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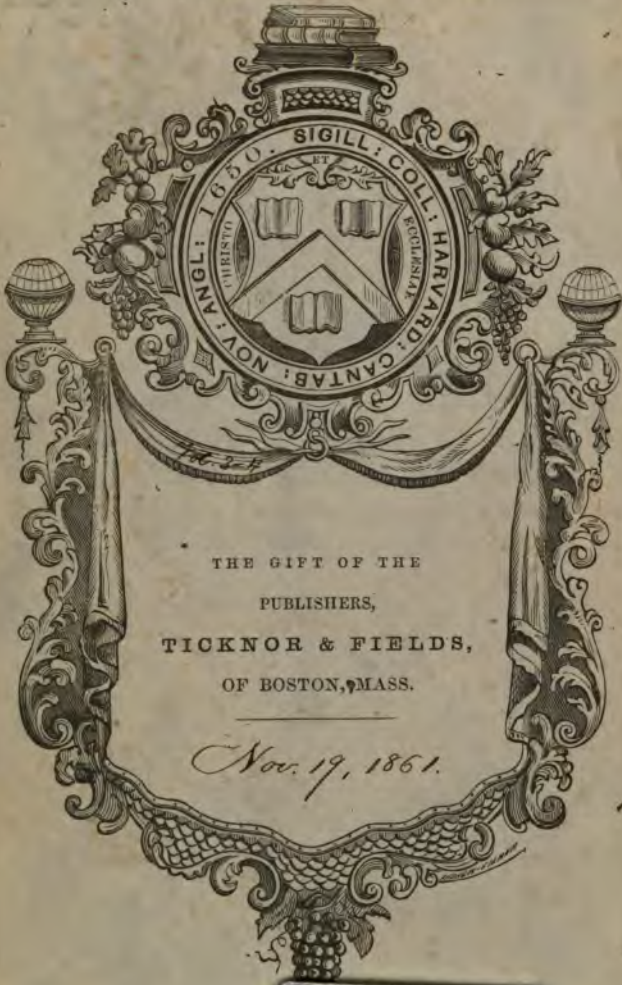
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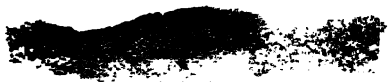
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TALES
OF A GRANDFATHER.

VOL. IV.



Death of a Hero

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

WITH NOTES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

SECOND SERIES.

(CONTINUED.)

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

CHAPTER LII.

THE DUKE OF YORK'S ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND
— PERSECUTION OF THE CAMERONIANS — THE JERVISWOOD AND
RYEHOUSE PLOTS — DEATH OF CHARLES II.

[1679 — 1685.]

THE efforts made by Monmouth obtained an indemnity which was ill-observed, and a limited indulgence which was speedily recalled; and instead of the healing measures which were expected, severe inquisition was made into the conduct of the western proprietors accused of favoring the insurrection, and that of the gentlemen who had failed to give attendance in the King's host, when assembled to put it down. The excuses made for this desertion of duty were singular enough, being, in many cases, a frank confession of the defaulters' fear of disquiet from their wives, some of whom invoked bitter curses on their husbands, if they took either horse or man to do prejudice to the fanatics who were in arms. To these excuses the court paid no heed, but fined the absentees heavily, and even threatened forfeiture of their lands.

The mild influence of Monmouth in the administration of Scotland lasted but a short while; and that of Lauder-

dale, though he was now loaded with age as well as obloquy, in a great measure revived, until it was superseded by the arrival in Scotland of James, Duke of York, the King's brother, and heir presumptive of the throne.

We have already said that this prince was a Catholic, and indeed it was his religion which had occasioned his exile, first to Brussels, and now to Scotland. The King consented to his brother's banishment as an unavoidable measure, the utmost odium having been excited against all Catholics, by the alleged discovery of a plot amongst the Papists to rise upon and massacre the Protestants, depose the King, and put his brother on the throne. The whole structure of this story is now allowed to have been gross lies and forgeries, but at this period, to doubt it was to be as bad as the Papists themselves. The first fury of national prejudice having begun to subside, James was recalled from Brussels to Scotland, in order to be nearer his brother, though still at such a distance as should not again arouse the jealousy of the irritable Protestants.

The Duke of York was of a character very different from his brother Charles. He had neither that monarch's wit nor his levity, was fond of business, and capable of yielding strict attention to it, and, without being penurious, might be considered as an economist. He was attached to his religion with a sincerity honorable to him as a man, but unhappy for him as a prince destined to reign over a Protestant people. He was severe even to cruelty, and nourished the same high idea of the divine right of kings, and the duty of complete submission on the part of subjects, which was the original cause of his father's misfortunes.

On the Duke of York's arrival in Scotland, he was received with great marks of honor and welcome by the

nobles and gentry, and occupied the palace of Holyrood, which had long been untenanted by Royalty.* He ^{24th Nov.,} exerted himself much to conciliate the affections ^{1679.} of the Scottish persons of condition; and his grave and lofty, yet courteous manners, suited well the character of a people, who, proud and reserved themselves, willingly pay much respect to the etiquette of rank, providing those entitled to such deference are contented to admit their claims to respect in return.

The Duke of York, it is said, became aware of the punctilious character of the Scottish nation, from a speech of the well known Tom Dalziel. The Duke had invited this old cavalier to dine in private with him, and with his Duchess, Mary of Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena. This princess chose to consider it as a derogation from her rank to admit a subject to her table, and refused to sit down to dinner if Dalziel should remain as a visitor. "Madam," said the undismayed veteran, "I have dined at a table where your father might have stood at my back." He alluded to that of the Emperor of Germany, whom the Duke of Modena must, if summoned, have attended as an officer of the household.

The spirit of the answer is said to have determined James, while holding intercourse with the Scottish nobles and gentry, to exercise as much affability as he could

* "Great preparations had been made for his entrance into the Scottish capital; he was conducted with regal pomp through the Water-gate, then the Royal entrance; sixteen companies of trained bands, in full uniform, were called out upon the occasion, and sixty men selected from them, accoutred and apparelled in their best manner, were appointed his body-guard. An entertainment was given him by the Magistrates, which cost nearly thirteen hundred pounds sterling, an enormous sum in those days, and in the then depressed state of Scotland." — MAITLAND'S *History of Edinburgh*, p. 101.

command or affect, which, with the gravity and dignity of his manners, gave him great influence among all who approached his person. He paid particular attention to the chiefs of Highland clans, made himself acquainted with their different interests and characters, and exerted himself to adjust and reconcile their feuds. By such means, he acquired among this primitive race, alike sensible to kind treatment, and resentful of injury or neglect, so great an ascendancy, that it continued to be felt in the second generation of his family.

The Duke of York, a Catholic and a prince, was in both capacities disposed to severity against fanatics and insurgents; so that his presence and interference in Scottish affairs increased the disposition to severity against Presbyterians of every shade and modification. But it was on his return, after a short visit to London, during which he had ascertained that his brother's affection for him was undiminished, that he ventured to proceed to extremities in suppressing nonconformists.

The doctrines promulgated by the more fierce and unreasonable insurgents, in their camp at Hamilton, were now adopted by the numerous and increasing sect who separated their cause entirely from that of the moderate Presbyterians. These men disowned altogether the King's authority and that of the Government, and renounced the title of all pretenders to the throne, who would not subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant, and govern according to its principles. These doctrines were chiefly enforced by two preachers, named Cargill and Cameron, from the last of whom their followers assumed, or acquired, the title of Cameronians.

Richard Cameron labored and died in a manner not unworthy of his high pretensions, as the founder of a re-

ligious sect. He continued in open resistance after the battle of Bothwell Bridge; and on the 22d of June, 1680, occupied the little burgh of Sanquhar with a small party of armed horsemen, and published a paper, or Testimony, formally disowning the authority of the King, and proclaiming that, by injustice and tyranny, he had forfeited the throne. After this bold step, Cameron, being closely pursued, roamed through the more desolate places of the counties of Dumfries and Ayr, with a few friends in arms, of whom Hackston of Rathillet, famous for his share in the death of Archbishop Sharpe, was the principal.

But, on 22d July, 1680, while lying at a desolate place, called *Airs moss*,* they were alarmed with the news, that Bruce of Earls-hall was coming upon them with a superior force of infantry and dragoons. The Wanderers resolved to stand their ground, and Cameron pronounced a prayer, in which he three times repeated the pathetic expression, "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe." He then addressed his followers with great firmness, exhorting them to fight to the very last; "For I see," he added, "heaven's gates open to receive all such as shall die this day."

Rathillet divided their handful of twenty-three horse upon the two flanks of about forty half-armed infantry. The soldiers approached, and charged with fury. Cameron and eight others were killed on the spot.† Of the

* *Airs*, or *Aird's moss*, is a large morass in the centre of the parish of Auchinleck, county of Ayr.

† "About a quarter of a mile from the public road, between Cumnock and Muirkirk, near the western extremity of the morass, Mr. Cameron's body, with the other eight who fell here, were all buried on the spot. About fifty years after, some pious individuals erected over them a gravestone upon four pillars, with the name of Cameron upon

Royalist party, twenty-eight were either there killed, or died of their wounds shortly after. Rathillet fought with great bravery, but was at length overpowered, struck down, and made prisoner.

In the barbarous spirit of the age, the seizure of Hackston was celebrated as a kind of triumph, and all possible insult was heaped on the unhappy man. He was brought into Edinburgh, mounted on a horse without a saddle, and having his face to the tail. The head and hands of Richard Cameron were borne before him on pikes. But such insults rather arouse than break the spirits of brave men. Hackston behaved with great courage before the Council. The Chancellor having upbraided him as a man of libertine habits, "While I was so," he replied, "I was acceptable to your Lordship; I only lost your favor when I renounced my vices." The Archbishop's death being alleged against him as a murder, he replied that Heaven would decide which were the greatest murderers, himself, or those who sat in judgment on him. He was executed with circumstances of protracted cruelty. Both his hands were cut off before execution, and his heart torn from his bosom before he was quite dead. His head, with that of Cameron, was fixed on the Netherbow port, the hands of the former being extended, as if in the act of prayer. One of the enemies of his party gave Cameron this testimony on the occasion: "Here are the relics of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting."

Daniel, or Donald Cargill, took up the banner of the sect, which had fallen from Cameron's dying hand. He

the head of it, the form of an open Bible before him, and the names of the other eight round the sides of it." — WALKER'S *Life of Cameron*, in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. p. 204.

avouched its tenets as boldly as his predecessor, and at a large conventicle of Cameronians, held in the Torwood, September, 1680, had the audacity to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the King, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, the Lord Advocate, and General Dalziel. This proceeding was entirely uncanonical, and contrary to the rules of the Scottish Presbyterian Church; but it assorted well with the uncompromising spirit of the Hillmen, or Cameronians, who desired neither to give favors to, nor receive favors from, those whom they termed God's enemies.

A high reward being put upon Cargill's head, he was, not long afterwards, taken by a Dumfries-shire gentleman,* and executed, along with four others, all disowning the authority of the King. The firmness with which these men met death tended to confirm the good opinion of the spectators; † and though the Cameronian doctrines were too wild to be adopted by men of sense and education, yet they spread among the inferior ranks, and were productive of much mischief.

Thus, persecution, long and unsparingly exercised, drove a part of an oppressed peasantry into wild and perilous doctrines; dangerous if acted upon, not only to the existing tyranny, but to any other form of government, how moderate soever. It was, considering the

* James Irvine of Bonshaw, when he surprised Cargill in bed, in the house called Corvingtown Mill, exclaimed, "Oh blessed Bonshaw! and blessed day that ever he was born, that he has found such a prize this morning." He obtained the promised reward of 6,000 merks (equal to £ 333 sterling). — SMITH'S *Life of Cargill, Biog. Presb.* vol. ii. p. 44.

† "When setting his foot upon the ladder to go up to embrace the bloody rope, he said, 'The Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear, confusion, or perturbation of mind, than ever I entered a pulpit to preach.'" — *Ibid.*, p. 49.

frantic severity of the Privy Council, a much greater wonder that they had not sooner stirred up a spirit of determined and avowed opposition to their government, than that such should now have arisen. Nevertheless, blind to experience, the Duke of York, who had now completely superseded Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs, continued to attempt the extirpation of the Cameronian sect, by the very same violent means which had occasioned its formation.

All usual forms of law, all the bulwarks by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down, and officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish, any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles; and if they thought proper, they might put them to death upon the spot. All that was necessary to condemnation was, that the individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce the Covenant, — or should hesitate to admit that the death of Sharpe was an act of murder, — or should refuse to pray for the King, — or decline to answer any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning their religious principles.

A scene of this kind is told with great simplicity and effect by one of the writers of the period;* and I am truly sorry that Claverhouse, whom, at the time of the Revolution, we shall find acting a heroic part, was a principal agent in this act of cruelty. Nor, considering the cold-blooded and savage barbarity of the deed, can we admit the excuse either of the orders under which he acted, or of the party prejudices of the time, or of the

* "Some remarkable passages in the life and death of Mr. Alexander Peden, by Mr. Patrick Walker." — Reprinted in the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. Edin. 1827.

condition of the sufferer as a rebel and outlaw, to diminish our unqualified detestation of it.

There lived at this gloomy period, at a place called Preshill, or Priesthill, in Lanarkshire, a man named John Brown, a carrier by profession, and called, from his zealous religious principles, the Christian Carrier. This person had been out with the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, and was for other reasons amenable to the cruelty of the existing laws. On a morning of May, 1685, Peden, one of the Cameronian ministers, whom Brown had sheltered in his house, took his leave of his host and his wife, repeating twice, "Poor woman! a fearful morning, — a dark and misty morning!" words which were afterwards believed to be prophetic of calamity. When Peden was gone, Brown left his house with a spade in his hand for his ordinary labor, when he was suddenly surrounded and arrested by a band of horse, with Claverhouse at their head. Although the prisoner had a hesitation in his speech on ordinary occasions, he answered the questions which were put to him in this extremity with such composure and firmness, that Claverhouse asked whether he was a preacher. He was answered in the negative. "If he has not preached," said Claverhouse, "mickle hath he prayed in his time. But betake you now to your prayers for the last time," addressing the sufferer, "for you shall presently die." The poor man kneeled down and prayed with zeal; and when he was touching on the political state of the country, and praying that Heaven would spare a remnant, Claverhouse, interrupting him, said, "I gave you leave to pray, and you are preaching." "Sir," answered the prisoner, turning towards his judge on his knees, "you know nothing either of preaching or praying, if you call what I now say

preaching:" then continued without confusion. When his devotions were ended, Claverhouse commanded him to bid good-night to his wife and children. Brown turned towards them, and taking his wife by the hand, told her that the hour was come which he had spoken of, when he first asked her consent to marry him. The poor woman answered firmly, "In this cause I am willing to resign you."—"Then have I nothing to do save to die," he replied; "and I thank God I have been in a frame to meet death for many years." He was shot dead by a party of soldiers at the end of his own house; and although his wife was of a nervous habit, and used to become sick at the sight of blood, she had on this occasion strength enough to support the dreadful scene without fainting or confusion, only her eyes dazzled when the carbines were fired. While her husband's dead body lay stretched before him, Claverhouse asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I ever thought much of him," she replied, "and now more than ever." "It were but justice," said Claverhouse, "to lay thee beside him." "I doubt not," she replied, "that if you were permitted, your cruelty would carry you that length. But how will you answer for this morning's work?"—"To man I can be answerable," said Claverhouse, "and Heaven I will take in my own hand." He then mounted his horse and marched, and left her with the corpse of her husband lying beside her, and her fatherless infant in her arms. "She placed the child on the ground," says the narrative, with scriptural simplicity, "tied up the corpse's head, and straightened the limbs, and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him."

The persecuted and oppressed fanatics showed on all occasions the same undaunted firmness, nor did the women

fall short of the men in fortitude. Two of them, of different ages, underwent the punishment of death by ^{11th May,} drowning; for which purpose they were chained to ^{1685.} posts within the flood-mark, and exposed to the fury of the advancing tide; while, at the same time, they were offered rescue from the approaching billows, the sound of which was roaring in their ears, if they would but condescend so far as to say, God save the King. "Consider," said the well-meaning friends around them, "it is your duty to pray even for the greatest sinner." "But we are not to do so," said the elder female, "at the bidding of every profligate." Her place of execution being nearer the advancing tide, she was first drowned; and her younger companion having said something, as if she desired the King's salvation, the by-standers would have saved her; * but when she was dragged out of the waves, half strangled, she chose to be replunged into them, rather than abjure the Covenant. She died accordingly.†

But it was not the common people and the fanatics alone who were vexed and harassed with unreasonable oaths. Those of higher rank were placed in equal dan-

* "Before she was quite dead they pulled her up, and held her out of the water till she was recovered, and then, by Major Windram's orders, she was asked if she would pray for the King. She answered, she wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none. One deeply affected with the death of the other and her case, said, 'Dear Margaret, say, God save the King, — say, God save the King.' She answered, in the greatest steadiness and composure, 'God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire.'" — WODROW, v. ii. p. 506.

† Their names were Margaret MacLauchlan, a widow, aged sixty-three, and Margaret Wilson, eighteen years. They were thus executed 11th May, 1685, within the flood-mark in the water of Blednoch, near Wigtoun, in Galloway. Agnes Wilson, only thirteen years of age, was also condemned to suffer with her sister, but having obtained liberation on a bond of her father's for £ 100 sterling, that sum was exacted upon her non-appearance. WODROW.

ger, by a test oath, of a complex and puzzling nature, and so far inconsistent with itself, that while, on the one hand, the person who took it was to profess his full belief and compliance with the Confession of Faith adopted by the Scottish Church in the first Parliament of King James VI., he was in the next clause made to acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church; a proposition entirely inconsistent with that very Confession which he had just recognized. Nevertheless, this test was considered as a general pledge of Loyalty, to be taken by every one to whom it should be tendered, under pain of ruinous fines, confiscations, and even death itself. The case of the Earl of Argyle was distinguished, even in those oppressive times, for its peculiar injustice.

This nobleman was the son of the Marquis who was beheaded at the commencement of this reign, and he himself, as we have already mentioned, had been placed in danger of losing life and lands, by a most oppressive proceeding on the obsolete statute of leasing-making. He was now subjected to a severer storm. When the oath was tendered to him, as a privy counsellor, he declared he took it so far as it was consistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion. Such a qualification, it might have been thought, was entirely blameless and unexceptionable. And yet, for having added this explanation to the oath which he was required to take, Argyle was thrown into prison, brought to the bar, tried and found guilty of high treason and leasing-making. It has been plausibly alleged that Government only used this proceeding to wring from the unfortunate Earl a surrender of his jurisdictions; but, very prudently, he did not choose to trust his life on so precarious a tenure. He was one of the few peers who still professed an attach-

ment to the Presbyterian religion; and the enemies who had abused the laws so grossly to obtain his condemnation, were sufficiently likely to use the advantage to the uttermost. He escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh, disguised in the livery of a page, holding up the ^{20th Dec.,} train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter,* ^{1681.} and went over to Holland. Sentence of attainder was immediately pronounced. His honors, estate, and life were forfeited in absence; his arms were reversed and torn; his posterity incapacitated; and a large reward attached to his head.†

This extravagant proceeding struck general terror, from its audacious violation of justice, while the gross fallacy on which it rested was the subject of general contempt. Even the children educated in George Heriot's Hospital (a charity on a plan similar to that of Christ Church in London), turned into ridicule the proceedings on this iniquitous trial. They voted that their yard dog was a person under trust, and that the test, therefore, should be tendered to him. Poor Watch, you may believe, only smelt at the paper held out to him, on which the oath was

* "It is said that the Earl in his agitation dropped the lady's gown when about to pass the sentinel at the castle-gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and, in a pretended rage, threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of 'careless loun,' and which so besmeared him that his features were not recognized." — *LAW'S Memorials*, 4to, p. 210.

† "Never was a sentence productive of more execration and horror; never, perhaps, was a sentence more flagitiously obtained, than the attainder of Argyle. Even the Episcopal party, whom James had attached to his person and interest, were indignant at the shameless prostitution of justice, and the depravity of the prime nobility who had conspired or condescended to the basest offices to accomplish the ruin of an ancient house. But the Presbyterians were struck with horror and despair, and became ever after irreconcilable to James." — *LAING*, vol. ii. p. 117.

printed, and would pay no more attention to it. Upon this, the paper was again offered, having been previously rubbed over with butter, which induced the mastiff to swallow it. This was called taking the test with a qualification, and the dog was adjudged to be hanged as a leasing-maker and perverter of the laws of the kingdom.

The gross violence of these proceedings awakened resentment as well as fear. But fear was at first predominant. Upwards of thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen, attached to the Presbyterian religion, resolved to sell their property in Scotland, and remove themselves to America, where they might live according to the dictates of their conscience. A deputation of their number, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane, Baillie of Jerviswood, and others, went to London to prepare for this emigration. Here the secret was imparted to them of an enterprise, formed by Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, to alter the government under Charles II.; and, at all events, to prevent, by the most forcible means, the Duke of York's ascent to the throne in case of the King's death. The Scottish malecontents abandoned their plan of emigration, to engage in this new and more adventurous scheme. Walter Scott, Earl of Tarras, brother-in-law of the Earl of Monmouth, undertook for a rising in the South of Scotland; and many of his name and kindred, as well as other gentlemen of the Borders of Scotland, engaged in the plot. One gentleman who was invited to join, excused himself on account of the ominous sound of the titles of two of the persons engaged. He did not, he said, like such words as Gallowshiels and Hangingshaw.

Besides the Scottish plot, and that which was conducted by Russell and Sidney in London, there were in that city

some desperate men, of a subordinate description, who proposed to simplify the purpose of both the principal conspiracies, by putting the King to death as he passed by a place called the Ryehouse. This last plot becoming public, was the means of defeating the others. But although Campbell of Cessnock, Baillie of Jarviswood, and some conspirators of less consequence, were arrested, the escape of most of the persons concerned partly disappointed the revenge of the Government. The circumstances attending some of these escapes were singular.

Lord Melville was about to come to Edinburgh from his residence in Fife, and had sent his principal domestic, a Highlander, named MacArthur, to make preparations for his arrival in town. The Justice-General was friendly to Lord Melville. He had that morning issued warrants for his arrest, and desired to put him on his guard, but durst take no steps to do so. Happening to see Lord Melville's valet on the street, he bent his eyes significantly on him, and asked, "What are you doing here? Get back, you Highland dog!" The man began to say he was making preparations for his master coming to town, when the Justice again interrupted him, saying, angrily, "Get home, you Highland dog!" and then passed on. MacArthur was sensible of the dangerous temper of the times, and upon receiving such a hint, slight as it was, from such a man, he resolved to go back to his master. At the Ferry he saw a party of guards embarking on the same voyage. Making every exertion, he got home time enough to alarm his Lord, who immediately absconded, and soon after got over to Holland.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, afterwards Lord Marchmont, had a still more narrow escape. The party of guards sent to arrest him had stopped at the house of

a friend to the Government to get refreshments, which were amply supplied to them. The lady of the house, who secretly favored the Presbyterian interest, connected the appearance of this party, and the inquiries which they made concerning the road to Polwarth Castle, with some danger threatened to Sir Patrick Hume. She dared not write to apprise him, and still less durst she trust a messenger with any verbal communication. She therefore wrapped up a feather in a blank piece of paper, and sent it over the hills by a boy, while she detained the military party as long as she could, without exciting suspicion. In the mean time, Sir Patrick received the token, and his acute apprehension being rendered yet more penetrating by a sense of danger, he at once comprehended that the feather was meant to convey a hint to him that he should fly.

Having been long peculiarly odious to the Government, Sir Patrick could think of no secure retreat above ground. A subterranean vault in Polwarth churchyard, being that in which his ancestors were buried, seemed the only safe place of refuge. The sole light admitted into this dreary cell was by a small slit at one end. A trusty domestic contrived to convey a bed and bedclothes to this dismal place, and here Sir Patrick lay concealed during the strict search which was made for him in every direction. His daughter, Grizell Hume, then about eighteen years of age, was intrusted with the task of conveying him food, which could only be brought to the vault at midnight. She had been bred up in the usual superstitions of the times, about ghosts and apparitions, but the duty which she was discharging to her father banished all such childish fears. When she returned from her first journey, her mother asked her if she was not frightened in going

through the churchyard. She answered, that she had felt fear for nothing excepting the minister's dogs (the manse* being nigh the church), which had kept such a barking as to alarm her for a discovery. Her mother sent for the clergyman next morning, and by pretending an alarm for mad dogs, prevailed on him to destroy them, or shut them up.

But it was not enough to have a faithful messenger; much precaution was also necessary, to secure, secretly, and by stealth, the provisions for the unfortunate recluse, since, if the victuals had been taken openly, the servants must naturally have suspected the purpose to which they were to be applied. Grizell Hume used, therefore, to abstract from the table, as secretly as she could, a portion of the family dinner. Sir Patrick Hume was fond of sheep's head (being a good Scotsman in all respects), and Grizell, aware of her father's taste, had slipped into her napkin a large part of one which was on the table, when one of her brothers, a boy too young to be trusted with the secret, bawled out, in his surprise at the disappearance of the victuals, "Mamma, look at Grizzly, — while we were supping the broth, she has eaten up all the sheep's head!"

While in this melancholy abode, Sir Patrick Hume's principal amusement was reading and reciting Buchanan's translation of the Psalms. After lurking in his father's tomb, and afterwards in his own house, for three or four weeks, he at length ventured abroad, and through many dangers made his escape to Holland, like other fugitives.

In the mean time, Baillie of Jerviswood, though in a very infirm state of health, was brought to that trial from which Polwarth and others had escaped so marvellously.

* *Angüce*, Parsonage.

This gentleman had been offered his life, on condition of his becoming a witness against Lord Russell; a proposal which he rejected with disdain, saying, those who uttered it knew neither him nor his country. It does not appear that there was the slightest evidence of the Scottish gentlemen having any concern in the scheme for assassinating the King; but there is no doubt that they had meditated an insurrection, as the only mode of escaping the continued persecution of the Government.

When Baillie received sentence of death, he only replied, "My Lords, the sentence is sharp, and the time is short; but I thank God, who has made me as fit to die as you are to live." He suffered death with the same firm-

ness; his sister-in-law, a daughter of Warriston, ^{Dec. 24,} ¹⁶⁸⁴ had voluntarily shared his imprisonment, and supported his exhausted frame during his trial. She attended his last moments on the scaffold, and with Roman fortitude witnessed the execution of a horrid sentence. It is worthy of mention, that the son and heir of this gentleman afterwards married the same young lady who so piously supported her father, Sir Patrick Hume, while concealed in the tomb.* No other person was executed for accession to what was called the Jerviswood Plot; but many gentlemen were tried in absence, and their estates, being declared forfeited, were bestowed on the most violent tools of the Government.

Upwards of two thousand individuals were denounced

* "Of the marriage between Mr. George Baillie and Lady Grizell Hume, there were two daughters, Grizell and Rachel. The former was married to Mr. Murray, afterwards Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope; the latter, to Charles Lord Binning, eldest son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, from whom are descended the present families of Haddington and of Baillie of Jerviswood." — LADY MURRAY'S, *of Stanhope, Memoirs. Preface*, p. 5.

outlaws, or fugitives from justice. Other persons, obnoxious to the rulers, were exorbitantly fined. One of these was Sir William Scott of Harden, from whose third brother your mother is descended. This gentleman, in his early years, had been an active member of the Committee of Estates, but was now upwards of seventy, and much retired from public life. But his nephew, Walter, Earl of Tarras, was deeply concerned in the Jerviswood plot; more than one of Harden's sons were also implicated, and hence he became obnoxious to the Government. He attended only on the Indulged, that is, licensed preachers, and had kept himself free of giving any offence that could be charged against him. The celebrated Richard Cameron was for some time his chaplain, but had been dismissed as soon as he declared against the Indulgence, and afforded other symptoms of the violent opinions of his sect. But the Privy Council had determined that husbands should be made responsible for the penalties and fines incurred by their wives. Lady Scott of Harden had become liable for so many transgressions of this kind, that the sum total, amounting to almost two thousand pounds, was, with much difficulty, limited to fifteen hundred, an immense sum for a Scottish gentleman of that period; but which was extorted from this aged person by imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh.

Whilst these affairs were going on in Scotland, the Duke of York was suddenly recalled to London by the King, whose health began to fail. Monmouth, his favorite son, had been obliged to retire abroad, in consequence of the affair of the Ryehouse plot. It was said that the King still nourished a secret wish to recall his son, and to send the Duke of York back to Scotland. But if he meditated such a change of resolution, which seems

rather improbable, fate left him no opportunity to execute it.

Charles II. died of a stroke of apoplexy, which summoned him from the midst of a distracted country, and a gay and luxurious court, on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

CHAPTER LIII.

REIGN OF JAMES VII. — INVASIONS AND EXECUTION OF MONMOUTH AND ARGYLE — EXECUTION OF RUMBOLD, THE PRINCIPAL CONSPIRATOR IN THE RYEHOUSE PLOT — IMPRISONMENT OF A BODY OF NONCONFORMISTS IN DUNOTTAR CASTLE — DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES OF WHIG AND TORY — JAMES'S PLANS FOR THE RESTORATION OF POPEERY.

[1685.]

WHEN the Duke of York ascended the throne, on the death of his brother Charles, he assumed the title of James II. of England, and James VII. of Scotland.* His eldest daughter, Mary (whom he had by his first wife), was married to William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder or President of the Dutch United Provinces; a prince of great wisdom, sense, and courage, distinguished by the share he had taken in opposing the ambition of France. He was now next heir to the crown of England, unless the King, his father-in-law, should have a surviving son by his present Queen, Mary of Este. It was natural to conclude, that the Prince of Orange viewed with the most intense interest the various

* Of the coronation of James, Bishop Burnet says: "The crown was not well fitted for the King's head; it came down too far and covered the upper part of his face; the canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller things happened that were looked on as ill omens; and his son, by Mrs. Sidley, died that day," — *History of His own Times*, vol. iii. p. 20.

revolutions and changes of disposition which took place in a kingdom where he possessed so deep a stake. It did not escape remark, that the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and the various malecontents who were compelled to fly from England or Scotland, seemed to find support, as well as refuge, in Holland. On this subject James made several remonstrances to his son-in-law, which the Prince evaded, by alleging that a free state, like the Dutch republic, could not shut its ports against fugitives, of whatever description; and with such excuses James was obliged to remain satisfied. Nevertheless, the enemies of the monarch were so completely subdued, both in Scotland and England, that no prince in Europe seemed more firmly seated upon his throne.

In the mean while, there was no relaxation in the oppressive measures carried on in Scotland. The same laws for apprehending, examining, and executing in the fields, those suspected of nonconformity, were enforced with unrelenting severity; and as the refusal to bear evidence against a person accused of treason, was made to amount to a crime equal to treason itself, the lands and life of every one seemed to be exposed to the machinations of the corrupt ministry of an arbitrary prince. To administer or receive the Covenant, or even to write in its defence, was declared treasonable, and many other delinquencies were screwed up to the same penalty of death and confiscation. Those whom the law named traitors were thus rendered so numerous, that it seemed to be impossible for the most cautious to avoid coming in contact with them, and thereby subjecting themselves to the severe penalties denounced on all having intercourse with such delinquents. This general scene of oppression

would, it was supposed, notwithstanding the general show of submission, lead to an universal desire to shake off the yoke of James should an opportunity be afforded.

Under this conviction, the numerous disaffected persons who had retreated to Holland, resolved upon a double invasion of Britain, one part of which was to be directed against England, under command of the popular Duke of Monmouth, whose hopes of returning in any other peaceful fashion had been destroyed by the death of his father, Charles II. The other branch of the expedition was destined to invade Scotland, having at its head the Earl of Argyle (who had been the victim of so much unjust persecution), with Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Coghane, and others, the most important of the Scottish exiles, to assist and counsel him.

As these Tales relate exclusively to the history of Scotland, I need only notice, that Monmouth's share of the undertaking seemed, for a time, to promise success. Having landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, he was ^{11th June,} joined by greater numbers of men than he had ^{1685.} means of arming, and his rapid progress greatly alarmed James's government. But his adherents were almost entirely of the lower order, whose zeal and courage might be relied on, but who had no advantages of influence from education or property. At length the unfortunate Duke hazarded a battle near Sedgemoor, in which his cavalry, from the treachery or cowardice of their leader, Lord Grey, fled and left the infantry unprotected. The sturdy peasants fought with the utmost resolution, until they were totally broken and dispersed, with great slaughter. But the carnage made among the fugitives was forgotten, in comparison with the savage and unsparing judicial prosecutions which were afterwards carried on before

Judge Jefferies, a man whose cruelty was a shame to his profession, and to mankind.*

Monmouth himself had no better fortune than his adherents. He fell into the hands of the pursuers, and was brought prisoner to the Tower of London. He entreated to be permitted to have an interview with the King, alleging he had something of consequence to discover to him. But when this was at length granted, the unhappy Duke had nothing to tell, or at least told nothing, but exhausted himself in asking mercy at the hands of his uncle, who had previously determined not to grant it. Monmouth accordingly suffered death on Towerhill, amid the lamentations of the common people, to whom he was en-

16th July.

deared by his various amiable qualities, and the beauty of his person, fitting him to be the delight and ornament of a court, but not to be the liberator of an oppressed people.

While the brief tragedy of Monmouth's invasion, defeat, and death was passing in England, Argyle's invasion of Scotland was brought to as disastrous a conclusion. The leaders, even before they left their ships, differed as to

* "Jefferies was sent the western circuit to try the prisoners. His behavior was beyond anything that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty, and in that case he gave them hope of favor if they gave him no trouble: he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in the utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law; but he showed them no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about 600 persons." — BURNET, vol. iii. p. 56. Hume says, "Besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice." And it appears, from an account of the proceedings, printed in 1718, that upwards of 850 persons were ordered for transportation.

the course to be pursued. Argyle, a great chieftain in the Highlands, was naturally disposed to make the principal efforts in that part of the country which his friends and followers inhabited. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane, while they admitted that they were certain to raise the clan of Campbell by following the Earl's counsel, maintained, nevertheless, that this single clan, however brave and numerous, could not contend with the united strength of all the other western tribes, who were hostile to Argyle, and personally attached to James II. They complained, that by landing in the West Highlands they should expose themselves to be shut up in a corner of the kingdom, where they could expect to be joined by none save Argyle's immediate dependents; and where they must necessarily be separated from the western provinces, in which the oppressed Covenanters had shown themselves ready to rise, even without the encouragement of money or arms, or of a number of brave gentlemen to command and lead them on.

These disputes augmented, when, on landing in Kintyre, the Earl of Argyle raised his clan to the number of about a thousand men. Joined to the adventurers embarked from Holland, who were about three hundred, and to other recruits, the insurgent army might amount in all to fifteen hundred, a sufficient number to have struck a severe blow before the Royal forces could have assembled, if the invaders could have determined among themselves where to aim at.

Argyle proposed marching to Inverary, to attack the Laird of Ballechan, who was lying there for the King with six hundred Highlanders, waiting the support of the Marquis of Athole, then at the head of several clans, and in motion towards Argyleshire. But Sir John Cochrane,

having had some communications in the west, which promised a general rising in that country, insisted that the main effort should be made in that quarter. He had a letter also from a gentleman of Lanarkshire, named William Cleland, undertaking, that if the Marquis of Argyle would declare for the work of Reformation, carried on from the year 1638 to 1648, he should be joined by all the faithful Presbyterians in that country. Sir John, therefore, demanded from Argyle a supply of men and ammunition, that he might raise the western shires; and was so eager in the request, that he said if nobody would support him, he would go alone, with a pitchfork in his hand.

Either project was hopeful, if either had been rapidly executed, but the loss of time in debating the question was fatal. At length the Lowland expedition was determined on; and Argyle, with an army augmented to two thousand five hundred men, descended into Lennox, proposing to cross the Clyde, and summon to arms the Covenanters of the west country. But the various parties among the Presbyterians had already fallen into debates, whether or not they should own Argyle, and unite under his standard; so that, when that unhappy, and, it would seem, irresolute nobleman, had crossed the river Leven, near to Dunbarton, he found his little army, without any prospect of reinforcement, nearly surrounded by superior forces of the King, assembling from different points, under the Marquis of Athole, the Duke of Gordon, and the Earl of Dunbarton.

Argyle, pressed on all sides, proposed to give battle to the enemy; but the majority of the council of war which he convoked were of opinion that it was more advisable to give the Royalists the slip, and leaving their encamp-

ment in the night, to march for Glasgow, or for Bothwell Bridge; and thus at the same time get into a friendly country, and place a large and unfordable river betwixt them and a superior enemy. Lighting, therefore, numerous fires in the camp, as if it were still occupied by them, Argyle and his troops commenced their projected manœuvre; but a retreat is always a discouraging movement, a night-march commonly a confused one, and the want of discipline in these hasty levies added to the general want of confidence and the universal disorder. Their guides, also, were either treacherous or ignorant, for, when morning dawned on the dispirited insurgents, instead of finding themselves near Glasgow, they perceived they were much lower on the banks of the Clyde, near Kilpatrick. Here the leaders came to an open rupture. Their army broke up and separated; and when the unfortunate Earl, being left almost alone, endeavored to take refuge in the house of a person who had been once his servant, he was inhospitably refused admittance. He then crossed the Clyde, accompanied by a single friend, who, perceiving that they were pursued, had the generosity to halt and draw upon himself the attention of the party who followed them. This was at Inchinnan ford, upon the river Cart, close to Blythswood house.

But Argyle was not more safe alone than in company. It was observed by some soldiers of the militia, who were out in every direction, that the fugitive quitted his horse and waded through the river on foot, from which they argued he must be a person of importance, who was careless about losing his horse, so that he himself made his escape. As soon, therefore, as he reached the bank, they fell upon him, and though he made some defence, at length struck him down. As he fell he exclaimed,

“Unfortunate Argyle!” — thus apprising his captors of the importance of their prisoner. A large fragment of rock, still called Argyle’s Stone, marks the place where he was taken.*

Thus terminated this unfortunate expedition, in which Argyle seems to have engaged, from an over-estimation both of his own consequence and military talents, and which the Lowland gentlemen seem to have joined, from their imperfect knowledge of the state of the country, as reported to them by those who deeply felt their own wrongs, and did not consider that the majority of their countrymen was overawed and intimidated, as well as discontented.

By way of retaliating upon this unhappy nobleman the severities exercised towards Montrose, which he is said to have looked upon in triumph, the same disgraceful indignities were used towards Argyle to which his enemy had been subjected. He was carried up the High Street bareheaded, and mounted on an unsaddled horse, with

* “Argyle himself, being alone on a little pownie, was overtaken by two men of Sir John Shaw’s, who would have had his pownie to carry their baggage; thereupon he fired a pistol at them, for he had three on him, whereof I have two, which I got from his son-in-law, the second Marquis of Lothian, and thereafter took the water of Inshe-nan. But a webster, dwelling there, hearing the noise, came with a broadsword, and while the other two were capitulating with him, told him to go for some gold. The weaver being drunk, would not part with him, whereon Argyle offered to fire on him; but the powder in the pan being wet in the water, would not fire, whereon the webster gave him a great pelt over the head with his sword, that he damp’t him so that he fell in the river, and in the fall cried, ‘Ah, the unfortunate Argyle!’ He was tane to Sir John Shaw’s, who knew him, albeit he kept on his beard since his escape out of Edinburgh Castle, and had a blue bonnet on his head. He gave his purse of 180 guineas to Sir John (conform to the law of war), and was taken to Glasgow tolbooth.” — LORD FOUNTAINHALL’S *Chronological Notes*, p. 58.

the hangman preceding him, and was thus escorted to the Tolbooth. In both cases the disgrace lay with those who gave such orders, and did not attach to the objects of their mean malevolence.

- The Council debated whether Argyle should be executed on the extravagant sentence which had condemned him for a traitor and *depraver* of the laws, on account of his adding a qualification to the test, or whether it were not better to try him anew, for the undoubted treason which he had committed by this subsequent act of invasion, which afforded a more legal and unchallengeable course of procedure. It was resolved, nevertheless, they should follow the first course, and hold Argyle as a man already condemned, lest, by doing otherwise, they should seem to throw doubt upon, if not indirectly admit, the illegality of the first sentence. The unfortunate Earl was appointed to be beheaded by the Maiden,* an instrument resembling the guillotine of modern France. He mounted the scaffold with great firmness, and em-^{30th June.}bracing the engine by which he was to suffer, declared it the sweetest maiden he ever kissed, and submitted with courage to the fatal accomplishment of his sentence. When this nobleman's death is considered as the consequence of a sentence passed against him for presuming to comment upon and explain an oath which was self-contra-

* "This machine of death," says Pennant, "was introduced by the Regent Morton, who afterwards suffered by it himself. It is in form of a painter's easel, and about ten feet high; at four feet from the bottom is a crossbar, on which the felon lays his head, which is kept down by another placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves; in these is placed a sharp axe, with a vast weight of lead, supported at the very summit with a cord, which the executioner cutting, the axe falls, and does the affair effectually, without suffering the unhappy criminal to undergo a repetition of strokes, as has been the case in the common method." — *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 365.

dictory, it can only be termed a judicial murder. Upwards of twenty of the most considerable gentlemen of his clan were executed in consequence of having joined him. His estate was wasted and confiscated; his brother, Lord Niel Campbell, was forced to fly to America, and his name doomed to extirpation.

Several of Argyle's Lowland followers were also condemned to death. Amongst these was Richard Rumbold, an Englishman, the principal conspirator in what was called the Ryehouse Plot. He was a republican of the old stamp, who might have ridden right-hand man to Cromwell himself. He was the most active in the scheme for assassinating the two Royal brothers, which was to have been executed at his farm called the Ryehouse, by one party firing on the Royal Guards, and another pouring their shot into the King's carriage. Rumbold, who was to head the latter party, expressed some scruple at shooting the innocent postilion, but had no compunction on the project of assassinating the King and Duke of York.

Escaping from England when the discovery took place, this stern republican had found refuge in Holland, until he was persuaded to take part in Argyle's expedition. When the Scottish leaders broke up in confusion and deserted each other, a stranger and an Englishman was not likely to experience much aid or attention. Rumbold, left to shift for himself amid the general dispersion and flight, was soon beset by a party of the Royalists, and while he stoutly defended himself against two men in front, a third came behind him with a pitchfork, put it behind his ear, and turned off his steel cap, leaving his head exposed; on which Rumbold exclaimed, "O cruel countryman, to use me thus when my face was to mine enemy!"

He died the death of a traitor, as his share in the Rye-house conspiracy justly merited. But on the scaffold Rumbold maintained the same undaunted ^{26th June.} courage he had often shown in the field. One of his dying observations was, "that he had never believed that the generality of mankind came into the world bridled and saddled, and a few booted and spurred to ride upon them." *

This man's death was afterwards avenged on one Mark Kerr, the chief of those who took him: he was murdered before his own door, by two young men, calling themselves Rumbold's sons, who ripped out his heart, in imitation of what their father had suffered on the scaffold. Thus does crime beget crime, and cruelty engender cruelty. The actors in this bloody deed made their escape, not so much as a dog baying at them.

Before quitting the subject of Argyle's rebellion, I may mention a species of oppression practised on the nonconformists, of a nature differing from those I have already mentioned. When the alarm of invasion arose, it was resolved by the Privy Council, that all such persons as were in prison on account of religion should be sent to the North, for their more safe custody. After a toilsome march, rendered bitter by want of food and accommodation, as well as by the raillery of pipers, who insulted with

* "From the loss of one eye, and his daring spirit, Rumbold was called Hannibal among his associates, and Dryden, in the *Masque of Albion and Albanus*, terms him the Holy Cyclops. He was a republican in principle, the very model of one of Cromwell's old troopers, bold, inflexible, and fanatical. He had been in most of the distinguished actions of the Great Civil War. Although attacked by a large party, they could not secure him until a peasant came behind him with a pitchfork," &c. (as in the text.)—SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Note*, FOUNTAINHALL, p. 56.

ridiculous tunes a set of persons who held their minstrelsy to be sinful, the Wanderers, to the number of an hundred and sixty persons, of whom there were several women, and even some children, reached the place of their destination. This proved to be the castle of Dunottar, a strong fortress, almost surrounded by the German Ocean,* the same in which, as I have told you, the Regalia of Scotland were preserved for some time. Here the prisoners were, without distinction, packed into a large dungeon, having a window open to the sea, in front of a huge precipice. They were neither allowed bedding nor provisions, excepting what they bought, and were treated by their keepers with the utmost rigor.† The walls of this place, still called the Whigs' vault, bear token to the severities inflicted on those unhappy persons. There are, in particular, a number of apertures cut in the wall, about a man's height, and it was the custom, when such was the jailer's pleasure, that any prisoner who was accounted

* "Near the town of Stonehaven: the castle is situated on a perpendicular rock, level on the top, of several acres extent, projecting into the sea, and almost separated from the land by a very deep chasm. It forms one of the most majestic ruins in Scotland. From some old papers still extant, it appears, that upon this rock was formerly situated the parish church; and that the fortress was built there during the contest betwixt Bruce and Baliol, by an ancestor of the Marischal family, who acquired this right upon condition of building a parish church in a more convenient place. Before the use of artillery, this castle must have been impregnable."—*Statistical Account*, vol. xi. p. 226.

