting the traces, and wounding the postilion; and then fired a volley of balls into the coach, where the Archbishop was seated with his daughter. This proving ineffectual, they commanded the prelate to come forth, and prepare for death, judgment, and eternity. The old man came out of the coach, and creeping on his knees towards Hackston, said, "I know you are a gentleman,— you will protect me?"

"I will never lay a hand upon you," said Hackston, turning away from the suppliant.

One man of the party, touched with some compassion, said, "Spare his gray hairs."

But the rest of the assassins were unmoved. One or two pistols were discharged at the prostrate Archbishop without effect; when conceiving, according to their superstitious notion, that their victim was possessed of a charm against gunshot, they drew their swords, and killed him with many wounds, dashing even his skull to pieces, and scooping out his brains. The lady,* who made vain attempts to throw herself between her father and the swords of the assassins, received one or two wounds in the scuffle. They rifled the coach of such arms and papers as it contained. They found some trinkets, which they conceived were magical; and also, as they pretended, a bee in a box, which they concluded was a familiar spirit.

Such was the progress and termination of a violent and wicked deed, committed by blinded and desperate men. It brought much scandal on the Presbyterians, though unjustly; for the moderate persons of that persuasion, comprehending the most numerous, and by far the most respectable of the body, disowned so cruel an action,

* Isabella, the Archbishop's eldest daughter, was afterwards married to John Cunningham, Esq., of Barns, in the county of Fife.

although they might be at the same time of opinion that the Archbishop, who had been the cause of violent death to many, merited some such termination to his own existence. He had some virtues, being learned, temperate, and living a life becoming his station; but his illiberal and intolerant principles, and the violences which he committed to enforce them, were the cause of great distress to Scotland, and of his own premature and bloody end.

The Scottish Government, which the Archbishop's death had alarmed and irritated in the highest degree, used the utmost exertions to apprehend his murderers; and failing that, to disperse and subdue, by an extremity of violence greater than what had been hitherto employed, every assembly of armed Covenanters. All attendance upon field conventicles was declared treason; new troops were raised, and the strictest orders sent to the commanding officers to act against nonconformists with the utmost rigor. On the other hand, the intercommuned persons, now grown desperate, assembled in more numerous and better armed parties, and many of them showed a general purpose of defiance and rebellion against the King's authority, which the moderate party continued to acknowledge, as being that of the supreme civil magistrate. These circumstances soon led to a crisis.

Several of the murderers of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews found their way, through great dangers, to the west of Scotland; and their own interest, doubtless, induced them to use such influence as they had acquired among the zealots of their sect by their late action, to bring matters to extremity.

Hackston, Balfour, and others, seem to have held council with Donald Cargill, one of the most noted of the preachers at conventicles, and particularly with Robert

Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Prestonfield; * in consequence of which they appeared at the head of eighty horse, in the little burgh of Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, appointed to be held as a holiday, as the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles II. They quenched the bonfires which had been kindled on account of this solemnity, and, drawing up in order at the market-cross, after prayer, and singing part of a psalm, they formally entered their protest, or testimony, as they called it, against the acts abolishing Presbytery, and establishing Episcopacy, together with the other defections of the time, all of which they renounced and disclaimed. After this bravado, they affixed a copy of their testimony to the cross, closed their meeting with prayer, and then evacuated the town at their leisure, Hamilton harboring the Fife gentlemen, that is, those who had killed the Archbishop.

We have already mentioned John Graham of Claverhouse as a distinguished officer, who had been singularly active against the nonconformists. He was now lying in garrison at Glasgow, and on the first of June drew out his own troop of dragoons, with such other cavalry as he could hastily add to it, and set off in quest of the insurgents who had offered such a public affront to Government.

In the town of Hamilton he made prisoner John King, a preacher, and with him seventeen countrymen who were attending on his ministry; and hearing of a larger assem-

* "Hamilton had been bred by Bishop Burnet, while the latter lived at Glasgow, his brother, Sir Thomas, having married a sister of that historian. 'He was then,' says the Bishop, 'a lively hopeful young man; but getting into that company and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthusiast.'" — Note, *Old Mortality*.