† "The guards made them pay for every indulgence, even that of water; and when some of the prisoners resisted a demand so unreasonable, and insisted on their right to have this necessary of life untaxed, their keepers emptied the water on the prison floor, saying, 'If they were obliged to bring water for the canting Whigs, they were not bound to afford them the use of bowls or pitchers gratis.'"—*Introduction to Old Mortality*.

refractory, should be obliged to stand up with his arms extended, and his fingers secured by wedges in the crevices I have described. It appears that some of these apertures or crevices, which are lower than the others, have been intended for women, and even for children. In this cruel confinement many died, some were deprived of the use of their limbs by rheumatism and other diseases, and several lost their lives by desperate attempts to descend from the rock on which the castle is founded. Some who actually escaped by descending the precipice, were retaken, and so cruelly tortured for the attempt, by lighted matches tied between their fingers, that several were mutilated, and others died of the inflammation which ensued.

The survivors, after enduring this horrid imprisonment for six weeks or two months, had the test offered to them. Those who, overcome by bodily anguish, and the hopeless misery of their condition, agreed to take this engagement, were discharged, and the others transported to the plantations. A tombstone in Dunottar churchyard, still preserves the names of such as died in this cruel captivity, in the various modes we have mentioned.

The failure of the invasions of Monmouth and Argyle, with the revenge which had been taken on their unfortunate leaders, was by James, in his triumph, recorded by two medals struck for the occasion, which bore on one side two severed heads, on the other two headless trunks; a device as inhuman as the proceedings by which these advantages had been followed up, and as the Royal vengeance which had been so unsparingly executed.

The part of the nation which inclined to support the side of the King in all political discussions, now obtained a complete superiority over the rest. They were known

by the name of Tories, an appellation borrowed from Ireland, where the irregular and desultory bands, which maintained a sort of skirmishing warfare after Cromwell had suppressed every national and united effort, were so called. Like the opposite term of Whig, Tory was at first used as an epithet of scorn and ridicule, and both were at length adopted as party distinctions, coming in place of those which had been used during the Civil War, the word Tory superseding the term of Cavalier, and Whig being applied instead of Roundhead. The same terms of distinction have descended to our time, as expressing the outlines of the two political parties which divide the Houses of Parliament, and, viewed politically, the whole mass of the community. A man who considers that, in the general view of the constitution, the monarchical power is in danger of being undermined by the popular branches, and who therefore supports the Crown in ordinary cases of dispute, is a Tory; while one who conceives the power of the Crown to be more likely to encroach upon the liberties of the people, throws his weight and influence into the popular scale, and is called a Whig.

Either of these opinions may be honorably and conscientiously maintained by the party whom reflection or education has led to adopt it; and the existence of two such parties, opposing each other with reason and moderation, and by constitutional means only, is the sure mode of preventing encroachment, either on the rights of the Crown, or on the privileges of the people, and of keeping the constitution itself inviolate; as the stays and rigging of a vessel straining against each other in opposite directions, tend to keep the ship's mast upright in its place. But as it is natural for men to drive favorite opinions into extremes,

it has frequently happened, that the Whigs, or the more violent part of that faction, have entertained opinions which tended towards democracy; and that the Tories, on the other hand, indulging in opposite prejudices, have endangered the constitution by their tendency towards absolute rule.

Thus, in the great Civil War, the friends to popular freedom began their opposition to Charles I., in the laudable desire to regain the full extent of constitutional liberty, but could not bring the war to a conclusion until the monarchy was totally overthrown, and liberty overwhelmed in the ruins. In like manner, the Tories of Charles II. and James II.'s time, remembering the fatal issue of the Civil Wars, adopted the opposite and equally mistaken opinion, that no check could be opposed to the will of the sovereign, without danger of overthrowing the throne, and by their unlimited desire to enlarge the prerogative of the Crown, they not only endangered the national liberty, but conducted the deluded Sovereign to his ruin. When, therefore, we speak of any particular measure adopted by the Whigs or Tories, it would be very rash to consider it as deserving of censure or applause, merely on account of its having originated with the one or other of these parties. On the contrary, its real merits can only be soundly estimated when we have attentively considered its purpose and effect, compared with the general spirit of the constitution, and with the exigencies of the times when it was brought forward.

During the whole of Charles the Second's reign, a violent struggle had been continued in England between the Whigs and the Tories, in the course of which both parties acted with a furious animosity, which admitted of no scruple concerning the means to be resorted to for annoying

their adversaries. The Whig party had availed themselves of that detestable imposture called the Popish Plot, to throw upon the Tories the guilt of an attempt to massacre the Protestants, and bring England back to the Catholic faith by the sword. Under this pretext they shed no small quantity of innocent blood. The Tories regained a decided ascendancy by the discovery of the Ryehouse Plot, an atrocious enterprise, at which men's minds revolted, and which the court artfully improved, by confounding the more moderate schemes laid by Monmouth, Lord Russell, and others, for obtaining some relief from the oppressive and unconstitutional measures of the court, with the bloody measures against the King's person, which Rumbold and other desperate men had meditated. The general hatred inspired by the latter enterprise excited a wide-spread clamor against the conspirators, and the Tories in their turn became the instruments of sacrificing, on account of a conspiracy of which they were ignorant, Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, two men whose names, for free and courageous sentiments, will live forever in history.

The prejudice against the Whigs had not subsided when James ascended the throne; and the terrible mode in which the invasion of Monmouth was suppressed and punished, if it excited compassion for the sufferers, spread, at the same time, general dread of the Government. In these circumstances, the whole powers of the state seemed about to be surrendered to the King, without even a recollection of the value of national liberty, or of the blood which had been spent in its defence. The danger was the greater, that a large proportion of the national clergy were extravagant Royalists, who had adopted maxims utterly inconsistent with freedom, and with the very es-

sence of the British constitution. They contended that the right of kings flowed from God, and that they were responsible to Him only for the manner in which they exercised it; that no misconduct, however gross, no oppression, however unjust, gave the subject any right to defend his person or his property against the violence of the sovereign; and that any attempt at resistance, however provoked, was contrary alike to religion and to law, and rendered its author liable to punishment in this world for treason or sedition, and in that which is to come to eternal condemnation, as foes of the prince whom Heaven had made their anointed sovereign. Such were the base and slavish maxims into which many wise, good, and learned men were hurried, from the recollection of the horrors of civil war, the death of Charles I., and the destruction of the Hierarchy; and thus do men endeavor to avoid the repetition of one class of crimes and errors, by rushing into extremes of a different description.

James II. was unquestionably desirous of power; yet such was the readiness with which courts of justice placed at his feet the persons and property of his subjects, and so great the zeal with which many of the clergy were disposed to exalt his authority into something of a sacred character, accountable for his actions to Heaven alone, that it must have seemed impossible for him to form any demand for an extension of authority which would not have been readily conceded to him, on the slightest hint of his pleasure. But it was the misfortune of this monarch to conceive that the same sophistry by which divines and lawyers placed the property and personal freedom of his subjects at his unlimited disposal, extended his power over the freedom of their consciences also.

We have often repeated, that James was himself a Ro-

man Catholic ; and, as a sincere professor of that faith, he was not only disposed, but bound, as far as possible, to bring others into the pale of the Church, beyond which, according to the Popish belief, there is no salvation. He might also flatter himself that the indulgences of a life which had been in some respects irregular, might be obliterated and atoned for by the great and important service of ending the Northern heresy. To James's sanguine hopes, there appeared at this time a greater chance of so important a change being accomplished than at any former period. His own power, if he were to trust the expressions of the predominant party in the state, was at least as extensive over the bodies and minds of his subjects as that of the Tudor family, under whose dynasty the religion of England four times changed its form, at the will and pleasure of the sovereign. James might, therefore, flatter himself, that as Henry VIII., by his sole fiat, detached England from the Pope, and assumed in his own person the office of Head of the Church, so a submissive clergy, and a willing people, might, at a similar expression of the present sovereign's will and pleasure, return again under the dominion of the Holy Father, when they beheld their prince surrender to him, as a usurpation, the right of supremacy which his predecessor had seized upon.

But there was a fallacy in this reasoning. The Reformation presented to the English nation advantages, both spiritual and temporal, of which they must necessarily be deprived by a reconciliation with Rome. The former revolution was a calling from darkness into light, from ignorance into knowledge, from the bondage of priestcraft into freedom ; and a mandate of Henry VIII. recommending a change fraught with such advantages, was sure to

be promptly obeyed. The purpose of James, on the contrary, tended to restore the ignorance of the dark ages, to lock up the Scriptures from the use of laymen, to bring back observances and articles of faith which were the offspring of superstitious credulity, and which the increasing knowledge of more than a century had taught men to despise.

Neither would a reconciliation with Rome have been more favorable to those, who looked to a change of religion only as the means of obtaining temporal advantages. The acquiescence of the nobility in the Reformation had been easily purchased by the spoils of the Church property; but their descendants, the present possessors, would have every reason to apprehend that a return to the Catholic religion might be cemented by a resumption of the Church lands, which had been confiscated at the Reformation.

Thus the alteration which James proposed to accomplish in the national religion was a task as different from that effected by Henry VIII., as is that of pushing a stone up hill, from assisting its natural impulse by rolling it downwards. Similar strength may indeed be applied in both cases, but the result of the two attempts must be materially different. This distinction James did not perceive; and he persevered in his rash attempt, in an evil hour for his own power, but a fortunate one for the freedom of his subjects, who, being called on to struggle for their religion, reasserted their half-surrendered liberty, as the only mode by which they could obtain effectual means of resistance.

CHAPTER LIV.

ATTEMPTS OF JAMES II. TO ANNUL THE TEST ACT AND PENAL STATUTES AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICS—PROCLAMATION ANNUL-
LING THE OATH OF SUPREMACY AND TEST—CONTINUED EFFORTS
TO INTRODUCE THE CATHOLIC ASCENDENCY—ATTEMPTED INVA-
SION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE UNIVERSITIES—PROSECUTION OF
THE BISHOPS—VIEWS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—HOW MOD-
IFIED BY THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—INVASION OF
THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—FLIGHT OF JAMES—REVOLUTION OF
1688—WILLIAM AND MARY CALLED TO THE THRONE OF ENG-
LAND.

[1685—1688.]

IN attempting the rash plan, which doubtless had for its object the establishment of the Catholic religion in his dominions, James II., in his speech to the first English Parliament after Monmouth's defeat, acquainted them with his intentions in two particulars, both highly alarming in the existing temper of the public. The first was, that having seen, as he said, from the example of the last rebellion, that the militia were not adequate to maintain the defence of the kingdom, it was the King's purpose in future to maintain a body of regular troops, for whose pay he requested the House of Commons would make provision. The second point was no less ominous. The King desired, that no man should object if he employed some officers in the army who were not qualified according to the Test Act. "They were persons," he said, "well

known to him ; and having had the benefit of their assistance in a time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their services on a future occasion."

To understand what this alluded to, you must be informed that the Test Act was contrived to exclude all persons from offices of public trust, commissions in the army, and the like, who should not previously take the test oath, declaring themselves Protestants, according to the Church of England. King James's speech from the throne, therefore, intimated, first, that he intended to maintain a standing military force, and, secondly, that it was his purpose to officer these in a great measure with Papists, whom he designed thus to employ, although they could not take the test.

Both these suspicious and exceptionable measures being so bluntly announced, created great alarm. When it was moved in the House of Lords, that thanks be returned for the King's speech, Lord Halifax said, that thanks were indeed due to his Majesty, but it was because he had frankly let them see the point he aimed at. In the House of Commons, the reception of the speech was more markedly unfavorable ; and an address was voted, representing that the Papist officers lay under disabilities, which could only be removed by Act of Parliament.

This intimation was ill-received by the King in his turn, who expressed himself displeased at the implied jealousy of his purposes. The House remained in profound silence for some time, until Mr. Cook stood up and said, " I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our duty by a few hard words." This was considered as censurable language, and the gentleman who used it was sent to the Tower. The King presently

afterwards prorogued the Parliament, which never met again during the short remainder of his reign.

Highly exasperated and disappointed at the unexpected and unfavorable reception which his propositions in favor of the Roman Catholics had received from the English Parliament, James determined that the legislature of Scotland, which till now had studied to fulfil, and even anticipate, his slightest wishes, should show their southern neighbors, in this instance also, the example of submission to the will of their sovereign. In order to induce them, and particularly the representatives of the burghs, to consent without hesitation, he promised a free intercourse of trade with England, and an ample indemnity for all past offences; measures which he justly regarded as essential to the welfare of Scotland. But these highly desirable favors were clogged by a request, proposed as a sort of condition, that the penal laws should be abolished, and the test withdrawn. The Scottish Parliament, hitherto so submissive, were alarmed at this proposal, which, although it commenced only by putting Popery on a level with the established religion, was likely, they thought, to end in overturning the Reformed doctrines, and replacing those of the Church of Rome.

It is true that the Scottish penal laws respecting the Roman Catholics were of the most severe and harsh character. The punishments for assisting at the celebration of the mass, were, for the first offence, confiscation and corporal punishment; for the second, banishment, and to the third the pains of treason were annexed. These tyrannical laws had been introduced at a violent period, when those who had just shaken off the yoke of Popery were desirous to prevent, by every means, the slightest chance of its being again imposed on them, and when,

being irritated by the recollection of the severities inflicted by the Roman Catholics on those whom they termed heretics, the Protestants were naturally disposed to retaliate upon the sect by whom intolerant cruelties had been practised.

But although little could be said in defence of these laws, when the Catholics were reduced to a state of submission, the greater part by far of the people of Scotland desired that they should continue to exist, as a defence to the Reformed religion, in case the Papists should at some future period attempt to recover their ascendancy. They urged, that while the Catholics remained quiet there had been no recent instance of the penal laws being executed against them, and that therefore, since they were already in actual enjoyment of absolute freedom of conscience, the only purpose of the proposed abolition of the penal laws must be, to effect the King's purpose of bringing the Catholics forward into public situations, as the favored ministers of the King, and professing the same religion with his Majesty.

Then in respect to the test oath, men remembered that it had been the contrivance of James himself; deemed so sacred, that Argyle had been condemned to death for even slightly qualifying it; and declared so necessary to the safety, nay, existence, of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, that it was forced upon Presbyterians at the sword's point. The Protestants, therefore, of every description, were terrified at the test's being dispensed with in the case of the Roman Catholics, who, supported as they were by the King's favor, were justly to be regarded as the most formidable enemies of all whom their Church termed heretics.

The consequence of all this reasoning was, that the

Episcopal party in Scotland, who had hitherto complied with every measure which James had proposed, now stopped short in their career, and would no longer keep pace with his wishes. He could get no answer from the Scottish Parliament, excepting the ambiguous expression, that they would do as much for the relief of the Catholics as their consciences would permit.

But James, although he applied to Parliament in the first instance, had, in case he found that assembly opposed to his wishes, secretly formed the resolution of taking away the effect of the penal laws, and removing the Test Act, by his own royal prerogative ; not regarding the hatred and jealousy which he was sure to excite by a course of conduct offensive at once to the liberties of his subjects, and threatening the stability of the Reformed religion.

The pretence on which this stretch of his royal prerogative was exerted was very slender. The right indeed had been claimed, and occasionally exercised, by the Kings of England, of dispensing with penal statutes in such individual cases as might require exception or indulgence. This right somewhat resembled the Crown's power of pardoning criminals whom the law has adjudged to death ; but, like the power of pardon, the dispensing privilege could only be considered as extending to cases attended with peculiar circumstances. So that when the King pretended to suspend the effect of the penal laws in all instances whatever, it was just as if, being admitted to be possessed of the power of pardoning a man convicted of murder, he had claimed the right to pronounce that murder should in no case be held a capital crime. This reasoning was unanswerable. Nevertheless, at the risk of all the disaffection which such conduct was certain to excite,

James was rash enough to put forth a royal proclamation, in which, by his own authority, he dispensed at once with all the penal laws affecting Catholics, and annulled the oath of supremacy and the Test, so that a Catholic became as eligible for public employment as a Protestant. At the same time, to maintain some appearance of impartiality, an indulgence was granted to moderate Presbyterians, while the laws against the conventicles which met in arms, and in the open fields, were confirmed and enforced.

In this arbitrary and violent proceeding, James was chiefly directed by a few Catholic counsellors, none of whom had much reputation for talent, while most of them were inspired by a misjudging zeal for their religion, and imagined they saw the restoration of Popery at hand. To these must be added two or three statesmen, who, being originally Protestants, had adopted the Catholic religion in compliance with the wishes of the King. From these men, who had sacrificed conscience and decency to court favor, the very worst advice was to be apprehended, since they were sure to assert to extremity the character which they had adopted on the ground of self-interest. Such a minister was the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, who served the King's pleasure to the uttermost in that kingdom; * and such, too, was the far more able and dangerous Earl of Sunderland in England, who, under

* "Some differences fell in between the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Perth,—all the Court justified the Duke. A repartee of the Marquis of Halifax was much talked of on this occasion. The Earl of Perth was taking pains to convince him that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The Marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, 'his faith' (alluding to the change of his creed) '*would make him whole*;' and it proved so." — BURNET, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65.

the guise of the most obsequious obedience to the King's pleasure, made it his study to drive James on to the most extravagant measures, with the secret resolution of deserting him as soon as he should see him in danger of perishing by means of the tempest which he had encouraged him wantonly to provoke.

The sincerity of those converts who change their faith at a moment when favor and power can be obtained by the exchange, must always be doubtful, and no character inspires more contempt than that of an apostate who deserts his religion for love of gain. Not, however, listening to these obvious considerations, the King seemed to press on the conversion of his subjects to the Roman Catholic faith, without observing that each proselyte, by the fact of becoming so, was rendered generally contemptible, and lost any influence he might have formerly possessed. Indeed, the King's rage for making converts was driven to such a height by his obsequious ministers, that an ignorant negro, the servant or slave of one Reid, a mountebank, was publicly baptized after the Catholic ritual upon a stage in the High Street of Edinburgh, and christened James, in honor, it was said, of the Lord Chancellor James Earl of Perth, King James himself, and the Apostle James.

While the King was deserted by his old friends and allies of the Episcopal Church, he probably expected that his enemies the Presbyterians would have been conciliated by the unexpected lenity which they experienced. To bring this about, the Indulgence was gradually extended until it comprehended almost a total abrogation of all the oppressive laws respecting fanatics and conventicles, the Cameronians alone being excepted, who disowned the King's authority. But the Protestant nonconformists,

being wise enough to penetrate into the schemes of the Prince, remained determined not to form a union with the Catholics, and generally refused to believe that the King had any other object in view than the destruction of Protestants of every description.

Some ministers, indeed, received the toleration with thanks and flattery; and several Presbyterians of rank accepted offices under government in the room of Episcopalians, who had resigned rather than acquiesce in the dispensation of the penal laws. But, to use their own expressions, the more clear-sighted Presbyterians plainly saw that they had been less aggrieved with the wounds, stabs, and strokes, which the Church had formerly received, than by this pretended Indulgence, which they likened to the cruel courtesy of Joab, who gave a salute to Abner, while at the same time he stabbed him under the fifth rib. This was openly maintained by one large party among the Presbyterians, while the more moderate admitted that Heaven had indeed made the King its instrument to procure some advantage to the Church; but that, being convinced the favor shown to them was not sincere, but bestowed with the purpose of disuniting Protestants among themselves, they owed James little gratitude for that which he bestowed, not from any goodwill to them, but to further his own ends.

These discords between the King and his former friends in Scotland occasioned many changes in the administration of the country. The Duke of Queensberry, who had succeeded Lauderdale in his unlimited authority, and had shown the same disposition to gratify the King on all former occasions, was now disgraced on account of his reluctance to assent to the rash measures adopted in favor of the Catholics. Perth and Melfort, the last also a con-

vert to the Catholic faith, were placed at the head of the administration. On the other hand, Sir George MacKenzie, long King's advocate, and so severe against the Covenanters that he received the name of the Bloody MacKenzie, refused to countenance the revocation of the penal laws, and was, like Queensberry, deprived of his office. Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, named in his stead, was a Presbyterian of the more rigid sort, such as were usually called fanatics. Judges were also created from the same oppressed party. But none of the non-conformists so promoted, however gratified with their own advancement, either forgot the severity with which their sect had been treated, through the express interference and influence of James, or gave the infatuated monarch credit for sincerity in his apparent change of disposition towards them.

Insensible to the general loss of his friends and partisans, James proceeded to press the exercise of his dispensing power. By a new order from court, the most ridiculous and irritating that could well be imagined, all persons in civil employment, without exception, were ordered to lay down their offices, and resume them again by a new commission, without taking the test; which re-assumption, being an act done against the existing laws, they were required instantly to wipe out, by taking out a remission from the Crown for obeying the royal command. And it was declared, that such as did not obtain such a remission should be afterwards incapable of pardon, and subjected to all the penalties of not having taken the test. Thus, the King laid his commands upon his subjects to break one of the standing laws of the kingdom, and then stood prepared to enforce against them the penalty which they had incurred (a penalty due to the Crown itself),

unless they consented to shelter themselves by accepting a pardon from the King for a crime which they had committed by his order, and thus far acknowledge his illegal power to suspend the laws. In this manner it was expected that all official persons would be compelled personally to act under and acknowledge the King's power of dispensing with the constitution.

In England, the same course of misgovernment was so openly pursued, that no room was left the people to doubt that James designed to imitate the conduct of his friend and ally, Louis XIV. of France, in the usurpation of despotic power over the bodies and consciences of his subjects. It was just about this time that the French monarch revoked the toleration which had been granted by Henry IV. to the French Protestants, and forced upwards of half a million of his subjects, offending in nothing excepting their worshipping God after the Protestant manner, into exile from their native country. Many thousands of these persecuted men found refuge in Great Britain, and by the accounts they gave of the injustice and cruelty with which they had been treated, increased the general hatred and dread of the Catholic religion, and, in consequence, the public jealousy of a prince who was the bigoted follower of its tenets.

But James was totally blind to the dangerous precipice on which he stood, and imagined that the murmurs of the people might be suppressed by the large standing army which he maintained, a considerable part of which, in order to overawe the city of London, lay encamped on Hounslow-Heath.

To be still more assured of the fidelity of his army, the King was desirous to introduce amongst them a number of Catholic officers, and also to convert as many of the

soldiers as possible to that religion. But even among a set of men who from their habits are the most disposed to obedience, and perhaps the most indifferent about religious distinctions, the name of Papist was odious ; and the few soldiers who embraced that persuasion were treated by their comrades with ridicule and contempt.

In a word, any prince, less obstinate and bigoted than James, might easily have seen that the army would not become his instrument in altering the laws and religion of the country. But he proceeded, with the most reckless indifference, to provoke a struggle, which it was plain must be maintained against the universal sentiments of his subjects. He had the folly not only to set up the Catholic worship in his royal chapel with the greatest pomp and publicity, but to send an ambassador, Lord Castlemaine, to the Pope, to invite his Holiness to countenance his proceedings, by affording him the presence of a nuncio from the See of Rome. Such a communication was, by the law of England, an act of high treason, and excited the deepest resentment in England, while abroad it was rather ridiculed than applauded. Even the Pope himself afforded the bigoted monarch very little countenance. in his undertaking, being probably of opinion that James's movements were too violent to be secure. His Holiness was also on indifferent terms with Louis XIV., of whom James was a faithful ally, and, on the whole, the Pope was so little disposed to sympathize with the imprudent efforts of the English monarch in favor of the Catholic religion, that he contrived to evade every attempt of Lord Castlemaine to enter upon business, by affecting a violent fit of coughing whenever the conversation took that turn. Yet even this coldness on the part of the head of his own Church, who might be supposed

favorable to James's views, and so intimately concerned in the issue of his attempt, did not chill the insane zeal of the English monarch.

To attain his purpose with some degree of grace from Parliament, which, though he affected to despise it, he was still desirous of conciliating, the King took the most unconstitutional measures to influence the members of both houses. One mode was by admitting individuals to private audiences, called Closetings, and using all the personal arguments, promises, and threats, which his situation enabled him to enforce, for the purpose of inducing the members to comply with his views. He extorted, also, from many of the royal burghs, both in England and Scotland, the surrender of their charters, and substituted others which placed the nomination of their representatives to Parliament in the hands of the Crown ; and he persisted obstinately in removing Protestants from all offices of honor and trust in the government, and in filling their situations with Papists. Even his own brothers-in-law, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, were disgraced, or at least dismissed from their employments, because they would not sacrifice their religious principles to the King's arguments and promises.

Amid so many subjects of jealousy, all uniting to show, that it was the purpose of the King to assume arbitrary power, and by the force of tyranny over the rights and lives of his subjects, to achieve a change in the national religion, those operations which immediately affected the Church, were the objects of peculiar attention.

As early in his unhappy career as 1686, the year following that of his accession to the throne, James had ventured to re-establish one of the most obnoxious institutions in his father's reign, namely, the Court of High Ecclesi-

astical Commission, for trying all offences of the clergy. This oppressive and vexatious judicature had been abolished in Charles the First's time,* along with the Star Chamber, and it was declared by act of Parliament that neither of them should ever be again erected. Yet the King, in spite of experience and of law, recalled to life this oppressive court of Ecclesiastical Commission, in order to employ its arbitrary authority in support of the cause of Popery. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, had preached with vehemence in the controversy between Protestants and Catholics, and some of the expressions he made use of were interpreted to reflect on the King.† Sharpe endeavored to apologize, but nevertheless the Bishop of London received orders to suspend the preacher from his functions. That prelate excused himself from

* "The act that put down the High Commission in the year 1640, had provided by a clause, as full as could be conceived, that no court should ever be set up for those matters besides the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. Yet, in contempt of that, a court was erected, with full power to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way in all ecclesiastical matters, without limitation to any rule of law in their proceedings. This stretch of the supremacy, so contrary to law, was assumed by a King, whose religion made him condemn all that supremacy that the law had vested in the crown." — BURNET, vol. iii. p. 102.

† "Dr. Sharpe, Rector of St. Giles, was both a very pious man, and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper, sent him, as he believed, by a priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it; and after he had confuted it, concluded by showing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to Court, and represented there as a reflection on the King for changing on these grounds. He used to recommend to young divines the reading of the Scriptures and of Shakespeare." — BURNET, vol. iii. pp. 100, 101.

obedience, because he had no power to proceed thus summarily against a person not convicted of any offence. The Bishop's excuse, as well as Sharpe's apology, were disregarded, and both were suspended from their functions by this illegal court; the preacher, because he exerted himself, as his profession required, in combating the arguments by which many were seduced from the Protestant faith; the prelate, because he declined to be an instrument of illegal oppression. The people saw the result of this trial, with a deep sense of the illegality shown, and the injustice inflicted.

The Universities were equally the object of the King's unprovoked aggressions. It was in their bosom that the youth of the kingdom, more especially those destined for the clerical profession, were educated, and James naturally concluded, that to introduce the Catholic influence into these two great and learned bodies, would prove a most important step in his grand plan of re-establishing that religion in England.

The experiment upon Cambridge was a slight one. The King, by his mandate, required the University to confer a degree of master of arts upon Father Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk. Academical honors of this kind are generally conferred without respect to the religion of the party receiving them; and indeed, the University had, not very long before, admitted a Mahometan to the degree of master of arts; but that was an honorary degree only, whereas the degree demanded for the Benedictine monk inferred a right to sit and vote in the elections of the University, whose members, considering that the Papists so introduced might soon control the Protestants, resolved to oppose the King's purpose in the commencement, and refused to grant the degree re-

quired. The Court of High Commission suspended the vice-chancellor, but the University chose a man of the same determined spirit in his room ; so that the King was not the nearer to his object, which he was compelled for the present to abandon.

Oxford, however, was attacked with more violence, and the consequences were more important. That celebrated University had been distinguished by its unalterable attachment to the Royal cause. When Charles I. was compelled to quit London, he found a retreat at Oxford, where the various colleges expended in supporting his cause, whatever wealth they possessed, while many members of the University exposed their lives in his service. In Charles the Second's time, Oxford, on account of its inflexible loyalty, had been chosen as the place where the King convoked a short Parliament, when the interest of the Whigs in the city of London was so strong as to render him fearful of remaining in its vicinity. It was less to the honor of this University, that it had shown itself the most zealous in expressing, and enforcing by its ordinances, the slavish tenets of passive obedience and non-resistance to the royal authority, which were then professed by many of the members of the Church of England ; but it was an additional proof that their devotion to the King was almost unlimited.

But if James recollected anything whatever of these marks of loyalty to the Crown, the remembrance served only to encourage him in his attack upon the privileges of the University, in the belief that they would not be firmly resisted. With ingratitude, therefore, as well as folly, he proceeded to intrude his mandate on the society of Magdalen College, commanding them to choose for their president one of the new converts to the Catholic

religion, and on their refusal, expelled them from the college; thus depriving them of their revenues and endowments, because they would not transgress the statutes, to the observance of which they had solemnly sworn.

A still more fatal error, which seems indeed to have carried James's imprudence to the uttermost, was the ever-memorable prosecution of the bishops, which had its origin in the following circumstances. In 1688 James published a second declaration of indulgence, with an order subjoined, by which it was appointed to be read in all the churches. The greater part of the English bishops, disapproving of the King's pretended prerogative of dispensing with the test and penal laws, resolved to refuse obedience to this order, which, as their sentiments were well known, could only be intended to disgrace them in the eyes of the people. Six of the most distinguished of the prelates joined with [Sancroft] the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a humble petition to the King,* praying his Majesty would dispense with their causing to be published in their dioceses a declaration founded upon the claim of royal dispensation, which claim having been repeatedly declared illegal, the petitioners could not, in prudence, honor, or conscience, be accessory to distributing a paper which asserted its validity in so solemn a manner all over the nation.

The King was highly incensed at this remonstrance,

* "The King, when he heard their petitions, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said he was their king, and he would be obeyed, and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six bishops were [Lloyd] St. Asaph, [Turner] Ely, [Kew] Bath and Wells, [White] Peterborough, [Lake] Chichester, [Trelawney] Bristol. The answer they made the King was, '*The will of God be done;*' and they came from the court in a sort of triumph."--BURNET, vol. iii. p. 217.

and summoning the seven prelates before his Privy Council, he demanded of them if they owned and adhered to their petition. They at once acknowledged that they did so, and were instantly committed to the Tower, on a charge of sedition. The rank and respectability of these distinguished men, the nature of the charge against whom, in the popular apprehension, was an attempt to punish them for a bold, yet respectful discharge of their high duties, coupled with the anxious dread of what might be expected to follow such a violent procedure, wrought up the minds of the people to the highest pitch.

An immense multitude assembled on the banks of the Thames, and beheld with grief and wonder those fathers of the Church conveyed to prison in the boats appointed for that purpose. The enthusiasm was extreme. The spectators wept, they kneeled, they prayed for the safety of the prisoners, which was only endangered by the firmness with which they had held fast their duty; and the benedictions which the persecuted divines distributed on every side, were answered with the warmest wishes for their freedom, and the most unreserved avowal of their cause. All this enthusiasm of popular feeling was insufficient to open James's eyes to his madness. He urged on the proceedings against the prelates, who, on the 17th June, 1688, were brought to trial, and, after a long and most interesting hearing of their cause, were fully acquitted. The acclamations of the multitude were loud in proportion to the universal anxiety which prevailed while the case was in dependence; and when the news reached the camp at Hounslow, the extravagant rejoicings of the soldiers, unchecked by the King's own presence, showed that the army and the people were animated by the same spirit.

Yet James was so little influenced by this universal expression of adherence to the Protestant cause, that he continued his headlong career, with a degree of rapidity which compelled the reflecting part of the Catholics themselves to doubt and fear the event. He renewed his violent interference with the universities, endeavored to thrust on Magdalen College a Popish bishop, and resolved to prosecute every clergyman who should refuse to read his declaration of indulgence, that is to say, with the exception of an inconsiderable minority,* the whole clergy of the Church of England.

While the kingdoms of Scotland and England were agitated by these violent attempts to establish the Roman Catholic religion, their fears were roused to the highest pitch by observing with what gigantic strides the King was advancing to the same object in Ireland, where, the great body of the people being Catholics, he had no occasion to disguise his purposes. Lord Tyrconnell, a headstrong and violent man, and a Catholic of course, was appointed Viceroy, and proceeded to take every necessary step, by arming the Papists and depressing the Protestants, to prepare for a total change, in which the latter should be subjugated by a Catholic Parliament. The violence of the King's conduct in a country where he was not under the necessity of keeping any fair appearances,

* "Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above two hundred all England over; and of these some read it the first Sunday, but changed their minds before the second; others declared in their sermons that though they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration; and one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopped till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: in many places, as soon as the minister began to read it, all the people rose and went out." — BURNET, vol. iii p. 218.

too plainly showed the Protestants of England and Scotland that the measure, presented to them as one of general toleration for all Christian sects, was in fact designed to achieve the supremacy of the Catholic faith over heresy of every denomination.

During all this course of mal-administration, the sensible and prudent part of the nation kept their eyes fixed on William, Prince of Orange, married, as I have before told you, to James's eldest daughter, Mary, and heir to the throne, unless it happened that the King should have a son by his present Queen. This was an event which had long been held improbable, for the children which the Queen had hitherto borne were of a very weak constitution, and did not long survive their birth; and James himself was now an elderly man.

The Prince of Orange, therefore, having a fair prospect of attaining the throne after his father-in-law's death, observed great caution in his communications with the numerous and various factions in England and Scotland; and even to those who expressed the greatest moderation and the purest sentiments of patriotism, he replied with a prudent reserve, exhorting them to patience, dissuading from all hasty insurrections, and pointing out to them, that the death of the King must put an end to the innovations which he was attempting on the constitution.

But an event took place which entirely altered the Prince of Orange's views and feelings, and forced him upon an enterprise, one of the most remarkable, in its progress and consequences, of any which the history of the world affords. Mary, Queen of England, and wife of James II., was delivered of a male child, on the 10th of June, 1688. The Papists had long looked forward to this event as to one which should perpetuate the measures of

the King in favor of the Roman Catholics after his own death. They had, therefore, ventured to prophesy, that the expected infant would be a son, and they imputed the fulfilment of their wishes to the intervention of the Virgin Mary of Loretto, propitiated by prayers and pilgrimages.

The Protestant party, on the other hand, were disposed to consider the alleged birth of the infant, which had happened so seasonably for the Catholics, as the result not of a miracle of the Popish saints, but of a trick at court. They affirmed that the child was not really the son of James and his wife, but a supposititious infant, whom they were desirous to palm upon their subjects as the legal heir of the throne, in order to defeat the claim of the Protestant successors. This assertion, though gravely swallowed by the people, and widely spread amongst them, was totally without foundation; nor was it possible that there could exist more complete proof of such a fact than James himself published to the world concerning the birth of this young Prince of Wales. But the King's declarations, and the evidence which he at length made public, were unable to bear down the calumny which was so widely and anxiously circulated. The leaders of the Protestant party, whatever they might themselves believe, took care to make the rumor of the alleged imposture as general as possible; and many, whose Tory principles would not have allowed them to oppose the succession of a prince really descended of the blood royal, stood prepared to dispute the right of the infant to succeed to the throne, on account of the alleged doubtfulness of his birth.

One thing, however, was certain, that whether the child was supposititious or not, his birth was likely to prolong the misgovernment under which the country groaned. There now no longer existed the prospect that James

would be, at no distant date, succeeded by his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, with whom the Protestant religion must necessarily recover its predominance. This infant was of course to be trained up in the religion and principles of his father; and the influence of the dreaded spirit of Popery, instead of terminating with the present reign, would maintain and extend itself through that of a youthful successor. The Prince of Orange, on his part, seeing himself, by the birth and rights of this infant, excluded from the long-hoped-for succession to the crown of England, laid aside his caution, with the purpose of taking a bold and active interference in British politics.

He now publicly, though with decency, declared that his sentiments were opposite to those on which his father-in-law acted, and that though he was disposed to give a hearty consent to repealing penal statutes in all cases, being of opinion that no one should be punished for his religious opinions, yet he could not acquiesce in the King's claim to dispense with the test, which only excluded from public offices those whose conscience would not permit them to conform to the established religion of the country in which they lived. Having thus openly declared his sentiments, the Prince of Orange was resorted to, openly or secretly, by all those, of whatever political opinions, who joined in the general fear for the religious and civil liberties of the country, which were threatened by the bigotry of James. Encouraged by the universal sentiments of the English nation, a few Catholics excepted, and by the urgent remonstrances of many of the leading men of all the various parties, the Prince of Orange resolved to appear in England at the head of an armed force, with the purpose of putting a stop to James's encroachments on the constitution in Church and State.

Under various plausible pretexts, therefore, the Prince began to assemble a navy and army adequate to the bold invasion which he meditated; while neither the warning of the King of France, who penetrated the purpose of these preparations, nor a sense of the condition in which he himself stood, could induce James to take any adequate measures of defence.

The unfortunate prince continued to follow the same measures which had lost him the hearts of his subjects, and every step he took encouraged and prompted disaffection. Dubious of the allegiance of his army, he endeavored, by introducing Irish Catholics amongst them, to fill their ranks, in part at least, with men in whom he might repose more confidence. But the lieutenant-colonel and five captains of the regiment in which the experiment was first tried, refused to receive the proposed recruits; and though these officers were cashiered for doing so, yet their spirit was generally applauded by those of their own profession.

Another experiment on the soldiery had a still more mortifying result. Although it is contrary to the British constitution to engage soldiers under arms in the discussion of any political doctrine, since they must be regarded as the servants, not the counsellors of the State, nevertheless, James resolved, if possible, to obtain from the army their approbation of the repeal of the test and the penal statutes. By way of experiment, a single battalion was drawn up in his own presence, and informed that they must either express their hearty acquiescence in the King's purposes in respect to these laws, or lay down their arms, such being the sole condition on which their services would be received. On hearing this appeal, the whole regiment, excepting two officers and a few Catholic

soldiers, laid down their arms. The King stood mute with anger and disappointment, and at length told them, in a sullen and offended tone, to take up their arms and retire to their quarters, adding, that he would not again do them the honor to ask their opinions.

While James was thus extorting from his very soldiers opinions the most unfavorable to his measures, he suddenly received intelligence from his ambassador in Holland, that the Prince of Orange was about to put to sea with an army of fifteen thousand men, supplied by the States of Holland, and a fleet of five hundred sail.

Conscious that he had lost the best safeguard of a monarch, — namely, the love and affections of his subjects, — this news came upon James like a thunder-clap. He hastened to retract all the measures which had rendered his reign so unpopular; but it was with a precipitation which showed fear, not conviction, and the people were persuaded that the concessions would be recalled as soon as the danger was over.

In the mean time, the Dutch fleet set sail. At first it encountered a storm, and was driven back into harbor. But the damage sustained by some of the vessels being
19th Oct. speedily repaired, they again put to sea, and with so much activity, that the short delay proved rather of service than otherwise; for the English fleet, which had also been driven into harbor by the storm, could not be got ready to meet the invaders. Steering for the west of England, the Prince of Orange landed in Torbay, on the 5th November, 1688, being the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, an era which seemed propitious to an enterprise commenced in opposition to the revival of Popery in England.

Immediately on his landing, the Prince published a

manifesto, setting forth, in plain and strong terms, the various encroachments made by the reigning monarch upon the British constitution, and upon the rights as well of the Church as of private persons and corporate bodies. He came, he said, with an armed force, to protect his person from the King's evil counsellors, but declared that his only purpose was to have a full and free Parliament assembled, in order to procure a general settlement of religion, liberty, and property.

Notwithstanding that so many persons of rank and influence had privately encouraged the Prince of Orange to this undertaking,* there appeared at first very little alacrity to support him in carrying it through. The inhabitants of the western counties, where the Prince landed, were overawed by recollection of the fearful punishment inflicted upon those who had joined Monmouth, and the Prince had advanced to Exeter ere he was joined by any adherent of consequence. But from the time that one or two gentlemen of consideration joined him, a general commotion took place all over England, and the nobility and gentry assumed arms on every side for redress of the grievances set forth in the Prince's manifesto.

In the midst of this universal defection, King James gave orders to assemble his army, assigned Salisbury for his head-quarters, and announced his purpose of fighting the invaders. But he was doomed to experience to what extent he had alienated the affections of his subjects by his bigoted and tyrannical conduct. Several noblemen and officers of rank publicly deserted, and carried off to the Prince's army numbers of their soldiers. Amongst

* "The Prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the Duke of Ormond, and was received with great applause by that loyal university, who also made an offer of their plate to the Prince." — HUME.

these was Lord Churchill, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. He was a particular favorite of the unhappy King, who had bestowed a peerage on him, with high rank in the army; and his desertion to the Prince on this occasion showed that the universal aversion to King James's measures had alienated the affections of those who would otherwise have been most devotedly attached to him.

A still more striking defection seems to have destroyed the remains of the unhappy monarch's resolution. His second daughter, the Princess Anne, who was married to a younger son of the King of Denmark, called Prince George, escaped by night from London, under the protection of the Bishop of that city, who raised a body of horse for her safeguard, and rode armed at their head. She fled to Nottingham, where she was received by the Earl of Dorset, and declared for a free Protestant Parliament. Her husband, and other persons of the first distinction, joined the Prince of Orange.

The sudden and unexpected dissolution of his power, when every morning brought intelligence of some new defection or insurrection, totally destroyed the firmness of James, who, notwithstanding his folly and misconduct, becomes, in this period of unmitigated calamity, an object of our pity. At the tidings of his daughter's flight, he exclaimed with the agony of paternal feeling, "God help me, my own children desert me!" In the extremity and desolation of his distress, the unfortunate monarch seems to have lost all those qualities which had gained him in earlier life the character of courage and sagacity; and the heedless rashness with which he had scorned the distant danger, was only equalled by the prostrating degree of intimidation which now overwhelmed him.

He disbanded his army, to the great increase of the general confusion; and, finally, terrified by the recollection of his father's fate, he resolved to withdraw himself from his kingdom. It is probable that he could not have taken any resolution which would have been so grateful to the Prince of Orange. If James had remained in Britain, the extremity of his misfortunes would probably have awakened the popular compassion; and the tenets of the High Churchmen and Tories, although they had given way to their apprehensions for the safety of religion and liberty, might, when these were considered as safe, have raised many partisans to the distressed monarch. Besides, while King James remained in his dominions, it would have been an obnoxious and odious attempt, on the part of the Prince of Orange, to have plucked the crown forcibly from the head of his father-in-law, in order to place it upon his own. On the other hand, if the flight of the King into foreign countries should leave the throne unoccupied, nothing could be so natural as to place there the next Protestant heir of the crown, by whose providential interference the liberties and constitution of the country had been rescued from such imminent danger.

Fortune seemed at first adverse to an escape, which was desired by King James, owing to his fears, and by the Prince of Orange, in consequence of his hopes.* As

* "By this temporary dissolution of Government, the populace were masters; and there was no disorder which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the mass-houses. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassadors, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died a little after." — HUME.

the King, attended by one gentlemen, endeavored to get on board of a vessel prepared for his escape, they were seized by some rude fishermen, who were looking out to catch such priests and Catholics as were flying from the kingdom. At the hands of these men the unfortunate monarch received some rough treatment, until the gentry of the country interposed for the protection of his person, but still refused to permit him to depart the kingdom. He was allowed, however, to return to London, where the rabble, with their usual mutability, and moved with compassion for the helpless state to which they beheld the King reduced, received him with acclamations of favor.

The Prince of Orange, not a little disappointed by this incident, seems to have determined to conduct himself towards his father-in-law with such a strain of coldness and severity as should alarm James for his personal safety, and determine him to resume his purpose of flight. With such a view, the Prince refused to receive the nobleman whom the King had sent to him to desire a conference, and ordered the messenger to be placed under arrest. In reply to the message, he issued a command, transmitted at midnight, that the King should leave his palace the next morning. The dejected sovereign yielded to the mandate, and, at his own request, Rochester was assigned for his abode. That happened which must have been foreseen, from his choosing a place near the river as his temporary habitation. James privately embarked on board of a frigate, and was safely landed at Ambleteuse, in France. He was received by Louis XIV. with the utmost generosity and hospitality, and lived for many years at St. Germain, under his protection and at his expense, excepting only

23d Dec.

during a short campaign (to be afterwards noticed) in Ireland. Every effort to replace him in his dominions only proved destructive to those who were engaged in them. The exiled monarch was looked upon with reverence by sincere Catholics, who counted him as a martyr to his zeal for the form of religion which he and they professed; but by others he was ridiculed as a bigot, who had lost three kingdoms for the sake of a mass.

A Convention, as it was called (in effect a Parliament, though not such in form, because it could not be summoned in the King's name), was convoked at Westminster; and, at their first meeting, they returned their unanimous thanks to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had achieved for the nation. The House of Commons then proceeded, by a great majority, to vote that King James had forfeited his regal title by a variety of encroachments on the constitution; that, by his flight, he had abdicated the government; and that the throne was vacant. But as great part of this resolution was adverse to the doctrine of the Tories, who refused to adopt it, the mention of forfeiture was omitted; and it was finally settled, that by his evil administration, and subsequent flight from Britain, King James had *abdicated* the throne. And I cannot forbear to point out to you the singular wisdom of both the great parties in the state, who by keeping the expressions of their resolution so general as to clash with the sentiments of neither, concurred in a measure so important, without starting any theoretical disputes to awaken party contention at a moment when the peace of England depended, on unanimity.

The throne being thus declared vacant, the important question remained, by whom it should be filled. This was a point warmly disputed. The Tories were con-

tented that the Prince of Orange should exercise the regal power, but only under the title of Regent. They could not reconcile themselves to the dethroning a King, and electing his successor; and contended that James's course of misconduct did not deprive him of his kingly right and title, but only operated like some malady, which rendered him unfit to have the exercise of regal power. The Whigs replied that this doctrine would prevent the nation from deriving the desired advantages from the Revolution, since, if James was in any respect to be acknowledged as a sovereign, he might return and claim the power which is inalienable from the royal right. Besides, if James was still King, it was evident that his son, who had been carried abroad, in order that he might be bred up in Popery, and in arbitrary doctrines, must be acknowledged after the death of James himself. They, therefore, declared for the necessity of filling up the vacant sovereignty. A third party endeavored to find a middle opinion, with regard to which the objections applicable to those we have just expressed should not hold good. They proposed that the crown should be conferred on Mary, Princess of Orange, in her own right; thus passing over the infant Prince of Wales, and transferring their allegiance to Mary as the next Protestant heir of the crown.

The Prince of Orange, who had listened to, and watched these debates in silence, but with deep interest, now summoned a small council of leading persons to whom he made his sentiments known.

He would not, he said, interfere in any respect with the right of the English Parliament to arrange their future government according to their own laws, or their own pleasure. But he felt it necessary to acquaint them,

that if they chose to be governed by a Regent, he would not accept that office. Neither was he disposed to take the government of the kingdom under his wife, supposing she was chosen Queen. If either of these modes of settlement were adopted, he informed them he would retire entirely from all interference with British affairs. The Princess, his wife, seconded her husband's views, to whom she always paid the highest degree of conjugal deference.

The wisdom and power of the Prince of Orange, nay even the assistance of his military force, were absolutely indispensable to the settlement of England, divided as it was by two rival political parties, who had indeed been forced into union by the general fear of James's tyranny, but were ready to renew their dissensions the instant the overwhelming pressure of that fear was removed. The Convention were, therefore, obliged to regulate the succession to the throne upon the terms agreeable to the Prince of Orange. The Princess and he were called to the throne jointly, under the title of King William and Queen Mary, the survivor succeeding the party who should first die. The Princess Anne of Denmark, was named to succeed after the death of her sister and brother-in-law, and the claims of James's infant son were entirely passed over.

The Convention did not neglect this opportunity to annex to the settlement of the Crown a Declaration of Rights, determining in favor of the subject those rights which had been contested during the late reigns, and drawing with more accuracy and precision than had hitherto been employed, the lines which circumscribe the royal authority.

Such was this memorable Revolution, which (saving

a petty and accidental skirmish) decided the fate of a great kingdom without bloodshed, and in which, perhaps for the only time in history, the heads of the discordant factions of a great empire laid aside their mutual suspicion and animosity, and calmly and dispassionately discussed the great concerns of the nation, without reference to their own interests or those of their party. To the memory of this Convention, or Parliament, the Britannic kingdoms owe the inestimable blessing of a constitution, fixed on the decided and defined principles of civil and religious liberty.

CHAPTER LV.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION — ENDEAVORS OF JAMES TO SECURE THE SCOTS TO HIS INTEREST — THE SCOTTISH ARMY IS ORDERED TO ENGLAND, AND, ON THE FLIGHT OF JAMES, JOINS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE — EXPULSION OF CAPTAIN WALLACE FROM HOLYROOD HOUSE — MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH CONVENTION — STRUGGLES OF THE JACOBITE AND WHIG PARTIES — SECESSION OF THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE THRONE ON KING WILLIAM — DISPOSAL OF OFFICES OF TRUST IN SCOTLAND — MR. CARSTAIRS CONFIDENTIALLY CONSULTED BY KING WILLIAM.

[1688 — 1689.]

THE necessity of explaining the nature and progress of the Revolution of England, without which it would be impossible for you to comprehend what passed in the northern part of the kingdom, has drawn us away from the proper subject of this little book, and makes it necessary that we should return to our account of Scottish affairs during the time that these important events were taking place in England.

We have mentioned the discontents which existed among King James's most zealous friends in Scotland, on account of his pressing the revocation of the Test, and that several of the crown officers, and crown lawyers, and even two or three of the judges, had been displaced for demurring to that measure, the vacancies being filled with Catholics or Presbyterians. You have also been told that, by this false policy, James lost the affection of his

friends of the Episcopal Church, without being able to conciliate his ancient enemies, the nonconformists.

Thus stood matters in Scotland, when, in September, 1688, King James sent down to his council in Scotland an account of the preparations making in Holland to invade England. Upon this alarming news, the militia were ordered to be in readiness, the Highland chiefs were directed to prepare their clans to take the field, and the vassals of the Crown were modelled into regiments, and furnished with arms. These forces, joined to the standing army, would have made a considerable body of troops.

But unanimity, the soul of national resistance, was wanting. The Scottish Royalists were still so much attached to the Crown, and even to the person of James, that, notwithstanding the late causes of suspicion and discord which had occurred betwixt them and the King, there remained little doubt that they would have proved faithful to his cause. But the Presbyterians, even of the most moderate party, had suffered so severely at James's hand, both during his brother's reign and his own, that it was hardly to be expected that a few glances of royal favor, to which they appeared to be admitted only because they could not be decently excluded from the toleration designed for the benefit of the Catholics, should make them forget the recent terrors of the storm. Several of the gentry of this persuasion, however, seemed ready to serve the King, and obtained commissions in the militia; but the event showed that this was done with the purpose of acting more effectually against him.

The Earl of Perth endeavored to ascertain the real sentiments of that numerous party, by applying to them through the medium of Sir Patrick Murray, a person who seemed attached to no particular sect, but who was es-

teemed by all. This gentleman applied to such leading Presbyterian ministers as were in Edinburgh, reminding them of the favors lately shown them by the King, and requesting they would now evince their gratitude, by influencing their hearers to oppose the unnatural invasion threatened by the Prince of Orange. The clergymen received the overture coldly, and declined to return an answer till there should be more of their brethren in town. Having in the interim obtained information which led them to expect the ultimate success of the Prince of Orange, they sent as their answer to the Earl of Perth, through Sir Patrick Murray, "That they owed the King had of late been used as Heaven's instrument to show them some favor; but being convinced that he had done so only with a design to ruin the Protestant religion, by introducing dissension among its professors of different denominations, and observing that the persons whom he voluntarily raised to power were either Papists, or persons popishly inclined, they desired to be excused from giving any further answer, saving that they would conduct themselves in this juncture as God should inspire them."

From this answer, it was plain that James was to expect nothing from the Presbyterians; yet they remained silent and quiet, waiting the event, and overawed by the regular troops, who were posted in such places as to prevent open insurrection.

The disaffection of the English soldiery having alarmed James's suspicions, he sent orders that his Scottish army should be drawn together, and held in readiness to march into England. The Scottish administration answered by a remonstrance, that this measure would leave the government of Scotland totally defenceless, and encourage the disaffected, who could not but think the affairs of King

James were desperate, since he could not dispense with the assistance of so small a body of troops. To this remonstrance the King replied by a positive order that the Scottish army should advance into England.

This little army might consist of six or seven thousand excellent troops, commanded by James Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, as General-in-chief, and by the more celebrated John Graham of Claverhouse, recently created Viscount of Dundee, as Major-General. The former was secretly a favorer of the Prince of Orange's enterprise. Viscount Dundee, on the other hand, was devotedly attached to the cause of King James, and redeemed some of his fiercer and more cruel propensities, by the virtue of attaching himself to his benefactor, when he was forsaken by all the world besides. It is said that the march was protracted by Douglas, lest the steadiness of the Scottish army should have served as an example to the English. At length, however, they reached London, where the Viscount of Dundee claimed a right to command, as eldest Major-General; but the English officers of the same rank, whether out of national jealousy, or that Dundee's obtaining so high a rank might have interfered with their private schemes, positively refused to serve under him. It is said, that, in the event of his obtaining this command, his design was to assemble such English troops as yet remained faithful, and, at the head of these and the Scottish army, to have marched against the Prince of Orange, and given him battle. But this scheme, which must have cost much bloodshed, was defeated by the refusal of the English officers to fight under him.

King James, amidst the distraction of his affairs, requested the advice of this sagacious and determined ad-

herent, who pointed out to him three courses. The first was, to try the fate of war, by manfully fighting the Prince of Orange. The second alternative was, to meet him in friendship, and require to know his purpose. The third was, to retire into Scotland, under protection of the little army which had marched to support him. The King, it is said, was inclined to try the third alternative; but, as he received intelligence that several Scottish peers and gentlemen were come post to London, to wait on the Prince of Orange, he justly doubted whether that kingdom would have proved a safer place of refuge than England. Indeed, he presently afterwards heard that one of Douglas's battalions had caught the spirit of desertion, and gone over to the Prince.

Shortly after this untoward event, Dundee, with such of his principal officers as adhered to the cause of James, received assurances of the King's disposition to hazard battle, and were commanded to meet him at Uxbridge, to consult upon the movements to be adopted. When the Scottish officers reached the place appointed, instead of meeting with the King, they learned that their misguided monarch had fled, and received the fatal order to disband their forces. Dundee, with the Lords Linlithgow and Dunmore, shed tears of grief and mortification. In the uncertainty of the times, Dundee resolved to keep his forces together until he had conducted them back into Scotland. With this view he took up his quarters at Watford, intending to retreat on the ensuing morning. In the mean while, the town's people, who did not like the company of these northern soldiers, raised a report during the course of the night that the Prince of Orange was coming to attack them, hoping, by this false alarm, to frighten the Scottish troops from the place sooner than

they intended. But Dundee was not a person to be so easily startled. To the great alarm of the citizens, he caused his trumpets sound to arms, and taking up a strong position in front of the town, sent out to reconnoitre, and learn the intentions of the Prince of Orange. Thus the stratagem of the citizens of Watford only brought on themselves the chance of a battle in front of their town, which was most likely to suffer in the conflict, be the event what it would.

But the Prince of Orange knew Dundee's character well. He had served his early campaigns under that Prince, and had merited his regard, not only by a diligent discharge of his duty, but also by rescuing William at the battle of Seneff, in 1674, and remounting him on his own horse, when that of the Prince was slain under him.* Dundee had left the Dutch service, on being disappointed of a regiment.

Knowing, therefore, the courage, talent, and obstinacy of the Scottish commander, the Prince of Orange took the step of assuring the Viscount of Dundee that he had not the least purpose of molesting him, and that, understanding he was at Watford, and was keeping his men embodied, he had to request he would remain there till further orders. When the news of the King's return to London was rumored, Dundee went to assure his old master of his continued attachment, and to receive his orders; and it is said he even, in that moment of universal despair, offered to assemble the dispersed troops of the King, and try the

* "After sunset, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkness at last, not the weariness of the combatants, which put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. 'The Prince of Orange,' said Condé, with candor and generosity, 'has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier.'" — HUME, chap. 66.

fate of war. But James's spirit was too much broken to stand such a hazard.

On James's final flight to France, and the decision of the Convention, elevating the Prince and Princess of Orange to the throne, Dundee would no longer retain his command, but retired to Scotland, at the head of a body-guard of twenty or thirty horse, who would not quit him, and without whose protection he could not perhaps have passed safely through the southern and western counties, where he had exercised so many severities. The Scottish army, or what remained of it, was put under the command of General Mackay, an officer attached to King William, and transferred to the service of the new monarch, though there were many amongst them who cast a lingering eye towards that of their old master.

In the mean time, the Revolution had been effected in Scotland, though not with the same unanimity as in England. On the contrary, the Episcopalians throughout the kingdom, in spite of all the provocations which they had received, could not prevail upon themselves to join in any measures which should be unfavorable to James's interest, and would probably have appeared in arms in his cause, had there been any one present in Scotland to raise and uphold the exiled monarch's banner.

The Scottish prelates, in particular, hastened to show, that in the extremity of King James's misfortunes, they had forgotten their rupture with him, and had returned to the principles of passive obedience by which their Church was distinguished. On the 3d November, the whole of their number, excepting the Bishops of Argyle and Caithness, joined in a letter to the King, professing their own fixed and unshaken loyalty, promising their utmost efforts to promote among his subjects an *intemer-*

able and steadfast allegiance, and praying that Heaven would give the King the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.

But the defenceless state in which King James's Scottish government was left, after the march of Douglas and Dundee into England at the head of the regular forces, rendered the good wishes of the bishops of little service. It soon began to appear that the Scottish Presbyterians were determined to avail themselves of an opportunity for which the chiefs amongst them had long made preparations. The Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and Tarras, with several other persons of consideration, encouraged the rising of the Presbyterians, who, hastily assuming arms, appeared in different parts of the country, in open opposition to the Government.

These desultory forces might have been put down by the militia; but a manœuvre of the Earl of Athole, whose connection with the Earl of Derby had procured him admission into the secrets of the Revolution, prevented the adherents of King James from having this support. Lord Tarbat concurred in the sentiments of Athole, and both being members of the Privy Council, had an opportunity of carrying their purpose into execution. When the news reached Scotland, that the army of King James was disbanded, and the King had fled, these two noblemen persuaded the Chancellor, Perth, and other Catholics or zealous Jacobites in the Privy Council, that, as there was now no chance of coming to a decision by force of arms, it was their duty to disband the militia, as their services could not be needed, and their maintenance was a burden to the country.

The Earl of Perth, who appears to have been a timorous man, and of limited understanding, was persuaded to

acquiesce in this measure ; and no sooner had he parted with the militia, his last armed defence, than his colleagues made him understand that he, being a Papist, incapacitated by law from holding any public office, they did not think themselves in safety to sit and vote with him as a member of Government. And while the Protestant part of his late obsequious brethren seemed to shun him as one infected with the plague, the rabble beat drums in the streets, proclaimed him traitor, and set a price upon his head. The late chancellor's courage could not withstand the menace, and he escaped from the metropolis, with the purpose of flying beyond seas. But being pursued by armed barks, he was taken and detained a prisoner for more than four years.

In the mean time an act of violence of a decided character took place in Edinburgh. Holyrood House, the ancient palace of James's ancestors, and his own habitation when in Scotland, had been repaired with becoming splendor when he came to the throne. But it was within its precincts that he had established his royal chapel for the Catholic service, as well as a seminary of Jesuits, an institution which, under pretext of teaching the Latin language and other branches of education gratis, was undoubtedly designed to carry on the work of making proselytes. At Holyrood House a printing establishment was also erected, from which were issued polemical tracts in defence of the Catholic religion, and similar productions. The palace and its inmates were on all these accounts very obnoxious to the Presbyterian party, which now began to obtain the ascendancy.

The same bands, consisting of the meaner class of people, apprentices, and others, whose appearance had frightened the Chancellor out of the city, continued to parade

the streets with drums beating, until, confident in their numbers, they took the resolution of making an attack on the palace, which was garrisoned by a company of regular soldiers, commanded by one Captain Wallace.

As the multitude pressed on this officer's sentinels, he at length commanded his men to fire, and some of the insurgents were killed. A general cry was raised through the city, that Wallace and his soldiers were committing a massacre of the inhabitants; and many of the citizens, repairing to the Earl of Athole and his colleagues, the only part of the Privy Council which remained, obtained a warrant from them for the surrender of the palace, and an order for the King's heralds to attend in their official habits to intimate the same. The city guard of Edinburgh was also commanded to be in readiness to enforce the order; the trained bands were got under arms, and the provost and magistrates, with a number of persons of condition, went to show their good-will to the cause. Some of these volunteers acted a little out of character. Lord Mersington, one of the Judges of the Court of Session, lately promoted to that office by James II., at the time when he was distributing his favors equally betwixt Papist and Puritan, attracted some attention from his peculiar appearance; he was girt with a buff belt above five inches broad, bore a halbert in his hand, and (if a Jacobite eyewitness speaks truth) was "as drunk as ale and brandy could make him."

On the approach of this motley army of besiegers, Wallace, instead of manning the battlements and towers of the palace, drew up his men imprudently in the open court-yard in front of it. He refused to yield up his post, contending that the warrant of the Privy Council was only signed by a small number of that body. Defiance

was exchanged on both sides, and firing commenced ; on which most of the volunteers got into places of safety, leaving Captain Wallace and the major of the city guard to dispute the matter professionally. It chanced that the latter proved the better soldier, and finding a back way into the palace, attacked Wallace in the rear. The defenders were at the same time charged in front by the other assailants, and the palace was taken by storm. The rabble behaved themselves as riotously as might have been expected, breaking, burning, and destroying, not only the articles which belonged to the Catholic service, but the whole furniture of the chapel ; and, finally, forcing their way into the royal sepulchres, and pulling about the bodies of the deceased princes and kings of Scotland. These monuments, to the great scandal of the British Government, were not closed until ten or twelve years since, before which time, the exhibition of the wretched relics of mortality which had been dragged to light on this occasion, was a part of the show offered for the amusement of strangers who visited the palace.

This riot, which ascertained the complete superiority of the Presbyterian party, took place on the 10th December, 1688. The houses of various Catholics, who then resided chiefly in the Canongate, were mobbed, or rabbled, as was then the phrase, their persons insulted, and their property destroyed. But the populace contented themselves with burning and destroying whatever they considered as belonging to Papists and Popery, without taking anything for their own use.

This zeal for the Protestant cause was maintained by false rumors that an army of Irish Catholics had landed in the west, and were burning, spoiling, and slaying. It was even said they had reached Dumfries. A similar re-

port had produced a great effect on the minds of the English during the Prince of Orange's advance to the capital. In Scotland it was a general signal for the Presbyterians to get to arms ; and, being thus assembled, they, and particularly the Cameronians, found active occupation in expelling from the churches the clergy of the Episcopal persuasion. To proceed in this work with some appearance of form, they, in most cases, previously intimated to the Episcopal curates that they must either leave their churches voluntarily, or be forcibly ejected from them.

Now, since these armed nonconformists had been, to use their own language, for nearly twenty years "proscribed, forfeited, miserably oppressed, given up as sheep to the slaughter, intercommuned, and interdicted of harbor or supply, comfort or communion, hunted and slain in the fields, in cities imprisoned, tortured, executed to the death, or banished and sold as slaves ;" and as many of them avowed the same wild principles which were acted upon by the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe, it might have been expected that a bloody retaliation would take place as soon as they had the power in their own hands. Yet it must be owned that these stern Cameronians showed no degree of positive cruelty. They expelled the obnoxious curates with marks of riotous triumph, tore their gowns, and compelled them sometimes to march in a mock procession to the boundary of their parish ; they plundered the private chapels of Catholics, and destroyed whatever they found belonging to their religion ; but they evinced no desire of personal vengeance ; nor have I found that the clergy who were expelled in this memorable month of December, 1688, although most of them were treated with rudeness and insult, were, in any case, killed or wounded in cold blood.

These tumults would have extended to Edinburgh; but the College of Justice, under which title all the different law bodies of the capital are comprehended, assumed arms for maintaining the public peace, and resisting an expected invasion of the city by the Cameronians, who threatened, in this hour of triumph, a descent on the metropolis, and a second Whigamore's Raid. This species of civic guard effectually checked their advance, until, not being supposed favorable to the Prince of Orange, it was disbanded by proclamation when he assumed the management of public affairs.

Scotland may be said to have been for some time without a government; and, indeed, now that all prospect of war seemed at an end, men of all parties posted up to London, as the place where the fate of the kingdom must be finally settled. The Prince of Orange recommended the same measure which had been found efficient in England; and a Convention of the Scottish Estates was summoned to meet in March, 1689. The interval was spent by both parties in preparing for a contest.

The Episcopal party continued devoted to the late King. They possessed a superiority among the nobility, providing the bishops should be permitted to retain their seats in the Convention. But among the members for counties, and especially the representatives of burghs, the great majority was on the side of the Whigs, or Williamites, as the friends of the Prince of Orange began to be called.

If actual force were to be resorted to, the Jacobites relied on the faith of the Duke of Gordon, who was governor of the castle of Edinburgh, on the attachment of the Highland clans, and the feudal influence of the nobles and gentry of the north. The Whigs might reckon on the full force of the five western shires, besides a large proportion

of the south of Scotland. The same party had on their side the talents and abilities of Dalrymple, Fletcher, and other men of strong political genius, far superior to any that was possessed by the Tories. But if the parties should come to an open rupture, the Whigs had no soldier of reputation to oppose to the formidable talents of Dundee.

The exiled King having directed his adherents to attend the Convention, and, if possible, secure a majority there, Dundee appeared on the occasion with a train of sixty horse, who had most of them served under him on former occasions. The principal Whigs, on their part, secretly brought into town the armed Cameronians, whom they concealed in garrets and cellars till the moment should come for their being summoned to appear in arms. These preparations for violence show how inferior in civil polity Scotland must have been to England, since it seemed that the great national measures which were debated with calmness, and adopted with deliberation in the Convention of England, were, in that of North Britain, to be decided, apparently, by an appeal to the sword.

Yet the Convention assembled peaceably, though under ominous circumstances. The town was filled with two factions of armed men, lately distinguished as the persecuting and the oppressed parties, and burning with hatred against each other. The guns of the castle, from the lofty rock on which it is situated, lay loaded and prepared to pour their thunders on the city; and under these alarming circumstances, the peers and commons of Scotland were to consider and decide upon the fate of her crown. Each party had the deepest motives for exertion.

The Cavaliers, or Jacobites, chiefly belonging by birth to the aristocracy, forgot James's errors in his misfortunes, or indulgently ascribed them to a few bigoted

priests and selfish counsellors, by whom, they were compelled to admit, the royal ear had been too exclusively possessed. They saw, in their now aged monarch, the son of the venerated martyr, Charles I., whose memory was so dear to them, and the descendant of the hundred princes who had occupied the Scottish throne, according to popular belief, for a thousand years, and under whom their ancestors had acquired their fortunes, their titles, and their fame. James himself, whatever were the political errors of his reign, had been able to attach to himself individually many both of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who regretted him as a friend as well as a sovereign, and recollected the familiarity with which he could temper his stately courtesy, and the favors which many had personally received from him. The compassion due to fallen majesty was in this case enhanced when it was considered that James was to be uncrowned, in order that the Prince and Princess of Orange, his son-in-law and daughter, might be raised to the throne in his stead, a measure too contrary to the ordinary feelings of nature not to create some disgust. Besides, the Cavaliers generally were attached to the Episcopal form of worship, and to the constitution of a Church, which, while it supported with credit the dignity of the sacred order, affected not the rigorous discipline and vexatious interference in the affairs of private families for which they censured the Presbyterians. Above all, the Jacobites felt that they themselves must sink in power and influence with the dethronement of King James, and must remain a humbled and inferior party in the kingdom which they lately governed, hated for what had passed, and suspected in regard to the future.

The Whigs, with warmer hopes of success, had even

more urgent motives for political union and exertion. They reckoned up the melancholy roll of James's crimes and errors, and ridiculed the idea, that he who had already suffered so much both in his youth and middle age, would ever become wiser by misfortune. Bigotry and an extravagant and inveterate love of power, they alleged, were propensities which increased with age; and his religion, they contended, while it would readily permit him to enter into any engagements which an emergency might require, would with equal ease dispense with his keeping them, and even impute it as a merit that he observed no faith with heretics. The present crisis, they justly argued, afforded a happy occasion to put an end to that course of open encroachment upon their liberty and property, of which the Scottish nation had so long had to complain; and it would be worse than folly to sacrifice the rights and liberties of the people to the veneration attached to an ancient line of princes, when their representative had forgotten the tenure by which he held the throne of his fathers. The form of the Presbyterian Church, while it possessed a vital power over the hearts and consciences of the worshippers, was also of a character peculiarly favorable to freedom, and suitable to a poor country like that of Scotland, which was unable to maintain bishops and dignitaries with becoming splendor. A great part of the nation had shown themselves attached to it, and disposed to submit to the greatest hardships, and to death itself, rather than conform to the Episcopal mode of worship; and it was fitting they should have permission to worship God in the way their consciences recommended. The character of William afforded the most brilliant arguments to his partisans in the Convention. He had been from his youth upward distinguished as the champion of public freedom, his zeal for

which exceeded even his ambition. He was qualified by the doctrines of toleration, which he had deeply imbibed, to cure the wounds of nations distracted by civil faction, and his regard for truth and honor withstood every temptation to extend his power, which the unsettled circumstances of the British kingdoms might present to an ambitious prince.

Distracted by these various considerations, the Scottish Convention met. The first contest was for the nomination of a president, in which it is remarkable that both the contending parties made choice of candidates in whom neither could repose trust as faithful partisans. The Marquis of Athole was proposed by the Jacobites, to whose side he now inclined, after having been, as I have shown you, the principal actor in displacing James's Scottish administration, and chasing from Edinburgh that king's Chancellor, the Earl of Perth. The Whigs, on the other hand, equally at a loss to find an unexceptionable candidate, set up the Duke of Hamilton, although his future conduct was so undecided and dubious as to make them more than once repent of their choice.*

The Duke of Hamilton attained the presidency by a majority of fifteen, which, though not a very predominating one, was sufficient to ascertain the superiority of the

* Lord William Douglas married the Duchess Anne, daughter of James, first Duke of Hamilton, and after the restoration, on her petition, was created (third) Duke of Hamilton, for life. — WOOD'S PEERAGE, vol. i. p. 707. — "A boisterous yet temporizing statesman, who had maintained an open, or more frequently, a secret opposition during the preceding reign; and according to the policy ascribed to the Scottish nobility, his son, Lord Arran, accompanied James in his barge to Rochester, while the father attended the Prince of Orange at St. James's." — LAING, vol. ii. p. 182. — "He appeared to be of no party, when he was dealing in private with all parties." — DALRYMPLE.

Whigs, who, as usual in such cases, were immediately joined by all those whom timidity or selfish considerations had kept aloof until they should discover which was the safest, and likely to be the winning side. The majorities of the Whigs increased therefore upon every question, while the Jacobite party saw no remedy but in some desperate and violent course. The readiest which occurred was to endeavor to induce the Duke of Gordon, governor of the castle, to fire upon the town, and to expel the Convention, in which their enemies were all-powerful. The Convention, on the other hand, by a great majority, summoned the Duke to surrender the place, under the pains of high treason.

The position of the Duke was difficult. The castle was strong, but it was imperfectly supplied with provisions; the garrison was insufficient, and many among them of doubtful fidelity; and as every other place of strength throughout the kingdom had been surrendered, to refuse compliance might be to draw upon himself the unmitigated vengeance of the prevailing party. The Duke was therefore uncertain how to decide, when the Earls of Lothain and Tweeddale came to demand a surrender in the name of the Convention; and he at first offered to comply, on obtaining indemnity for himself and his friends. But the Viscount of Dundee, getting access to the castle while the treaty was in dependence, succeeded in inspiring the Duke with a share of his own resolution; so that when the commissioners desired to know the friends for whom he demanded immunity, he answered by delivering to them a list of all the clans in the Highlands; which being interpreted as done in scorn, the two earls returned so indignant that they scarce could find words to give an account of their errand to the Convention.

Soon after, the Duke of Gordon was solemnly summoned by two heralds, in their ceremonial habits, to surrender the castle; and they at the same time published a proclamation, prohibiting any one to converse with or assist him, should he continue contumacious. The Duke desired them to inform the Convention, that he held his command by warrant from their common master; and, giving them some money to drink King James's health, he observed, that when they came to declare loyal subjects traitors, with the Kings's coats on their backs, they ought in decency to turn them.

But though Dundee had been able to persuade the Duke to stand a siege in the castle, he could not prevail upon him to fire on the town; an odious severity, which would certainly have brought general hatred upon him, without, perhaps, having the desired effect of dislodging the Convention. This scheme having failed, the Jacobites resolved upon another, which was to break up with all their party, and hold another and rival Convention at Stirling. For this purpose it was proposed that the Earl of Mar, hereditary keeper of Stirling Castle, should join them, in order that they might have the protection of the fortress, and that Athole should assist them with a body of his Highlanders. These noblemen entered into the plan; but when it came to the point of execution, the courage of both seems to have given way, and the design was postponed.

Whilst affairs were in this state, Dundee, provoked alike at the vacillation of his friends and the triumph of his enemies, resolved no longer to remain inactive. He suddenly appeared before the Convention, and complained of a plot laid to assassinate himself and Sir George MacKenzie, the late King's advocate, — a charge which was very probable, since the town was now filled with armed Cam-

eronians, who had smarted so severely under the judicial prosecutions of the lawyer, and the military violence of the soldier. Dundee demanded that all strangers should be removed from the town ; and when it was answered that this could not be done without placing the Convention at the mercy of the Popish Duke of Gordon and his garrison, he left the assembly in indignation, and returning to his lodgings, instantly took arms and mounted his horse, attended by fifty or sixty armed followers.* The city was alarmed at the appearance of this unexpected cavalcade, so formidable from the active and resolute character of its leader ; and the Convention, feeling or pretending personal alarm, ordered the gates of their hall to be locked, and the keys to be laid upon the table. In the mean time, the drums beat to arms, and the bands of westlandmen, who had been hitherto concealed in garrets and similar lurking-holes, appeared in the streets with their arms prepared, and exhibiting, in their gestures, language, and looks, the stern hopes of the revenge which they had long panted for.

While these things were passing, Dundee, in full view of friends and enemies, rode at leisure out of the city, by the lane called Leith Wynd, and proceeded along the northern bank of the North Loch, upon which the New

* "Dundee," says Sir John Dalrymple, "flew to the Convention, and demanded justice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wished to get rid of a troublesome adversary, treated his complaint with neglect; and in order to sting him in the tenderest part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the house in a rage, mounted his horse, and with a troop of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being asked by one of his friends, who stopped him, where he was going? he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.' " — *Memoirs*, 4to ed., vol. i. p. 287. — See SIR WALTER SCOTT'S *Poetical Works*, Note, "Doom of Devorgoil."

Town of Edinburgh is now situated. From thence, turning under the western side of the castle, he summoned the Duke of Gordon to a conference at the foot of the walls, and for that purpose scrambled up the precipitous bank and rock on which the fortress is situated. So far as is known respecting this singular interview, Dundee's advice to the Duke was, to maintain the castle at all risks, promising him speedy relief.

The people of Edinburgh, who witnessed from a distance this extraordinary conference, concluded that the castle was about to fire upon the city, and the spectators of Dundee's exploit were mistaken for his adherents: while the Jacobite members of the Convention, on their part, unarmed and enclosed among their political enemies, were afraid of being massacred by the armed Whigs. The Convention, when their alarm subsided, sent Major Bunting with a party of horse to pursue Dundee and make him prisoner. That officer soon overtook the Viscount, and announced his commission; to which Dundee only deigned to answer, that if he dared attempt to execute such a purpose, he would send him back to the Convention in a pair of blankets. Bunting took the hint, and suffering the dreaded commander and his party to pass unmolested, returned in peace to the city. Dundee marched towards Stirling, and in consequence of his departure, the other friends of King James left Edinburgh, and hastened to their own homes.

So soon as this extraordinary scene had passed over, the Convention, now relieved from the presence of the Jacobite members, resolved upon levying troops to defend themselves, and to reduce the castle. The Cameronians were the readiest force of whose principles they could be assured, and it was proposed to them to raise a regiment

of two battalions, under the Earl of Angus, eldest son of the Marquis of Douglas, a nobleman of military talents, as colonel, and William Cleland, as lieutenant-colonel. This last had been one of the commanders at Drumclog, and, besides being a brave gentleman, was a poet, though an indifferent one, and more a man of the world than most of the sect to which he belonged.

Some of the more rigid Covenanters were of opinion that those who possessed their principles had no freedom (to use their own phraseology) to join together for the defence of a Convention, in which so many persons were in the possession both of places and power, who had been deeply engaged in the violent measures, of the last reign; and they doubted this the more, as no steps had been taken to resume the obligations of the Covenant. But the singular and most unexpected train of events which had occasioned their being called to arms, to defend a city where they had never before been seen openly, save when dragged to execution, seemed so directly the operation of Providence in their favor, that, giving way for once to the dictates of common sense, the Cameronians agreed to consider the military association now proposed as a necessary and prudent measure, protesting only that the intended regiment should not be employed either under or along with such officers as had given proofs of attachment to Popery, Prelacy, or Malignancy. They also stipulated for regular opportunities of public worship, and for strict punishment of unchristian conversation, swearing, and profligacy of every sort; and their discipline having been arranged as much to their mind as possible, eighteen hundred men were raised, and, immediately marching to Edinburgh, assumed the duty of defending the Convention, and blockading the garrison in the castle.

The Cameronians were soon, however, relieved by troops more competent to such a task, being a part of the regular army sent down to Scotland by King William, in order to give his party the decided superiority in that kingdom. Batteries were raised against the castle, and trenches opened. The Duke of Gordon made an honorable defence, while, at the same time, he avoided doing any damage to the town, and confined his fire to returning that of the batteries, by which he was annoyed. But the smallness of his garrison, the scarcity of provisions, the want of surgical assistance and medicines for the wounded, above all, the frequency of desertion, induced the Duke finally to surrender upon honorable terms; and in June he evacuated the fortress.

The Convention, in the mean time, almost entirely freed from opposition within their own assembly, proceeded to determine the great national question arising out of the change of government. Two letters being presented to them, one from King James, the other on the part of the Prince of Orange, they opened and read the latter with much reverence, while they passed over with little notice that of his father-in-law, intimating by this that they no longer regarded him as a sovereign.

This was made still more manifest by their vote respecting the state of the nation, which was much more decisive than that of the English Convention. The Scots Whigs had no Tories to consult with and satisfy by a scrupulous choice of expressions, and of course gave themselves no trouble in choosing between the terms abdication or forfeiture. They openly declared that James had assumed the throne without taking the oaths appointed by law; that he had proceeded to innovate upon the constitution of the kingdom, with the purpose of converting a

limited monarchy into one of despotic authority ; they added, that he had employed the power thus illegally assumed, for violating the laws and liberties, and altering the religion of Scotland ; and in doing so, had FORFEITED his right to the crown, and the throne had thereby become vacant.

The forfeiture, in strict law, would have extended to all James's immediate issue, as in the case of treason in a subject ; but as this would have injured the right of the Princess of Orange, the effects of the declaration were limited to King James's infant son, and to his future children. In imitation of England, the crown of
11th April, 1689. Scotland was settled upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the survivor of them, after whose decease, and failing heirs of their body, the Princess Anne and her heirs were called to the succession.*

* " The new sovereigns were crowned in London, and proclaimed in Scotland on the same day. Argyle, Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, were deputed from the three temporal estates to present the crown, and administer the oath to the King and Queen. The instrument of Government and the grievances were first read, to which an address to turn the Convention into a Parliament was subjoined. When the Coronation oath was administered to William, at the obligation to root out heretics, he paused, and declared that he did not mean to become a persecutor ; and on the assurance of the Commissioners that such was not its import, protested that in that sense only he received the oath. The insidious toleration attempted by James had excited universal disgust ; but the unaffected scruples of William were honored and approved.

" Thus the hereditary reign of Stewarts in the male line, was concluded eighty-six years after their departure from Scotland. Their accession to the English crown was the era of their grandeur ; an event that contributed neither to their felicity, nor perhaps to the improvement of their native hereditary kingdom. The contracted abilities of James VI. were better adapted to the Government of a small state, than of divided kindoms ; but the prospect of his elevation to the throne of England inspired a weak mind with ideas of absolute power

When the Crown was thus settled, the Convention entered into a long declaration, called the Claim of Rights, by which the dispensing powers were pronounced illegal; the various modes of oppression practised during the last two reigns were censured as offences against liberty, and Prelacy was pronounced an insupportable grievance.

These resolutions being approved of by the new sovereigns, they began to assume the regal power, and fixed an administration. The Duke of Hamilton was named High Commissioner, in reward of his services as President of the Convention; Lord Melville was made Secretary of State, and the Earl of Crawford President of the Council. Some offices were put into commission, to serve as objects of ambition to those great men who were yet unprovided for; others were filled up by such as had given proofs of attachment to the Revolution. In general the choice of the Ministry was approved of; but the King and his advisers were censured for bestowing too much confidence on Dalrymple, lately created Viscount Stair, and Sir John Dalrymple, his son called Master of Stair. A vacancy occurred for the promotion of the Earl of Stair in a singular manner.

Sir George Lockhart, an excellent lawyer, who had been crown counsel in Cromwell's time, was, at the period of the Revolution, President of the Court of Session, or first judge in civil affairs. He had agreed to act as an arbiter in some disputes which occurred between a gentleman named Chiesley, of Dalry, and his wife. The President, in deciding this matter, had assigned a larger provision to

unknown to his ancestors, to which we must primarily attribute the execution of his son, the expulsion of his grandson, and the exclusion of his male posterity forever from the crown." — LAING, vol. ii. pp. 198, 194.

Mrs. Chiesley than, in her husband's opinion, was just or necessary; at which Dalry, a man headlong in his passions, was desperately offended, and publicly threatened the President's life. He was cautioned by a friend to forbear such imprudent language, and to dread the just vengeance of heaven. "I have much to reckon for with Heaven," said the desperate man, "and we will reckon for this amongst the rest." In pursuance of his dreadful threat, Chiesley, armed for the purpose of assassination, followed his victim to the Greyfriar's church, in which Sir George usually heard divine service; but feeling some reluctance to do the deed within the sacred walls, he dogged him home, till he turned into the entry to his own house, in what is still called the President's Close. Here Chiesley shot the Judge dead; and disdaining to save his life by flight, he calmly walked about in the neighborhood of the place till he was apprehended. He was afterwards tried and executed.*

The office of the murdered President (a most important one, being the head of the supreme civil court) was conferred upon Lord Stair, and that of King's Advocate, equivalent to the situation of Attorney-General in England, was given to his son Sir John Dalrymple, who was afterwards associated with Lord Melville in the still more important situation of Secretary of State. Both father and son were men of high talent, but of doubtful integrity,

* "The Lord Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh sentenced the prisoner to be carried on a hurdle from the tolbooth to the market cross, on Wednesday, 3d April (1689); and there, between the hours of two and four afternoon, to have his right hand cut off alive, and then to be hanged, with the pistol about his neck with which he committed the murder. His body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh; his right hand fixed on the West-Port, and his movable goods to be confiscated." — ARNOR'S *Criminal Trials*, p. 154.

and odious to the Presbyterians for compliances with the late government.

Besides his immediate and official counsellors, King William gave, in private, much of his confidence to a clergyman named Carstairs, who was one of his chaplains. This gentleman had given strong proof of his fidelity and fortitude; for, being arrested in Charles II.'s time, on account of his connection with the conspiracy called Jerviswood's Plot, he underwent the cruel torture of the thumbikins, which, as I before told you, were screws, that almost crushed the thumbs to pieces. After the success of the Revolution, the Magistrates of Edinburgh complimented Carstairs, then a man of importance, with a present of the instrument of torture by which he had suffered. The king, it is said, heard of this, and desired to see the thumbikins. They were produced. He placed his thumbs in the engine, and desired Carstairs to turn the screw. "I should wish to judge of your fortitude," said the King, "by experiencing the pain which you endured." Carstairs obeyed, but turned the screws with a polite degree of attention not to injure the royal thumbs. "This is unpleasant," said the King, "yet it might be endured. But you are trifling with me. Turn the engine so that I may really feel a share of the pain inflicted on you." Carstairs, on this reiterated command, and jealous of his own reputation, turned the screws so sharply, that William cried for mercy, and owned he must have confessed anything, true or false, rather than have endured the pain an instant longer. This gentleman became a particular confidant of the King, and more trusted than many who filled high and ostensible situations in the state. He was generally allowed to be a man of sagacity and political talent, but his countrymen accused him of duplicity and

dissimulation ; and from that character he was generally distinguished by the nickname of Cardinal Carstairs.*

But while King William was thus considering the mode and selecting the council by which he proposed to govern Scotland, an insurrection took place, by means of which the sceptre of that kingdom was wellnigh wrested from his gripe. This was brought about by the exertions of the Viscount Dundee, one of those extraordinary persons, by whose energies great national revolutions are sometimes wrought with the assistance of very small means.

* Mr. Carstairs became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and died in 1715, much regretted on the score of his benevolence and charity to individuals of whatever sect. His Letters, State Papers, &c., with an account of his Life, appeared in a 4to volume in 1774.

CHAPTER LVI.

KING JAMES'S SUCCESSES IN IRELAND—PREPARATIONS OF THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE FOR A RISING IN FAVOR OF JAMES IN SCOTLAND—FEUD BETWEEN MACDONALD OF KEPCOCH AND MACINTOSH OF MOY—ADVANCE OF GENERAL MACKAY TO THE NORTH AGAINST DUNDEE—MOVEMENTS OF THE TWO ARMIES—BATTLE OF KILLICRANKIE, AND DEATH OF DUNDEE.

[1689.]

WHEN the Viscount of Dundee retired, as I told you, from the city of Edinburgh, the Convention, in consequence of the intercourse which he had held, contrary to their order, with the Duke of Gordon, an intercommuned Catholic, sent him a summons to appear before them, and answer to an accusation to that effect. But Dundee excused himself on account of his lady's dangerous illness, and his own personal danger from the Cameronians.

In the mean time, King James, with forces furnished him by the French king, had arrived in Ireland, and welcomed by the numerous Catholics, had made himself master of that fine kingdom, excepting only the province of Ulster, where the Protestants of English and Scottish descent offered a gallant and desperate resistance. But in spite of such partial opposition as the north of Ireland could make, James felt so confident, that, by his Secretary Melfort, he wrote letters to the Viscount Dundee, and to the Earl of Balcarras, Dundee's intimate friend, and a

steady adherent of the exiled monarch, encouraging them to gather together his faithful subjects, and make a stand for his interest, and promising them the support of a considerable body of forces from Ireland, with a supply of arms and ammunition. So high were the hopes entertained by Lord Melfort, that, in letters addressed to some of his friends, he expressed, in the most imprudent manner, his purpose of improving to the uttermost the triumph which he did not doubt to obtain. "We dealt too leniently with our enemies," he said, "when we were in power, and possessed means of crushing them. But now, when they shall be once more conquered by us, and subjected once more to our authority, we will reduce them to hewers of wood and drawers of water."

These letters, falling into the hands of the Convention, excited the utmost indignation. The Duke of Hamilton and others, who conceived themselves particularly aimed at, became more decided than ever to support King William's government, since they had no mercy to expect from King James and his vindictive counsellors. A military force was despatched to arrest Balcarras and Dundee. They succeeded in seizing the first of these noblemen; but Dundee, being surrounded by a strong body-guard, and residing in a country where many of the gentlemen were Jacobites, the party sent to arrest him were afraid to attempt the execution of their commission. He remained, therefore, at his own castle of Dudhope, near Dundee, where he had an opportunity of corresponding with the Highland chiefs, and with the northern gentlemen, who were generally disposed to Episcopacy, and favorable to the cause of King James.

Of the same name with the great Marquis of Montrose, boasting the same devoted loyalty, and a character as en-

terprising, with judgment superior to that of his illustrious prototype, Dundee is said to have replied to those who, on the day of his memorable retreat, asked him whither he went: "That he was going wherever the spirit of Montrose should conduct him." His whole mind was now bent upon realizing this chivalrous boast.* His habits were naturally prudent and economical; but while others kept their wealth as far as possible out of the reach of the revolutionary storm, Dundee liberally expended for the cause of his old master the treasures which he had amassed in his service. His arguments, his largesses, the high influence of his character among the Highland chiefs, whose admiration of *Ian Dhu Cean*, or Black John the Warrior, was no way diminished by the merciless exploits which had procured him in the Low country the name of the bloody Clavers, united with their own predilection in favor of James, and their habitual love of war, to dispose them to a general insurrection. Some of the clans, however, had, as usual, existing feuds amongst themselves, which Dundee was obliged to assist in composing, before he could unite them all in the cause of the dethroned monarch.

I will give you an account of one of those feuds, which, I believe, led to the last considerable clan-battle fought in the Highlands.

There had been, for a great many years, much debate, and some skirmishing, betwixt MacIntosh of Moy, the chief of that ancient surname, and a tribe of MacDonalds, called MacDonalds of Keppoch. The MacIntoshes had

* "Lord Dundee," says Sir John Dalrymple, "had forever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose, from whose family he was descended." — Vol. i. p. 288.

claims of an ancient date upon the district of Glen Roy (now famous for the phenomenon called the parallel roads),* and the neighboring valley of Glenspean. MacIntosh had his right to these lands expressed in written grants from the Crown, but Keppoch was in actual possession of the property. When asked upon what charters he founded his claim, MacDonald replied, that he held his lands, not by a sheep's-skin, but by the sword; and his clan, an uncommonly bold and hardy race, were ready to support his boast. Several proposals having been in vain made to accommodate this matter, MacIntosh resolved to proceed to open force, and possess himself of the disputed territory. He therefore displayed the yellow banner which was the badge of his family, raised his clan and marched towards Keppoch, being assisted by an independent company of soldiers, raised for the service of Government, and commanded by Captain MacKenzie of Suddie. It does not appear by what interest this formidable auxiliary force was procured, but probably by an order from the Privy Council.

* Glen Roy, in Lochaber, Inverness-shire. "The glen of itself," says Pennant, "is extremely narrow, and the hills on each side very high, and generally not rocky. In the face of these hills, both sides of the glen, there are three roads at small distances from each other, and directly opposite on each side. These roads have been measured in the completest parts of them, and found to be 26 paces of a man, five feet ten inches high. The two highest are pretty near each other, about 50 yards, and the lowest double that distance from the nearest to it. They are carried along the sides of the glen with the utmost regularity (extending eight miles), nearly as exact as drawn with a rule and compass." — *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 394. — Various theories have been employed to account for this extraordinary formation, and perhaps the most probable is, that these three roads must have been the successive margins of a lake which had subsided under successive convulsions of nature.