bly of insurgents who were at Loudon-hill, a short distance off, he pushed forward to that place. Here Claverhouse was opposed by a large body in point of numbers, but very indifferently armed, though there were about fifty horse tolerably appointed, as many infantry with guns, and a number of men armed with scythes, forks, pikes, and halberds. The immediate spot on which the parties met was called Drumclog.* It is a boggy piece of ground, unfit for the acting of cavalry, and a broad drain, or ditch, seems also to have given the insurgents considerable advantage. A short but warm engagement ensued, during which Balfour, and William Cleland, to be afterwards mentioned, crossed the ditch boldly, and out-flanking the dragoons, compelled them to fly. About thirty of the defeated party were slain, or died of their wounds. An officer of the name of Graham, a kinsman of Claverhouse, was among the slain. His body, mistaken, it is reported, for that of his namesake, was pitifully mangled. Claverhouse's own horse was laid open by the blow of a scythe, and was scarcely able to bear him off the field of battle. As he passed the place where he had left his prisoners, King, the preacher, when he beheld his captor in this pitiful plight, holloed out to him to stay and take the afternoon sermon. Some Royalist prisoners were taken, to whom quarter was given, and they were dismissed. This clemency on the part of his soldiers, greatly disgusted Mr. Hamilton, who now assumed the command of the insurgents. To show a good example, he killed one of the defenceless captives with his own hand, lenity being, according to his exaggerated ideas, the setting free the brats of Babel, after they had

* The spot is a mile westward of the road from Kilmarnock to Strathaven, and about five miles from the last-named town.

been delivered into their hands, that they might dash them to the stones. The insurgents lost only five or six men; one of whom, named Dingwall, had assisted at the murder of the Archbishop.

After having gained this victory, the insurgents resolved to keep the field, and take such future fortune as Heaven should send them. They marched to Hamilton after the action, and the next day, strongly reinforced by the numbers which joined them on all sides, they proceeded to attack the town of Glasgow.

The city was defended by Lord Ross and Claverhouse, with a small but regular force. The insurgents penetrated into the town from two points, one column advancing up the Gallowgate, the other entering by the College and the Wynd Head. But Claverhouse, who commanded the King's troops, had formed a barricade about the Cross, Townhouse, and Tolbooth, so that the Whigs, in marching to the attack, were received with a fire which they could not sustain, from an enemy who lay sheltered and in safety.* But although they were beaten for the present, the numbers of the insurgents began to increase so much, that Ross and Claverhouse judged it necessary to evacuate Glasgow, and march eastward, leaving all the west of

* "The Broad Street," says Captain Creighton, "was immediately full of the party who had entered by the Gallowgate, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their assistance, were valiantly received by Clavers and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars that composed the barricade, chased them out of the town; but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party, which by that time was marching down by the High Church and College; but when they came within pistol-shot, were likewise fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the King's party lost not so much as one man." — SWIFT, vol. xii. p. 88.

Scotland at the mercy of the rebels, whose numbers speedily amounted to five or six thousand men. There were among them, however, very few gentlemen, or persons of influence, whose presence might have prevented them from falling into the state of disunion to which, owing to the following circumstances, they were speedily reduced. They erected a huge tall gallows in the centre of their camp for the execution of such enemies as they should make prisoners, and hanged upon it at least one citizen of Glasgow, who had joined in the defence of the town against their former attack. But this vindictive mode of proceeding did not meet with general approbation in their army.

The discord was now at its height between the moderate Presbyterians, who were willing to own the King's government, under the condition of obtaining freedom of conscience; and the more hotheaded and furious partisans, who would entertain no friendship or fellowship with those who owned and supported Prelacy, and who held the acknowledging the Government, or the listening to the preachers who ministered by their indulgence or connivance, as a foul compromising of the cause of Presbytery, and professed it their object to accomplish a complete revolution in Church and State, and render the Kirk as triumphant as it had been in 1640.

The preachers likewise differed amongst themselves. Mr. John Welsh, much famed for his zeal for Presbytery, together with Mr. David Hume, headed the Moderate, or, as it was called by their opponents, the Erastian party; whilst Donald Cargill, Thomas Douglass, and John King, espoused with all ardor the more extravagant purposes, which nothing short of a miracle could have enabled them to accomplish. These champions of the two parties

preached against each other from the pulpit, harangued and voted on different sides in councils of war, and had not the sense to agree, or even to adjourn their disputes, when they heard that the forces of both England and Scotland were collecting to march against their undisciplined army, ill provided as it was with arms, and at variance concerning the causes which had brought them into the field.

While the insurgents were thus quarelling among themselves, and incapable of taking any care of their common cause, the Privy Council ordered out the militia, and summoned to arms the vassals of the Crown ; many of whom, being inclined to Presbytery, came forth with no small reluctance. The Highland chiefs who lay near the scene of action were also ordered to attend the King's host with their followers.