On their arrival at Keppoch, MacIntosh found his rival's house deserted, and, imagining himself in possession of victory, even without a combat, he employed many workmen, whom he had brought with him for that purpose, to construct a castle, or fort, on a precipitous bank overhanging the river Roy, where the vestiges of his operations are still to be seen. The work was speedily interrupted, by tidings that the MacDonalds of Keppoch, assisted by their kindred tribes of Glengarry and Glencoe, had assembled, and that they were lying on their arms, in great numbers, in a narrow glen behind the ridge of hills which rises to the northeast of Keppoch, the sloping declivity of which is called Mullroy. Their purpose was to attack MacIntosh at daybreak; but that chief determined to anticipate their design, and assembling his clan, marched towards his enemy before the first peep of dawn. The rival clan, with their chief, Coll of Keppoch, were equally ready for the conflict; and, in the gray light of the morning, when the MacIntoshes had nearly surmounted the heights of Mullroy, the MacDonalds appeared in possession of the upper ridge, and a battle instantly commenced.

A lad who had lately run away from his master, a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, and had enlisted in Suddie's independent company, gives the following account of the action: "The MacDonalds came down the hill upon us, without either shoe, stocking, or bonnet on their heads; they gave a shout, and then the fire began on both sides, and continued a hot dispute for an hour (which made me wish I had been spinning tobacco). Then they broke in upon us with sword and target, and Lochaber-axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my captain severely wounded, and a great many men lying with heads cloven

on every side, and having never witnessed the like before, I was sadly affrighted. At length a Highlandman attacked me with sword and target, and cut my wooden-handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun. I then clubbed my gun, and gave him a stroke with it, which made the but-end to fly off, and seeing the Highlandmen come fast down upon me, I took to my heels, and ran thirty miles before I looked behind me, taking every person whom I saw or met for my enemy." Many, better used to such scenes, fled as far and fast as Donald MacBane, the tobacco-spinner's apprentice. The gentleman who bore MacIntosh's standard, being a special object of pursuit, saved himself and the sacred deposit by a wonderful exertion. At a place where the river Roy flows between two precipitous rocks, which approach each other over the torrent, he hazarded a desperate leap where no enemy dared follow him, and bore off his charge in safety.

It is said by tradition, that the MacIntoshes fought with much bravery, and that the contest was decided by the desperation of a half-crazed man, called "the red-haired Bo-man," or cow-herd, whom Keppoch had not summoned to the fight, but who came thither, uncalled, with a club on his shoulder. This man, being wounded by a shot, was so much incensed with the pain, that he darted forward into the thickest of the MacIntoshes, calling out, "They fly, they fly! upon them, upon them!" The boldness he displayed, and the strokes he dealt with his unusual weapon, caused the first impression on the array of the enemies of his chief.

MacDonald was very unwilling to injure any of the government soldiers, yet Suddie, their commander, received his death-wound. He was brave, and well armed

with carabine, pistols, and a halbert or half-pike. This officer came in front of a cadet of Keppoch, called MacDonal'd of Tullich, and by a shot aimed at him, killed one of his brothers, and then rushed on with his pike. Notwithstanding this deep provocation, Tullich, sensible of the pretext which the death of a captain under Government would give against his clan, called out more than once, "Avoid me — avoid me." — "The MacDonal'd was never born that I would shun," replied the MacKenzie, pressing on with his pike. On which Tullich hurled at his head a pistol, which he had before discharged. The blow took effect, the skull was fractured, and MacKenzie died shortly after, as his soldiers were carrying him to Inverness.

MacIntosh himself was taken by his rival, who, in his esteem, was only an insurgent vassal. When the captive heard the MacDonal'ds greeting their chieftain with shouts of "Lord of Keppoch! Lord of Keppoch!" he addressed him boldly, saying, "You are as far from being lord of the lands of Keppoch at this moment, as you have been all your life." — "Never mind," answered the victorious chieftain, with much good-humor, "we'll enjoy the good weather while it lasts." Accordingly, the victory of his tribe is still recorded in the pipe-tune, called, "MacDonal'd took the brae on them."

Some turn of fortune seemed about to take place immediately after the battle; for before the MacDonal'ds had collected their scattered forces, the war-pipes were again heard, and a fresh body of Highlanders appeared advancing towards Keppoch, in the direction of Garva-moor. This unexpected apparition was owing to one of those sudden changes of sentiment by which men in the earlier stages of society are often influenced. The

advancing party was the clan of MacPherson, members, like the MacIntoshes, of the confederacy called the Clan Chattan, but who, disputing with them the precedence in that body, were alternately their friends or enemies, as the recollection of former kindnesses, or ancient quarrels, prevailed. On this occasion the MacPhersons had not accompanied MacIntosh to the field, there being some discord betwixt the tribes at the time; but when they heard of MacIntosh's defeat, they could not reconcile it with their honor to suffer so important a member of the Clan Chattan to remain captive with the MacDonalds. They advanced, therefore, in order of battle, and sent Keppoch a flag of truce, to demand that MacIntosh should be delivered to them.

The chief of Keppoch, though victorious, was in no condition for a fresh contest, and therefore surrendered his prisoner, who was much more mortified by finding himself in the hands of the MacPhersons, than rejoiced in escaping from those of his conqueror, Keppoch. So predominant was his sense of humiliation, that when the MacPhersons proposed to conduct him to Cluny, the seat of their chief, he resisted at first in fair terms, and when the visit was urged upon him, he threatened to pierce his bosom with his own dirk, if they should persevere in compelling him to visit Cluny in his present situation. The MacPhersons were generous, and escorted him to his own estates.

The issue of the conflict at Mullroy, so mortifying to the conquered chief, was also followed with disastrous consequences to the victor.

The resistance offered to the royal troops, and the death of MacKenzie of Suddie, who commanded them, together with the defeat of MacIntosh, who had the forms

at least of the law on his side, gave effect to his complaint to the Privy Council. Letters of fire and sword, as they were called, that is a commission to burn and destroy the country and lands of an offending chieftain, or district, were issued against Coll MacDonald of Keppoch. Sixty dragoons, and two hundred of the footguards, were detached into Glenroy and Glenspean, with orders to destroy man, woman, and child, and lay waste Keppoch's estates. Keppoch himself was for a time obliged to fly, but a wealthy kinsman purchased his peace by a large *erick*, or fine. We shall presently find him engaged in a conflict, where the destiny, not of two barren glens, but of a fair kingdom, seemed to depend upon the issue.

This brings us back to Dundee, who, in spring 1689, received intelligence that General MacKay, an officer intrusted by King William with the command of the forces in Scotland, was marching against him, at the head of an army of regular troops. MacKay was a man of courage, sense, and experience, but rather entitled to the praise of a good officer than an able general, and better qualified to obey the orders of an intelligent commander, than penetrate into, encounter, and defeat the schemes of such an active spirit as Dundee.

Of this there was an instance in the very beginning of the conflict, when MacKay advanced towards Dudhope Castle, with the hope of coming upon his antagonist at unawares; but Dundee was not to be taken by surprise. Marching with a hundred and fifty horse to the town of Inverness, he found MacDonald of Keppoch, at the head of several hundred Highlanders, blockading the place, on account of the citizens having taken part with MacIntosh against his clan. Dundee offered his mediation, and persuaded the magistrates to gratify Keppoch with the sum

of two thousand dollars, for payment of which he granted his own bond in security. He manifested his influence over the minds of the mountain chiefs still more, by prevailing on Keppoch, though smarting under the injuries he had sustained, by the letters of fire and sword issued against him by King James's Government, to join him with his clan, for the purpose of restoring that monarch to the throne.

Thus reinforced, but still far inferior in numbers to his opponent, MacKay, Dundee, by a rapid movement, surprised the town of Perth. He seized what public treasure he found in the hands of the receiver of taxes, saying that he would plunder no private person, but thought it was fair to take the King's money for the King's service. He dispersed, at the same time, two troops of horse, newly raised by Government, seized their horses and accoutrements, and made prisoners their commanding officers, the Lairds of Pollock and of Blair.

After this exploit, Dundee retreated into the Highlands to recruit his little army, to wait for a body of three thousand men, whom he expected from Ireland, and to seek a suitable time for forwarding the explosion of a conspiracy which had been formed in a regiment of dragoons now serving in MacKay's army, but which he had himself commanded before the Revolution. Both the officers and men of this regiment were willing to return to the command of their old leader, and the allegiance of their former king. Creighton, an officer in the regiment, the same whose attack on a conventicle I formerly told you of, was the chief conductor of this conspiracy. It was discovered by MacKay just when it was on the point of taking effect, and when the event, with such an enemy as Dundee in his vicinity, must have been de-

struction to his army. MacKay cautiously disguised his knowledge of the plot, until he was joined by strong reinforcements, which enabled him to seize upon the principal conspirators, and disarm and disband their inferior accomplices.

The Privy Council had a great inclination to make an example, which should discourage such practices in future ; and Captain Creighton, being the chief agent, a stranger, and without friends or intercessors, was selected for the purpose of being hanged, as a warning to others. But Dundee did not desert his old comrade. He sent a message to the Lords of the Privy Council, saying, that if they hurt a hair of Creighton's head, he would in the way of reprisal cut his prisoners, the lairds of Pollock and Blair, joint from joint, and send them to Edinburgh, packed up in hampers. The Council were alarmed on receiving this intimation. The Duke of Hamilton reminded them that they all knew Dundee so well that they could not doubt his being as good as his word, and that the gentlemen in his hands were too nearly allied to several of the Council to be endangered on account of Creighton. These remonstrances saved Creighton's life.

A good deal of marching, countermarching, and occasional skirmishing, ensued between Dundee and Mackay, during which an incident is said to have occurred, strongly indicative of the character of the former. A young man had joined Dundee's army, the son of one of his old and intimate friends. He was employed upon some reconnoitring service, in which, a skirmish taking place, the new recruit's heart failed him, and he fairly fled out of the fray. Dundee covered his dishonor, by pretending that he himself had dispatched him to the rear upon a message of importance. He then sent for the youth to speak

with him in private. "Young man," he said, "I have saved your honor; but I must needs tell you that you have chosen a trade for which you are constitutionally unfit. It is not perhaps your fault, but rather your misfortune, that you do not possess the strength of nerves necessary to encounter the dangers of battle. Return to your father, — I will find an excuse for your doing so with honor, — and I will besides put you in the way of doing King James's cause effectual service, without personally engaging in the war."

The young gentleman, penetrated with a sense of the deepest shame, threw himself at his general's feet, and protested that his failure in duty was only the effect of a momentary weakness, the recollection of which should be effaced by his future conduct, and entreated Dundee, for the love he bore his father, to give him at least a chance of regaining his reputation. Dundee still endeavored to dissuade him from remaining with the army, but as he continued urgent to be admitted to a second trial, he reluctantly gave way to his request. "But remember," he said, "that if your heart fails you a second time, you must die. The cause I am engaged in is a desperate one, and I can permit no man to serve under me who is not prepared to fight to the last. My own life, and those of all others who serve under me, are unsparingly devoted to the cause of King James; and death must be his lot who shows an example of cowardice."

The unfortunate young man embraced, with seeming eagerness, this stern proposal. But in the next skirmish in which he was engaged, his constitutional timidity again prevailed. He turned his horse to fly, when Dundee, coming up to him, only said, "The son of your father is too good a man to be consigned to the provost-marshal;"

and without another word he shot him through the head with his pistol, with a sternness and inflexibility of purpose resembling the stoicism of the ancient Romans.

Circumstances began now to render Dundee desirous of trying the chance of battle, which he had hitherto avoided. The Marquis of Athole, who had vacillated more than once during the progress of the Revolution, now abandoned entirely the cause of King James, and sent his son, Lord Murray, into Athole, to raise the clans of that country, Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergussons, and others, who were accustomed to follow the family of Athole in war, from respect to the Marquis's rank and power, though they were not his patriarchal subjects or clansmen. One of these gentlemen, Stewart of Boquhan, although dependent on the Marquis, was resolved not to obey him through his versatile changes of politics. Having been placed in possession of the strong castle of Blair, a fortress, belonging to the Marquis, which commands the most important pass into the Northern Highlands, Stewart refused to surrender it to Lord Murray, and declared he held it for King James, by order of the Viscount of Dundee. Lord Murray, finding his father's own house thus defended against him, sent the tidings to General MacKay, who assembled about three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, and advanced with all haste into Athole, determined to besiege Blair, and to fight Dundee, should he march to its relief.

At this critical period Lord Murray had assembled about eight hundred Athole Highlanders, of the clans already named, who were brought together under pretence of preserving the peace of the country. Many of them, however, began to suspect the purpose of Lord Murray to join MacKay; and, recollecting that it was under

Montrose's command, and in the cause of the Stewarts, that their fathers had gained their fame, they resolved they would not be diverted from the same course of loyalty, as they esteemed it. They, therefore, let Lord Murray know, that if it was his intention to join Dundee, they would all follow him to the death ; but if he proposed to embrace the side of King William, they would presently leave him. Lord Murray answered with threats of that vengeance which a feudal lord could take upon disobedient vassals, when his men, setting his threats at defiance ran to the river, and filling their bonnets with water, drank King James's health, and left the standard of the Marquis to a man, — a singular defection among the Highlanders of that period, who usually followed to the field their immediate superior, with much indifference concerning the side of politics which he was pleased to embrace.

These tidings came to Dundee, with the information that MacKay had reached Dunkeld, with the purpose of reducing Blair, and punishing the Athole gentlemen for their desertion of the standard of their chief. About the same time General Cannon joined the Viscount, with the reinforcement so long expected from Ireland ; but they amounted to only three hundred men, instead of as many thousands, and were totally destitute of money and provisions, both of which were to have been sent with them. Nevertheless, Dundee resolved to preserve the castle of Blair, so important as a key to the Northern Highlands, and marched to protect it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders, with whom he occupied the upper and northern extremity of the pass between Dunkeld and Blair.

In this celebrated defile, called the pass of Killiecrankie, the road runs for several miles along the banks

of a furious river, called the Garrey, which rages below, amongst cataracts and waterfalls which the eye can scarcely discern, while a series of precipices and wooded mountains rise on the other hand; the road itself is the only mode of access through the glen, and along the valley which lies at its northern extremity. The path was then much more inaccessible than at the present day, as it ran close to the bed of the river, and was narrower and more rudely formed.

A defile of such difficulty was capable of being defended to the last extremity by a small number against a considerable army; and considering how well adapted his followers were for such mountain warfare, many of the Highland chiefs were of opinion, that Dundee ought to content himself with guarding the pass against MacKay's superior army, until a rendezvous, which they had appointed, should assemble a stronger force of their countrymen. But Dundee was of a different opinion, and resolved to suffer MacKay to march through the pass without opposition, and then to fight him in the open valley, at the northern extremity. He chose this bold measure, both because it promised a decisive result to the combat which his ardent temper desired; and also because he preferred fighting MacKay before that general was joined by a considerable body of English horse who were expected, and of whom the Highlanders had at that time some dread.

On the 17th June, 1689, General MacKay with his troops entered the pass, which, to their astonishment, they found unoccupied by the enemy. His forces were partly English and Dutch regiments, who, with many of the Lowland Scots themselves, were struck with awe, and even fear, at finding themselves introduced by such a

magnificent, and, at the same time, formidable avenue, to the presence of their enemies, the inhabitants of these tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they were penetrating. But besides the effect produced on their minds by the magnificence of natural scenery, to which they were wholly unaccustomed, the consideration must have hung heavy on them, that if a general of Dundee's talents suffered them to march unopposed through a pass so difficult, it must be because he was conscious of possessing strength sufficient to attack and destroy them at the further extremity, when their only retreat would lie through the narrow and perilous path by which they were now advancing.

Midday was past ere MacKay's men were extricated from the defile, when their general drew them up in one line, three deep, without any reserve, along the southern extremity of the narrow valley into which the pass opens. A hill on the north side of the valley, covered with dwarf trees and bushes, formed the position of Dundee's army, which, divided into columns, formed by the different clans, was greatly outflanked by MacKay's troops.

The armies shouted when they came in sight of each other; but the enthusiasm of MacKay's soldiers being damped by the circumstances we have observed, their military shout made but a dull and sullen sound compared to the yell of the Highlanders, which rung far and shrill from all the hills around them. Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, of whom I formerly gave you some anecdotes, called on those around him to attend to this circumstance, saying, that in all his battles he observed victory had ever been on the side of those whose shout before joining seemed most sprightly and confident. It was accounted a less favorable augury by some of the old Highlanders,

that Dundee at this moment, to render his person less distinguishable, put on a sad-colored buff-coat above the scarlet cassock and bright cuirass, in which he had hitherto appeared.

It was some time ere Dundee had completed his preparations for the assault which he meditated, and only a few dropping shots were exchanged, while, in order to prevent the risk of being outflanked, he increased the intervals between the columns with which he designed to charge, insomuch that he had scarce men enough left in the centre. About an hour before sunset, he sent word to MacKay that he was about to attack him, and gave the signal to charge.

The Highlanders stripped themselves to their shirts and doublets, threw away everything that could impede the fury of their onset, and then put themselves in motion, accompanying with a dreadful yell the discordant sound of their war-pipes. As they advanced, the clansmen fired their pieces, each column thus pouring in a well-aimed though irregular volley, when, throwing down their fusees, without waiting to reload, they drew their swords, and, increasing their pace to the utmost speed, pierced through and broke the thin line which was opposed to them, and profited by their superior activity and the nature of their weapons to make a great havoc among the regular troops. When thus mingled with each other, hand to hand, the advantages of superior discipline on the part of the Lowland soldier were lost. — Agility and strength were on the side of the mountaineers. Some accounts of the battle give a terrific account of the blows struck by the Highlanders, which cleft heads down to the breast, cut steel headpieces asunder as nightcaps, and slashed through pikes like willows. Two of MacKay's English regiments

in the centre stood fast, the interval between the attacking columns being so great that none were placed opposite to them. The rest of King William's army were totally routed and driven headlong into the river.

Dundee himself, contrary to the advice of the Highland chiefs, was in front of the battle, and fatally conspicuous. By a desperate attack he possessed himself of MacKay's artillery, and then led his handful of cavalry, about fifty men, against two troops of horse, which fled without fighting. Observing the stand made by the two English regiments already mentioned, he galloped towards the clan of MacDonald, and was in the act of bringing them to the charge, with his right arm elevated, as if pointing to the way of victory, when he was struck by a bullet beneath the armpit, where he was unprotected by his cuirass.* He tried to ride on, but being unable to keep the saddle, fell mortally wounded, and died in the course of the night.

It was impossible for a victory to be more complete than that gained by the Highlanders at Killiecrankie. The cannon, baggage, and stores of MacKay's army fell into their hands. The two regiments which kept their ground suffered so much in their attempt to retreat through the pass, now occupied by the Athole-men, in their rear, that they might be considered as destroyed. Two thousand of MacKay's army were killed or taken, and the General himself escaped with difficulty to Stirling at the head of a few horse. The Highlanders, whose dense columns, as they came down to the attack, underwent three successive volleys from MacKay's line, had eight hundred men slain.

* "Claverhouse's sword," says Sir Walter Scott, in 1802, "a straight cut-and-thrust blade, is in the possession of Lord Woodhouselee, and the buff-coat which he wore at the battle of Killiecrankie, having the fatal shot-hole under the armpit of it, is preserved in Pennycuik house, the seat of Sir George Clerk, Bart." — *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. p. 245.

But all other losses were unimportant compared to that of Dundee, with whom were forfeited all the fruits of that bloody victory. MacKay, when he found himself free from pursuit, declared his conviction that his opponent had fallen in the battle. And such was the opinion of Dundee's talents and courage, and the general sense of the peculiar crisis at which his death took place, that the common people of the low country cannot, even now, be persuaded that he died an ordinary death. They say, that a servant of his own, shocked at the severities which, if triumphant, his master was likely to accomplish against the Presbyterians, and giving way to the popular prejudice of his having a charm against the effect of lead balls, shot him, in the tumult of the battle, with a silver button taken from his livery coat. The Jacobites, and Episcopal party, on the other hand, lamented the deceased victor as the last of the Scots, the last of the Grahams, and the last of all that was great in his native country.*

* " *Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ,
 Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives :
 Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
 Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.
 Tuque vale gentis prisæ fortissime Ductor,
 Optime Scotorum atque ultime, Grame, vale.*"

PITCAIRN.

" O last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
 New people fill the land, now they are gone;
 New Gods the temple, and new Kings the throne;
 Scotland and thou did in each other live,
 Thou couldst not her, nor she thee survive;
 Farewell, that living didst support the state,
 And couldst not fall, but by thy country's fate."

DRYDEN.

Compare the character of Dundee in the tale of Old Mortality. —
Waverley Novels, vol. x. pp. 57, 58.

CHAPTER LVII.

CANNON SUCCEEDS DUNDEE, AND IS DEFEATED AT DUNKELD — THE CAMERONIAN REGIMENT — SKIRMISH AT CROMDALE — PACIFICATION OF THE HIGHLANDS, THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE EARL OF BREADALBANE — COMPANY OF JACOBITE OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH SERVICE AS PRIVATES — REDUCTION OF THE BASS — MONTGOMERY'S PLOT — SETTLEMENT OF CHURCH AFFAIRS — THE ASSURANCE.

[1689 — 1690.]

THE Viscount of Dundee was one of those gifted persons upon whose single fate that of nations is sometimes dependent. His own party believed, that, had he lived to improve the decisive victory which he had so bravely won he would have soon recovered Scotland to King James's allegiance. It is certain, a great many of the nobility only waited a gleam of success to return to the Jacobite side; nor were the revolutionary party so united amongst themselves as to have offered a very firm resistance. The battle of Killiecrankie, duly improved, would, unquestionably, have delivered the whole of Scotland north of the Forth into the power of Dundee, and rendered even Stirling and Edinburgh insecure.* Such a flame,

* "The express," said Dalrymple, "which was sent to Edinburgh from the field of battle with an account of the defeat, was detained by an accident a day upon the road. When this circumstance was related to King William, he said, 'then Dundee must be dead, for otherwise he would have been at Edinburgh before the express.'" — Vol. i. p. 357. "William paid a high compliment to the memory of Dun-

kindled in Scotland, must have broken many of King William's measures, rendered it impossible for him to go to Ireland, where his presence was of the last necessity, and have been, to say the least, of the highest prejudice to his affairs.

But all the advantages of the victory were lost in the death of the conquering general. Cannon, who succeeded to the chief command on Dundee's decease, was a stranger to Highland manners, and quite inadequate to the management of such an army as that which chance placed under his command. It was in vain that the fame of the victory, and the love of plunder and of war, which made part of the Highland character, brought around him, from the remote recesses of that warlike country, a more numerous body of the mountaineers than Montrose had ever commanded. By the timidity and indecision of his opponent, MacKay gained time enough to collect, which he did with celerity, a body of troops sufficient to coop up the Jacobite general within his mountains, and to maintain an indecisive war of posts and skirmishes, which wearied out the patience of the quick-spirited Highlanders.

Cannon attempted only one piece of service worthy of mention, and in that he was foiled. In the extremity of the alarm which followed the defeat of Killiecrankie, the Earl of Angus's newly raised regiment of Cameronians had been despatched to the Highlands. They had advanced as far Dunkeld, when Cannon for once showed some activity, and, avoiding MacKay by a rapid and secret march, he at once surrounded, in the village and castle of Dunkeld, about twelve hundred of this regiment, with

dee; when he was advised to send a great body of troops to Scotland, after the defeat of Killiecrankie, he said, 'it was needless, the war ended with Dundee's life.' " — *Ibid.* p. 358.

more than double their own forces. Their situation seemed so desperate, that a party of horse who ^{21st August.} were with them retired, and left the Cameronians to their fate.

But the newly acquired discipline of these hardy enthusiasts prevented their experiencing the fate of their predecessors at Bothwell and Pentland. They were judiciously posted in the Marquis of Athole's house and neighboring enclosures, as also in the churchyard and the old cathedral; and with the advantage of this position they beat off repeatedly the fierce attacks of the Highlanders, though very inferior in numbers. This success restored the spirits of the King's troops, and diminished considerably that of the Highlanders, who, according to their custom, began to disperse and return home.

The Cameronian regiment lost in this action their gallant lieutenant-colonel, Cleland, and many men. But they were victorious, and that was a sufficient consolation.

You may have some curiosity to know the future fate of this singular regiment. The peculiar and narrow-minded ideas of the sect led many of them to entertain doubts of the lawfulness of the part they had taken. The Presbyterian worship had indeed been established as the National Church since the Revolution, but it was far from having attained that despotic authority claimed for it by the Cameronians, and therefore, although, at the first landing of the Prince of Orange, they had felt it matter of duty to espouse his cause, yet they were utterly disgusted with the mode in which he had settled the state, and especially the Church of Scotland.

What they in their enthusiasm imputed to King William as matter of censure, ought in reality to be considered as most meritorious. That wise and prudent monarch

saw the impossibility of bringing the country to a state of quiet settlement, if he kept alive the old feuds by which it had been recently divided, or if he permitted the oppressed Presbyterians to avenge themselves as they desired upon their former persecutors. He had admitted all persons alike to serve the state, whatever had been their former principles and practice ; and thus many were reconciled to his government, who, if they had felt themselves endangered in person and property, or even deprived of the hope of royal patronage and official situation, would have thrown a heavy weight into the Jacobite scale. William, upon these principles, employed several persons who had been active enforcers of King James's rigorous measures, and whom the Cameronians accounted God's enemies and their own, and deemed more deserving of severe punishment and retaliation, than of encouragement and employment.

In church affairs, King William's measures were still less likely to be pleasing to these fierce enthusiasts than in those which concerned the state. He was contented that there should be in Scotland, as in Holland, a National Church, and that the form should be Presbyterian, as the model most generally approved by his friends in that kingdom. But the King was decided in opinion that this Church should have no power either over the persons or consciences of those who were of different communions; to whom he extended a general toleration, from which the Catholics alone were excluded, owing to the terror inspired by their late strides towards predominant superiority during the reign of James II. The wisest, the most prudent, and the most learned of the Presbyterian ministers, those chiefly who, having fled from Scotland and resided in the Netherlands, had been enlightened on this subject

of toleration, were willingly disposed to accommodate themselves to the King's inclination, and rest satisfied with the share of authority which he was willing to concede to the National Church.

But wise and moderate opinions had no effect on the more stubborn Presbyterians, who, irritated at the Kirk's being curbed of her supreme power, and themselves checked in the course of their vengeance upon their oppressors, accounted the model of King William's ecclesiastical government an Erastian establishment, in which the dignity of the Church was rendered subordinate to that of the state. There were many divines, even within the pale of the Church, whose opinions tended to this point, and who formed a powerful party in the General Assembly. But the Cameronians in particular, elated with the part, both in suffering and acting, which they had performed during the late times, considered the results of the Revolution as totally unworthy of the struggle which they had maintained. The ministers who were willing to acquiesce in a model of church government so mutilated in power and beauty as that conceded by King William, they termed a hive of lukewarm, indifferent shepherds, who had either deserted their flocks and fled, to save themselves during the rage of persecution, or who, remaining in Scotland, had truckled to the enemy, and exercised their ministry in virtue of a niggardly indulgence from the tyrant, whilst they themselves endured want and misery, and the extremities of the sword and gallows, rather than renounce one iota of the doctrine held by the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland in the time of her highest power in 1640. They considered the General Assembly held under the authority of King William as an association in which the black hand of defection was extended

to the red hand of persecution, and where apostates and oppressors, leagued together, made common cause against pure Presbyterian government and discipline.

Feeling thus indisposed towards the existing government, it followed, as a matter of course, that the Cameronians, if they did not esteem themselves actually called upon to resist King William's authority, from which they were withheld by some glimmering of common sense, — which suggested, as the necessary consequence, the return of their old enemy James, — neither did they feel at liberty to own themselves his subjects, to take oaths of allegiance to his person and that of his queen, or to submit themselves, by any mark of homage, to a sovereign who had not subscribed and sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Although, therefore, this extreme party differed among themselves to what extent they should disclaim the King and the Government, yet the general sense of their united societies became more and more scrupulous, concerning the lawfulness of serving in the Earl of Angus's regiment; and while they continued to own these soldiers as brethren, and hold correspondence with them, we observe that they hint at the introduction of some of the errors of the time, even into this select regiment. Card-playing, dice, and other scandalous games, but in particular the celebration of King William's birthday, by rejoicing and drinking of healths, greatly afflicted the spirit of the general meeting of the more rigorous of the party, who held such practices as an abomination. It is probable, therefore, that the regiment of Cameronians received from this time few recruits out of the bosom of the party whose name they bore.

They were afterwards sent to serve on the Continent, and behaved courageously at the bloody battle of Steinkirk, in 1692, where they lost many men, and amongst others their

colonel, the Earl of Angus, who fell fighting bravely at their head. During these campaigns the regiment became gradually more indifferent to their religious duties. At last, we learn that their chaplain and they became heartily weary of each other, and that while the preacher upbraided his military flock with departing from the strictness of their religious professions, the others are said to have cursed him to his face, for having been instrumental in inducing them to enter into the service. In latter times this regiment, which is still called the 26th, or Cameronian regiment, seems to have differed very little in its composition from other marching regiments, excepting that it was chiefly recruited in Scotland, and that in memory of the original principles of the sect out of which it was raised, each soldier was, and perhaps is still, obliged to show himself possessed of a Bible when his necessaries are inspected.

During the course of the winter 1689 – 90, King James made an effort to reanimate the war in the Highlands, which had almost died away after the repulse of the Highlanders at Dunkeld. He sent over General Buchan, an officer of reputation, and who was supposed to understand the Highland character and Highland warfare. The clans again assembled with renewed hopes; but Buchan proved as incapable as Cannon had shown himself the year before, of profiting by the ardor of the Highlanders.

With singular want of caution, the Jacobite general descended the Spey, as far as a level plain by the river-side called Cromdale, where he quartered his army, about eighteen hundred men, in the hamlets in the vicinity.*

* On the south side of the low valley of the Spey, near the old church of Cromdale, about three miles to the east of the position where Grantown now stands.

Sir Thomas Livingstone, an excellent old officer, who commanded on the part of King William, assembled a large force of cavalry, some infantry, and a body of the clan Grant, who had embraced William's interest. The general's guide on this night's march was Grant of Elchies, who conducted him from Forres, down the hill above castle Grant, and through the valley of Auchinarrow, to the side of the Spey, opposite to the haugh of Cromdale. Elchies then, with the advanced guard of Grant, forded the broad and rapid river. He next killed, with his own hand, two of the Highlanders, outposts or sentinels, and led his own party, with Sir Thomas Livingstone and his cavalry, through a thicket of beech-trees, and thus surprised Buchan and his army asleep in their quarters. They fought gallantly, notwithstanding, with ^{1st May,} ^{1690.} their swords and targets, but were at length compelled to take to flight. The pursuit was not so destructive to the defeated party as it would have been to the soldiers of any other nation, if pursued by the cavalry of a successful enemy. Light of foot, and well acquainted with their own mountains, the Highlanders escaped up the hills, and amongst the mists, with such an appearance of ease and agility, that a spectator observed, they looked more like men received into the clouds, than fugitives escaping from a victorious enemy.

But the skirmish of Cromdale, and the ruin of King James's affairs in Ireland, precluded all hopes on the part of the Jacobites, of bringing the war in the Highlands to a successful termination. A fort near Inverlochy, originally erected by Cromwell, was again repaired by Livingstone, received the name of Fort William, and was strongly garrisoned, to bridle the Camerons, MacDonalds, and other Jacobite clans. The chiefs saw they would be

reduced to maintain a defensive war in their own fastnesses, and that against the whole regular force of Scotland. They became desirous, therefore, of submitting for the present, and reserving their efforts in behalf of the exiled family for some more favorable time. King William was equally desirous to see this smouldering fire, which the appearance of such a general as Montrose or Dundee might soon have blown into a destructive flame, totally extinguished. For this purpose, he had recourse to a measure, which, had it been duly executed, was one of deep policy.

The Earl of Breadalbane, a man of great power in the Highlands, and head of a numerous clan of the Campbells, was intrusted with a sum of money, which some authors call twenty, and some twelve thousand pounds, to be distributed among the chieftains, on the condition of their submission to the existing Government, and keeping on foot, each chief, in proportion to his means, a military force to act on behalf of Government, at home or abroad, as they should be called upon. This scheme, had it succeeded, would probably have rendered the Highland clans a resource, instead of a terror, to the Government of King William. Their love of war and their want of money would by degrees have weaned them from their attachment to the exiled King, which would gradually have been transferred to a prince who led them to battle, and paid them for following him.

But many of the chiefs were jealous of the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane in distributing the funds intrusted to his care. Part of this treasure the wily Earl bestowed among the most leading men; when these were bought off, he intimidated those of less power into

submission, by threatening them with military execution; and it has always been said, that he retained a very considerable portion of the gratuity in his own hands. The Highland chiefs complained to Government of Breadalbane's conduct, and, to prejudice the Earl in the minds of the Ministry, they alleged that he had played a double part, and advised them only to submit to King William for the present, until an opportunity should occur of doing King James effectual service. They also charged Breadalbane with retaining, for his own purposes, a considerable part of the money deposited in his hands, to be distributed in the Highlands.

Government, it is said, attended to this information so far as to demand, through the Secretary of State, a regular account of the manner in which the sum of money placed in his hands had been distributed. But Breadalbane, too powerful to be called in question, and too audacious to care for having incurred suspicion of what he judged Government dared not resent, is traditionally said to have answered the demand in the following cavalier manner: "My dear Lord, the money you mention was given to purchase the peace of the Highlands. The money is spent, — the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of *accompting* among friends."

We shall find afterwards that the selfish avarice and resentment of this unprincipled nobleman, gave rise to one of the most bloody, treacherous, and cruel actions, which dishonor the seventeenth century. Of this we shall speak hereafter; at present it is enough to repeat, that Breadalbane bribed, soothed, or threatened into submission to the Government, all the chiefs who had hitherto embraced the interest of King James, and the

Highland war might be considered as nearly, if not entirely ended. But the proposed measure of taking the clans into the pay of Government, calculated to attach them inalienably to the cause of King William, was totally disconcerted, and the Highlanders continued as much Jacobites at heart as before the pacification.

There remained, however, after the Highlands were thus partially settled, some necessity of providing for the numerous Lowland officers who had joined the standard of Dundee, and who afterwards remained with his less able successors in command. These individuals were entitled to consideration and compassion. They amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty gentlemen, who, sacrificing their fortune to their honor, preferred following their old master into exile, to changing his service for that of another. It was stipulated by the treaty that they should have two ships to carry them to France, where they were received with the same liberal hospitality which Louis XIV. showed in whatever concerned the affairs of King James, and where, accordingly, they received for some time pay and subsistence, in proportion to the rank which they had severally enjoyed in the exiled king's service.

But when the battle of La Hogue had commenced the train of misfortunes which France afterwards experienced, and put a period to all hopes of invading England, it could not be expected that Louis should continue the expense of supporting this body of Scottish officers, whom there was now so little prospect of providing for in their own country. They themselves being sensible of this, petitioned King James to permit them to reduce themselves to a company of private soldiers, with the dress, pay, and appointments of that rank, assuring his

Majesty that they would esteem it a pleasure to continue in his service, even under the meanest circumstances and the greatest hardships.

James reluctantly accepted of this generous offer, and, with tears in his eyes, reviewed this body of devoted loyalists, as, stripped of the advantages of birth, fortune, and education, they prepared to take upon them the duties of the lowest rank in their profession. The unhappy prince gave every man his hand to kiss, — promised never to forget their loyalty, and wrote the name of each individual in his pocketbook, as a pledge that when his own fortune permitted he would not be unmindful of their fidelity.

Being in French pay, this company of gentlemen were of course engaged in the French service; and wherever they came, they gained respect by their propriety of behavior, and sympathy from knowledge of their circumstances. But their allowance, being only threepence a day, with a pound and a half of bread, was totally inadequate not only for procuring their accustomed comforts, but even for maintaining them in the most ordinary manner. For a time they found a resource in the sale of watches, rings, and such superfluous trinkets as had any value. It was not unusual to see individuals among them laying aside some little token of remembrance, which had been the gift of parental affection, of love, or of friendship, and to hear them protest, that with this at least they would never part. But stern necessity brought all these relics to the market at last, and this little fund of support was entirely exhausted.

After its first formation, this company served under Marshal Noailles, at the siege of Rosas, in Catalonia, and distinguished themselves by their courage on so many

occasions, that their general called them his children; and, pointing out their determined courage to others, used to say, that the real gentleman was ever the same, whether in necessity or in danger.

In a subsequent campaign in Alsace, they distinguished themselves by their voluntary attempt to storm a fortified island on the Rhine, defended by five hundred Germans. They advanced to the shore of that broad river under shelter of the night, waded into the stream, with their ammunition secured about their necks for fear of its being wetted, and, linked arm-in-arm, according to the Highland fashion, advanced into the middle of the current. Here the water was up to their breasts, but as soon as it grew more shallow, they untied their cartouch-boxes, and marching ashore with their muskets shouldered, poured a deadly volley upon the Germans, who, seized with a panic, and endeavoring to escape, broke down their own bridges, and suffered a severe loss, leaving the island in possession of the brave assailants. When the French general heard of the success of what he had esteemed a desperate bravado, he signed himself with the cross in astonishment, and declared that it was the boldest action that had ever been performed, and that the whole honor of contrivance and execution belonged to the company of officers. The place was long called *L'Ile d'Ecossais*, the Scotsmen's Island, and perhaps, yet retains the name.

In these and similar undertakings many of this little band fell by the sword; but the fate of such was enviable compared with that of the far greater part who died under the influence of fatigue, privations, and contagious diseases, which fell with deadly severity on men once accustomed to the decencies and accommodations of social life, and now reduced to rags, filth, and famine. When,

at the peace of Ryswick, this little company was disbanded, there remained but sixteen men out of their original number; and only four of these ever again saw their native country, whose fame had been sustained and extended by their fidelity and courage.

At length the last faint embers of civil war died away throughout Scotland. The last place which held out for King James was the strong island and castle in the Frith of Forth, called the Bass.* This singular rock rises perpendicularly out of the sea. The surface is pasture land, sloping to the brink of a tremendous precipice, which on all sides sinks sheer down into the stormy ocean. There is no anchorage ground on any point near the rock; and although it is possible, in the present state of the island, to go ashore (not without danger, however), and to ascend by a steep path to the table-land on the top of the crag, yet, at the time of the Revolution a strong castle defended the landing-place, and the boats belonging to the garrison were lowered into the sea, or heaved up into the castle, by means of the engine called a crane. Access was thus difficult to friends, and impossible to enemies.

This sequestered and inaccessible spot, the natural shelter and abode of gannets, gulls, and sea-fowl of all descriptions, had been, as I have before noticed, converted into a state prison during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; and was often the melancholy abode of the nonconformists who were prisoners to Government. When the Revolution took place, the Governor of the Bass held out from 1688 to 1690, when he surrendered the island and castle to King William. They were shortly after recovered for King James by some Jacobite officers, who;

* See the Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, in SCOTT'S *Miscellaneous Prose Works*.

sent thither as prisoners, contrived to surprise and overpower the garrison, and again bade defiance to the new Government. They received supplies of provisions from their Jacobite friends on shore, and exercised, by means of their boats, a sort of privateering warfare on such merchant vessels as entered the frith. A squadron of English ships-of-war was sent to reduce the place, which, in their attempt to batter the castle, did so little damage, and received so much, that the siege was given up, or rather converted into a strict blockade. The punishment of death was denounced by the Scottish Government against all who should attempt to supply the island with provisions; and a gentleman named Trotter, having been convicted of such an attempt, was condemned to death, and a gallows erected opposite to the Bass, that the garrison might witness his fate. The execution was interrupted for the time by a cannon-shot from the island, to the great terror of the assistants, amongst whom the bullet lighted; but no advantage accrued to Trotter, who was put to death elsewhere. The intercourse between the island and the shore was in this manner entirely cut off. Shortly afterwards the garrison became so weak for want of provisions, that they were unable to man the crane by which they launched out and got in their boats. They were thus obliged finally to surrender, but not till reduced to an allowance of two ounces of rusk to each man per day. They were admitted to honorable terms, with the testimony of having done their duty like brave men.

We must now return to the state of civil affairs in Scotland, which was far from being settled. The arrangements of King William had not included in his administration Sir James Montgomery and some other leading Presbyterians, who conceived their services entitled them

to such distinction. This was bitterly resented; for Montgomery and his friends fell into an error very common to agents in great changes, who often conceive themselves to have been the authors of those events, in which they were only the subordinate and casual actors. Montgomery had conducted the debates concerning the forfeiture of the crown at the Revolution, and therefore believed himself adequate to the purpose of dethroning King William, who, he thought, owed his crown to him, and of replacing King James. This monarch, so lately deprived of his realm on account of his barefaced attempts to bring in Popery, was now supported by a party of Presbyterians, who proposed to render him the nursing father of that model of church government, which he had so often endeavored to stifle in the blood of its adherents. As extremes approach to each other, the most violent Jacobites began to hold intercourse with the most violent Presbyterians, and both parties voted together in Parliament, from hatred to the administration of King William. The alliance, however, was too unnatural to continue; and King William was only so far alarmed by its progress, as to hasten a redress of several of those grievances, which had been pointed out in the Declaration of Rights. He also deemed it prudent to concede something to the Presbyterians, disappointed as many of them were with the result of the Revolution in ecclesiastical matters.

I have told you already that King William had not hesitated to declare that the National Church of Scotland should be Presbyterian; but, with the love of toleration, which was a vital principle in the King's mind, he was desirous of permitting the Episcopalian incumbents, as well as the forms of worship, to remain in the churches of such parishes as preferred that communion. Moreover,

he did not deem it equitable to take from such proprietors as were possessed of it the right of patronage, that is, of presenting to the Presbytery a candidate for a vacant charge; when, unless found unfit for such a charge, upon his life and doctrine being inquired into by formal trial the person thus presented was of course admitted to the office.

A great part of the Presbyterians were much discontented at a privilege, which threw the right of electing a clergyman for the whole congregation into the hands of one man, whilst all the rest might be dissatisfied with his talents, or with his character. They argued also, that very many of these presentations being in the hands of gentry of the Episcopal persuasion, to continue the right of patronage, was to afford such patrons the means of introducing clergymen of their own tenets, and thus to maintain a perpetual schism in the bosom of the Church. To this it was replied by the defenders of patronage, that as the stipends of the clergy were paid by the landholders, the nomination of the minister ought to be left in their hands; and that it had accordingly been the ancient law of Scotland, that the advowson, or title to bestow the church-living, was a right of private property. The tendency towards Episcopacy, continued these reasoners, might indeed balance, but could not overthrow the supremacy of the Presbyterian establishment, since every clergyman who was in possession of a living, was bound to subscribe the Confession of Faith, as established by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and to acknowledge that the General Assembly was invested with the full government of the Church. They further argued, that in practice it was best this law of patronage should remain unaltered. The Presbyterian Church being already formed upon a

model strictly republican, they contended that to vest the right of nominating the established clergy in the hearers was to give additional features of democracy to a system which was already sufficiently independent both of the crown and the aristocracy. They urged that to permit the flocks the choice of their own shepherd, was to encourage the candidates for church preferment rather to render themselves popular by preaching to soothe the humors of the congregation, than to exercise the wholesome but unpleasing duties, of instructing their ignorance, and reprov- ing their faults ; and that thus assentation and flattery would be heard from the pulpit, the very place where they were most unbecoming, and were likely to be most mischievous.

Such arguments in favor of lay patronage had much influence with the King ; but the necessity of doing something which might please the Presbyterian party, induced his Scottish ministers — not, it is said, with William's entire approbation — to renew a law of Cromwell's time, which placed the nomination of a minister, with some slight restrictions, in the hands of the congregation. These, upon a vacancy, exercised a right of popular election, gratifying unquestionably to the pride of human nature, but tending to excite, in the case of disagreement, debates and strife, which were not always managed with the decency and moderation that the subject required.

King William equally failed in his attempt to secure toleration for such of the Episcopal clergy as were disposed to retain their livings under a Presbyterian supremacy. To have gained these divines, would have greatly influenced all that part of Scotland which lies north of the Forth ; but in affording them protection, William was desirous to be secured of their allegiance, which in general

they conceived to be due to the exiled sovereign. Many of them had indeed adopted a convenient political creed, which permitted them to submit to William as king *de facto*, that is, as being actually in possession of the royal power, whilst they internally reserved and acknowledged the superior claims of James as king *de jure*, that is, who had the right to the crown, although he did not enjoy it.

It was William's interest to destroy this sophistical species of reasoning, by which, in truth, he was only recognized as a successful usurper, and obeyed for no other reason but because he had the power to enforce obedience. An oath, therefore, was framed, called the Assurance, which, being put to all persons holding offices of trust, was calculated to exclude those temporizers who had contrived to reconcile their immediate obedience to King William, with a reserved acknowledgment that James possessed the real title to the crown. The Assurance bore, in language studiously explicit, that King William was acknowledged, by the person taking the oath, not only as king in fact, but also as king in law and by just title. This oath made a barrier against most of the Episcopal preachers who had any tendency to Jacobitism; but there were some who regarded their own patrimonial advantages more than political questions concerning the rights of monarchs, and, in spite of the intolerance of the Presbyterian clergy (which, considering their previous sufferings, is not to be wondered at), about a hundred Episcopal divines took the oaths to the new Government, retained their livings, and were exempted from the jurisdiction of the courts of Presbytery.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.

[1691—1692.]

I AM now to call your attention to an action of the Scottish Government, which leaves a great stain on the memory of King William, although probably that prince was not aware of the full extent of the baseness, treachery, and cruelty, for which his commission was made a cover.

I have formerly mentioned that some disputes arose concerning the distribution of a large sum of money, with which the Earl of Breadalbane was intrusted, to procure, or rather to purchase, a peace in the Highlands. Lord Breadalbane and those with whom he negotiated disagreed, and the English Government, becoming suspicious of the intentions of the Highland chiefs to play fast and loose on the occasion, sent forth a proclamation in the month of August, 1691, requiring all, and each of them, to submit to Government before the first day of January, 1692. After this period, it was announced in the same proclamation that those who had not submitted themselves, should be subjected to the extremities of fire and sword.

This proclamation was framed by the Privy Council, under the influence of Sir John Dalrymple (Master of Stair, as he was called), whom I have already mentioned

as holding the place of Lord Advocate, and who had, in 1690, been raised to be Secretary of State, in conjunction with Lord Melville. The Master of Stair was at this time an intimate friend of Breadalbane, and it seems that he shared with that nobleman the warm hope and expectation of carrying into execution a plan of retaining a Highland army in the pay of Government, and accomplishing a complete transference of the allegiance of the chiefs to the person of King William, from that of King James. This could not have failed to be a most acceptable piece of service, upon which, if it could be accomplished, the Secretary might justly reckon as a title to his master's further confidence and favor.

But when Breadalbane commenced his treaty, he was mortified to find, that though the Highland chiefs expressed no dislike to King William's money, yet they retained their secret fidelity to King James too strongly to make it safe to assemble them in a military body, as had been proposed. Many chiefs, especially those of the MacDonalds, stood out also for terms which the Earl of Breadalbane and the Master of Stair considered as extravagant; and the result of the whole was the breaking off the treaty and the publishing of the severe proclamation already mentioned.

Breadalbane and Stair were greatly disappointed and irritated against those chiefs and tribes, who, being refractory on this occasion, had caused a breach of their favorite scheme. Their thoughts were now turned to revenge; and it appears from Stair's correspondence, that he nourished and dwelt upon the secret hope that several of the most stubborn chiefs would hold out beyond the term appointed for submission, in which case it was determined that the punishment inflicted should be of the most severe

and awful description. That all might be prepared for the meditated operations, a considerable body of troops were kept in readiness at Inverlochy, and elsewhere. These were destined to act against the refractory clans, and the campaign was to take place in the midst of winter, when it was supposed that the season and weather would prevent the Highlanders from expecting an attack.

But the chiefs received information of those hostile intentions, and one by one submitted to Government within the appointed period, thus taking away all pretence of acting against them. It is said that they did so by secret orders from King James, who having penetrated the designs of Stair, directed the chiefs to comply with the proclamation, rather than incur an attack which they had no means of resisting.

The indemnity, which protected so many victims and excluded both lawyers and soldiers from a profitable job, seems to have created great disturbance in the mind of the Secretary of State. As chief after chief took the oath of allegiance to King William, and by doing so put themselves one by one out of danger, the greater became the anxiety of the Master of Stair to find some legal flaw for excluding some of the Lochaber clans from the benefit of the indemnity. But no opportunity occurred for exercising these kind intentions, excepting in the memorable, but fortunately the solitary instance, of the clan of the MacDonalds of Glencoe.

This clan inhabited a valley formed by the river Coe, or Cona,* which falls into Lochleven, not far from the head of Loch-Etive. It is distinguished, even in that wild country, by the sublimity of the mountains, rocks,

* This is the *Cona* of Ossian's poems.

and precipices, in which it lies buried.* The minds of men are formed by their habitations. The MacDonalDs of the Glen were not very numerous, seldom mustering above two hundred armed men; but they were bold and daring to a proverb, confident in the strength of their country, and in the protection and support of their kindred tribes, the MacDonalDs of Clanranald, Glengarry, Kerpoch, Ardnamurchan, and others of that powerful name. They also lay near the possessions of the Campbells, to whom, owing to the predatory habits to which they were especially addicted, they were very bad neighbors, so that blood had at different times been spilt between them.

MacIan, of Glencoe (this was the patronymic title of the chief of this clan) was a man of a stately and venerable person and aspect. He possessed both courage and sagacity, and was accustomed to be listened to by the neighboring chieftains, and to take a lead in their deliberations. MacIan had been deeply engaged, both in the campaign of Killiecrankie, and in that which followed under General Buchan; and when the insurgent Highland chiefs held a meeting with the Earl of Breadalbane, at a place called Auchallader, in the month of July, 1691, for the purpose of arranging an armistice, MacIan was

* "The scenery of this valley is far the most picturesque of any in the Highlands, being so wild and uncommon as never fails to attract the eye of every stranger of the least degree of taste or sensibility. The entrance to it is strongly marked by the craggy mountain of *Buachal-ty*, a little west of King's House. All the other mountains of Glencoe resemble it, and are evidently but naked and solid rocks, rising on each side perpendicularly to a great height from a flat, narrow bottom, so that in many places they seem to hang over, and make approaches, as they aspire, towards each other. The tops of the ridge of hills on one side are irregularly serrated for three or four miles, and shoot in places into spires, which forms the most magnificent part of the scenery above Lochleven." — PENNANT, vol. i. p. 210.

present with the rest, and, it is said, taxed Breadalbane with the design of retaining a part of the money lodged in his hands for the pacification of the Highlands. The Earl retorted with vehemence, and charged MacIan with a theft of cattle, committed upon some of his lands by a party from Glencoe. Other causes of offence took place, in which old feuds were called to recollection; and MacIan was repeatedly heard to say, he dreaded mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of Breadalbane. Yet this unhappy chief was rash enough to stand out to the last moment, and decline to take advantage of King William's indemnity, till the time appointed by the proclamation was well-nigh expired.

The displeasure of the Earl of Breadalbane seems speedily to have communicated itself to the Master of Stair, who, in his correspondence with Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, then commanding in the Highlands, expresses the greatest resentment against MacIan of Glencoe, for having, by his interference, marred the bargain between Breadalbane and the Highland chiefs. Accordingly, in a letter of 3d December, the Secretary intimated that Government was determined to destroy utterly some of the clans, in order to terrify the others, and he hoped that, by standing out and refusing to submit under the indemnity, the MacDonalds of Glencoe would fall into the net,—which meant that they would afford a pretext for their extirpation. This letter is dated a month before the time limited by the indemnity; so long did these bloody thoughts occupy the mind of this unprincipled statesman.

Ere the term of mercy expired, however, MacIan's own apprehensions, or the advice of friends, dictated to him the necessity of submitting to the same conditions which others had embraced, and he went with his principal

followers to take the oath of allegiance to King William. This was a very brief space before the 1st of January, when, by the terms of the proclamation, the opportunity of claiming the indemnity was to expire. MacIan was therefore, much alarmed to find that Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort-William, to whom he tendered his oath of allegiance, had no power to receive it, being a military, and not a civil officer. Colonel Hill, however, sympathized with the distress and even tears of the old chieftain, and gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlas, Sheriff of Argyleshire, requesting him to receive the "lost sheep," and administer the oath to him, that he might have the advantage of the indemnity, though so late in claiming it.

MacIan hastened from Fort William to Inverary, without even turning aside to his own house, though he passed within a mile of it. But the roads always very bad were now rendered almost impassable by a storm of snow; so that with all the speed the unfortunate chieftain could exert, the fatal 1st of January was passed before he reached Inverary.

The Sheriff, however, seeing that MacIan had complied with the spirit of the statute, in tendering his submission within the given period, under the sincere, though mistaken belief, that he was applying to the person ordered to receive it; and considering also, that but for the tempestuous weather, it would after all have been offered in presence of the proper law-officer, did not hesitate to administer the oath of allegiance, and sent off an express to the Privy Council, containing an attestation of MacIan's having taken the oaths, and a full explanation of the circumstances which had delayed his doing so until the lapse of the appointed period. The Sheriff also wrote to Colonel

Hill what he had done, and requested that he would take care that Glencoe should not be annoyed by any military parties until the pleasure of the Council should be known, which he could not doubt would be favorable.

MacIan, therefore, returned to his own house, and resided there, as he supposed, in safety, under the protection of the Government to which he had sworn allegiance. That he might merit this protection, he convoked his clan, acquainted them with his submission, and commanded them to live peaceably, and give no cause of offence, under pain of his displeasure.

In the mean time, the vindictive Secretary of State had procured orders from his sovereign respecting the measures to be followed with such of the chiefs as should not have taken the oaths within the term prescribed. The first of these orders, dated 11th January, contained peremptory directions for military execution, by fire and sword, against all who should not have made their submission within the time appointed. It was, however, provided, in order to avoid driving them to desperation, that there was still to remain a power of granting mercy to those clans who, even after the time was passed, should still come in and submit themselves. Such were the terms of the first royal warrant, in which Glencoe was not expressly named.

It seems afterwards to have occurred to Stair, that Glencoe and his tribe would be sheltered under this mitigation of the intended severities, since he had already come in and tendered his allegiance, without waiting for the menace of military force. A second set of instructions were therefore made out on the 16th January. These held out the same indulgence to other clans who should submit themselves at the very last hour (a hypo-

critical pretext, for there existed none which stood in such a predicament), but they closed the gate of mercy against the devoted MacIan, who had already done all that was required of others. The words are remarkable : "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves."

You will remark the hypocritical clemency and real cruelty of these instructions, which profess a readiness to extend mercy to those who needed it not (for all the other Highlanders had submitted within the limited time), and deny it to Glencoe, the only man who had not been able literally to comply with the proclamation, though in all fair construction, he had done what it required.

Under what pretence or coloring King William's authority was obtained for such cruel instructions, it would be in vain to inquire. The Sheriff of Argyle's letter had never been produced before the Council; and the certificate of MacIan's having taken the oath was blotted out, and, in the Scottish phrase, deleted from the books of the Privy Council. It seems probable, therefore, that the fact of that chief's submission was altogether concealed from the King, and that he was held out in the light of a desperate and incorrigible leader of banditti, who was the main obstacle to the peace of the Highlands; but if we admit that William acted under such misrepresentations, deep blame will still attach to him for rashly issuing orders of an import so dreadful. It is remarkable that these fatal instructions are both superscribed and subscribed by the King himself, whereas, in most state papers, the sovereign only superscribes, and they are countersigned by the Secretary of State, who is answer-

able for their tenor ; a responsibility which Stair, on that occasion, was not probably ambitious of claiming.

The Secretary's letters to the military officers, directing the mode of executing the King's orders, betray the deep and savage interest which he took personally in their tenor, and his desire that the bloody measure should be as general as possible. He dwelt in these letters upon the proper time and season for cutting off the devoted tribe. "The winter," he said, "is the only season in which the Highlanders cannot elude us, or carry their wives, children, and cattle, to the mountains. They cannot escape you ; for what human constitution can then endure to be long out of house ? This is the proper season to maul them, in the long dark nights." He could not suppress his joy that Glencoe had not come in within the term prescribed ; and expresses his hearty wishes that others had followed the same course. He assured the soldiers that their powers should be ample ; and he exacted from them proportional exertions. He entreated that the thieving tribe of Glencoe might be *rooted out* in earnest ; and he was at pains to explain a phrase which is in itself terribly significant. He gave directions for securing every pass by which the victims could escape, and warned the soldiers that it were better to leave the thing unattempted than fail to do it to purpose. "To plunder their lands, or drive off their cattle, would," say his letters, "be only to render them desperate ; they must be all slaughtered, and the manner of execution must be sure, secret, and effectual."

These instructions, such as have been rarely penned in a Christian country, were sent to Colonel Hill, the Governor of Fort William, who, greatly surprised and grieved at their tenor, endeavored for some time to evade

the execution of them. At length, obliged by his situation to render obedience to the King's commands, he transmitted the orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, directing him to take four hundred men of a Highland regiment belonging to the Earl of Argyle, and fulfil the royal mandate. Thus, to make what was intended yet worse, if possible, than it was in its whole tenor, the perpetration of this cruelty was committed to soldiers, who were not only the countrymen of the proscribed, but the near neighbors, and some of them the close connections, of the MacDonalds of Glencoe. This is the more necessary to be remembered, because the massacre has unjustly been said to have been committed by English troops. The course of the bloody deed was as follows.

Before the end of January, a party of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, commanded by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, approached Glencoe. MacIan's sons went out to meet them with a body of men, to demand whether they came as friends or foes. The officer replied that they came as friends, being sent to take up their quarters for a short time in Glencoe, in order to relieve the garrison of Fort William, which was crowded with soldiers. On this they were welcomed with all the hospitality which the chief and his followers had the means of extending to them, and they resided for fifteen days amongst the unsuspecting MacDonalds, in the exchange of every species of kindness and civility. That the laws of domestic affection might be violated at the same time with those of humanity and hospitality, you are to understand that Alaster MacDonald, one of the sons of MacIan, was married to a niece of Glenlyon, who commanded the party of soldiers. It appears also that the intended cruelty was to be exercised upon defenceless men : for the MacDonalds,

though afraid of no other ill-treatment from their military guests, had supposed it possible the soldiers might have a commission to disarm them, and therefore had sent their weapons to a distance, where they might be out of reach of seizure.

Glenlyon's party had remained in Glencoe for fourteen or fifteen days, when he received orders from his commanding officer, Major Duncanson, expressed in a manner which shows him to have been the worthy agent of the cruel Secretary. They were sent in conformity with orders of the same date, transmitted to Duncanson by Hamilton, directing that all the MacDonalds, under seventy years of age, were to be cut off, and that the *Government was not to be troubled with prisoners*. Duncanson's orders to Glenlyon were as follows :—

“ You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his cubs do on no account escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at four in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. But if I do not come to you at four, you are not to tarry for me, but fall on. This is by the King's special command, for the good and safety of the country that these miscreants be cut off root and branch. See that this be put into execution without either fear or favor, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the King's service. Expecting that you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand,

“ ROBERT DUNCANSON.”

This order was dated 12th February, and addressed, "For their Majesties' service, to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

This letter reached Glenlyon soon after it was written and he lost no time in carrying the dreadful mandate into execution. In the interval he did not abstain from any of those acts of familiarity which had lulled asleep the suspicions of his victims. He took his morning draught, as had been his practice every day since he came to the glen, at the house of Alaster MacDonald, MacIan's second son, who was married to his (Glenlyon's) niece. He, and two of his officers named Lindsay, accepted an invitation to dinner from MacIan himself, for the following day, on which they had determined he should never see the sun rise. To complete the sum of treachery, Glenlyon played at cards, in his own quarters, with the sons of MacIan, John and Alaster, both of whom were also destined for slaughter.

About four o'clock in the morning of 13th February the scene of blood began. A party, commanded by one of the Lindsays, came to MacIan's house and knocked for admittance, which was at once given. Lindsay, one of the expected guests at the family meal of the day, commanded this party, who instantly shot MacIan dead by his own bed-side, as he was in the act of dressing himself, and giving orders for refreshments to be provided for his fatal visitors. His aged wife was stripped by the savage soldiery, who at the same time drew off the gold rings from her fingers with their teeth. She died the next day, distracted with grief and the brutal treatment she had received. Several domestics and clansmen were killed at the same place.

The two sons of the aged chieftain had not been alto-

gether so confident as their father respecting the peaceful and friendly purpose of their guests. They observed, on the evening preceding the massacre, that the sentinels were doubled, and the main-guard strengthened. John, the elder brother, had even overheard the soldiers muttering amongst themselves, that they cared not about fighting the men of the glen fairly, but did not like the nature of the service they were engaged in; while others consoled themselves with the military logic that their officers must be answerable for the orders given, they having no choice save to obey them. Alarmed with what had been thus observed and heard, the young men hastened to Glenlyon's quarters, where they found that officer and his men preparing their arms. On questioning him about these suspicious appearances, Glenlyon accounted for them by a story that he was bound on an expedition against some of Glengarry's men; and, alluding to the circumstance of their alliance, which made his own cruelty more detestable, he added, "If anything evil had been intended, would I not have told Alaster and my niece?"

Reassured by this communication, the young men retired to rest, but were speedily awakened by an old domestic, who called on the two brothers to rise and fly for their lives. "Is it time for you," he said, "to be sleeping, when your father is murdered on his own hearth?" Thus roused, they hurried out in great terror, and heard throughout the glen, wherever there was a place of human habitation, the shouts of the murderers, the report of the muskets, the screams of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. By their perfect knowledge of the scarce accessible cliffs amongst which they dwelt, they were enabled to escape observation, and fled to the southern access of the glen.

Meantime the work of death proceeded with as little remorse as Stair himself could have desired. Even the slight mitigation of their orders respecting those above seventy years was disregarded by the soldiery in their indiscriminate thirst for blood, and several very aged and bedridden persons were slain amongst others. At the hamlet where Glenlyon had his own quarters nine men, including his landlord, were bound and shot like felons; and one of them, MacDonald of Auchintriaten, had General Hill's passport in his pocket at the time. A fine lad of twenty had, by some glimpse of compassion on the part of the soldiers, been spared, when one Captain Drummond came up, and demanding why the orders were transgressed in that particular, caused him instantly to be put to death. A boy, of five or six years old, clung to Glenlyon's knees, entreating for mercy, and offering to become his servant for life, if he would spare him. Glenlyon was moved; but the same Drummond stabbed the child with his dirk, while he was in this agony of supplication.

At a place called Auchnaion, one Barber, a sergeant, with a party of soldiers, fired on a group of nine MacDonalds, as they were assembled round their morning fire, and killed four of them. The owner of the house, a brother of the slain Auchintriaten, escaped unhurt, and expressed a wish to be put to death rather in the open air than within the house. "For your bread which I have eaten," answered Barber, "I will grant the request." MacDonald was dragged to the door accordingly; but he was an active man, and when the soldiers were presenting their firelocks to shoot him, he cast his plaid over their faces, and taking advantage of the confusion, broke from them, and escaped up the glen.

The alarm being now general, many other persons, male and female, attempted their escape in the same manner as the two sons of MacIan and the person last mentioned. Flying from their burning huts, and from their murderous visitors, the half-naked fugitives committed themselves to a winter morning of darkness, snow, and storm, amidst a wilderness the most savage in the West Highlands, having a bloody death behind them, and before them tempest, famine, and desolation. Bewildered in the snow-wreaths, several sunk to rise no more. But the severities of the storm were tender mercies compared to the cruelty of their persecutors.* The great fall of snow, which proved fatal to several of the fugitives, was the means of saving the remnant that escaped. Major Duncanson, agreeably to the plan expressed in his orders to Glenlyon, had not failed to put himself in motion, with four hundred men, on the evening preceding the slaughter; and had he reached the eastern passes out of Glencoe by

* "The hand that mingled in the meal
 At midnight drew the felon steel,
 And gave the host's kind breast to feel
 Meed for his hospitality!
 The friendly hearth which warmed that hand
 At midnight armed it with the brand
 That bade destruction's flames expand
 Their red and fearful blazonry.

"Then woman's shriek was heard in vain,
 Nor infancy's unpitied pain,
 More than a warrior's groan could gain
 Respite from ruthless butchery!
 The winter wind that whistled shrill,
 The snows that night that cloaked the hill,
 Though wild and pitiless, had still
 Far more than Southron clemency."

SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Poetical Works*, vol. viii. p. 385.

four in the morning, as he calculated, he must have intercepted and destroyed all those who took that only way of escape from Glenlyon and his followers. But as this reinforcement arrived so late as eleven in the forenoon, they found no MacDonal alive in Glencoe, save an old man of eighty, whom they slew; and after burning such houses as were yet unconsumed, they collected the property of the tribe, consisting of twelve hundred head of cattle and horses, besides goats and sheep, and drove them off to the garrison of Fort William.

Thus ended this horrible deed of massacre. The number of persons murdered was thirty-eight; those who escaped might amount to a hundred and fifty males, who, with the women and children of the tribe, had to fly more than twelve miles, through rocks and wildernesses, ere they could reach any place of safety or shelter.

This detestable butchery excited general horror and disgust, not only throughout Scotland, but in foreign countries, and did King William, whose orders, signed and superscribed by himself, were the warrant of the action, incredible evil both in popularity and character.*

* Bishop Burnet would fain exculpate William. "The King," says he, "signed this without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in despatching business; for as he was apt to suffer things to run on, till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, so then he signed them a little too precipitately. But all this while the King knew nothing of MacDonal's offering to take the oaths within the time, nor of his having taken them soon after it was past, when he came to a proper magistrate." And again, "This (the massacre) raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the King's government, as cruel and barbarous; though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess." — *Own Times*, vol. iv., pp. 154, 155.

Stair, however, seemed undaunted, and had the infamy to write to Colonel Hill, while public indignation was at the highest, that all that could be said of the matter was, that the execution was not so complete as it might have been. There was, besides, a pamphlet published in his defence, offering a bungled vindication of his conduct; which, indeed, amounts only to this, that a man of the Master of Stair's high place and eminent accomplishments, who had performed such great services to the public, of which a labored account was given; one also, who, it is particularly insisted upon, performed the duty of family worship regularly in his household, ought not to be over-severely questioned for the death of a few Highland Papists, whose morals were no better than those of English highwaymen.

No public notice was taken of this abominable deed until 1695, three years after it had been committed, when, late and reluctantly, a Royal Commission, loudly demanded by the Scottish nation, was granted, to inquire into the particulars of the transaction, and to report the issue of their investigations to Parliament.

The members of the Commission, though selected as favorable to King William, proved of a different opinion from the apologist of the Secretary of State, and reported that the letters and instructions of Stair to Colonel Hill and others were the sole cause of the murder. They slurred over the King's share of the guilt by reporting that the Secretary's instructions went beyond the warrant which William had signed and superscribed. The royal mandate, they stated, only ordered the tribe of Glencoe to be subjected to military execution, *in case* there could be any mode found of separating them from the other Highlanders. Having thus found a screen,

though a very flimsy one, for William's share in the transaction, the report of the Commission let the whole weight of the charge fall on Secretary the Master of Stair, whose letters, they state, intimated no mode of separating the Glencoe men from the rest, as directed by the warrant; but, on the contrary, did, under a pretext of public duty, appoint them, without inquiry or distinction, to be cut off and rooted out in earnest and to purpose, and that "suddenly, secretly, and quietly." They reported, that these instructions of Stair had been the warrant for the slaughter; that it was unauthorized by his Majesty's orders, and, in fact, deserved no name save that of a most barbarous murder. Finally, the report named the Master of Stair as the deviser, and the various military officers employed as the perpetrators, of the same, and suggested, with great moderation, that Parliament should address his Majesty to send home Glenlyon and the other murderers to be tried, or should do otherwise as his Majesty pleased.

The Secretary, being by this unintelligible mode of reasoning thus exposed to the whole severity of the storm, and overwhelmed at the same time by the King's displeasure, on account of the Darien affair (to be presently mentioned), was deprived of his office, and obliged to retire from public affairs. General indignation banished him so entirely from public life, that, having about this period succeeded to his father's title of Viscount Stair, he dared not take his seat in Parliament as such, on account of the threat of the Lord Justice-Clerk, that if he did so, he would move that the address and report upon the Glencoe Massacre should be produced and inquired into. It was the year 1700 before the Earl of Stair found the affair so much forgotten that he ventured to assume the place in Parliament to which his rank entitled him; and he died

in 1707, on the very day when the treaty of Union was signed, not without suspicion of suicide.

Of the direct agents in the massacre, Hamilton absconded, and afterwards joined King William's army in Flanders, where Glenlyon and the officers and soldiers connected with the murder were then serving. The King, availing himself of the option left to him in the address of the Scottish Parliament, did *not* order them home for trial; nor does it appear that any of them were dismissed the service, or punished for their crime, otherwise than by the general hatred of the age in which they lived, and the universal execration of posterity.*

* " Among the Highlanders, the belief that the punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children, to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of marines. He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glencoe. At Havannah, in 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead. The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead he exclaimed, ' The curse of God and

Although it is here a little misplaced, I cannot refrain from telling you an anecdote connected with the preceding events which befell so late as the year 1745 - 6, during the romantic attempt of Charles Edward, grandson of James II., to regain the throne of his fathers. He marched through the Lowlands, at the head of an army consisting of the Highland clans, and obtained for a time considerable advantages. Amongst other Highlanders, the descendant of the murdered MacIan of Glencoe joined his standard with a hundred and fifty men. The route of the Highland army brought them near to a beautiful seat built by the Earl of Stair, so often mentioned in the preceding narrative, and the principal mansion of his family. An alarm arose in the councils of Prince Charles, lest the MacDonalds of Glencoe should seize this opportunity of marking their recollection of the injustice done to their ancestors, by burning or plundering the house of the descendant of their persecutor; and, as such an act of violence might have done the Prince great prejudice in the eyes of the people of the Lowlands, it was agreed that a guard should be posted to protect the house of Lord Stair.

MacDonald of Glencoe heard the resolution, and deemed his honor and that of his clan concerned. He demanded an audience of Charles Edward, and admitting the propriety of placing a guard on a house so obnoxious to the feelings of the Highland army, and to those of his own clan in particular, he demanded, as a matter of right rather than favor, that the protecting guard should be supplied

of Glencoe is here; I am an unfortunate, ruined man,' — and soon afterwards retired from the service." — MAJOR-GENERAL STEWART'S (of Garth) *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland, and Military Details of the Highland Regiments*, 2d edit., vol. i. pp. 105, 106.

by the MacDonalds of Glencoe. If this request were not granted, he announced his purpose to return home with his people, and prosecute the enterprise no further. "The MacDonalds of Glencoe," he said, "would be dishonored by remaining in a service where others than their own men were employed to restrain them, under whatsoever circumstances of provocation, within the line of their military duty." The royal Adventurer granted the request of the high-spirited chieftain, and the MacDonalds of Glencoe guarded from the slightest injury the house of the cruel and crafty statesman who had devised and directed the massacre of their ancestors. Considering how natural the thirst of vengeance becomes to men in a primitive state of society, and how closely it was interwoven with the character of the Scottish Highlander, Glencoe's conduct on this occasion is a noble instance of a high and heroic preference of duty to the gratification of revenge.

We must now turn from this terrible story to one which, though it does not seize on the imagination with the same force in the narrative, yet embraces a far wider and more extensive field of death and disaster.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE DARIEN SCHEME—DEATH OF WILLIAM, AND ACCESSION OF
QUEEN ANNE.

[1692—1701.]

HUMAN character, whether national or individual, presents often to our calm consideration the strangest inconsistencies; but there are few more striking than that which the Scots exhibit in their private conduct, contrasted with their views when united together for any general or national purpose. In his own personal affairs the Scotsman is remarked as cautious, frugal, and prudent, in an extreme degree, not generally aiming at enjoyment or relaxation till he has realized the means of indulgence, and studiously avoiding those temptations of pleasure to which men of other countries most readily give way. But when a number of the natives of Scotland associate for any speculative project, it would seem that their natural caution becomes thawed and dissolved by the union of their joint hopes, and that their imaginations are liable in a peculiar degree to be heated and influenced by any splendid prospect held out to them. They appear, in particular, to lose the power of calculating and adapting their means to the end which they desire to accomplish, and are readily induced to aim at objects magnificent in themselves, but which they have not, unhap-

pily, the wealth or strength necessary to attain. Thus the Scots are often found to attempt splendid designs, which, shipwrecked for want of the necessary expenditure, give foreigners occasion to smile at the great error and equally great misfortune of the nation,—I mean their pride and their poverty. There is no greater instance of this tendency to daring speculation, which rests at the bottom of the coldness and caution of the Scottish character, than the disastrous history of the Darien colony.

Paterson, a man of comprehensive views and great sagacity, was the parent and inventor of this memorable scheme. In youth he had been an adventurer in the West Indies, and, it was said, a *buccaneer*, that is, one of a species of adventurers, nearly allied to pirates, who, consisting of different nations, and divided into various bands, made war on the Spanish commerce and settlements in the South Seas, and among the West Indian Islands. In this roving course of life, Paterson had made himself intimately acquainted with the geography of South America, the produce of the country, the nature of its commerce, and the manner in which the Spaniards governed that extensive region.*

On his return to Europe, however, the schemes which

* According to Sir John Dalrymple, Paterson was educated for the Church, and first went abroad in the character of a missionary. In the course of his wanderings, however, he became acquainted with Captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards published accounts of their voyage. "But Paterson got much more knowledge," adds Sir John, "from men who could neither read nor write, by cultivating the acquaintance of some of the old buccaneers, who, after surviving their glories and their crimes, still in the extremity of age and misfortune, recounted with transport the ease with which they had passed and repassed from the one sea to the other, sometimes in hundreds together, and driving strings of mules before them loaded with the plunder of friends and foes." — *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 90.

he had formed respecting the New World were laid aside for another project, fraught with the most mighty and important consequences. This was the plan of that great national establishment the Bank of England, of which he had the honor to suggest the first idea. For a time he was admitted a director of that institution; but it befell Paterson as often happens to the first projectors of great schemes. Other persons, possessed of wealth and influence, interposed, and, taking advantage of the ideas of the obscure and unprotected stranger, made them their own by alterations or improvements more or less trivial, and finally elbowed the inventor out of all concern in the institution, the foundation of which he had laid.

Thus expelled from the Bank of England, Paterson turned his thoughts to the plan of settling a colony in America, and in a part of that country so favored in point of situation that it seemed to him formed to be the site of the most flourishing commercial capital in the universe.

The two great continents of North and South America are joined together by an isthmus, or narrow tract of land, called Darien. This neck of land is not above a day's journey in breadth, and as it is washed by the Atlantic Ocean on the eastern side, and the great Pacific Ocean on the west, the isthmus seemed designed by nature as a common centre for the commerce of the world. Paterson ascertained, or at least alleged that he had ascertained, that the isthmus had never been the property of Spain, but was still possessed by the original natives, a tribe of fierce and warlike Indians, who made war on the Spaniards. According to the law of nations, therefore, any state had a right of forming a settlement in Darien, providing the consent of the Indians was first obtained; nor could their doing so be justly made subject of challenge

even by Spain, so extravagantly jealous of all interference with her South American provinces. This plan of a settlement, with so many advantages to recommend it, was proposed by Paterson to the merchants of Hamburg, to the Dutch, and even to the Elector of Brandenburg; but it was coldly received by all these states.

The scheme was at length offered to the merchants of London, the only traders probably in the world who, their great wealth being seconded by the protection of the British navy, had the means of realizing the splendid visions of Paterson. But when the projector was in London, endeavoring to solicit attention to his plan, he became intimate with the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun. This gentleman, one of the most accomplished men and best patriots whom Scotland has produced in any age, had, nevertheless, some notions of her interests which were more fanciful than real, and, in his anxiety to render his country service, did not sufficiently consider the adequacy of the means by which her welfare was to be obtained. He was dazzled by the vision of opulence and grandeur which Paterson unfolded, and thought of nothing less than securing, for the benefit of Scotland alone, a scheme which promised to the state which should adopt it, the keys, as it were, of the New World. The projector was easily persuaded to give his own country the benefit of his scheme of colonization, and went to Scotland along with Fletcher. Here the plan found general acceptance, and particularly with the Scottish administration, who were greatly embarrassed at the time by the warm prosecution of the affair of Glencoe, and who easily persuaded King William that some freedom and facilities of trade granted to the Scots would divert the public attention from the investigation of a matter not very creditable to his Majesty's reputation,

any more than to their own. Stair, in particular, a party deeply interested, gave the Darien scheme the full support of his eloquence and interest, in the hope to regain a part of his lost popularity.

The Scottish ministers obtained permission, accordingly, to grant such privileges of trade to their country as might not be prejudicial to that of England. In June, 1695, these influential persons obtained a statute from Parliament, and afterwards a charter from the Crown, for creating a corporate body, or stock company, by name of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, with power to plant colonies and build forts in places not possessed by other European nations, the consent always of the inhabitants of the places where they settled being obtained.

The hopes entertained of the profits to arise from this speculation were in the last degree sanguine; not even the Solemn League and Covenant was signed with more eager enthusiasm. Almost every one who had, or could command, any sum of ready money embarked it in the Indian and African Company; many subscribed their all; maidens threw in their portions, and widows whatever sums they could raise upon their dower, to be repaid an hundred-fold by the golden shower which was to descend upon the subscribers. Some sold estates to vest the money in the Company's funds, and so eager was the spirit of speculation, that, when eight hundred thousand pounds formed the whole circulating capital of Scotland, half of that sum was vested in the Darien stock.

That everything might be ready for their extensive operations, the Darien Company proceeded to build a large tenement near Bristo-port, Edinburgh, to serve as an office for transacting their business, with a large range

of buildings behind it, designed as warehouses, to be filled with the richest commodities of the eastern and western world. But, sad event of human hopes and wishes! the office is now occupied as a receptacle for paupers, and the extensive warehouses as a lunatic asylum.

But it was not the Scots alone whose hopes were excited by the rich prospects held out to them. An offer being made by the managers of the company to share the expected advantages of the scheme with English and foreign merchants, it was so eagerly grasped at that three hundred thousand pounds of stock was subscribed for in London within nine days after opening the books. The merchants of Hamburg and of Holland subscribed two hundred thousand pounds.*

Such was the hopeful state of the new company's affairs, when the English jealousy of trade interfered to crush an adventure which seemed so promising. The idea which then and long afterwards prevailed in England was, that all profit was lost to the British empire which did not arise out of commerce exclusively English. The increase of trade in Scotland or Ireland they consid-

* "In the original articles of the Company it had been agreed that Paterson should get two per cent on the stock, and three per cent on the profits; but when he saw the subscriptions so vast, he gave a discharge of both claims to the Company; and in doing so, contrived to throw a grandeur of expression and sentiment, even into a law release. 'It was not,' said he, 'suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the Company, nor a consciousness that my services would ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals, experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in me to ask a retribution for six years of my time, and £ 10,000 spent in promoting the establishment of the Company. But now that I see it standing upon the authority of Parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution, happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it.'" — DALRYMPLE, vol. ii. p. 95.

ered, not as an addition to the general prosperity of the united nations, but as a positive loss to England. The commerce of Ireland they had long laid under severe shackles, to secure their own predominance; but it was not so easy to deal with Scotland, which, totally unlike Ireland, was governed by its own independent legislature, and acknowledged no subordination or fealty to England, being in all respects a separate and independent country, though governed by the same king.

This new species of rivalry on the part of an old enemy was both irritating and alarming. The English had hitherto thought of the Scots as a poor and fierce nation, who, in spite of fewer numbers and far inferior resources, was always ready to engage in war with her powerful neighbor; and now that these wars were over, it was embarrassing and provoking to find the same nation display, in spite of its proverbial caution, a hardy and ambitious spirit of emulating them in the paths of commerce.

These narrow-minded, unjust, and ungenerous apprehensions prevailed so widely throughout the English nation, that both Houses of Parliament joined in an address to the King, stating that the advantages given to the newly-erected Scottish Indian and African Company would insure that kingdom so great a superiority over the English East India Company, that a great part of the stock and shipping of England would be transported to the north, and Scotland would become a free port for all East Indian commodities, which they would be able to furnish at a much cheaper rate than the English. By this means, it was said, England would lose all the advantages of an exclusive trade in the Eastern commodities, which had always been a great article in her foreign commerce, and sustain infinite detriment in the sale of

her domestic manufactures. The King, in his gracious reply to this address, acknowledged the justice of its statements, though as void of just policy as of grounds in public law. His royal answer bore, that "the King had been ill served in Scotland, but hoped some remedies might still be found to prevent the evils apprehended." To show that his resentment was serious against his Scottish ministers, King William, as we have already mentioned, deprived the Master of Stair of his office as Secretary of State. Thus a statesman who had retained his place in spite of the bloody deed of Glencoe was disgraced for attempting to serve his country, in the most innocent and laudable manner, by extending her trade and national importance.

The English Parliament persisted in the attempt to find remedies for the evils which they were pleased to apprehend from the Darien scheme, by appointing a committee of inquiry, with directions to summon before them such persons as had, by subscribing to the Company, given encouragement to the progress of an undertaking so fraught, as they alleged, with danger to the trade of England. These persons, being called before Parliament, and menaced with impeachment, were compelled to renounce their connection with the undertaking, which was thus deprived of the aid of English subscriptions, to the amount, as already mentioned, of three hundred thousand pounds. Nay, so eager did the English Parliament show themselves in this matter, that they even extended their menace of impeachment to some native-born Scotsmen, who had offended the House by subscribing their own money to a company formed in their own country, and according to their own laws.

That this mode of destroying the funds of the concern

might be yet more effectual, the weight of the King's influence with foreign states was employed to diminish the credit of the undertaking, and to intercept the subscriptions which had been obtained for the Company abroad. For this purpose, the English envoy at Hamburgh was directed to transmit to the Senate of that commercial city a remonstrance on the part of King William, accusing them of having encouraged the commissioners of the Darien Company ; requesting them to desist from doing so ; intimating that the plan, said to be fraught with many evils, had not the support of his Majesty ; and protesting that the refusal of the Senate to withdraw their countenance from the scheme, would threaten an interruption to the friendship which his Majesty desired to cultivate with the good city of Hamburgh. The Senate returned to this application a spirited answer. "The city of Hamburgh," they said, "considered it as strange that the King of England should dictate to them, a free people, with whom they were to engage in commercial arrangements ; and were yet more astonished to find themselves blamed for having entered into such engagements with a body of his own Scottish subjects, incorporated under a special act of Parliament." But as the menace of the envoy showed that the Darien Company must be thwarted in all its proceedings by the superior power of England, the prudent Hamburghers, ceasing to consider it as a hopeful speculation, finally withdrew their subscriptions. The Dutch, to whom William could more decidedly dictate, from his authority of Stadtholder, and who were jealous, besides, of the interference of the Scots with their own East Indian trade, adopted a similar course, without remonstrance. Thus, the projected Company, deserted both by foreign and English associates, were crippled

in their undertaking, and left to their own limited resources.

The managers of the scheme, supported by the general sense of the people of Scotland, made warm remonstrances to King William on the hostile interference of his Hamburg envoy, and demanded redress for so gross a wrong. In William's answer, he was forced meanly to evade what he was resolved not to grant, and yet could not in equity refuse. "The King," it was promised, "would send instructions to his envoy not to make use of his Majesty's name or authority for obstructing their engagements with the city of Hamburg." The Hamburgers, on the other hand, declared themselves ready to make good their subscriptions, if they should receive any distinct assurance from the King of England that in so doing they would be safe from his threatened resentment. But, in spite of repeated promises, the envoy received no power to make such declaration. Thus the Darien Company lost the advantage of support, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds, subscribed in Hamburg and Holland, and that by the personal and hostile interference of their own monarch, under whose charter they were embodied.

Scotland, left to her unassisted resources, would have acted with less spirit but more wisdom in renouncing her ambitious plan of colonization, sure as it now was to be thwarted by the hostile interference of her unfriendly but powerful neighbor and rival. But those engaged in the scheme, comprising great part of the nation, could not be expected easily to renounce hopes which had been so highly excited, and enough remained of the proud and obstinate spirit with which their ancestors had maintained their independence to induce the Scots, even when thrown

back on their own limited means, to determine upon the establishment of their favorite settlement at Darien, in spite of the desertion of their English and foreign subscribers, and in defiance of the invidious opposition of their powerful neighbors. They caught the spirit of their ancestors, who, after losing so many dreadful battles, were always found ready, with sword in hand, to dispute the next campaign.

The contributors to the enterprise were encouraged in this stubborn resolution by the flattering account which was given of the country to be colonized, in which every class of Scotsmen found something to flatter their hopes, and to captivate their imaginations. The description given of Darien by Paterson was partly derived from his own knowledge, partly from the report of buccaneers and adventurers, and the whole was exaggerated by the eloquence of an able man, pleading in behalf of a favorite project.

The climate was represented as healthy and cool, the tropical heats being, it was said, mitigated by the height of the country, and by the shade of extensive forests, which yet presented neither thicket nor underwood, but would admit a horseman to gallop through them unimpeded. Those acquainted with trade were assured of the benefits of a safe and beautiful harbor, where the advantage of free commerce and universal toleration, would attract traders from all the world; while the produce of China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and Eastern India, brought to the Bay of Panama in the Pacific Ocean, might be transferred by a safe and easy route across the isthmus to the new settlement, and exchanged for all the commodities of Europe. "Trade," said the commercial enthusiast, "will beget trade, — money will beget money,

— the commercial world will no longer want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. This door of the seas, and key of the universe, will enable its possessors to become the legislators of both worlds, and the arbitrators of commerce. The settlers at Darien will acquire a nobler empire than Alexander or Cæsar, without fatigue, expense, or danger, as well as without incurring the guilt and bloodshed of conquerors." To those more vulgar minds who cannot separate the idea of wealth from the precious metals, the projector held out the prospect of golden mines. The hardy Highlanders, many of whom embarked in the undertaking, were to exchange their barren moors for extensive savannas of the richest pasture, with some latent hopes of a creagh (or foray) upon Spaniards or Indians. The Lowland laird was to barter his meagre heritage, and oppressive feudal tenure, for the free possession of unlimited tracts of ground, where the rich soil, three or four feet deep, would return the richest produce for the slightest cultivation. Allured by these hopes, many proprietors actually abandoned their inheritances, and many more sent their sons and near relations to realize their golden hopes, while the poor laborers, who desired no more than bread and freedom of conscience, shouldered their mattocks, and followed their masters in the path of emigration.*

Twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were

* "The whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith to see the colony depart, amidst the tears and prayers, and praises of relations and friends, and of their countrymen. Many seamen and soldiers, whose services had been refused because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions." — DALRYMPLE, vol. ii. p. 97.

youths of the best Scottish families, embarked on board of five frigates, purchased at Hamburgh for the service of the expedition ; for the King refused the Company even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war, which lay idle at Burntisland. They sailed from Leith Roads [26th July, 1698], reached their destination in safety, and disembarked at a place called Acta, where, by cutting through a peninsula, they obtained a safe and insulated situation for a town, called New Edinburgh, and a fort named Saint Andrew. With the same fond remembrance of their native land, the colony itself was called Caledonia. They were favorably received by the native princes, from whom they purchased the land they required. The harbor, which was excellent, was proclaimed a free port ; and in the outset the happiest results were expected from the settlement.*

The arrival of the colonists took place in winter, when the air was cool and temperate ; but with the summer returned the heat, and with the heat came the diseases of a tropical climate. Those who had reported so favorably of the climate of Darien, had probably been persons who had only visited the coast during the healthy season, or mariners, who, being chiefly on ship-board, find many situations healthy which prove pestilential to Europeans residing on shore. The health of the settlers, accustomed to a cold and mountainous country, gave way

* "The news of their settlement in the isthmus of Darien arrived at Edinburgh on the 25th of March, 1699, and was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings. Thanks were publicly offered up to God in all the churches of the city. At a public graduation of students, at which the magistrates in their formalities attended, the Professor of Philosophy pronounced a harangue in favor of that settlement, the legality of which, against all other pretenders, was maintained in their printed theses ; and it seems even to have been a common subject of declamation from the pulpit." — ARNOT, p. 185.

fast under the constant exhalations of the sultry climate, and even a more pressing danger than disease itself arose from the scarcity of food. The provisions which the colonists had brought from Scotland were expended, and the country afforded them only such supplies as could be procured by the precarious success of fishing and the chase.

This must have been foreseen ; but it was never doubted that ample supplies would be procured from the English provinces in North America, which afforded great superabundance of provisions, and from the West India colonies, which always possessed superfluities. It was here that the enmity of the King and the English nation met the unfortunate settlers most unexpectedly and most severely. In North America, and in the West India Islands, the most savage pirates and buccaneers, men who might be termed enemies to the human race, and had done deeds which seemed to exclude them from intercourse with mankind, had nevertheless found repeated refuge, — had been permitted to refit their squadrons, and, supplied with every means of keeping the sea, had set sail in a condition to commit new murders and piracies. But no such relief was extended to the Scottish colonists at Darien, though acting under a charter from their sovereign, and establishing a peaceful colony, according to the law of nations, and for the universal benefit of mankind.

The governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New York, published proclamations, setting forth, that whereas it had been signified to them (the governors) by the English Secretary of State, that his Majesty was unacquainted with the purpose and design of the Scottish settlers at Darien (which was a positive falsehood), and that it was contrary to the peace entered into with his Majesty's allies (no

European power having complained of it), and that the governors of the said colonies had been commanded not to afford them any assistance ; therefore, they did strictly charge the colonists over whom they presided, to hold no correspondence with the said Scots, and to give them no assistance of arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other necessary whatsoever, either by themselves or any others for them ; as those transgressing the tenor of the proclamation would answer the breach of his Majesty's commands at their highest peril.

These proclamations were strictly obeyed ; and every species of relief, not only that which countrymen may claim of their fellow-subjects, and Christians of their fellow-Christians, but such as the vilest criminal has a right to demand, because still holding the same human shape with the community whose laws he has offended,— the mere supply, namely, of sustenance, the meanest boon granted to the meanest beggar,— was denied to the colonists of Darien.

Famine aided the diseases which swept them off in large numbers ; and undoubtedly they who thus perished for want of the provisions for which they were willing to pay were as much murdered by King William's government, as if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe. The various miseries of the colony became altogether intolerable, and, after waiting for assistance eight months, by far the greater part of the adventurers having died, the miserable remainder abandoned the settlement.*

* "The more generous savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow-Britons refused. Paterson, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien." — HODGE'S *Vindication of the Scots Design*, apud DALRYMPLE, vol. ii. p. 98.