But when the news of the insurrection reached London, Charles II., employing for a season his own good judgment, which he too often yielded to the management of others, seems to have formed an idea of conciliating the rebels, as well as of subduing them. For this purpose, he sent to Scotland, as commander-in-chief, his natural son, James, Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a large body of the Royal Guards. This young nobleman was the King's favorite, both from the extreme beauty of his person, and the amiableness of his disposition. Charles had taken care of his fortune, by uniting him with the heiress of the great family of Buccleuch, whose large estates are still enjoyed by their descendants. Wealthy, popular, and his father's favorite, the Duke of Monmouth had been encouraged to oppose his own court influence to that of the King's brother, the Duke of York ; and as the latter had declared himself a Roman Catholic, so

Monmouth, to mark the distinction betwixt them, was supposed to be favorable to Presbyterians, as well as dissenters of any sect, and was popularly called the Protestant Duke. It was naturally supposed that, having such inclinations, he was intrusted with some powers favorable to the insurgents.

These unfortunate persons, having spent a great deal of time in debating on church polemics, lost sight of the necessity of disciplining their army, or supplying it with provisions, and were still lying in the vicinity of the town of Hamilton, while numbers, despairing of their success, were every day deserting them. On the 21st of June, they were alarmed by the intelligence that the Duke of Monmouth was advancing at the head of a well-disciplined army. This did not recall them to their senses; they held a council, indeed, but it was only to engage in a furious debate, which lasted until Rathillet told them his sword was drawn, as well against those who accepted the Indulgence, as against the curates, and withdrew from the council after this defiance, followed by those who professed his principles.

The moderate party, thus left to themselves, drew up a supplication to the Duke of Monmouth, and after describing their intolerable grievances, declared that they were willing to submit all controversies to a free Parliament and a free assembly of the Church.

The Duke, in reply, expressed compassion for their condition, and a wish to alleviate it by his intercession with the King, but declared, they must in the interim lay down their arms. When they received this message, the insurgent troops were in the greatest disorder, the violent party having chosen this unfortunate moment for cashiering the officers whom they had formerly appointed,

and nominating others who had no taint of Erastianism or Malignity ; in other words, no disposition to acknowledge any allegiance to the King, or submission to the civil power. While they were thus employed, the troops of Monmouth appeared in sight.

The insurgents were well posted for defence. They had in front the Clyde, a deep river, not easily fordable, ^{22d June,} and only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, which ^{1679.} gives name to the battle. This is (or rather was, for though it still exists, it is now much altered) a high, steep, and narrow bridge, having a portal or gateway in the centre, which the insurgents had shut and barricaded. About three hundred men were stationed to defend this important pass, under Rathillet, Balfour, and others. They behaved well, and made a stout defence, till the soldiers of Monmouth forced the pass at the point of the bayonet. The insurgents then gave way, and the Royal army advanced towards the main body, who, according to the historian Burnet, seem neither to have had the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the sense to run away. They stood a few minutes in doubt and confusion, their native courage and enthusiasm frozen by the sense of discord amongst themselves, and the sudden approach of an army superior in discipline. At length, as the artillery began to play upon them, and the horse and Highlanders were about to charge, they gave way without resistance, and dispersed like a flock of sheep.

The gentle-tempered Duke of Monmouth gave strict orders to afford quarter to all who asked it, and to make prisoners, but spare lives. Considerable slaughter, it is said, took place, notwithstanding his orders, partly owing to the unrelenting temper of Claverhouse, who was burning to obtain vengeance for the defeat of Drumclog, and

the death of his kinsman, who was slain there,* and partly to the fury of the English soldiers and the Scottish Highlanders, who distinguished themselves by their cruelty.

Four hundred men were killed at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. These last were marched to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Greyfriars' churchyard, like cattle in a penfold, while several ministers and others were selected for execution. The rest, after long confinement there, and without any shelter save two or three miserable sheds, and such as they found in the tombs, were dismissed, upon giving bonds for conformity in future; the more obstinate were sent as slaves to the plantations. Many of the last were lost at sea. And yet, notwithstanding these disasters, the more remote consequences of the battle of Bothwell Bridge were even more calamitous than those which were direct and immediate.

* In the old ballad on the battle of Bothwell Bridge, Claverhouse is said to have continued the slaughter of the fugitives, in revenge of this gentleman's death,—

“‘Hand up your hand,’ then Monmouth said,
‘Gie quarters to these men for me;’
But bloody Claver’s swore an oath,
His kinsman’s death avenged should be.”

Note, Old Mortality.

END OF VOLUME III.