Shortly after the departure of the first colony, another body, of thirteen hundred men, who had been sent out from Scotland, arrived at Darien, under the hope of finding their friends in health, and the settlement prosperous. This reinforcement suffered by a bad passage, in which one of their ships was lost, and several of their number died. They took possession of the deserted settlement with sad anticipations, and were not long in experiencing the same miseries which had destroyed and dispersed their predecessors. Two months after, they were joined by Campbell of Finab, with a third body, of three hundred men, chiefly from his own Highland estate, many of whom had served under him in Flanders, where he had acquired an honorable military reputation. It was time the colony should receive such military support, for, in addition to their other difficulties, they were now threatened by the Spaniards.

Two years had elapsed since the colonization of Darien had become matter of public discussion, and, notwithstanding their feverish jealousy of their South American settlements, the Spaniards had not made any remonstrance against it. Nay, so close and intimate was the King of Spain's friendship with King William, that it seems possible he might never have done so, unless the colonists had been disowned by their sovereign, as if they had been vagabonds and outlaws. But finding the Scottish colony so treated by their prince, the Spaniards felt themselves invited in a manner to attack it, and not only lodged a remonstrance against the settlement with the English Cabinet, but seized one of the vessels wrecked on the coast, confiscated the ship, and made the crew prisoners. The Darien Company sent an address to the King by the hands of Lord Basil Hamilton, remonstrating against this

injury ; but William, who studied every means to discountenance the unfortunate scheme, refused, under the most frivolous pretexts, to receive the petition. This became so obvious, that the young nobleman determined that the address should reach the royal hands in season or out of season, and taking a public opportunity to approach the King as he was leaving the saloon of audience, he obtruded himself and the petition upon his notice, with more bluntness than ceremony. "That young man is too bold," said William ; but, doing justice to Lord Basil's motive, he presently added, — "if a man *can* be too bold in the cause of his country."

The fate of the colony now came to a crisis. The Spaniards had brought from the Pacific a force of sixteen hundred men, who were stationed at a place called Tubucantee, waiting the arrival of an armament of eleven ships, with troops on board, destined to attack fort Saint Andrew. Captain Campbell, who, by the unanimous consent of the settlers, was chosen to the supreme military command, marched against them with two hundred men, surprised and stormed their camp, and dispersed their army, with considerable slaughter. But in returning from his successful expedition, he had the mortification to learn that the Spanish ships had arrived before the harbor, disembarked their troops, and invested the place. A desperate defence was maintained for six weeks, until loss of men, want of ammunition, and the approach of famine, compelled the colonists to an honorable surrender.* The

* "Captain Campbell stood a siege near six weeks, till almost all his officers were dead, the enemy by their approaches had cut off his wells, and his balls were so far expended, that he was obliged to melt the pewter dishes of the garrison into balls. The garrison then capitulated, and obtained not only the common honors of war, and security for the property of the Company, but, as if they had been conquerors,

survivors of this unhappy settlement were so few, and so much exhausted, that they were unable to weigh the anchor of the vessel, called the *Rising Sun*, in which they were to leave the fatal shore, without assistance from the conquering Spaniards.*

Thus ended the attempt of Darien, an enterprise splendid in itself, but injudicious, because far beyond the force of the adventurous little nation by which it was undertaken. Paterson survived the disaster, and, even when all was over, endeavored to revive the scheme, by allowing the English three fourths in a new stock company. But national animosities were too high to suffer his proposal to be listened to. He died, at an advanced age, poor and neglected.†

exactd hostages for performance of the conditions. Captain Campbell alone desired to be exempted from the capitulation, saying he was sure the Spaniards could not forgive him the mischief he had so lately done them. The brave by their courage often escape that death which they seem to provoke; Captain Campbell made his escape in his vessel, and, stopping nowhere, arrived safely at New York, and from thence to Scotland, where the Company presented him with a gold medal, in which his virtue was commemorated. — There is an engraving of the medal in Nisbet's *Heraldry*. — DALRYMPLE, vol. ii. p. 103.

* "The generous Spaniards assisted them. In going out of the harbor the vessel ran aground: the prey was tempting; and, to obtain it, the Spaniards had only to stand by and look on. But they showed that mercy to the Scots in distress which General Elliot returned to their posterity at Gibraltar. The Darien ships, being leaky and weakly manned, were obliged in their voyage to take shelter in different ports belonging to Spain and England. The Spaniards in the New World showed them kindness; the English government showed them none; and in one place one of their ships was seized and detained, — one was lost on the bar of Charlestown, — only Captain Campbell and another one were saved. Of the colony not more than thirty, saved from war, shipwreck, or disease, ever saw their own country again." — DALRYMPLE, vol. ii. p. 103.

† Of William Paterson's life, very little is known beyond what has

The failure of this favorable project, deep sorrow for the numbers who had fallen, many of whom were men of birth and blood, the regret for pecuniary losses, which threatened national bankruptcy, and indignation at the manner in which their charter had been disregarded, all at once agitated from one end to the other a kingdom which is to a proverb proud, poor, and warm in their domestic attachments. Nothing could be heard throughout Scotland but the language of grief and of resentment. Indemnification, redress, revenge, were demanded by every mouth, and each hand seemed ready to vouch for the justice of the claim. For many years, no such universal feeling had occupied the Scottish nation.*

King William remained indifferent to all complaints of hardship and petitions of redress, unless when he showed himself irritated by the importunity of the supplicants,

been embraced in Sir Walter Scott's narrative. The Statistical Account of Scotland records his having been born at a farm called Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfries-shire, about the year 1660, and his having represented Dumfries, &c., more than once in the Scottish Parliament. (Vol. i. p. 165.) He projected the Bank of Scotland, as established in 1695. Sir John Dalrymple says, "He was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drank wine, and who was by nature void of passion."

* "Upon news being received (at Edinburgh, 1700,) of the defeat of the Spaniards, a mob arose, obliged the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, committed outrages upon the houses of those who did not honor them by compliance, secured the avenues to the city, and proceeded to the tolbooth, the doors of which they burnt, and set at liberty two printers, who had been confined for printing pamphlets reflecting on the Government. But when it was understood that they (the Darien colony) were driven from their settlement, their capital lost, and their hopes utterly extinguished, they were seized with a transport of fury. Violent addresses were presented to the King; and the mob were so outrageous that the Commissioner and officers of state found it prudent to retire for a few days, lest they should have fallen sacrifices to popular fury." — ARNOT, p. 185.

and hurt at being obliged to evade what it was impossible for him, with the least semblance of justice, to refuse. The motives of a prince, naturally just and equitable, and who, himself the President of a great trading nation, knew well the injustice which he was committing, seem to have been, first, a reluctance to disoblige the King of Spain, but secondly, and in a much greater degree, what William might esteem the political necessity of sacrificing the interests of Scotland to the jealousy of England, a jealousy equally unworthy and impolitic. But what is unjust can never be in a true sense necessary, and the sacrifice of principle to circumstances will, in every sense, and in all cases, be found as unwise as it is unworthy.

It is, however, only justice to William to state, that, though in the Darien affair he refused the Scots the justice which was unquestionably their due, he was nevertheless the only person in either kingdom who proposed, and was anxious to have carried into execution, a union between the kingdoms, as the only effectual means of preventing in future such subjects of jealousy and contention. But the prejudices of England as well as Scotland, rendered more inveterate by this unhappy quarrel, disappointed the King's wise and sagacious overture.

Notwithstanding the interest in her welfare which King William evinced, by desiring the accomplishment of an union, the people of Scotland could not forget the wrongs which they had received concerning the Darien project; and their sullen resentment showed itself in every manner, excepting open rebellion, during the remainder of his reign.

In this humor Scotland became a useless possession to the King. William could not wring from that kingdom one penny for the public service, or, what he would

have valued more, one recruit to carry on his continental campaigns. These hostile feelings subsisted to a late period.

William died in 1701, having for six years and upwards survived his beloved consort Queen Mary. This great king's memory was, and is, justly honored in England, as their deliverer from slavery, civil and religious, and is almost canonized by the Protestants of Ireland, whom he rescued from subjugation, and elevated to supremacy. But in Scotland, his services to church and state, though at least equal to those which he rendered to the sister countries, were in a considerable degree obliterated by the infringement of her national rights, on several occasions. Many persons, as well as your grandfather, may recollect, that on the 5th of November, 1788, when a full century had elapsed after the Revolution, some friends to constitutional liberty proposed that the return of the day should be solemnized by an agreement to erect a monument to the memory of King William, and the services which he had rendered to the British kingdoms. At this period an anonymous letter appeared in one of the Edinburgh newspapers, ironically applauding the undertaking, and proposing as two subjects of the entablature for the base of the projected column, the massacre of Glencoe, and the distresses of the Scottish colonists at Darien. The proposal was abandoned as soon as this insinuation was made public.* You may observe from this how cautious a monarch should be of committing wrong or injustice, however strongly recommended by what may seem political necessity; since the recollection of such actions cancels the sense of the most important national services, as in Scrip-

* See a copy of this *jeu d'esprit* in the Scots Magazine of November, 1788.

ture it is said, "that a dead fly will pollute a rich and costly unguent."

James II. died only four months before his son-in-law, William. The King of France proclaimed James's son, that unfortunate Prince of Wales, born in the very storm of the Revolution, as William's successor in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; a step which greatly irritated the three nations, to whom Louis seemed by this act disposed to nominate a sovereign. Anne, the sister of the late Queen Mary, ascended the throne of these kingdoms, according to the provision made at the Revolution by the legislature of both nations.

CHAPTER LX.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE—STATE OF PARTIES IN SCOTLAND—
ENGLISH ACT OF SUCCESSION—OPPOSITION TO IT IN SCOTLAND,
AND ACT OF SECURITY—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN
GREEN—THE UNION.

[1701—1707.]

AT the period of Queen Anne's accession Scotland was divided into three parties. These were, first, the Whigs, stanch favorers of the Revolution, in the former reign called Williamites; secondly, the Tories, or Jacobites, attached to the late king; and thirdly, a party sprung up in consequence of the general complaints arising out of the Darien adventure, who associated themselves for asserting the rights and independence of Scotland.

This latter association comprehended several men of talent, among whom Fletcher of Saltoun, already mentioned, was the most distinguished. They professed, that providing the claims and rights of the country were ascertained and secured against the encroaching influence of England, they did not care whether Anne or her brother, the titular Prince of Wales was called to the throne. These statesmen called themselves the Country Party, as embracing exclusively for their object the interests of Scotland alone. This party, formed upon a plan and principle of political conduct hitherto unknown in the Scot-

tish Parliament, was numerous, bold, active, and eloquent; and as a critical period had arrived in which the measures to be taken in Scotland must necessarily greatly affect the united empire, her claims could no longer be treated with indifference or neglect, and the voice of her patriots disregarded.

The conjuncture which gave Scotland new consequence, was as follows: When Queen Anne was named to succeed to the English throne, on the death of her sister Mary, and brother-in-law William III., she had a family. But the young Duke of Gloucester, the last of her children, had died before her accession to the crown, and there were no hopes of her having more; it became, therefore, necessary to make provision for the succession to the crown when the new queen should die. The titular Prince of Wales, son of the abdicated James, was undoubtedly the next heir; but he was a Catholic, bred up in the court of France, inheriting all the extravagant claims, and probably the arbitrary sentiments, of his father; and to call him to the throne would be, in all likelihood, to undo the settlement between king and people which had taken place at the Revolution. The English legislature, therefore, turned their eyes to another descendant of King James VI., namely, Sophia, the Electress Dowager of Hanover, granddaughter of James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, by the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, with the Prince Palatine. This princess was the nearest Protestant heir in blood to Queen Anne, supposing the claims of the son of James II. were to be passed over. She was a Protestant, and would necessarily, by accepting the crown, become bound to maintain the civil and religious rights of the nation, as settled at the Revolution, upon which her own right would

be dependent. For these weighty reasons the English Parliament passed an Act of Succession, settling the crown, on the failure of Queen Anne and her issue, upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and her descendants. This act, most important in its purport and consequences, was passed in June, 1700.

It became of the very last importance to Queen Anne's administration to induce, if possible, the legislation of Scotland to settle the crown of that kingdom on the same series of heirs to which that of England was destined. If, after the death of Queen Anne, the Scottish nation, instead of uniting in choosing the Electress Sophia, should call to the crown the titular Prince of Wales, the two kingdoms would again be separated, after having been under the same sway for a century, and all the evils of mutual hostilities betwixt the two extremities of the island, encouraged by the alliance and assistance of France, must again distract Great Britain. It became necessary, therefore, to try every species of persuasion to prevent a consequence fraught with so much mischief.

But Scotland was not in a humor to be either threatened or soothed into the views of England on this important occasion. The whole party of Anti-Revolutionists, Jacobites, or, as they called themselves, Cavaliers, although they thought it prudent for the present to submit to Queen Anne, entertained strong hopes that she herself was favorable to the succession of her brother after her own death; while their principles dictated to them that the wrong, as they termed it, done to James II., ought as speedily as possible to be atoned for by the restoration of his son. They were of course directly and violently hostile to the proposed Act of Settlement in favor of the Electress Sophia.

The country party, headed by the Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Tweeddale, opposed the Act of Succession for different reasons. They resolved to take this favorable opportunity to diminish or destroy the ascendancy which had been exercised by England respecting the affairs of Scotland, and which, in the case of Darien, had been so unjustly and unworthily employed to thwart and disappoint a national scheme. They determined to obtain for Scotland a share in the plantation trade of England, and a freedom from the restrictions imposed by the English Navigation Act, and other regulations enacted to secure a monopoly of trade to the English nation. Until these points were determined in favor of Scotland, they resolved they would not agree to pass the Act of Succession, boldly alleging, that unless the rights and privileges of Scotland were to be respected, it was of little consequence whether she chose a king from Hanover or Saint Germain.

The whole people of Scotland, excepting those actually engaged in the administration, or expecting favors from the court, resolutely adopted the same sentiments, and seemed resolved to abide all the consequences of a separation of the two kingdoms, nay, of a war with England, rather than name the Electress Sophia successor to the crown, till the country was admitted to an equitable portion of those commercial privileges which England retained with a tenacious grasp. The crisis seemed an opportunity of Heaven's sending, to give Scotland consequence enough to insist on her rights.

With this determined purpose, the country party in the Scottish Parliament, instead of adopting, as the English ministers eagerly desired, the Protestant Act of Succession, proposed a measure called an Act of Security. By

this it was provided, that in case of Queen Anne's death without children, the whole power of the crown should, for the time, be lodged in the Scottish Parliament, who were directed to choose a successor of the royal line and Protestant religion. But the choice was to be made with this special reservation, that the person so chosen should take the throne only under such conditions of government as should secure, from English or foreign influence, the honor and independence of the Scottish crown and nation. It was further stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of holding the crowns of both kingdoms, unless the Scottish people were admitted to share with the English the full benefits of trade and navigation. That the nation might assume an appearance of strength necessary to support such lofty pretensions, it was provided by the same statute, that the whole men in Scotland capable of bearing arms should be trained to the use of them by monthly drills; and, that the influence of England might expire at the same time with the life of the Queen, it was provided that all commissions of the officers of state, as well as those of the military employed by them, should cease and lose effect so soon as Anne's death took place.

This formidable act, which in fact hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the far stronger kingdom of England, was debated in the Scottish Parliament, clause by clause, and article by article, with the utmost fierceness and tumult. "We were often," says an eyewitness, "in the form of a Polish Diet, with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands on our swords."

The Act of Security was carried in Parliament by a decided majority, but the Queen's commissioner refused the royal assent to so violent a statute. The Parliament,

on their part, would grant no supplies, and when such were requested by the members of administration, the hall rung with the shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!" The Parliament was adjourned amidst the mutual discontent of both Ministers and Opposition.

The dispute betwixt the two nations was embroiled during the recess of Parliament by intrigues. Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, had undertaken to be the agent of France in a Jacobite conspiracy, which he afterwards discovered to Government, involving in his accusation the Duke of Hamilton, and other noblemen. The persons accused defended themselves by alleging that the plot was a mere pretext, devised by the Duke of Queensberry, to whom it had been discovered by Fraser. The English House of Peers, in allusion to this genuine or pretended discovery, passed a vote, that a dangerous plot had existed in Scotland, and that it had its origin in the desire to overthrow the Protestant succession in that nation. This resolution was highly resented by the Scots, being considered as an unauthorized interference, on the part of the English peers, with the concerns of another kingdom. Everything seemed tending to a positive rupture between the sister kingdoms; and yet, my dear child, it was from this state of things that the healing measure of an incorporating Union finally took its rise.

In the very difficult and critical conduct which the Queen had to observe betwixt two high-spirited nations, whose true interest it was to enter into the strictest friendship and alliance, but whose irritated passions for the present breathed nothing but animosity, Anne had the good fortune to be assisted by the wise counsels of Godolphin, one of the most sagacious and profound ministers who

ever advised a crowned head. By his recommendation, the Queen proceeded upon a plan, which, while at first sight it seemed to widen the breach between the two nations, was in the end to prove the means of compelling both to lay aside their mutual prejudices and animosities. The scheme of a Union was to be proceeded upon like that of breaking two spirited horses to join in drawing the same yoke, when it is of importance to teach them that by moving in unison and at an equal pace, the task will be easy to them both. Godolphin's first advice to the Queen was, to suffer the Scottish Act of Security to pass. The English, in their superior wealth and importance, had for many years looked with great contempt on the Scottish nation, as compared with themselves, and were prejudiced against the Union, as a man of wealth and importance might be against a match with a female in an inferior rank of society. It was necessary to change this feeling, and to show plainly to the English people, that, if the Scots were not allied with them in intimate friendship, they might prove dangerous enemies.

The Act of Security finally passed in 1704, having, according to Godolphin's advice, received the Queen's assent; and the Scottish Parliament, as the provisions of the statute bore, immediately began to train their countrymen, who have always been attached to the use of arms, and easily submit to military discipline.

The effect of these formidable preparations was to arouse the English from their indifference to Scottish affairs. Scotland might be poor, but her numerous levies under sanction of the Act of Security, were not the less formidable. A sudden inroad on Newcastle, as in the great Civil War, would distress London, by interrupting the coal trade; and whatever might be the event, the

prospect of a civil war, as it might be termed, after so long a tract of peace, was doubtful and dangerous.

The English Parliament, therefore, showed a mixture of resentment, tempered with a desire of conciliation. They enacted regulations against the Scottish trade, and ordered the Border towns of Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, to be fortified and garrisoned; but they declined, at the same time, the proposed measure of inquiring concerning the person who advised the Queen to consent to the Act of Security. In abstaining from this, they paid respect to Scottish independence, and, at the same time, by empowering the Queen to nominate Commissioners for a Union, they seemed to hold out the olive branch to the sister kingdom.

While this lowering hurricane appeared to be gathering darker and darker betwixt the two nations, an incident took place which greatly inflamed their mutual resentment.

A Scottish ship,* equipped for a voyage to India, had been seized and detained in the Thames, at the instance of the English East India Company. The Scots were not in a humor to endure this; and, by way of reprisal, they took possession of a large English vessel trading to India, called the Worcester, which had been forced into the Frith of Forth by unfavorable weather. There was something suspicious about this vessel. Her men were numerous, and had the air of pirates. She was better provided with guns and ammunition, than is usual for vessels fitted out merely for objects of trade. A cipher was found among her papers, for corresponding with the owners, as if upon secret and dangerous business. All these mysterious circumstances seemed to intimate, that

* The Annandale, belonging to the African Company.

the Worcester, as was not uncommon, under the semblance of a trader, had been equipped for the purpose of exercising, when in remote Indian latitudes, the profession of a buccaneer or pirate.

One of the seamen belonging to this ship, named Haines, having been ashore with some company, and drinking rather freely, fell into a fit of melancholy, an effect which liquor produces on some constitutions, and, in that humor, told those who were present, that, it is a wonder his captain and crew were not lost at sea, considering the wickedness which had been done aboard that ship which was lying in the roadstead. Upon these and similar hints * of something doubtful or illegal, the Scottish authorities imprisoned the officers and sailors of the Worcester, and examined them rigorously, in order to discover what the expressions of their shipmate referred to.

Among other persons interrogated, a black slave of the captain (surely a most suspicious witness) told a story, that the Worcester, during their late voyage, had, upon the Coromandel coast, near Calicut, engaged, and finally boarded and captured a vessel, bearing a red flag, and manned with English or Scotch, or at least with people speaking the English language; that they had thrown the crew overboard, and disposed of the vessel and the cargo to a native merchant. This account was, in some

* "And further," says the indictment, "the said Haines said that if what John Madder had done in the said voyage were well known, he deserved as much as his uncle met with at Amsterdam, who was there burnt in oil for attempting to burn their ships. And when at another time the said Anna Seaton told Haines that she had an old sweetheart who went away with Captain Drummond, and would gladly hear some tidings whether he was dead or alive, the said Haines, who was then a suitor to Anna Seaton, assured her she would never see him again if he was in Drummond's ship," &c. — *Trial of Captain Thomas Green*, &c. Edin. fol. 1705, p. 5.

degree, countenanced by the surgeon of the Worcester, who, in confirmation of the slave's story, said, that being on shore in a harbor on the coast of Malabar, he heard the discharge of great guns at sea ; and saw the Worcester, which had been out on a cruise, come in next morning with another vessel under her stern, which he understood was afterwards sold to a native merchant. Four days afterwards he went on board the Worcester, and, finding her decks lumbered with goods, made some inquiry of the crew how they had come by them, but was checked for doing so by the mate, and desired to confine himself to his own business. Further, the surgeon stated, that he was called to dress the wounds of several of the men, but the captain and mate forbade him to ask, or the patients to answer, how they came by their hurts.

Another black servant, or slave, besides the one before mentioned, had not himself seen the capture of the supposed ship, or the death of the crew, but had been told of it, by the first informer, shortly after it happened. Lastly, a Scottish witness declared that Green, the captain of the vessel had shown him a seal, bearing the arms of the Scottish African and Indian Company.

This story was greatly too vague to have been admitted to credit, on any occasion when men's minds were cool, and their judgments unprejudiced. But the Scottish nation was almost frantic with resentment on the subject of Darien. One of the vessels belonging to that unfortunate company, called the Rising Sun, and commanded by Captain Robert Drummond, had been amissing for some time ; and it was received as indisputable truth, that this must have been the vessel taken by the Worcester, and that her master and men had been murdered, according to the black slave's declaration.

Under this cloud of prejudice, Green, with his mate and crew, fifteen men in all, were brought to trial for their lives. Three of these unfortunate men, Linstead, the supercargo's mate, Bruckley, the cooper of the Worcester, and Haines, whose gloomy hints gave the first suspicion, are said to have uttered declarations before trial, confirming the truth of the charge, and admitting that the vessel so seized upon was the Rising Sun, and that Captain Robert Drummond and his crew were the persons murdered in the course of that act of piracy. But Haines seems to have labored under attacks of hypochondria, which sometimes induce men to suppose themselves spectators and accomplices in crimes which have no real existence. Linstead, like the surgeon May, only spoke to a hearsay story, and that of Bruckley was far from being clear. It will hereafter be shown, that if any ship was actually taken by Green and his crew, it could not be that of Captain Drummond, which met a different fate. This makes it probable that these confessions were made by the prisoners only in the hopes of saving their own lives, endangered by the fury of the Scottish people. And it is certain that none of these declarations were read, or produced as evidence in court, nor were those stated to have made them examined as witnesses.

The trial of Green and his crew took place before the High Court of Admiralty; and a jury, upon the sole evidence of the black slave, — for the rest was made up of suggestions, insinuations, and reports taken from hearsay, — brought in a verdict of guilty against Green and all his crew. The Government were disposed to have obtained a reprieve from the Crown for the prisoners, whose guilt was so very doubtful; but the mob of Edinburgh, at all times a fierce and intractable multitude, arose in

great numbers, and demanded their lives with such an appearance of uncontrollable fury that the authorities became intimidated, and yielded. Captain Green himself, Madder his first mate, and Simpson the gunner, were dragged to Leith, loaded by the way with curses and execrations, and even struck at and pelted by the furious populace; and finally executed in terms of their sentence, denying, with their last breath, the crime which they were accused of.

The ferment in Scotland was somewhat appeased by this act of vengeance, for it has no title to be called a deed of justice. The remainder of Green's crew were dismissed, after a long imprisonment, during the course of which, cooler reflection induced doubts of the validity of the sentence. At a much later period, it appeared that if the Worcester had committed an act of piracy upon any vessel, it could not at least have been on the *Rising Sun*, which ship had been cast away on the island of Madagascar, when the crew were cut off by the natives, excepting Captain Drummond himself, whom Drury, an English seaman in similar circumstances, found alive upon the island.*

This unhappy affair, in which the Scots, by their precipitate and unjust procedure, gave the deepest offence to the English nation, tended greatly to increase the mutual prejudices and animosity of the people of both countries against each other.† But the very extremity of their

* This however, supposes Drury's *Adventures in Madagascar* to be a genuine production, of which there may be doubts. "The *Adventures of Robert Drury during fifteen years' captivity in the Island of Madagascar*, containing a description of that Island, an account of the manners, customs, wars, religion, and policy of its inhabitants, with a vocabulary of the Madagascar language. Written by himself." London, 1729. Reprinted at Edinburgh, 1808.

† "In Scotland, it was said the court of England would protect

mutual enmity, inclined wise men of both nations to be more disposed to submit to a union, with all the inconveniences and difficulties which must attend the progress of such a measure, rather than that the two divisions of the same island should again engage in intestine war.

The principal obstacle to a Union, so far as England was concerned, lay in a narrow-minded view of the commercial interests of the nation, and a fear of the loss which might accrue by admitting the Scots to a share of their plantation trade, and other privileges. But it was not difficult to show, even to the persons most interested, that public credit and private property would suffer immeasurably more by a war with Scotland, than by sacrificing to peace and unity some share in the general commerce. It is true, the opulence of England, the command of men, the many victorious troops which she then had in the field, under the best commanders in Europe, seemed to insure final victory, if the two nations should come to open war. But a war with Scotland was always more easily begun than ended; and wise men saw it would be better to secure the friendship of that kingdom, by an agreement on the basis of mutual advantage, than to incur the risk of invading, and the final necessity of securing it as a conquered country, by means of forts and garrisons. In the one case, Scotland would become an

Green and his crew, and they would be pardoned, only because they were Scotsmen that were murdered. In England, it was said the rabble cried out to hang them, because they were Englishmen; that they had said, they wished they could hang the whole nation so, and that they insulted them as they went to execution, with the name of English dogs," &c. "Nor can I forget to note, that no sooner was the sacrifice made, and the men dead, but even the same rabble, so fickle is the multitude, exclaimed at their own madness, and openly regretted what they had done, and were ready to tear one another to pieces for the excess."—DEFOE, *Hist. of the Union*, 4to, p 82.

integral part of the empire, and, improving in the arts of peaceful industry, must necessarily contribute to the prosperity of England. In the case supposed, she must long remain a discontented and disaffected province, in which the exiled family of James II., and his allies the French, would always find friends and correspondents. English statesmen were therefore desirous of a union. But they stipulated that it should be of the most intimate kind; such as should free England from the great inconvenience arising from the Scottish nation possessing a separate legislature and constitution of her own: and in order to blend her interests indelibly with those of England, they demanded that the supreme power of the state should be reposed in a Parliament of the united countries, to which Scotland might send a certain proportion of members, but which should meet in the English capital, and be, of course, more immediately under the influence of English counsels and interests.

The Scottish nation, on the other hand, which had of late become very sensible of the benefits of foreign trade, were extremely desirous of a federative union, which should admit them to the commercial advantages which they coveted. But, while they grasped at a share in the English trade, they desired that Scotland should retain her rights as a separate kingdom, making, as heretofore, her own laws, and adopting her own public measures, uncontrolled by the domination of England. Here, therefore, occurred a preliminary point of dispute, which was necessarily to be settled previous to the further progress of the treaty.

In order to adjust the character of the proposed Union-treaty in this and other particulars, commissioners for both kingdoms were appointed to make a preliminary inquiry,

and report upon the articles which ought to be adopted as the foundation of the measure, and which report was afterwards to be subjected to the Legislatures of both kingdoms.

The English and Scottish Commissioners being both chosen by the Queen, that is, by Godolphin and the Queen's ministers, were indeed taken from different parties, but carefully selected, so as to preserve a majority of those who could be reckoned upon as friendly to the treaty, and who would be sure to do their utmost to remove such obstacles as might arise in the discussion.

I will briefly tell you the result of these numerous and anxious debates. The Scottish commissioners, after a vain struggle, were compelled to submit to an incorporating Union, as that which alone would insure the purposes of combining England and Scotland into one single nation, to be governed in its political measures by the same Parliament. It was agreed, that in contributing to the support of the general expenses of the kingdom, Scotland should pay a certain proportion of taxes, which were adjusted by calculation. But in consideration that the Scots, whose revenue, though small, was unencumbered, must thereafter become liable for a share of the debt which England had incurred since the Revolution, a large sum of ready money was to be advanced to Scotland as an equivalent for that burden; which sum, however, was to be repaid to England gradually from the Scottish revenue. So far all went on pretty well between the two sets of commissioners. The English statesmen also consented, with no great scruple, that Scotland should retain her own national Presbyterian Church, her own system of civil and municipal laws, which is in many important respects totally different from that of England, and her own courts for the administration

of justice. The only addition to her judicial establishment was the erection of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to decide in fiscal matters, and which follows the English forms.

But the treaty was nearly broken off when the English announced, that, in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, Scotland should only enjoy a representation equal to one thirteenth of the whole number. The proposal was received by the Scottish commissioners with a burst of surprise and indignation. It was loudly urged that a kingdom resigning her ancient independence, should at least obtain in the great national council a representation bearing the same proportion the population of Scotland did to that of England, which was one to six. If this rule, which seems the fairest that could be found, had been adopted, Scotland would have sent sixty-six members to the united Parliament. But the English refused peremptorily to consent to the admission of more than forty-five at the very utmost ; and the Scottish commissioners were bluntly and decisively informed that they must either acquiesce in this proposal or declare the treaty at an end. With more prudence, perhaps, than spirit, the majority of the commissioners chose to yield the point rather than run the risk of frustrating the Union entirely.

The Scottish Peerage were to preserve all the other privileges of their rank ; but their right of sitting in Parliament, and acting as hereditary legislators, was to be greatly limited. Only sixteen of their number were to enjoy seats in the British House of Lords, and these were to be chosen by election from the whole body. Such peers as were amongst the number of commissioners were induced to consent to this degradation of their order, by the assurance that they themselves should be created

British peers, so as to give them personally, by charter, the right which the sixteen could only acquire by election.

To smooth over the difficulties, and reconcile the Scottish commissioners to the conditions which appeared hard to them, and above all to afford them some compensation for the odium which they were certain to incur, they were given to understand that a considerable sum out of the equivalent money would be secured for their especial use. We might have compassionated these statesmen, many of whom were able and eminent men, had they, from the sincere conviction that Scotland was under the necessity of submitting to the Union at all events, accepted the terms which the English commissioners dictated. But when they united with the degradation of their country the prospect of obtaining personal wealth and private emoluments, we cannot acquit them of the charge of having sold their own honor and that of Scotland. This point of the treaty was kept strictly secret; nor was it fixed how the rest of the equivalent was to be disposed of. There remained a disposable fund of about three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which was to be bestowed on Scotland in indemnification for the losses of Darien, and other gratuities, upon which all those members of the Scottish Parliament who might be inclined to sell their votes, and whose interest was worth purchasing, might fix their hopes and expectations.

When the articles agreed upon by the commissioners as the basis of a Union, were made public in Scotland, it became plain that few suffrages would be obtained in favor of the measure, save by menaces or bribery, unless perhaps from a very few, who, casting their eyes far beyond the present time, considered the uniting of the island of Britain as an object which could not be purchased too

dearly. The people in general had awaited in a state of feverish anxiety the nature of the propositions on which this great national treaty was to rest; but even those who had expected the least favorable terms were not prepared for the rigor of the conditions which had been adopted, and the promulgation of the articles gave rise to the most general expressions, not only of discontent, but of rage and fury against the proposed Union.

There was indeed no party or body of men in Scotland, who saw their hopes or wishes realized in the plan adopted by the commissioners. I will show you, in a few words, their several causes of dissatisfaction.

The Jacobites saw in the proposed Union an effectual bar to the restoration of the Stewart family. If the treaty was adopted, the two kingdoms must necessarily be governed by the English act settling the succession of the crown on the Electress of Hanover. They were, therefore, resolved to oppose the Union to the utmost. The Episcopal clergy could hardly be said to have had a separate interest from the Jacobites, and, like them, dreaded the change of succession which must take place at the death of Queen Anne. The Highland chiefs also, the most zealous and formidable portion of the Jacobite interest, anticipated in the Union a decay of their own patriarchal power. They remembered the times of Cromwell, who bridled the Highlands by garrisons filled with soldiers, and foresaw that when Scotland came to be only a part of the British nation, a large standing army, at the constant command of Government, must gradually suppress the warlike independence of the clans.

The Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, both clergy and laity, were violently opposed to the Union, from the natural apprehension that so intimate an incor-

poration of two nations was likely to end in a uniformity of worship, and that the hierarchy of England would in that case be extended to the weaker and poorer country of Scotland, to the destruction of the present establishment. This fear seemed the better founded, as the Bishops, or Lords Spiritual of the English House of Lords, formed a considerable portion of what was proposed to be the Legislature of both kingdoms ; so that Scotland, in the event of the Union taking place, must, to a certain extent, fall under the dominion of prelates. These apprehensions extended to the Cameronians themselves, who, though having so many reasons to dread the restoration of the Stewarts, and to favor the Protestant succession, looked, nevertheless, on the proposed Union as almost a worse evil, and a still further departure from the engagements of the Solemn League and Covenant, which, forgotten by all other parties in the nation, was still their professed rule of action.

The nobility and barons of the kingdom were alarmed, lest they should be deprived, after the example of England, of those territorial jurisdictions and privileges which preserved their feudal influence ; while, at the same time, the transference of the seat of government to London must necessarily be accompanied with the abolition of many posts and places of honor and profit connected with the administration of Scotland as a separate kingdom, and which were naturally bestowed on her nobility and gentry. The Government, therefore, must have so much less to give away, the men of influence so much less to receive ; and those who might have expected to hold situations of power and authority in their own country while independent, were likely to lose by the Union both power and patronage.

The persons who were interested in commerce complained that Scotland was only tantalized by a treaty, which held out to the kingdom the prospect of a free trade, when at the same time it subjected them to all the English burdens and duties, raising the expenses of commerce to a height which Scotland afforded no capital to defray; so that the apprehension became general that the Scottish merchants would lose the separate trade which they now possessed, without obtaining any beneficial share in that of England.

Again, the whole body of Scottish trades-people, artisans, and the like, particularly those of the metropolis, foresaw, that in consequence of the Union, a large proportion of the nobility and gentry would be withdrawn from their native country, some to attend their duties in the British Parliament, others from the various motives of ambition, pleasure, or vanity, which induce persons of comparative wealth to frequent courts, and reside in capitals. The consequences to be apprehended were, that the Scottish metropolis would be deserted by all that were wealthy and noble, and deprived at once of the consideration and advantages of a capital; and that the country must suffer in proportion, by the larger proprietors ceasing to reside on their estates, and going to spend their rents in England.

These were evils apprehended by particular classes of men. But the loss and disgrace to be sustained by the ancient kingdom, which had so long defended her liberty and independence against England, were common to all her children; and should Scotland at this crisis voluntarily surrender her rank among nations, for no immediate advantages that could be anticipated, excepting such as might be obtained by private individuals who had votes

to sell and consciences that permitted them to traffic in such ware, each inhabitant of Scotland must have his share in the apprehended dishonor. Perhaps, too, those felt it most, who, having no estates or wealth to lose, claimed yet a share, with the greatest and the richest, in the honor of their common country.

The feelings of national pride were inflamed by those of national prejudice and resentment. The Scottish people complained, that they were not only required to surrender their public rights, but to yield them up to the very nation who had been most malevolent to them in all respects; who had been their constant enemies during a thousand years of almost continual war; and who, even since they were united under the same crown, had shown, in the massacre of Glencoe and the disasters of Darien, at what a slight price they held the lives and rights of their northern neighbors. The hostile measures adopted by the English Parliament, — their declarations against the Scottish trade, — their preparations for war on the Border, — were all circumstances which envenomed the animosity of the people of Scotland; while the general training which had taken place under the Act of Security made them confident in their own military strength, and disposed to stand their ground at all hazards.

Moved by anxiety, doubt, and apprehension, an unprecedented confluence of people, of every rank, sex, and age, thronged to Edinburgh from all corners of Scotland, to attend the meeting of the Union Parliament, which met 3d October, 1706.

The Parliament was divided, generally speaking, into three parties. The first was composed of the courtiers or followers of Government determined at all events to carry through the Union, on the terms proposed by the Com-

missioners. This party was led by the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner, a person of talents and accomplishments and great political address, who had filled the highest situations during the last reigns. He was assisted by the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State, who was suspected to be naturally much disposed to favor the exiled family of Stewart, but who, sacrificing his political principles to love of power or of emolument, was deeply concerned in the underhand and private management by which the Union was carrying through. But the most active agent in the treaty was the Viscount Stair, long left out of administration on account of his share in the scandalous massacre of Glencoe and the affair of Darien. He was raised to an earldom in 1703, and was highly trusted and employed by Lord Godolphin and the English administration. This celebrated statesman, now trusted and employed, by his address, eloquence, and talents, contributed greatly to accomplish the Union, and gained on that account, from a great majority of his displeased countrymen, the popular nickname of the Curse of Scotland.

The party opposing the Union consisted of those who were attached to the Jacobite interest, joined with the country party, who, like Fletcher of Saltoun, resisted the treaty, not on the grounds of the succession to the crown, but as destructive of the national independence of the kingdom. They were headed by the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of Scotland, an excellent speaker,* and

* "The last session of the last Parliament of Scotland commenced 8d October, 1706. The treaty of Union met with the most determined opposition from the Duke of Hamilton, who in the debate respecting the first article of that treaty, 2d November, said, 'What! shall we in half an hour yield what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are none of the descendants here of those worthy patriots who defended the liberty of their country

admirably qualified to act as the head of a party in ordinary times, but possessed of such large estates as rendered him unwilling to take any decisive steps by which his property might be endangered. To this it seems to have been owing that the more decided and effectual measures, by which alone the Union-treaty might have been defeated, though they often seemed to gain his approbation for a time, never had his hearty or effectual support in the end.

There was a third party, greatly smaller than either of the others, but which secured to themselves a degree of consequence by keeping together, and affecting to act independently of the rest, from which they were termed the *Squadrone Volante*. They were headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, and consisted of the members of an administration of which the Marquis had been the head, but which were turned out of office to make way for the Duke of Queensberry and the present ruling party. These discontented politicians were neither favorers of the Court which had dismissed them, nor of the opposition party. To speak plainly, in a case where their country demanded of them a decisive opinion, the *Squadrone* seem to have waited to see what course of conduct would best serve their own interest. We shall presently see that they were at last decided to support the treaty by a reconciliation with the court.

against all invaders, who assisted the great King Robert Bruce to restore the constitution, and avenge the falsehood of England and usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses and the Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independency of the nation, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the name, and assured of their assistance to support us?' This speech drew tears from the eyes of many of his auditors." — *Wood's Peerage*, vol. i. p. 715.

The unpopularity of the proposed measure throughout Scotland in general was soon made evident by the temper of the people of Edinburgh. The citizens of the better class exclaimed against the favorers of the Union, as willing to surrender the sovereignty of Scotland to her ancient rival, whilst the populace stated the same idea in a manner more obvious to their gross capacities, and cried out that the Scottish crown, sceptre, and sword were about to be transferred to England, as they had been in the time of the usurper, Edward Longshanks.

On the 23d October the popular fury was at its height. The people crowded together in the High Street and Parliament Square, and greeted their representatives as friends or enemies to their country, according as they opposed or favored the Union. The Commissioner was bitterly reviled and hooted at, while in the evening of the day, several hundred persons escorted the Duke of Hamilton to his lodgings, encouraging him by loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. The rabble next assailed the house of the Lord Provost, destroyed the windows, and broke open the doors, and threatened him with instant death as a favorer of the obnoxious treaty.*

* "Above three or four hundred of them being thus employed," says Lockhart of Carnwath, "did as soon as they left his Grace (of Hamilton) hasten in a body to the house of Sir Patrick Johnstone, their late darling provost, who sat as one of the representatives of Edinburgh in Parliament, and searched his house for him, but he having narrowly made his escape, prevented his being torn in a thousand pieces. From thence the mob, which was increased to a great number, went through the streets, threatening destruction to all the promoters of the Union, and continued for four or five hours in this temper; till about three next morning, a strong detachment of the footguards was sent to secure the gate called Netherbow port, and keep guard in the Parliament Close. 'T is not to be expressed how great the consternation was that seized

Other acts of riot were committed, which were not ultimately for the advantage of the Anti-Unionists, since they were assigned as reasons for introducing strong bodies of troops into the city. These mounted guard in the principal streets; and the Commissioner dared only pass to his coach through a lane of soldiers under arms, and was then driven to his lodgings in the Canongate amidst repeated volleys of stones and roars of execration. The Duke of Hamilton continued to have his escort of shouting apprentices, who attended him home every evening.

But the posting of the guards overawed opposition both within and without the Parliament; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the opposition party that it was an encroachment both on the privileges of the city of Edinburgh and of the Parliament itself, the hall of meeting continued to be surrounded by a military force.

The temper of the kingdom of Scotland at large was equally unfavorable to the treaty of Union with that of the capital. Addresses against the measure were poured into the House of Parliament from the several shires, counties, burghs, towns, and parishes. Men, otherwise the most opposed to each other, Whig and Tory, Jacobite and Williamite, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Cameronian, all agreed in expressing their detestation of the treaty, and imploring the Estates of Parliament to support and preserve entire the sovereignty and independence of the Crown and kingdom, with the rights and

the courtiers on this occasion; formerly they did not, or pretended not to believe the disposition of the people against the Union; but now they were thoroughly convinced of it, and terribly afraid of their lives; this passage making it evident that the Union was crammed down Scotland's throat." — *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's Accession to the Union*, LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. p. 168.

privileges of Parliament, valiantly maintained through so many ages, so that the succeeding generations might receive them unimpaired; in which good cause the petitioners offered to concur with life and fortune. While addresses of this description loaded the table of the Parliament, the promoters of the Union could only procure, from a few persons in the town of Ayr, a single address in favor of the measure, which was more than overbalanced by one of an opposite tendency, signed by a very large majority of the inhabitants of the same burgh.

The Unionists, secure in their triumphant majorities, treated these addresses with scorn. The Duke of Argyle said, they were only fit to be made kites of, while the Earl of Marchmont proposed to reject them as seditious, and, as he alleged, got up collusively, and expressing the sense of a party rather than of the nation. To this it was boldly answered by Sir James Foulis, of Colington, that, if the authenticity of the addresses were challenged, he had no doubt that the parties subscribing would attend the right honorable House in person, and enforce their petitions by their presence. This was an alarming suggestion, and ended the debate.

Amongst these addresses against the Union, there was one from the Commission of the General Assembly, which was supposed to speak the sentiments of most of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, who saw great danger to the Presbyterian Church from the measure under deliberation. But much of the heat of the clergy's opposition was taken off by the Parliament's passing an act for the Security of the Church of Scotland as by law established at the Revolution, and making this declaration an integral part of the treaty of Union. This caution-

ary measure seems to have been deemed sufficient; and although some Presbyteries sent addresses against the Union, and many ministers continued to preach violently on the subject, yet the great body of the clergy ceased to vex themselves and others with the alarming tendency of the measure, so far as religion and church discipline were concerned.

The Cameronians, however, remained unsatisfied, and not having forgotten the weight which their arms had produced at the time of the Revolution, they conceived that a similar crisis of public affairs had again arrived, and required their active interference. Being actually embodied and possessed of arms, they wanted nothing save hardy and daring leaders to have engaged them in actual hostilities. They were indeed so earnest in opposing the Union, that several hundreds of them appeared in formal array, marched into Dumfries, and drawing up in military order around the cross of the town, solemnly burnt the articles of Union, and published a testimony, declaring that the commissioners who adjusted them must have been either silly, ignorant, or treacherous, if not all three, and protesting, that if an attempt should be made to impose the treaty on the nation by force, the subscribers were determined that they and their companions would not become tributaries and bond slaves to their neighbors, without acquitting themselves as became men and Christians. After publishing this threatening manifesto the assembly dispersed.

This conduct of the Cameronians led to a formidable conspiracy. One Cunningham of Eckatt, a leading man of that sect at the time of the Revolution, afterwards a settler at Darien, offered his services to the heads of the opposition party, to lead to Edinburgh such an army of

Cameronians as should disperse the Parliament, and break off the treaty of Union. He was rewarded with money and promises, and encouraged to collect the sense of the country on the subject of his proposal.

This agent found the west country ripe for revolt, and ready to join with any others who might take arms against the Government on the footing of resistance to the treaty of Union. Cunningham required that a body of the Athole Highlanders should secure the town of Stirling, in order to keep the communication open between the Jacobite chiefs and the army of western insurgents, whom he himself was in the first instance to command. And had this design taken effect, the party which had suffered so much during the late reigns of the Stewarts, and the mountaineers who had been found such ready agents in oppressing them, would have been seen united in a common cause, so strongly did the universal hatred to the Union overpower all other party feelings at this time.

A day was named for the proposed insurrection in the West, on which Cunningham affirmed he would be able to assemble at Hamilton, which was assigned as the place of rendezvous, seven or eight thousand men, all having guns and swords, several hundred with muskets and bayonets, and about a thousand on horseback; with which army he proposed to march instantly to Edinburgh, and disperse the Parliament. The Highlanders were to rise at the same time; and there can be little doubt that the country in general would have taken arms. Their first efforts would probably have been successful, but the final event must have been a bloody renewal of the wars between England and Scotland.

The Scottish government were aware of the danger, and

employed among the Cameronians two or three agents of their own, particularly one Ker of Kersland, who possessed some hereditary influence among them. The persons so employed did not venture to cross the humor of the people, or argue in favor of the Union; but they endeavored in various ways to turn the suspicion of the Cameronians upon the Jacobite nobility and gentry, to awaken hostile recollections of the persecutions they had undergone, in which the Highlanders had been willing actors, and to start other causes of jealousy amongst people who were more influenced by the humor of the moment, than any reasoning which could be addressed to them.

Notwithstanding the underhand practices of Kersland, and although Cunningham himself is said to have been gained over by the Government, the scheme of rising went forward, and the day of rendezvous was appointed; when the Duke of Hamilton, either reluctant to awaken the flames of civil war, or doubting the strength of Eckatt's party, and its leader's fidelity, sent messengers into the west country to countermand and postpone the intended insurrection; in which he so far succeeded, that only four hundred men appeared at the rendezvous, instead of twice as many thousands; and these, finding their purpose frustrated, dispersed peaceably.*

Another danger which threatened the Government

* Lockhart of Carnwath, a staunch Jacobite, and a strenuous opponent of the Union, says: "This I may assert, that had not the Duke of Hamilton taken this course, the Parliament had at once been sent a packing, and the projected Union demolished; in which case all those that had appeared most forward for it would have fled, having horses laid and always ready to carry them off from the danger they had occasion to dread and justly deserved." — *LOCKHART Papers*, vol. i. p. 201.

passed as easily over. An address against the Union had been proposed at Glasgow, where, as in every place of importance in Scotland, the treaty was highly unpopular. The magistrates, acting under the directions of the Lord Advocate, endeavored to obstruct the proposed petition, or at least to resist its being expressed in the name of the city. At this feverish time there was a national fast appointed to be held, and a popular preacher * made choice of a text from Ezra, ch. viii. v. 21, "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Addressing himself to the people, who were already sufficiently irritated, the preacher told them that prayers would not do, addresses would not do, — prayer was indeed a duty, but it must be seconded by exertions of a very different nature; "wherefore," he concluded, "up and be valiant for the city of our God."

The populace of the city, taking this as a direct encouragement to insurrection, assembled in a state of uproar, attacked and dispersed the guards, plundered the houses of the citizens, and seized what arms they could find; in short, took possession of the town, and had everybody's life and goods at their mercy.† No person of any

* The Rev. James Clark, Minister of the Tron Kirk, Glasgow.

† "In this rage they went directly to the Provost's house, got into it, took away all his arms, which were about twenty-five muskets, &c.; from thence they went to the Laird of Blackhouse's dwelling, broke his windows, and showed their teeth." — "The Provost would have made to his own house, but the multitude increasing and growing furious, he took sanctuary in a house, and running up a staircase, lost the rabble for some time, they pursuing him into a wrong house: however they searched every apartment to the top of the stair, and came into the very room where he was; but the same hand that smote the men of Sodom with blindness when they would have rabbled the

consequence appeared at the head of these rioters ; and after having put themselves under the command of a mechanic, named Finlay, who had formerly been a sergeant, they sent small parties to the neighboring towns to invite them to follow their example. In this they were unsuccessful ; the proclamations of Parliament, and the adjournment of the rendezvous appointed by the Cameronians, having considerably checked the disposition to insurrection. In short, the Glasgow riot died away, and the insurgents prevented bloodshed by dispersing quietly ; Finlay and another of their leaders were seized by a party of dragoons from Edinburgh, conveyed to that city, and lodged in the castle. And thus was extinguished a hasty fire which might otherwise have occasioned a great conflagration.

To prevent the repetition of such dangerous examples as the rendezvous at Hamilton and the tumults at Glasgow, the Parliament came to the resolution of suspending that clause of the Act of Security which appointed general military musters throughout Scotland ; and enacted instead, that in consideration of the tumults which had taken place, all assembling in arms, without the Queen's special order, should be punished as an act of high trea-

angels, protected him from this many-headed monster, and so blinded them that they could not find him. He was hid in a bed which folded up against the wall, and which they never thought of taking down. It is the opinion of many of the soberest and most judicious of the citizens, that if they had found him, their fury was at that time so past all government, that they would have murdered him, and that in a manner barbarous enough ; and if they had, as we say of a bull-dog, once but tasted blood, who knows where they would have ended ! " — " Provost Aird was an honest, sober, discreet gentleman, one that had always been exceedingly beloved, even by the common people, particularly for his care of, and charity to, the poor of Glasgow ; and at another time, would have been the last man in the town they would have insulted." — DEFOE, pp. 270 - 272.

son. This, being made public by proclamation, put a stop to future attempts at rising.

The project of breaking off the treaty by violence being now wholly at an end, those who opposed the measure determined upon a more safe and moderate attempt to frustrate it. It was resolved, that as many of the nobility, barons, and gentry, of the realm as were hostile to the Union, should assemble in Edinburgh, and join in a peaceful, but firm and personal remonstrance to the Lord Commissioner, praying that the obnoxious measure might be postponed until the subscribers should receive an answer to a national address which they designed to present to the Queen at this interesting crisis. It was supposed that the intended application to the Commissioner would be so strongly supported, that either the Scottish Government would not venture to favor a Union in the face of such general opposition, or that the English ministers themselves might take the alarm, and become doubtful of the efficacy or durability of a treaty, to which the bulk of Scotland seemed so totally averse. About four hundred nobles and gentlemen of the first distinction assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of attending the Commissioner with the proposed remonstrance; and an address was drawn up, praying her Majesty to withdraw her countenance from the treaty, and to call a new Parliament.

When the day was appointed for executing the intended plan, it was interrupted by the Duke of Hamilton, who would on no terms agree to proceed with it, unless a clause was inserted in the address expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the succession on the House of Hanover. This proposal was totally at variance with the sentiments of the Jacobite part of those who

supported the address, and occasioned great and animated discussions among them, and considerable delay. In the mean while, the Commissioner, observing the city unusually crowded with persons of condition, and obtaining information of the purpose for which so many gentlemen had repaired to the capital, made an application to Parliament, setting forth that a convocation had been held in Edinburgh of various persons, under pretence of requiring personal answers to their addresses to Parliament, which was likely to endanger the public peace; and obtained a proclamation against any meetings under such pretexts during the sitting of Parliament, which he represented as both inexpedient and contrary to law.

While the Lord Commissioner was thus strengthening his party, the Anti-Unionists were at discord among themselves. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athole quarrelled on account of the interruption given by the former to the original plan of remonstrance; and the country gentlemen, who had attended on their summons, returned home mortified, disappointed, and, as many of them thought, deceived by their leaders.

Time was mean while flying fast, and Parliament, in discussing the separate articles of the Union, had reached the twenty-second, being that designed to fix the amount of the representation which Scotland was to possess in the British Parliament, and, on account of the inadequacy of such representation, the most obnoxious of the whole.

The Duke of Hamilton, who still was, or affected to be, firmly opposed to the treaty, now assembled the leaders of the opposition, and entreated them to forget all former errors and mismanagement, and to concur in one common effort for the independence of Scotland. He then proposed that the Marquis of Annandale should open their

proceedings, by renewing a motion formerly made for the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover, which was sure to be rejected if coupled with any measure interrupting the treaty of Union. Upon this the Duke proposed, that all the opposers of the Union, after joining in a very strong protest, should publicly secede from the Parliament; in which case it was likely either that the Government party would hesitate to proceed further in a matter which was to effect such total changes in the constitution of Scotland, or that the English might become of opinion that they could not safely carry on a national treaty of such consequence with a mere faction, or party of the Parliament, when deserted by so many persons of weight and influence.

The Jacobites objected to this course of proceeding, on account of the preliminary motion, which implied a disposition to call the House of Hanover to the succession, provided the Union were departed from by the Government. The Duke of Hamilton replied, that as the proposal was certain to be rejected, it would draw with it no obligation on those by whom it was made. He said that such an offer would destroy the argument for forcing on the Union, which had so much weight in England, where it was believed that if the treaty did not take place, the kingdoms of England and Scotland would pass to different monarchs. He then declared frankly, that if the English should not discontinue pressing forward the Union after the formal protestation and secession which he proposed, he would join with the Jacobites for calling in the son of James II., and was willing to venture as far as any one for that measure.

It is difficult to suppose that the Duke of Hamilton was not serious in this proposal; and there seems to be little

doubt that if the whole body opposing the Union had withdrawn in the manner proposed, the Commissioner would have given up the treaty, and prorogued the Parliament. But the Duke lost courage, on its being intimated to him, as the story goes, by the Lord High Commissioner, in a private interview, that his Grace would be held personally responsible, if the treaty of Union was interrupted by adoption of the advice which he had given, and that he should be made to suffer for it in his English property. Such at least is the general report; * and such an interview could be managed without difficulty, as both these distinguished persons were lodged in the palace of Holyrood.

Whether acting from natural instability, whether intimidated by the threats of Queensberry, or dreading to encounter the difficulties when at hand, which he had despised when at a distance, it is certain that Hamilton was the first to abandon the course which he had himself recommended. On the morning appointed for the execu-

* "His son, Charles Hamilton, gives a different account, saying, 'At this juncture the Duke received a letter from the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State to the Pretender, wherein, after acquainting him with the recent engagements he had entered into with the Queen's ministers, in order to procure a peace to Louis XIV., to whom he was so much indebted, he beseeched his Grace, in the behalf of his master, to forbear giving any further opposition to the Union, as he had extremely at heart to give his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes, not doubting but he would one day have it in his power to restore Scotland to its ancient weight and independence. The letter concluded with recommending the business to be kept a profound secret.' The Duke, alluding to that letter of Middleton's, wrote to his son at St. Germain's, 7th March, 1707: 'Tell Lord Middleton not to be uneasy about his letter, I have been too sick to answer it; but I burnt it with other papers for fear of accidents; so that his secret would have gone to the grave with me. He has been duped, as I expected; he might have known the men with whom he was dealing.'" — Wood's *Peerage*, vol. i. pp. 716, 717.

tion of their plan, when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to Parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be any attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the Duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothache, that he could not attend the House that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct,* that he at length came down to the House; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered, with extreme surprise, that they had reckoned on his Grace, as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The Duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court by being foremost in defeating their favorite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost.

The members who had hitherto opposed the Union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on Parliament; and those who favored the treaty

* "Telling him this double-dealing and wavering would convince the world that what was said concerning his grandfather in the reign of King Charles the First was true, and that he played the second part of the same tune." — LOCKHART'S *Papers*, vol. i. p. 218.

were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition.

Almost the only remarkable change in the articles of the Union, besides that relating to church government, was made, to quiet the minds of the common people, disturbed, as I have already mentioned, by rumors that the Scottish regalia were to be sent into England. A special article was inserted into the treaty, declaring that they should on no occasion be removed from Scotland. At the same time, lest the sight of these symbols of national sovereignty should irritate the jealous feelings of the Scottish people, they were removed from the public view, and secured in a strong chamber, called the Crown-room, in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they remained so long in obscurity, that their very existence was generally doubted. But his present Majesty [K. George IV.] having directed that a commission should be issued to search after these venerable relics, they were found in safety in the place where they had been deposited, and are now made visible to the public under proper precautions.*

It had been expected that the treaty of Union would have met with delays or alterations in the English Parliament. But it was approved of there, after very little debate, by a large majority; and the exemplification or copy was sent down to be registered by the Scottish Parliament. This was done on the 25th March; and on the 22d April the Parliament of Scotland adjourned forever. Seafield, the Chancellor, on an occasion which every Scotsman ought to have considered as a melancholy one, behaved himself with a brutal levity, which

* See Account of the Scottish Regalia in SCOTT'S *Miscellaneous Prose Works*.

in more patriotic times would have cost him his life on the spot, and said that "there was an end of an auld sang."

On the 1st of May, 1707, the Union took place, amid the dejection and despair which attend on the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen expression of discontent that was far from promising the course of prosperity which the treaty finally produced.

And here I must point out to you at some length, that, though there never could be a doubt that the Union, in itself, was a most desirable event, yet by the erroneous mode in which it was pushed on and opposed by all parties concerned, such obstacles were thrown in the way of the benefits it was calculated to produce as to interpose a longer interval of years betwixt the date of the treaty and the national advantages arising out of it than the term spent by the Jews in the wilderness ere they attained the promised land. In both cases the frowardness and passions of men rejected the blessings which Providence held out to them.

To understand this, you must know, that while the various plans for interrupting the treaty were agitated without doors, the debates in Parliament were of the most violent kind. "It resembled," says an eyewitness, "not the strife of tongues, but the clash of arms; and the hatred, rage, and reproach which we exhausted on each other, seemed to be those of civil war rather than of political discussion." Much talent was displayed on both sides. The promoters of the Union founded their arguments not merely on the advantage, but the absolute necessity of associating the independence of the two nations for their mutual honor and defence; arguing, that otherwise they must renew the scenes of past ages, ren-

dered dreadful by the recollection of three hundred and fourteen battles fought between two kindred nations, and more than a million of men slain on both sides. The imaginary sacrifice of independent sovereignty was represented as being in reality an escape from the petty tyranny of their own provincial aristocracy, and a most desirable opportunity of having the ill-defined, and worse-administered government of Scotland blended with that of a nation the most jealous of her rights and liberties which the world ever saw.

While the Unionists pointed out the general utility of the amalgamation of the two nations into one, the opposition dwelt on the immediate disgrace and degradation which the measure must instantly and certainly impose on Scotland, and the distant and doubtful nature of the advantages which she was to derive from it.

Lord Belhaven, in a celebrated speech, which made the strongest impression on the audience, declared that he saw, in prophetic vision, the peers of Scotland, whose ancestors had raised tribute in England, now walking in the Court of Requests like so many English attorneys, laying aside their swords, lest self-defence should be called murder,— he saw the Scottish barons with their lips padlocked, to avoid the penalties of unknown laws,— he saw the Scottish lawyers struck mute and confounded at being subjected to the intricacies and technical jargon of an unknown jurisprudence,— he saw the merchants excluded from trade by the English monopolies,— the artisans ruined for want of custom, the gentry reduced to indigence, the lower ranks to starvation and beggary. “But above all, my lord,” continued the orator, “I think I see our ancient mother, Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking

round her, covering herself with her royal mantle, awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with the exclamation: 'And thou, too, my son!'

These prophetic sounds made the deepest impression on the House, until the effect was in some degree dispelled by Lord Marchmont, who, rising to reply, said, he too, had been much struck by the noble lord's vision, but that he conceived the exposition of it might be given in a few words. "I awoke, and behold it was a dream." But though Lord Belhaven's prophetic harangue might be termed in one sense a vision, it was one which continued to exist for many years; nor was it until half a century had passed away that the Union began to produce those advantages to Scotland which its promoters had fondly hoped, and the fruits of which the present generation has so fully reaped. We must seek in the temper of the various parties interested in carrying on and concluding this great treaty the reasons which for so many years prevented the incalculable benefits which it was expected to bestow, and which have since been realized.

The first, and perhaps most fatal error, arose out of the conduct and feelings of the English, who were generally incensed at the conduct of the Scots respecting the Act of Security, and in the precipitate execution of Green and his companions, whom their countrymen, with some reason, regarded as men murdered on a vague accusation, merely because they were Englishmen. This, indeed, was partly true; but, though the Scots acted cruelly, it should have been considered that they had received much provocation, and were in fact only revenging, though rashly and unjustly, the injuries of Darien and Glencoe. But the times were unfavorable to a temperate view

of the subject in either country. The cry was general throughout England, that Scotland should be conquered by force of arms, and secured by garrisons and forts, as in the days of Cromwell. Or, if she was to be admitted to a Union, there was a general desire on the part of the English to compel her to receive terms as indifferent as could be forced upon an inferior and humbled people.

These were not the sentiments of a profound statesman, and could not be those of Godolphin. He must have known that the mere fact of accomplishing a treaty could no more produce the cordial and intimate state of unity which was the point he aimed at, than the putting a pair of quarrelsome hounds into the same couples could reconcile the animals to each other. It may, therefore, be supposed, that, left to himself, so great a politician would have tried, by the most gentle means, to reconcile Scotland to the projected measure; that he would have been studious to efface everything that appeared humiliating in the surrender of national independence; would have labored to smooth those difficulties which prevented the Scots from engaging in the English trade; and have allowed her a more adequate representation in the national Parliament, which, if arranged according to her proportion of public expenses, would only have made the inconsiderable addition of fifteen members to the House of Commons. In fine, the English minister would probably have endeavored to arrange the treaty on such terms of advantage for the poorer country as should, upon its being adopted, immediately prove to the Scots, by its effects, that it was a measure they ought, for their own sakes, to have desired and concurred in. In this manner, the work of many years would have been to a certain degree anticipated, and the two nations would

have felt themselves united in interest, and in affection also, soon after they had become nominally one people. Whatever England might have sacrificed in this way would have been gained by Great Britain, of which England must necessarily be the predominant part, and, as such, must always receive the greatest share of benefit by whatever promotes the good of the whole.

But, though Godolphin's wisdom might have carried him to such conclusions, the passions and prejudices of the English nation would not have permitted him to act upon them. They saw, or thought they saw, a mode of bringing under subjection a nation which had been an old enemy and a troublesome friend, and they, very impolitically, were more desirous to subdue Scotland than to reconcile her. In this point the English statesmen committed a gross error, though rendered perhaps inevitable by the temper and prejudices of the nation.

The Scottish supporters of the Union might, on their part, have made a stand for better terms on behalf of their country. And it can scarcely be supposed that the English would have broken off a treaty of such importance, either for the addition of a few members, or for such advantages of commerce as Scotland might reasonably have demanded. But these Scottish commissioners, or a large part of them, had, unhappily, negotiated so well for themselves that they had lost all right of interfering on the part of their country. We have already explained the nature of the equivalent, by which a sum of four hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, advanced at this time by England, but to be repaid out of the Scottish revenue within fifteen years, was to be distributed in the country, partly to repay the losses sustained by the Darien Company, partly to pay arrears of public salaries in Scot-

land, most of which were due to members of the Scottish Parliament; and finally, to satisfy such claims of damage arising out of the Union, as might be brought forward by any one whose support was worth having.

The distribution of this money constituted the charm by which refractory Scottish members were reconciled to the Union. I have already mentioned the sum of thirty thousand pounds which was peculiarly apportioned to the commissioners who originally laid the basis of the treaty. I may add, there was another sum of twenty thousand pounds employed to secure to the measures of the court the party called the *Squadron Volante*. The account of the mode in which this last sum was distributed has been published; and it may be doubted whether the descendants of the noble lords and honorable gentlemen who accepted this gratification would be more shocked at the general fact of their ancestors being corrupted, or scandalized at the paltry amount of the bribe.* One noble lord accepted of so low a sum as eleven guineas; and the bargain was the more hard, as he threw his religion into

* The names and sums are thus stated by the Earl of Glasgow, on oath, to the Commissioners of Accounts: To the DUKES, of Montrose, £200; Athole, £1,000; Roxburghe, £500; Marquis of Tweeddale, £1,000; EARLS, of Marchmont, £1,104, 15s. 7d.; Cromarty, £800; Balcarras, £500; Dunmore, £200; Eglinton, £200; Forfar, £100; Glencairn, £100; Kintore, £200; Findlater, £100; Seafield (Lord Chancellor), £490; the LORDS, Prestonhall, £200; Ormiston, £200; Anstruther, £300; Fraser, £100; Cesnock (now Polwarth), £50; Forbes, £50; Elibank, £50; Banff, £11, 2s.; Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, £100; Sir William Sharp, £300; Mr. Stuart, of Castle Stuart, £300; Mr. John Campbell, £200; Mr. John Muir, provost of Ayr, £100; Major Cunningham, of Eckatt, £100; the messenger that brought down the treaty of Union, £60; Patrick Coultrain, provost of Wigton, £25; Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, £75; and to the commissioner, for equipage and daily allowance, £12,325. Total, £20,540, 17s. 7d. — LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

the bargain, and from Catholic turned Protestant, to make his vote a good one.*

Other disgraceful gratuities might be mentioned, and there were many more which cannot be traced. The treasure for making good the equivalent was sent down in wagons from England, to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; and never surely was so valuable an importation received with such marks of popular indignation. The dragoons who guarded the wains were loaded with execrations, and the carters, nay, even their poor horses, were nearly pelted to death, for being accessory in bringing to Edinburgh the price of the independence of the kingdom.

The public indignation was the more just, that this large sum of money in fact belonged to the Scottish nation, being the compensation to be paid to them, for undertaking to pledge their revenue for a part of the English national debt. So that, in fact, the Parliament of Scotland was bribed with the public money belonging to their own country. In this way, Scotland herself was made to pay the price given to her legislators for the sacrifice of her independence.

The statesmen who accepted of these gratuities, under whatever name disguised, were marked by the hatred of the country, and did not escape reproach even in the bosom of their own families.† The advantage of their public services was lost, by the general contempt which

* The Lord Banff. See letter from Mr. William Hunter, minister of Banff, and Principal Carstairs. — *State Papers*, pp. 736, 737.

† The Chancellor, Lord Seafield, objected to his brother, Colonel Patrick Ogilvie, that he derogated from his rank, by trafficking in cattle to some extent. "Take your own tale hame, my lord and brother," answered the colonel, in his Angus-shire dialect; "I only sell *nout* (nolt), but you sell nations."

they had personally incurred. And here I may mention, that while carrying on the intrigues which preceded the passing of the Union, those who favored that measure were obliged to hold their meetings in secret and remote places of rendezvous, lest they should have been assaulted by the rabble. There is a subterranean apartment in the High Street (No. 177), called the Union-Cellar,* from its being one of their haunts; and the pavilion in the gardens belonging to the Earl of Murray's Hotel, in the Canongate (No. 172), is distinguished by tradition as having been used for this purpose.

Men of whom a majority had thus been bought and sold forfeited every right to interfere in the terms which England insisted upon; and Scotland, therefore, lost that support which, had these statesmen been as upright and respectable as some of them were able and intelligent, could not have failed to be efficacious. But, despised by the English and detested by their own country, fettered, as Lord Belhaven expressed it, by the golden chain of equivalents, the Unionists had lost all freedom of remonstrance, and had no alternative left save that of fulfilling the unworthy bargain they had made.

The Opposition party also had their share of error on this occasion. If they had employed a part of that zeal with which they vindicated the shadowy rights of Scotland's independence (which, after all, resolved itself into the title of being governed like a province, by a viceroy, and by English influence, not the less predominant that it was indirect) in order to obtain some improvement in the more unfavorable clauses of the treaty; if, in other words, they had tried to make a more advantageous agreement

* This is on the north side of the High Street, opposite Hunter's Square; and now (1836) occupied as a tavern and coach-office.

when the Union was under discussion, instead of attempting to break it off entirely, they might perhaps have gained considerable advantages for Scotland. But the greater part of the anti-Unionists were also Jacobites; and, therefore, far from desiring to render the treaty more unexceptionable, it was their object that it should be as odious to the people of Scotland as possible, in order that the universal discontent excited by it might turn to the advantage of the exiled family.

Owing to all these adverse circumstances, the interests of Scotland were considerably neglected in the treaty of Union; and, in consequence, the nation, instead of regarding it as an identification of the interests of both kingdoms, considered it as a total surrender of their independence, by their false and corrupted statesmen, into the hand of their proud and powerful rival. The gentry of Scotland looked on themselves as robbed of their natural consequence, and disgraced in the eyes of the country; the merchants and tradesmen lost the direct commerce between Scotland and foreign countries, without being, for a length of time, able to procure a share in a more profitable trade with the English colonies, although ostensibly laid open to them. The populace in the towns, and the peasants throughout the kingdom, conceived the most implacable dislike to the treaty; factions hitherto most bitterly opposed to each other seemed ready to rise on the first opportunity which might occur for breaking it; and the cause of the Stewart family gained a host of new adherents, more from dislike to the Union than any partiality to the exiled prince.

A long train of dangers and difficulties was the consequence, which tore Scotland to pieces with civil discord, and exposed England also to much suffering. Three re-

bellions, two of which assumed a very alarming character, may, in a great measure, be set down to the unpopularity of this great national act; and the words, "Prosperity to Scotland, and no Union," is the favorite inscription to be found on Scottish sword-blades betwixt 1707 and 1746.

But, although the passions and prejudices of mankind could for a time delay and interrupt the advantages to be derived from this most important national measure, it was not the gracious will of Providence that, being thus deferred, they should be ultimately lost.

The unfortunate insurrection of 1745-6 entirely destroyed the hopes of the Scottish Jacobites, and occasioned the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions and military tenures, which had been at once dangerous to the Government, and a great source of oppression to the subject. This, though attended with much individual suffering, was the final means of at once removing the badges of feudal tyranny, extinguishing civil war, and assimilating Scotland to the sister country. After this period, the advantages of the Union were gradually perceived and fully experienced.

It was not, however, till the accession of his late Majesty* that the beneficial effects of this great national treaty were generally felt and recognized. From that period there was awakened a spirit of industry formerly unknown in Scotland; and ever since, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, incalculably to their mutual benefit, have been gradually forgetting former subjects of discord, and uniting cordially, as one people, in the improvement and defence of the island which they inhabit.

This happy change from discord to friendship — from

* K. George III., 1760.

war to peace, and from poverty and distress to national prosperity — was not attained without much peril and hazard; and should I continue these volumes from the period of the Union to that of the Accession of George the Third, I can promise you the addition will be neither the least interesting, nor the least useful, of your Grandfather's labors in your behalf.

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

. THIRD SERIES.

PREFATORY LETTER.

TO HUGH LITTLEJOHN, ESQ.

MY DEAR CHILD:—

I HAVE now finished the task I had imposed on myself, of giving you an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the past events of Scottish History; and a bloody and tragic tale it has been. The generation of which I am an individual, and which, having now seen the second race of their successors, must soon prepare to leave the scene, have been the first Scotsmen who appear likely to quit the stage of life without witnessing either foreign or domestic war within their country. Our fathers beheld the civil convulsion of 1745-6, — the race who preceded them saw the commotions of 1715, 1718, and the war of the Revolution in 1688-9. A third and earlier generation witnessed the two insurrections of Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge, and a fourth lived in the bloody times of the great Civil War; a fifth had in memory the civil contests of James the Sixth's minority; and a sixth race carries us back to the long period when the blessings of peace were totally unknown, and the state of constant hostility between England and Scotland was only interrupted by insecure and ill-kept truces of a very few years' endurance.

And even in your Grandfather's own time, though this country was fortunate enough to escape becoming the theatre of bloody conflict, yet we had only to look abroad to witness such extensive scenes of war and slaughter, such subversion of established states and extinction of ancient dynasties, as if the

European world was again about to return to the bondage of an universal empire. We have, therefore, had an unexpected, and almost unhoped-for escape from the evils of war in our own country, at the expense of beholding from our island the general devastation of the Continent, with the frequent alarm that we ourselves were about to be involved in it.

It is with sincere joy that I see a period arrived in which the rising generation may, for a time at least, be less likely either to hear of, or to witness, the terrors of actual war. Even in the history of this small and barren country of Scotland men may read enough of its miseries to make them regret how often they have been occasioned by the explosions of party spirit. I have avoided, particularly in this small publication, every attempt to prejudice your mind in favor of any of those speculative opinions which have been frequently the cause of unsheathing the sword of civil discord. Some years hence you will, I hope, study with accuracy the history of Scotland, with a view to form your own opinion which of the contending parties were right or wrong; and I hope you will then possess enough of judgment to perceive, that in political disputes, which, above all others, interest the passions, you are not to expect that either the one party or the other are to be regarded as infallible; and that you will remember that each particular action is to be judged of by its own circumstances and the motives of the actors,—not approved or condemned in the gross, because it is a measure of any particular faction. The present is not intended to be a controversial work. Indeed, if disputed points should be stated here as subjects of discussion, there is no space to argue them, and all that could be brought forward would be the assertion of the author's own opinion, for which he is not entitled to claim any particular deference from other readers, and certainly is not disposed to require it from you, or to desire that you should take upon his authority what should be the subject of your own investigation.

Like most men of some experience in life, I entertain un-

doubtedly my own opinions upon the great political questions of the present and of future times; but I have no desire to impress these on my juvenile readers. What I have presumed to offer is a general, and, it is hoped, not an uninteresting selection of facts, which may at a future time form a secure foundation for political sentiments.

I am more anxious that the purpose of this work should be understood, because a friendly and indulgent critic,* whose general judgment has been but too partially pronounced in favor of the author, has in one point misunderstood my intentions. My friendly Aristarchus, for such I must call him, has paid me the great compliment (which I may boast of having to my utmost ability deserved), that my little work contains no fault of commission; that is to say, he admits that I have not either concealed or falsified the truth of history in controverted points, which, in my opinion, would have been, especially in a work designed for the use of youth, a most unpardonable crime. But he charges me with the offence of omission, in leaving out inferences which he himself would have drawn from the same facts, and which he seems to think are too obvious not to be discerned, and too stubborn to be refuted. It is, on the contrary, my opinion, and has been ever since I came to years of understanding, that in many of these points his conclusions are liable to direct challenge, and in others to much modification. I must not, therefore, leave it to be supposed that I have deserted my banners, because I have not at this time and place thought it necessary to unfurl them.

But I could not introduce political discussions into any elementary work designed to inspire a love of study. In more mature years, the juvenile reader will have an opportunity of forming his own judgment upon the points of controversy which have disturbed our history; and I think he will probably find that the spirit of party faction, far from making demi-

* Westminster Review for April, 1829.

gods of the one side, and fiends or fools of the other, is itself the blot and stain of our annals, — has produced under one shape or other its most tragic events, — has blighted the characters of its best and wisest statesmen, and perhaps reserves for Britain at a future day, a repetition of the evils with which it has already afflicted our fathers.

That you, my dear child, and your contemporaries, may escape so great an infliction, is the sincere hope and prayer of your affectionate

GRANDFATHER.*

ABBOTSFORD, *1st December*, 1829.

* John Hugh Lockhart, to whom these Tales were addressed, died before his Grandfather, on the 15th December, 1881, in the eleventh year of his age.

CHAPTER LXI.

MUTUAL DISLIKE BETWEEN THE SCOTS AND ENGLISH—DIVIDED FEELING IN ENGLAND IN REGARD TO THE UNION—UNIVERSAL DISCONTENT WITH THE UNION IN SCOTLAND—DISPOSITION AMONG ALL PARTIES TO RESTORE THE STEWART FAMILY—EDUCATION AND CHARACTER OF THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE—PROMISE OF LOUIS XIV. TO SUPPORT THE CLAIMS OF THE FAMILY OF JAMES II.—INTRIGUES OF THE JACOBITE EMISSARIES PERPLEXING TO THE FRENCH KING, WHO RESOLVES TO ASCERTAIN THE TEMPER OF THE COUNTRY BY AN AGENT OF HIS OWN.

WE are now, my dear child, approaching a period more resembling our own than those through which I have hitherto conducted you. In England, and in the Lowlands of Scotland, men used the same language, possessed in a considerable degree the same habits of society, and lived under the same forms of government which have existed in Britain down to the present day. The Highlanders, indeed, retained their ancient manners; and, although, from the establishment of forts and garrisons in their country, the laws had much more power over them than formerly, so that they could no longer break out into the same excesses, they still remained, in their dress, customs, manners, and language, much more like the original Scots in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, than the Lowlanders of the same period resembled their ancestors of the seventeenth century.

But though the English and Lowland Scots exhibited

little distinction in their manners and habits, excepting that those of the latter people indicated less wealth or refinement of luxury, there was no sympathy of feeling between them, and the recent measure of the Union had only an effect resembling that of putting two quarrelsome dogs into the same couples, or two sullen horses into the same yoke. Habit may, in course of time, teach them to accommodate themselves to each other; but the first consequence of the compulsory tie which unites them is the feeling of aggravated hostility.

The predominant prejudices of the English represented the Scots, in the language of the celebrated Dean Swift,* as a poor, ferocious, and haughty people, detesting their English neighbors, and looking upon them as a species of Egyptians, whom it was not only lawful but commendable to plunder, whether by open robbery or secret address. The poverty of the North Britons, and the humble and patient labor by which individuals were frequently observed to emerge from it, made them the objects of contempt to the English; while, on the other hand, the irascible and turbulent spirit of the nation, and a habitual use of arms exposed them to aversion and hatred. This peculiar characteristic was, at the time of the Union, very general in Scotland. The Highlanders, you must remember, always carried weapons, and if thought of at all by

* See *post*. "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," chap. lxiii. — Swift, in his *Remarks on Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, indulges in a train of invectives against the Scots, using such epithets as "Scottish scoundrels," "Hellish Scottish dogs," "Cursed Scots forever," "Greedy Scotch rebellious dogs," "most diabolical Scots," "Scottish rebels and beggars;" and on which Sir Walter Scott remarks, "The ludicrous virulence of his execrations against the Scottish nation go a great way to remove the effect of his censure; and a native of Scotland may be justified in retaining them, were it but for that reason." — SWIFT'S *Works*, vol. xii. p. 142.

their southern neighbors, they must have been considered as absolute and irreclaimable savages. The Lowlanders were also used to arms at this period, for almost the whole Scottish nation had been trained under the Act of Security; the population was distributed into regiments, and kept ready for action; and in the gloomy and irritated state of mind in which the Scots had been placed by the management of the Union treaty, they spoke of nothing more loudly and willingly than of war with England. The English had their especial reasons for disliking the Union. They did not in general feel flattered by the intimate confederacy and identification of their own rich country and civilized inhabitants with the boreal region of the North, and its rude and savage tribes. They were afraid that the craft, and patient endurance of labor of the Scots, would give them more than their share of the colonial trade which they had hitherto monopolized to themselves.

Yet, though such was the opinion held by the English in general, the more enlightened part of the nation, remembering the bloody wars which had so long desolated Britain in its divided state, dated from the Union an era of peace and happiness to both countries; and, looking far into futurity, foresaw a time when the national prejudices, which for the present ran so high, would die out or be eradicated like the weeds which deface the labors of the agriculturist, and give place to plenty and to peace. It was owing to the prevalence of such feelings that the Duke of Queensberry, the principal negotiator of the treaty of Union, when he left Scotland for London after the measure was perfected, was received with the greatest distinction in the English towns through which he passed. And when he approached the neighborhood of London,

many of the members of the two Houses came to meet and congratulate a statesman, who, but for the guards that surrounded him, would, during the progress of the treaty, have been destroyed by his countrymen in the streets of Edinburgh !

In England, therefore, the Union had its friends and partisans. In Scotland it was regarded with an almost universal feeling of discontent and dishonor.* The Jacobite party, who had entertained great hopes of eluding the act for settling the kingdom upon the family of Hanover, beheld them entirely blighted ; the Whigs, or Presbyterians, found themselves forming part of a nation in which Prelacy was an institution of the state ; the Country Party, who had nourished a vain but honorable idea of maintaining the independence of Scotland, now saw it, with all its symbols of ancient sovereignty, sunk and merged under the government of England. All the different professions and classes of men saw each something in the obnoxious treaty which affected their own interest.

The nobles of an ancient and proud land, which they were wont to manage at their pleasure, were now stripped of their legislative privilege, unless in as far as exercised, like the rights of a petty corporation, by a handful of delegates ; the smaller barons and gentry shared their humiliation, their little band of representatives being too

* " A public thanksgiving was proclaimed through England ; and a solemn procession was made by the Queen to St. Paul's Church, on the 1st of May, when the Union commenced. Addresses from all parts of England were presented to the Queen, on the success of an Union which her predecessors, for a century past, had attempted in vain ; and the public joy seemed to receive no abatement, except from an apprehension, that it might appear immoderate or invidious to the Scots. But a sullen and inflexible silence was observed in Scotland, expressive of deep, undisguised discontent." — LAING, vol. ii. p. 340.

few, and their voices too feeble, to produce any weight in the British House of Commons, to which a small portion was admitted.

The clergy's apprehension for their own system of church discipline was sensitively awakened, and their frequent warnings from the pulpit kept the terror of innovation before their congregations.

The Scottish lawyers had equal reason for alarm. They witnessed what they considered as the degradation of their profession, and of the laws to the exposition of which they had been bred up. They saw their supreme civil court, which had spurned at the idea of having their decrees reviewed even in the Parliament, now subjected to appeal to the British House of Peers; a body who could be expected to know little of law at all, and in which the Chancellor who presided was trained in the jurisprudence of another country. Besides, when the sceptre departed from Scotland, and the lawgiver no longer sat at her feet, it was likely that her municipal regulations should be gradually assimilated to those of England, and that her lawyers should by degrees be laid aside and rendered useless, by the introduction of the institutions of a foreign country which were strange to their studies.

The merchants and trading portion of Scotland, also, found grievances in the Union peculiar to themselves. The privileges which admitted the Scots into the colonial trade of England only represented the apples of Tantalus, so long as local prejudices, want of stock, and all the difficulties incident to forcing capital into a new channel, or line of business, obstructed their benefiting by them. On the other hand, they lost all the advantage of their foreign trade whenever their traffic became ob-

structed by the imposition of English duties. They lost, at the same time, a beneficial, though illicit trade, with England itself, which took place in consequence of foreign commodities being so much cheaper in Scotland. Lastly, the establishment of two Boards of Customs and Excise, with the introduction of a shoal of officers, all Englishmen, and, it was said, frequently men of indifferent and loose character,* was severely felt by the commercial part of a nation whose poverty had hitherto kept them tolerably free from taxation.

The tradesmen and citizens were injured in the tenderest point, by the general emigration of families of rank and condition, who naturally went to reside in London, not only to attend their duties in Parliament, but to watch for those opportunities of receiving favors which are only to be obtained by being constantly near the source of preferment; not to mention numerous families of consequence who went to the metropolis merely for fashion's sake. This general emigration naturally drained Scotland of the income of the non-residents, who expended their fortunes among strangers, to the prejudice of those of their country folk who had formerly lived by supplying them with necessaries or luxuries.

The agricultural interest was equally affected by the scarcity of money, which the new laws, the money drawn

* "These were, generally speaking, the very scum and canaglia of that country, which remembers me of a very good story. 'Some time thereafter, a Scots merchant travelling in England, and showing some apprehensions of being robbed, his landlady told him he was in no hazard, for all the highwaymen were gone; and upon his inquiring how that came about, Why, truly, replied she, they are all gone to your country to get places.' These fellows treated the natives with all the contempt, and executed the new laws with all the rigor imaginable." — LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

by emigrants from their Scottish estates to meet the unwonted expenses of London, the decay of external commerce and of internal trade, all contributed to produce.

Besides these peculiar grievances which affected certain classes or professions, the Scots felt generally the degradation, as they conceived it, of their country being rendered the subservient ally of the state, of which, though infinitely more powerful, they had resisted the efforts for the space of two thousand years. The poorest and meanest, as well as the richest and most noble, felt that he shared the national honor; and the former was even more deeply interested in preserving it untarnished than the latter, because he had no dignity or consideration due to him personally or individually, beyond that which belonged to him as a native of Scotland.

There was, therefore, nothing save discontent and lamentation to be heard throughout Scotland, and men of every class vented their complaints against the Union the more loudly, because their sense of personal grievances might be concealed and yet indulged under popular declamations concerning the dishonor done to the country.

To all these subjects of complaint there lay obvious answers, grounded on the future benefits which the Union was calculated to produce, and the prospect of the advantages which have since arisen from it. But at the time immediately succeeding that treaty these benefits were only the subject of distant and doubtful speculation, while the immediate evils which we have detailed were present, tangible, and certain. There was a want of advocates for the Union, as well as of arguments having immediate and direct cogency. A considerable number of the regular clergy, indeed, who did not share the feverish apprehensions of prelatial innovation which was a bugbear to the

majority of their order, concluded it was the sounder policy to adhere to the Union with England, under the sovereignty of a Protestant prince, than to bring back, under King James VII., the evils in church and state which had occasioned the downfall of his father. But by such arguments, the ministers who used them only lowered themselves in the eyes of the people, who petulantly replied to their pastors, that none had been more loud than they against the Union, until they had got their own manses,* glebes, and stipends,† assured to them; although, that being done, they were now contented to yield up the civil rights of the Scottish monarchy, and endanger the stability of the Scottish Church. Their hearers abandoned the kirks, and refused to attend the religious ordinances of such clergymen as favored the Union, and went in crowds to wait upon the doctrines of those who preached against the treaty with the same zeal with which they had formerly magnified the Covenant. Almost all the dissenting and Cameronian ministers were anti-unionists, and some of the more enthusiastic were so peculiarly vehement, that long after the controversy had fallen asleep, I have heard my grandfather say (for your grandfather, Mr. Hugh Littlejohn, had a grandfather in his time) that he had heard an old clergyman confess he could never bring his sermon, upon whatever subject, to a conclusion, without having what he called a *blaud*, that is a slap, at the Union.

If the mouths of the clergymen who advocated the treaty were stopped by reproaches of personal interest, with far more justice were those reproaches applied to the greater part of the civil statesmen by whom the measure had been carried through and completed. The people

* *Anglice*, Parsonages.

† *Anglice*, Tithes.

of Scotland would not hear these gentlemen so much as speak upon the great incorporating alliance for the accomplishment of which they had labored so effectually. Be the event of the Union what it would, the objection was personal to many of those statesmen by whom it was carried through, that they had pressed the destruction of Scottish independence, which it necessarily involved, for private and selfish reasons, resolving into the gratification of their own ambition or avarice. They were twitted with the meanness of their conduct even in the Parliament of Britain. A tax upon linen cloth, the staple commodity of Scotland, having been proposed in the House of Commons, was resisted by Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, and other Scottish members, favorers of the Union, until Mr. Harley, who had been Secretary of State during the treaty, stood up, and cut short the debate, by saying, "Have we not bought the Scots, and did we not acquire a right to tax them? or for what other purpose did we give the equivalent?" Lockhart of Carnwath arose in reply, and said, he was glad to hear it plainly acknowledged that the Union had been a matter of bargain, and that Scotland had been bought and sold on that memorable occasion; but he was surprised to hear so great a manager in the traffic name the equivalents as the price, since the revenue of Scotland itself being burdened in relief of that sum, no price had been in fact paid, but what must ultimately be discharged by Scotland from her own funds.

The detestation of the treaty being for the present the ruling passion of the times, all other distinctions of party, and even of religious opinions, in Scotland were laid aside, and a singular coalition took place, in which Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Cavaliers, and many friends of the Revo-

lution, drowned all former hostility in the predominant aversion to the Union. Even the Cameronians, who now formed a powerful body in the state, retained the same zeal against the Union when established, which had induced them to rise in arms against it while it was in progress.*

It was evident that the treaty of Union could not be abolished without a counter-revolution; and for a time almost all the inhabitants of Scotland were disposed to join unanimously in the Restoration, as it was called, of James the Second's son, to the throne of his fathers; and had his ally, the King of France, been hearty in his cause or his Scottish partisans more united among themselves, or any leader amongst them possessed of distinguished talent, the Stewart family might have repossessed themselves of their ancient domain of Scotland, and perhaps of England also. To understand the circumstances by which that hope was disappointed, it is necessary to look back on the history of James II., and to take some notice of the character and situation of his son.

The Chevalier de Saint George, as he was called by a conventional name, which neither gave nor denied his royal pretensions, was that unfortunate child of James II., whose birth, which ought in ordinary cases to have been the support of his father's throne, became by perverse chance the strongest incentive for pressing forward the Revolution. He lost his hopes of a kingdom, therefore, and was exiled from his native country, ere he knew what

* "There was scarce one of a thousand that did not now declare for *the King*; nay, the Presbyterians and Cameronians were willing to pass over the objection of his being Papist; for, said they (according to their predestinating principles), God may convert him, or he may have Protestant children, but the Union can never be good." — LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. p. 224.

the words country or kingdom signified, and lived at the Court of Saint Germain, where Louis XIV. permitted his father to maintain a hollow pageant of royalty. Thus the son of James II. was brought up in what is generally admitted to be the very worst way in which a prince can be educated ; that is he was surrounded by all the pomp and external ceremony of imaginary royalty, without learning by experience any part of its real duties or actual business. Idle and discontented men, who formed the mimicry of a council, and played the part of ministers, were as deeply engaged in political intrigues for ideal offices and dignities at the Court of Saint Germain, as if actual rank or emolument had attended them, — as reduced gamblers have been known to spend days and nights in play, although too poor to stake anything on the issue of the game.

It is no doubt true, that the versatility of the statesmen of England, including some great names, offers a certain degree of apology for the cabinet of the dethroned prince, to an extent even to justify the hopes that a counter-revolution would soon take place, and realize the expectations of the Saint Germain courtiers. It is a misfortune necessarily attending the success of any of those momentous changes of government, which, innovating upon the constitution of a country, are termed revolutions, that the new establishment of things cannot for some time attain that degree of respect and veneration which antiquity can alone impress. Evils are felt under the new government, as they must be under every human institution, and men readily reconcile their minds to correct them, either by adopting further alterations, or by returning to that order of things which they have so lately seen in existence. That which is new itself, may, it is supposed,

be subjected to further innovations without inconvenience ; and, if these are deemed essential and necessary, or even advantageous, there seems, to ardent and turbulent spirits, little reason to doubt that the force which has succeeded so lately in destroying the institutions which had the venerable sanction of antiquity, may be equally successful in altering or remodelling that which has been the work of the present generation, perhaps of the very statesmen who are now desirous of innovating upon it. With this disposition to change still further what has been recently the subject of alteration mingle other passions. There must always be many of those that have been active in a recent revolution, who have not derived the personal advantages which they were entitled, or, which is the same thing, thought themselves entitled, to expect. Such disappointed men are apt, in their resentment, to think that it depends only upon themselves to pull down what they have assisted to build, and to rebuild the structure in the destruction of which they have been so lately assistants. This was, in the utmost extent, evinced after the English Revolution. Not only subordinate agents, who had been active in the Revolution, but some men of the highest and most distinguished talents, were induced to enter into plots for the restoration of the Stewarts. Marlborough, Carmarthen, and Lord Russell were implicated in a correspondence with France in 1692 ; and, indeed, throughout the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, many men of consequence, not willing explicitly to lend themselves to counter-revolutionary plots, were yet not reluctant to receive projects, letters, and promises from the ex-king, and return, in exchange, vague expressions of good-will for the cause of their old monarch, and respect for his person.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Jacobite ministers at Saint Germain were, by such negotiations, rendered confident that a counter-revolution was approaching, or that they intrigued for their share in the honors and power which they conceived would be very soon at their master's disposal. In this they might indeed have resembled the hunters in the fable, who sold the bear's hide before they had killed him; but, on the other hand, they were less like simpletons who spend their time in gambling for nothing, than eager gamblers who play for a stake which, though they do not yet possess, they soon expect to have at their disposal.

Amid such petty and empty feuds, it was not likely that the son of James II. should greatly augment the strength of mind of which nature had given him but a small share, especially as his father had laid aside those habits of business with which he was once familiar, and, resigning all hopes of his restoration, had abandoned himself entirely to the severities of ascetic devotion. From his advice and example, therefore, the Chevalier de St. George could derive no advantage; and Heaven had not granted him the talents which supply the place of instruction.

The heir of this ancient line was not, however, deficient in the external qualities which associate well with such distinguished claims. He was of tall stature, and possessed a nobly formed countenance, and courteous manners. He had made one or two campaigns with applause, and showed no deficiency of courage, if he did not display much energy. He appears to have been good-humored, kind, and tractable. In short, born on a throne, and with judicious ministers, he might have been a popular prince; but he had not the qualities necessary either to win or to regain a kingdom.

Immediately before the death of his unfortunate father, ^{16th Sept.,} the Chevalier de St. George was consigned to the ^{1701.} protection of Louis XIV., in an affecting manner. The French monarch came, for the last time, to bid adieu to his unfortunate ally, when stretched on his death-bed. Affected by the pathos of the scene, and possessing in reality a portion of that royal magnanimity by which he was so ambitious of being distinguished, Louis declared publicly his purpose to recognize the title of his friend's son, as heir to the throne of Britain, and take his family under his protection. The dying prince half raised himself from his bed, and endeavored to speak his gratitude; but his failing accents were drowned in a murmur of mingled grief and joy, which broke from his faithful followers. They were melted into tears, in which Louis himself joined. And thus was given, in a moment of enthusiasm, a promise of support, which the French king had afterwards reason to repent of, as he could not gracefully shake off an engagement contracted under such circumstances of affecting solemnity; although in after periods of his reign he was little able to supply the Chevalier de St. George with such succors as his promise had entitled that prince to expect.

Louis was particularly embarrassed by the numerous plans and schemes for the invasion of Scotland and England, proposed either by real Jacobites, eager to distinguish themselves by their zeal, or by adventurers, who, like the noted Captain Simon Fraser, assumed that character, so as to be enabled either to forward the Chevalier de St. George's interest, or betray his purpose to the English Ministry, whichever might best advance the interest of the emissary. This Captain Fraser (afterwards the celebrated Lord Lovat) was looked upon with coldness by

the Chevalier, and Lord Middleton, his secretary, but he gained the confidence of Mary of Esté, the widow of James II. Being at length, through her influence, despatched to Scotland, Fraser trafficked openly with both parties; and although, whilst travelling through the Highlands, he held the character and language of a highflying Jacobite, and privately betrayed whatever he could worm out of them to the Duke of Queensberry, then the royal commissioner and representative of Queen Anne, he had nevertheless the audacity to return to France, and use the language of an injured and innocent man, till he was thrown into the Bastille for his double-dealing. It is probable that this interlude of Captain Fraser, which happened in 1703, contributed to give Louis a distrust of Scottish Jacobite agents, and inclined him, notwithstanding the general reports of disaffection to Queen Anne's government, to try the temper of the country by an agent of his own, before resolving to give any considerable assistance towards an invasion, which his wars in Flanders, and the victories of Marlborough, rendered him ill able to undertake.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE SPIRIT OF JACOBITISM KEPT ALIVE BY THE IMPROPER MANNER IN WHICH THE TREATY OF UNION WAS CONCLUDED—MISSION OF LIEUT.-COLONEL HOOKE FROM FRANCE TO PROMOTE A REBELLION IN SCOTLAND—STATE OF THE JACOBITE PARTY UNDER THE DUKES OF ATHOLE AND HAMILTON—PREPARATIONS OF THE FRENCH KING FOR AN EXPEDITION IN BEHALF OF THE CHEVALIER, AND ARRIVAL OF THE CHEVALIER AT DUNKIRK TO JOIN IT—GENERAL ALARM IN ENGLAND—SAILING OF THE FRENCH FLEET—THEIR ARRIVAL IN THE FRITH OF FORTH, AND RETURN TO DUNKIRK, WITHOUT LANDING—VACILLATING CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF HAMILTON—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF THE STIRLINGSHIRE JACOBITES—INTRODUCTION OF COMMISSIONS OF OYER AND TERMINER INTO SCOTLAND—ABOLITION OF EXAMINATIONS BY TORTURE—PENALTIES FORMERLY ANNEXED TO CASES OF HIGH TREASON.

[1707—1708.]

THERE are two reflections which arise from what we have stated in the former chapter, too natural to escape observation.

In the first place, we are led to conclude that all leagues or treaties between nations, which are designed to be permanent, should be grounded not only on equitable, but on liberal principles. Whatever advantages are assumed from the superior strength, or more insidiously attained by the superior cunning, of one party or the other, operate as so many principles of decay, by which the security of the league is greatly endangered, if not

actually destroyed. There can be no doubt that the open corruption and precipitate violence with which the Union was forced on, retarded for two generations the benefits which would otherwise have arisen from it; and that resentment, not so much against the measure itself, as against the disadvantageous terms granted to Scotland, gave rise to two, or, taking into account the battle of Glenshiel, to three civil wars, with all the peculiar miseries which attended them. The personal adherence of many individuals to the Stewart family might have preserved Jacobite sentiments for a generation, but would scarce have had intensity sufficient to kindle a general flame in the country, had not the sense of the unjust and illiberal manner in which the Union was concluded, come in aid of the zeal of the Jacobites, to create a general or formidable attack on the existing Government. As the case actually stood, we shall presently see how narrowly the Union itself escaped destruction, and the nation a counter-revolution.

This conducts us to the second remark, which I wish you to attend to, namely, how that, with all the facilities of intercourse afforded by the manners of modern nations, it nevertheless is extremely difficult for one government to obtain what they may consider as trustworthy information concerning the internal affairs and actual condition of another, either from the statements of partisans, who profess themselves in league with the state which makes the inquiry, or from agents of their own, sent on purpose to pursue the investigation. The first class of informants deceive their correspondents and themselves, by the warm and sanguine view which they take of the strength and importance of their own party; the last are incapable of forming a correct judgment of what they see and

hear, for want of that habitual and familiar knowledge of the manners of a country which is necessary to enable them to judge what peculiar allowances ought to be made, and what special restrictions may be necessary, in interpreting the language of those with whom they communicate on the subject of their mission.

This was exemplified in the inquiries instituted by Louis XIV. for ascertaining the exact disposition of the people of Scotland towards the Chevalier de St. George. The agent employed by the French monarch was Lieutenant-Colonel Hooke, an Englishman of good family. This gentleman followed King James II. to France, and was there received into the service of Louis XIV., to which he seems to have become so much attached as to have been comparatively indifferent to that of the son of his former master. His instructions from the French King were, to engage the Scots who might be disposed for an insurrection as deeply as possible to France, but to avoid precise promises, by which he might compromise France in any corresponding obligation respecting assistance or supplies. In a word, the Jacobite or anti-unionist party were to have leave from Louis to attempt a rebellion against Queen Anne, at their own proper risk, providing the Grand Monarque, as he was generally termed, should be no further bound to aid them in the enterprise, or protect them in case of its failure, than he should think consistent with his magnanimity, and convenient for his affairs. This was no doubt a bargain by which nothing could be lost by France, but it had been made with too great anxiety to avoid hazard, to be attended with much chance of gaining by it.

With these instructions Colonel Hooke departed for Scotland in the end of February or beginning of March

1707, where he found, as had been described by the correspondence kept up with the Scots, different classes of people eager to join in an insurrection, with the purpose of breaking the Union, and restoring the Stewart family to the throne. We must first mention the state in which he found the Jacobite party, with whom principally he came to communicate.

This party, which, as it now included *the Country* faction, and all others who favored the dissolution of the Union, was much more universally extended than at any other period in Scottish history, either before or afterwards, was divided into two parties, having for their heads the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, noblemen who stood in opposition to each other in claiming the title of the leader of the Jacobite interests. If these two great men were to be estimated according to their fidelity to the cause which they had espoused, their pretensions were tolerably equal, for neither of them could lay much claim to the honor due to political consistency. The conduct of Athole during the Revolution had been totally adverse to the royal interest; and that of the Duke of Hamilton, on his part, though affecting to act as head of the opposition to the Union, was such as to induce some suspicion that he was in league with the Government; since, whenever a decisive stand was to be made, Hamilton was sure to find some reason, better or worse, to avoid coming to extremities with the opposite party. Notwithstanding such repeated acts of defection, on the part of these great dukes, their rank, talents, and the reliance on their general sincerity in the Jacobite cause, occasioned men of that party to attach themselves as partisans to one or other of them. It was natural that, generally speaking, men should choose for their leader the most influential person in

whose neighborhood they themselves resided or had their property ; and thus the Highland Jacobites beyond the Tay rallied under the Duke of Athole ; those of the south and west, under the Duke of Hamilton. From this it also followed, that the two divisions of the same faction, being of different provinces, and in different circumstances, held separate opinions as to the course to be pursued in the intended restoration.

The northern Jacobites who had more power of raising men, and less of levying money, than those of the south, were for rushing at once into war without any delay, or stipulation of foreign assistance ; and, without further aid than their own good hearts and ready swords, expressed themselves determined to place on the throne him whom they termed the lawful heir.

When Hooke entered into correspondence with this class of the Jacobite party, he found it easy to induce them to dispense with any special or precise stipulations concerning the amount of the succors to be furnished by France, whether in the shape of arms, money, or auxiliaries, so soon as he represented to them that any specific negotiation of this kind would be indelicate and unhand-some to the King of France, and probably diminish his inclination to serve the Chevalier de St. George. On this point of pretended delicacy were these poor gentlemen induced to pledge themselves to risks likely to prove fatal to themselves, their rank, and their posterity, without any of the reasonable precautions which were absolutely necessary to save them from destruction.

But when the Duke of Hamilton (by his secretary), Lord Kilsythe, Lockhart of Carnwath, Cochrane of Kilmaronock, and other leaders among the Jacobites of the west, had a conference with Colonel Hooke, their answers

were of a different tenor. They thought that to render the plan of insurrection at all feasible, there should be a distinct engagement on the part of the King of France, to send over the Chevalier de St. George to Scotland, with an auxiliary army of ten, or, at the very least, of eight thousand men. Colonel Hooke used very haughty language in answer to this demand, which he termed a "presuming to give advice to Louis XIV. how to manage his own affairs;" as if it had not been the business of the Jacobites themselves to learn to what extent they were to expect support, before staking their lands and lives in so dangerous an enterprise.*

The extent of Colonel Hooke's success was obtaining a memorial, signed by ten lords and chiefs,† acting in the name, as they state, of the bulk of the nation, but particularly of thirty persons of distinction, from whom they had special mandates, in which paper they agreed that upon the arrival of the Chevalier de St. George, they would make him master of Scotland, which was entirely

* "I begged of them to remember," says Colonel Hooke, "that they had to do with a prince of the utmost penetration, who will never suffer himself to be imposed upon; that it would not look well in them to be teaching him what was his interest; that as they could not give me reasons in support of their demands, nor could make a satisfactory reply to my answers, how could they expect that so weak arguments should make an impression upon his Majesty."—"I answered them that I always kept to the terms of my instructions, to promise them all that I judged necessary,—that 5,000 men were not sufficient to make head against the enemy, and that if they could not trust to the bravery of their nation, I advised them not to prosecute their design."—*Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations; written by himself.* 8vo. 1760. pp. 52, 53.

† "The ten who signed the Memorial were Lords Errol, Panmure, Stormont, and Kinnaird; Ogilvie of Boyne, Moray of Abercairnie, N. Keith, for the Earl Marischall, Drummond of Logie, Fotheringham of Pourie, and Innes of Coxtoun."—*Ibid.*, p. 91.

in his interest, and immediately thereafter proceed to raise an army of twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse. With this force they proposed to march into England, seize upon Newcastle, and distress the City of London by interrupting the coal trade. They stated their hope that the King would send with the Chevalier an auxiliary army of at least five thousand men, some officers, and a general of high rank, such as the Scottish nobles would not scruple to obey. The Duke of Berwick, a natural son of the late king, and a general of first-rate talent, was particularly fixed upon. They also complained of a want of field-pieces, battering cannon, and arms of every kind, and stated their desire of a supply, and lastly, they dwelt upon the need they had of a subsidy of six hundred thousand livres, to enable them to begin the war. But they stated these in the shape of humble requests, rather than demands or conditions, and submitted themselves in the same memorial to any modification or alteration of the terms, which might render them more acceptable to King Louis. Thus Hooke made good the important point in his instructions, which enjoined him to take the Scottish Jacobites bound as far as possible to the King of France, while he should on no account enter into any negotiations which might bind his Majesty to any counter-stipulations. Louis showed considerable address in playing this game, as it is vulgarly called, of Fast and Loose, giving every reason to conclude that his ministers, if not the sovereign himself, looked less upon the invasion of Scotland as the means of effecting a counter-revolution, than in the light of a diversion, which would oblige the British to withdraw a large proportion of the troops which they employed in Flanders, and thus obtain a superiority for France on the general theatre of war. With this pur-

pose, and to take the chance, doubtless, of fortunate events, and the generally discontented state of Scotland, the French court received and discussed at their leisure the prodigal offer of the Scottish Jacobites.

At length, after many delays, the French monarch actually determined upon making an effort. It was resolved to send to Scotland the heir of the ancient kings of that country, with a body of about five or six thousand men, being the force thought necessary by the faction of Athole — that of Hamilton having demanded eight thousand men at the very least. It was agreed that the Chevalier de St. George should embark at Dunkirk with this little army, and that the fleet should be placed under the command of the Comte de Forbin, who had distinguished himself by several naval exploits.

When the plan was communicated by Monsieur de Chamillard, then minister for naval affairs, the commodore stated numerous objections to throwing so large a force ashore on the naked beach, without being assured of possessing a single harbor, or fortified place, which might serve them for a defence against the troops which the English Government would presently despatch against them. "If," pursued Forbin, "you have five thousand troops to throw away on a desperate expedition, give me the command of them; I will embark them in shallops and light vessels, and I will surprise Amsterdam, and, by destroying the commerce of the Dutch capital, take away all means and desire on the part of the United Provinces to continue the war." — "Let us have no more of this," replied the Minister; "you are called upon to execute the King's commands, not to discuss them. His Majesty has promised to the King and Queen Dowager of England (the Chevalier de St. George and Mary d'Esté) that he

is to give them the stipulated assistance, and you are honored with the task of fulfilling his royal word." To hear was to obey, and the Comte de Forbin set himself about the execution of the design intrusted to him; but with a secret reluctance which boded ill for the expedition, since, in bold undertakings, success is chiefly insured by the zeal, confidence, and hearty co-operation of those to whom the execution is committed. Forbin was so far from being satisfied with the commission assigned him, that he started a thousand difficulties and obstacles, all of which he was about to repeat to the monarch himself in a private interview, when Louis, observing the turn of his conversation, cut his restive admiral short by telling him that he was busy at that moment and wished him a good voyage.

The commander of the land forces was the Comte de Gassé, who afterwards bore the title of *Maréchal de Matignon*. Twelve battalions were embarked on board of eight ships of the line and twenty-four frigates, besides transports and shallops for disembarkation. The King of France displayed his magnificence, by supplying the *Chevalier de St. George* with a royal wardrobe, services of gold and silver plate, rich liveries for his attendants, splendid uniforms for his guards, and all external appurtenances befitting the rank of a sovereign prince. At parting, Louis bestowed on his guest a sword, having its hilt set with diamonds, and, with that felicity of compliment which was natural to him above all other princes, expressed, as the best wish he could bestow upon his departing friend, his hope that they might never meet again. It was ominous that Louis used the same term of courtesy in bidding adieu to the *Chevalier's* father, previous to the battle of *La Hogue*.

The Chevalier departed for Dunkirk and embarked the troops ; and thus far all had been conducted with such perfect secrecy, that England was totally unaware of the attempt which was meditated.* But an accident at the same time retarded the enterprise and made it public. This was the illness of the Chevalier de St. George, who was seized with the measles. It could then no longer remain a secret that he was lying sick in Dunkirk, with the purpose of heading an expedition, for which the troops were already embarked.

It was scarcely possible to imagine a country more unprepared for such an attack than England, unless it were Scotland. The great majority of the English army were then in Flanders. There only remained within the kingdom five thousand men, and these chiefly new levies. The situation of Scotland was still more defenceless. Edinburgh Castle was alike unfurnished with garrison, artillery, ammunition, and stores. There were not in the country above two thousand regular soldiers, and these were Scottish regiments, whose fidelity was very little to be reckoned upon, if there should, as was probable, be a general insurrection of their countrymen. The panic in London was great, at court, in camp, and in city : there was also an unprecedented run on the Bank, which, unless that great national institution had been supported by an association of wealthy British and foreign merchants, must

* "It was next to a miracle," says George Lockhart, "that so long delay and so many off-puts did not bring all to light, and occasion either then, or at least afterwards, when the attempt was made and miscarried, the ruin of many people: for the design was known to so many, and so much discoursed of in common conversation, that it was strange witnesses and proofs should be wanting to have hanged many honest men." — *Papers*, vol. i. p. 234.

have given a severe shock to public credit.* The consternation was the more overwhelming, that the great men in England were jealous of each other, and, not believing that the Chevalier would have ventured over upon the encouragement of the Scottish nation only, suspected the existence of some general conspiracy, the explosion of which would take place in England.

Amid the wide-spreading alarm, active measures were taken to avert the danger. The few regiments which were in South Britain were directed to march for Scotland in all haste. Advices were sent to Flanders, to recall some of the British troops there for the more pressing service at home. General Cadogan, with ten battalions, took shipping in Holland, and actually sailed for Tynemouth. But even amongst these there were troops which could not be trusted. The Earl of Orkney's Highland regiment, and that which is called the Scotch fusileers, are said to have declared they would never use their swords against their country in an English quarrel. It must be added, that the arrival of this succor was remote and precarious. But England had a readier and more certain resource in the superiority of her navy.

With the most active exertions a fleet of forty sail of the line was assembled and put to sea, and, ere the French

* "The Lord Treasurer signified to the directors of the Bank, that her Majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent upon their bills, which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset. The French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the Bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the directors having called in twenty per cent upon their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected." — SMOLLETT, c. ix. b. 1.

squadron commanded by Forbin had sailed, they beheld this mighty fleet before Dunkirk, on the 28th of February, 1708. The Comte de Forbin, upon this formidable apparition, despatched letters to Paris for instructions, having no doubt of receiving orders, in consequence, to disembark the troops, and postpone the expedition. Such an answer arrived accordingly; but while Forbin was preparing, on the 14th March, to carry it into execution, the English fleet was driven off the blockade by stress of weather; which news having soon reached the court, positive orders came, that at all risks the invading squadron should proceed to sea.

They sailed accordingly on 17th March from the roads of Dunkirk; and now not a little depended on the accidental circumstance of wind and tide, as these should be favorable to the French or English fleets. The elements were adverse to the French. They had no sooner left Dunkirk roads than the wind became contrary, and the squadron was driven into the roadstead called Newport-pits, from which place they could not stir for the space of two days, when, the wind again changing, they set sail for Scotland with a favorable breeze. The Comte de Forbin and his squadron arrived in the entrance of the Frith of Forth, sailed as high up as the point of Crail, on the coast of Fife, and dropped anchor there, with the purpose of running up the frith as far as the vicinity of Edinburgh on the next day, and there disembarking the Chevalier de St. George, Maréchal Matignon, and his troops. In the mean time, they showed signals, fired guns, and endeavored to call the attention of their friends whom they expected to welcome them ashore.

None of these signals were returned from the land; but they were answered from the sea in a manner as un-

expected as it was displeasing. The report of five cannon, heard in the direction of the mouth of the frith, gave notice of the approach of Sir George Byng and the English fleet, which had sailed the instant their admiral learned that the Comte de Forbin had put to sea ; and though the French had considerably the start of them, the British admiral contrived to enter the frith immediately after the French squadron.

The dawn of morning showed the far superior force of the English fleet advancing up the frith, and threatening to intercept the French squadron in the narrow inlet of the sea into which they had ventured. The Chevalier de St. George and his attendants demanded to be put on board a smaller vessel than that commanded by Monsieur de Forbin, with the purpose of disembarking at the ancient castle of Wemyss, on the Fife coast, belonging to the Earl of the same name, a constant adherent of the Stewart family. This was at once the wisest and most manly course which he could have followed. But the son of James II. was doomed to learn how little free-will can be exercised by the prince who has placed himself under the protection of a powerful auxiliary. Monsieur de Forbin, after evading his request for some time, at length decidedly said to him : “ Sire, by the orders of my royal master, I am directed to take the same precautions for the safety of your august person as for his Majesty’s own. This must be my chief care. You are at present in safety, and I will never consent to your being exposed in a ruinous chateau, in an open country, where a few hours might put you in the hands of your enemies. I am intrusted with your person ; I am answerable for your safety with my head ; I beseech you, therefore, to repose your confidence in me entirely, and to

listen to no one else. All those who dare give you advice different from mine, are either traitors or cowards." Having thus settled the Chevalier's doubts in a manner savoring something of the roughness of his profession, the Comte de Forbin bore down on the English admiral, as if determined to fight his way through the fleet. But as Sir George Byng made signal for collecting his ships to meet the enemy, the Frenchman went off on another tack, and, taking advantage of the manœuvre to avoid the English admiral, steered for the mouth of the frith. The English ships having been long at sea, were rather heavy sailers, while those of Forbin had been carefully selected and careened for this particular service. The pursuit of Byng was therefore in vain, excepting that the Elizabeth, a slow-sailing vessel of the French fleet, fell into his hands.

Admiral Byng, when the French escaped him, proceeded to Edinburgh to assist in the defence of the capital, in case of any movement of the Jacobites which might have endangered it. The Comte de Forbin, with his expedition, had, on the other hand, the power of choosing among all the ports on the northeast coast of Scotland, from Dundee to Inverness, the one which circumstances might render most eligible for the purpose of disembarking the Chevalier de St. George and the French troops. But, whether from his own want of cordiality in the object of the expedition, or whether, as was generally suspected by the Scottish Jacobites at the time, he had secret orders from his court which regulated his conduct, Forbin positively refused to put the disinherited prince, and the soldiers destined for his service, on shore at any part of the north of Scotland, although the Chevalier repeatedly required him to do so. The expedition returned

to Dunkirk, from which it had been four weeks absent ; the troops were put ashore and distributed in garrison, and the commanders hastened to court, each to excuse himself, and throw the blame of the failure upon the other.*

On the miscarriage of this intended invasion, the malecontents of Scotland felt that an opportunity was lost, which never might, and in fact never did, again present itself. The unanimity with which almost all the numerous sects and parties in Scotland were disposed to unite in any measure which could rid them of the Union, was so unusual that it could not be expected to be of long duration in so factious a nation. Neither was it likely that the kingdom of Scotland would, after such a lesson, be again left by the English Government so ill provided for defence. Above all, it seemed probable that the vengeance of the Ministry would descend so heavily on the heads of those who had been foremost in expressing their good wishes to the cause of the Chevalier de St. George, as might induce others to beware of following their example on future occasions.

During the brief period when the French fleet was known to be at sea, and the landing of the army on some part of the coast of Scotland was expected almost hourly, the depression of the few who adhered to the existing

* "One thing is certain, had not the wind chopt about and kept them bound up in Newport-Pits, they might have been in Scotland before Sir George Byng knew of their sailing from Dunkirk ; for, having sailed from thence in the evening, ere next day they 'd have been out of land's sight ; but being wind-bound in these Pits, occasioned their being discovered from off the steeples of Ostend. Notice of which being immediately despatched to Sir George Byng, he instantly sailed with the English fleet, and arrived at the mouth of the frith in the night-time, some few hours after the French." — LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. p. 242.

government was extreme. The Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief of the Scottish forces, hurried down from England to take the command of two or three regiments, which were all that could be mustered for the defence of the capital, and, on his arrival, wrote to the Secretary of State that the Jacobites were in such numbers, and showed themselves so elated that he scarce dared look them in the face as he walked the streets. On the approach of a fleet, the Earl drew up his army in hostile array on Leith Sands, as if he meant to withstand any attempt to land. But great was his relief, when the approaching vessels of war showed the flag of England, instead of France, and proved to be those of Sir George Byng, instead of the Comte de Forbin's.

When this important intelligence was publicly known, it was for the Jacobites in their turn to abate the haughty looks before which their enemies had quailed, and resume those which they wore as a suffering but submissive faction. The Jacobite gentlemen of Stirlingshire, in particular, had almost gone the length of rising in arms, or, to speak more properly, they had actually done so, though no opportunity had occurred of coming to blows. They had now, therefore, reason to expect the utmost vengeance of Government.

This little band consisted of several men of wealth, influence, and property. Stirling of Keir, Seaton of Touch, Edmondstoun of Newton, Stirling of Carden, and others, assembled a gallant body of horse, and advanced towards Edinburgh, to be the first who should offer themselves for the service of the Chevalier de St. George. Learning by the way the failure of the expedition, they dispersed themselves, and returned to their own homes. They were seized, however, thrown into prison and threatened to be tried for high treason.

The Duke of Hamilton, with that want of decision which gave his conduct an air of mysterious inconsistency, had left his seat of Kinniel to visit his estates in Lancashire, while the treaty concerning the French invasion was in dependence. He was overtaken on his journey by a friend, who came to apprise him, that all obstructions to the expedition being overcome, it might be with certainty expected on the coast in the middle of March. The Duke seemed much embarrassed, and declared to Lockhart of Carnwath, that he would joyfully return, were it not that he foresaw that his giving such a mark of the interest he took in the arrival of the Chevalier, as that which stopping short on a journey, and returning to Scotland on the first news that he was expected, must necessarily imply, would certainly determine the Government to arrest him on suspicion. But his Grace pledged himself that when he should learn by express that the French were actually arrived, he would return to Scotland in spite of all opposition, and rendezvous at Dumfries, where Mr. Lockhart should meet him with the insurgents of Lanarkshire, the district in which both their interests lay.

The Duke had scarcely arrived at his house of Ashton, in Lancashire, when he was arrested as a suspicious person, and was still in the custody of the messenger when he received the intelligence that the French armament had actually set sail. Even this he did not conceive a fit time to declare himself, but solemnly protested that so soon as he should learn that the Chevalier had actually landed, he would rid himself of the officer in whose custody he was, and set off for Scotland at the head of forty horse, to live or die in his service. As the Chevalier never set foot ashore, we have no means of knowing

whether the Duke of Hamilton would have fulfilled his promise, which Mr. Lockhart seems to have considered as candidly and sincerely given, or have had recourse to some evasion, as upon other critical occasions.*

The Government, as is usual in such cases, were strict in investigating the cause of the conspiracy, and menacing those who had encouraged it, in a proportion corresponding to the alarm into which they had been thrown. A great many of the Scottish nobility and gentry were arrested on suspicion, secured in prisons and strong fortresses in Scotland, or sent to London in a kind of triumph, on account of the encouragement they were supposed to have given to the invasion.

The Stirlingshire gentlemen, who had actually taken arms and embodied themselves, were marked out as the first victims, and were accordingly sent back to Scotland, to be tried in the country where they had committed the

* The Duke of Hamilton was in bad health, or feigned to be so during the sojourn of Colonel Hooke, who obtained no intercourse with him but through Mr. Hall, his Grace's secretary. "I was quickly convinced," says Hooke, "that he did not act sincerely; for having learned that Mr. Hall had written by the same messenger to two of his friends, I found means to get possession of the letters, in which he had written more openly." "I saw by these letters that the Duke sought underhand to break all the measures of the well-affected, and then to excuse himself to them by false pretences." "I was so incensed at this proceeding, that I would write no more either to the Duke or Mr. Hall; I said only by word of mouth to him who brought me the letter, that I had no answer to return. But upon reflecting that the Duke pretended to be able to put the K— of England upon the throne, without the assistance of France, and that at the same time he endeavored to hinder that prince from coming over to Scotland, it came into my mind, that he had still an intention of seizing the throne himself." — *Secret History*, pp. 39, 40. Among Letters from the Scottish Nobility to the Chevalier, Hooke carried one from the Duke, written in ciphers, but neither signed nor addressed. — See it, *Ibid.* pp. 102 – 105.

crime. They met more favorable judges than was perhaps to have been expected.

Being brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, several witnesses were examined, who had seen the gentlemen assembled together in a body, but no one had remarked any circumstance which gave them the character of a military force. They had arms, indeed, but few gentlemen of that day stirred abroad without sword and pistol. No one had heard any treasonable conversation, or avowal of a treasonable purpose. The jury, therefore, found the crime was *Not Proved* against them — a verdict which, by the Scottish law, is equivalent in its effects to one of Not Guilty, but which is applied to those cases in which the accused persons are clouded with such a shade of suspicion as renders their guilt probable in the eyes of the jury, though the accuser has failed to make it good by proof. Their trial took place on the 22d November, 1708.

A short traditional story will serve to explain the cause of their acquittal. It is said, the Laird of Keir was riding joyfully home, with his butler in attendance, who had been one of the evidence produced against him on the trial, but who had, upon examination, forgot every word concerning the matter which could possibly prejudice his master. Keir could not help expressing some surprise to the man, at the extraordinary shortness of memory which he had shown on particular questions being put to him. "I understand what your honor means very well," said the domestic, coolly; "but my mind was made up rather to trust my own soul to the mercy of Heaven, than your honor's body to the tender compassion of the Whigs." This tale carries its own commentary.

Having failed to convict conspirators who had acted so

openly, the Government found it would be hopeless to proceed against those who had been arrested on suspicion only. This body included many noblemen and gentry of the first rank, believed to entertain Jacobite sentiments. The Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls Seaforth, Errol, Nithsdale, Marischal, and Murray; Lords Stormont, Kilsythe, Drummond, Nairne, Belhaven, and Sinclair, besides many gentlemen of fortune and influence, were all confined in the Tower, or other state prisons. The Duke of Hamilton is supposed to have been successful in making interest with the Whigs for their release, his Grace proposing, in return, to give the Ministers the advantage of his interest, and that of his friends, upon future elections. The prisoners were accordingly dismissed, on finding bail.*

The Government, however, conceived that the failure to convict the Stirlingshire gentlemen accused of high treason (of which they were certainly guilty) arose less from the reluctance of witnesses to bear testimony against them, than in advantages afforded to them by the uncertain and general provisions of the Scottish statutes in cases of treason.† They proposed to remedy this by abrogating the Scottish law, and introducing that of England in its stead, and ordaining that treasons committed in Scotland should be tried and decided in what is technically called a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*; i. e. a Court of Commissioners appointed for hearing and de-

* "Belhaven had already survived his country; but at this unworthy treatment, the generous patriot expired of grief and indignation as soon as he was released." — LAING, vol. ii. p. 346.

† "By the connivance of Stewart, the Queen's advocate, who neglected to furnish a list of witnesses, which the judges, equally dissatisfied with Government, deemed indispensable, the prisoners were immediately absolved by the Justiciary Court." — *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 346.

cing a particular cause, or set of causes. This, it must be noticed, contained an important advantage to the Government, since the case was taken from under the cognizance of the ordinary courts of justice, and intrusted to commissioners named for the special occasion, who must, of course be chosen from men friendly to Government, awake to the alarm arising from any attack upon it, and, consequently, likely to be somewhat prejudiced against the parties brought before them, as accomplices in such an enterprise. On the other hand, the new law, with the precision required by the English system, was decided and distinct in settling certain forms of procedure, which, in Scotland, being left to the arbitrary pleasure of the judges, gave them an opportunity of favoring or distressing the parties brought before them. This was a dangerous latitude upon political trials, where every man, whatever might be his rank, or general character for impartiality, was led to take a strong part on one side or other of the question out of which the criminal interest had arisen.

Another part of the proposed act was, however, a noble, boon to Scotland. It freed the country forever from the atrocious powers of examination under torture. This, as we have seen, was currently practised during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother James; and it had been put in force, though unfrequently, after the Revolution. A greater injustice cannot be imagined than the practice of torture to extort confession, although it once made a part of judicial procedure in every country of Europe, and is still resorted to in some continental nations. It is easy to conceive, that a timid man, or one peculiarly sensible to pain, will confess crimes of which he is innocent, to avoid or escape from the infliction of extreme torture; while

a villain, of a hardy disposition of mind and body, will endure the worst torment that can be imposed on him, rather than avow offences of which he is actually guilty.

The laws of both countries conformed but too well in adding to the punishment of high treason certain aggravations, which, while they must disgust and terrify the humane and civilized, tend only to brutalize the vulgar and unthinking part of the spectators, and to familiarize them with acts of cruelty. On this the laws of England were painfully minute. They enjoined that the traitor should be cut down from the gibbet before life and sensibility to pain were extinguished — that, while half-strangled, his heart should be torn from his breast and thrown into the fire, — his body opened and embowelled, and — omitting other more shamefully savage injunctions — that his corpse should be quartered and exposed upon bridges and city towers, and abandoned to the carrion crow and the eagle. Admitting that high treason, as it implies the destruction of the government under which we live, is the highest of all possible crimes, still the forfeiture of life, which it does, and ought to infer, is the highest punishment which our mortal state affords. All the butchery, therefore, which the former laws of England prescribed, only disgusts or hardens the heart of the spectator; while the apparatus of terror seldom affects the criminal, who has been generally led to commit the crime by some strong enthusiastic feeling, either implanted in him by education, or caught up from sympathy with others; and which, as it leads him to hazard life itself, is not subdued or daunted by the additional or protracted tortures which can be added to the manner in which death is inflicted.

Another penalty annexed to the crime of high treason

was the forfeiture of the estates of the criminal to the crown, to the disinheriting of his children, or natural heirs. There is something in this difficult to reconcile to moral feeling, since it may, in some degree, be termed visiting the crimes of the parents upon the children. It may be also alleged, that it is hard to forfeit and take away from the lawful line of succession property which may have been acquired by the talents and industry of the criminal's forefathers, or, perhaps, by their meritorious services to the state. But, on the other hand, it must be considered that there is something not unappropriate in the punishment of reducing to poverty the family of him, who by his attack on the state, might have wrought the ruin of thousands of families. Nor is it less to be admitted that this branch of the punishment has a quality always desirable, — namely, a strong tendency to deter men from the crime. High treason is usually the offence of men of rank and wealth; at least, such being the leaders in civil war, are usually selected for punishment. It is natural that such individuals, however willingly they may venture their own persons, should be apt to hesitate when the enterprise involves all the fortunes of their house, name, rank, and other advantages, which, having received perhaps from a long train of ancestors, they are naturally and laudably desirous to transmit to their posterity.

The proposal for extending the treason law of England into North Britain, was introduced under the title of a bill for further completing and perfecting the Union. Many of the Scottish members alleged, on the contrary, that the proposed enactments were rather a violation of the national treaty, since the bill was directly calculated to encroach on the powers of the Court of Justiciary,

which had been guaranteed by the Union. This objection was lessened at least by an amendment on the bill, which declared, that three of the Judges of Justiciary (so the Criminal Court of Scotland is termed) should be always included in any Commission of Oyer and Terminer. The bill passed into a statute, and has been ever since the law of the land.

Thus was the Union completed. We shall next endeavor to show, in the phrase of mechanics, how this new machine worked ; or, in other words, how this great alteration on the internal Constitution of Great Britain answered the expectations of those by whom the changes were introduced.

CHAPTER LXIII.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADING MEN IN SCOTLAND—THE DUKES OF HAMILTON, ARGYLE, AND THE EARL OF MAR—RECEPTION OF THE SCOTTISH MEMBERS IN PARLIAMENT—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SCOTTISH PEERS AND COMMONERS—RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THEM IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION, WHETHER SCOTTISH PEERS, ON BEING CREATED PEERS OF GREAT BRITAIN, HAD A RIGHT TO SIT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—DEBATE ON THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE MALT TAX OUGHT TO BE EXTENDED TO SCOTLAND—MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE UNION—NEGATIVED BY A MAJORITY OF ONLY FOUR—FERMENT OCCASIONED BY THE PUBLICATION OF SWIFT'S PAMPHLET ON "THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS."

[1708—1713.]

IN order to give you a distinct idea of the situation in which Great Britain was placed at this eventful period, I shall first sketch the character of three or four of the principal persons of Scotland whose influence had most effect in producing the course of events which followed. I shall then explain the course pursued by the Scottish representatives in the national Parliament; and these preliminaries being discussed, I shall, thirdly, endeavor to trace the general measures of Britain respecting her foreign relations, and to explain the effect which these produced upon the public tranquillity of the United Kingdom.

The Duke of Hamilton you are already somewhat acquainted with, as a distinguished character during the last Parliament of Scotland, when he headed the oppo-

sition to the treaty of Union ; and also during the plot for invading Scotland and restoring the Stewart family, when he seems to have been regarded as the leader of the Lowland Jacobites, those of the Highlands rather inclining to the Duke of Athole. He was the peer of the highest rank in Scotland, and nearly connected with the royal family ; which made some accuse him of looking towards the crown, a folly of which his acknowledged good sense might be allowed to acquit him. He was handsome in person, courtly and amiable in manners, generally popular with all classes, and the natural head of the gentry of Lanarkshire, many of whom are descended from his family. Through the influence of his mother, the Duchess, he had always preserved a strong interest among the Hillmen, or Cameronians, who had, since the Revolution shown themselves in arms more than once ; and, in case of a civil war or invasion, must have been of material avail. With all these advantages of birth, character, and influence, the Duke of Hamilton had a defect which prevented his attaining eminence as a political leader. He possessed personal valor, as he showed in his last and tragic scene, but he was destitute of political courage and decision. Dangers which he had braved at a distance, appalled him when they approached near ; he was apt to disappoint his friends, as the horse who balks the leap to which he has come gallantly up, endangers, or perhaps altogether unseats his rider. Even with this defect, Hamilton was beloved and esteemed by Lockhart, and other leaders of the Tory party, who appear rather to have regretted his unsteadiness as a weakness, than condemned it as a fault.

The next Scottish nobleman, whose talents made him pre-eminent on the scene during this eventful period, was

John, Duke of Argyle, a person whose greatness did not consist in the accidents of rank, influence, and fortune, though possessed of all these in the highest order which his country permitted, since his talents were such as must have forced him into distinction and eminence, in what humble state soever he might have been born. This great man was heir of the ancient house of Argyle, which makes so distinguished a figure in Scottish history, and whose name occurs so often in the former volumes of these tales. The Duke of whom we now speak was the great-grandson of the Marquis of Argyle who was beheaded after the Restoration, and grandson of the Earl who suffered the same fate under James II. The family had been reduced to very narrow circumstances, by those repeated acts of persecution.

The house of Argyle was indemnified at the Revolution, when the father of Duke John was restored to his paternal property, and in compensation for the injuries and injustice sustained by his father and grandfather, was raised to the rank of Duke. A remarkable circumstance which befell Duke John in his infancy, would, by the pagans, have been supposed to augur that he was under the special-care of Providence, and reserved for some great purposes. About the time (tradition says on the very day, 30th June, 1685) that his grandfather, the Earl Archibald, was about to be executed, the heir of the family, then about seven years old, fell from a window of the ancient tower of Lethington, near Haddington, the residence at that time of his grandmother, the Duchess of Lauderdale. The height is so great that the child escaping unhurt might be accounted a kind of miracle.

Having entered early on a military life, to which his family had been long partial, he distinguished himself at

the siege of Keyzerswart, under the eye of King William. Showing a rare capacity for business, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1705, on which occasion he managed so well, as to set on foot the treaty of Union, by carrying through the Act for the appointment of Commissioners to adjust that great national measure. The Duke, therefore, laid the first stone of an edifice, which, though carried on upon an erroneous and narrow system, was nevertheless ultimately calculated to be, and did in fact prove, the basis of universal prosperity to the United Kingdoms. In the last Scottish Parliament, his powerful eloquence was a principal means of supporting that great treaty. Argyle's name does not appear in any list of the sharers of the equivalent money: and his countrymen, amid the unpopularity which attached to the measure, distinguished him as having favored it from real principle. Indeed, it is an honorable part of this great man's character, that, though bent on the restoration of the fortunes of his family, sorely abridged by the mischances of his grandfather and great-grandfather, and by the extravagances of his father, he had too much sense and too much honor ever to stoop to any indirect mode of gaining personal advantage, and was able, in a venal age, to set all imputations of corruption at defiance; whereas the statesman who is once detected bartering his opinions for lucre is like a woman who has lost her reputation, and can never afterwards regain the public trust and good opinion which he has forfeited. Argyle was rewarded, however, by being created an English peer, by the title of Earl of Greenwich and Baron Chatham.

Argyle, after the Union was carried, returned to the army, and served under Marlborough with distinguished

reputation, of which it was thought that great general even condescended to be jealous. At least it is certain that there was no cordiality between them, it being understood that when there was a rumor that the Whig administration of Godolphin would make a push to have the Duke created general for life, in spite of the Queen's pleasure to the contrary, Argyle offered, if such an attempt should be made, to make Marlborough prisoner, even in the midst of the victorious army which he commanded. At this time, therefore, he was a steady and zealous friend of Harley and Bolingbroke, who were then beginning their Tory administration. To recompense his valuable support, he was named by the Tory Ministry commander-in-chief in Spain, and assured of all the supplies in troops and money which might enable him to carry on the war with success in that kingdom, where the Tories had all along insisted it should be maintained. With this pledge, Argyle accepted the appointment, in the ambitious hope of acquiring that military renown which he principally coveted.

But the Duke's mortification was extreme in finding, on his arrival in Spain, the British army in a state too wretched to undertake any enterprise of moment, and indeed unfit even to defend its positions. The British Ministers broke the word they had pledged for his support, and sent him neither money, supplies, nor reinforcements; so that instead of rivalling Marlborough, as had been his ambition, in conquering territories and gaining battles, Argyle saw himself reduced to the melancholy necessity of retiring to Minorca to save the wreck of the army. The reason given by the Ministers for this breach of faith was, that having determined on that accommodation with France which was afterwards termed the peace

of Utrecht, they did not desire to prosecute the war with vigor either in Spain or any other quarter. Argyle fell sick with mortified pride and resentment. He struggled for life in a violent fever, and returned to Britain with vindictive intentions towards the Ministers, who had, he thought, disappointed him, by their breach of promise, of an ample harvest of glory.

On his return to England, the Ministers, Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Bolingbroke, endeavored to soothe the Duke's resentment by appointing him commander-in-chief in Scotland, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh; but, notwithstanding, he remained a bitter and dangerous opponent of their administration, formidable by his high talents, both civil and military, his ready eloquence, and the fearless energy with which he spoke and acted.* Such was the distinguished John Duke of Argyle, whom we shall often have to mention in these pages.

John, eleventh Earl of Mar, of the name of Erskine, was also a remarkable person at this period. He was a man of quick parts and prompt eloquence, an adept in state intrigues, and a successful courtier. His paternal estate had been greatly embarrassed by the mismanagement of his father, but in a great measure redeemed by his own prudent economy. He obtained the command of a regiment of foot, but though we are about to see him at the head of an army, it does not appear that Mar had given his mind to military affairs, or acquired experience by going on actual service. His father had been a Whig,

* "In consequence of his opposition, and his known attachment to the House of Hanover, the Duke of Argyle was, 4th March, 1714, dismissed from the command of the Scotch troop of horse-guards, and deprived of his governments of Minorca and Edinburgh." — Wood's *Peerage*, vol. i. p. 109.

and professed Revolution principles, and the present Earl entered life bearing the same colors. He brought forward, in the Parliament of Scotland, the proposal for the treaty of Union, and was one of the Scottish commissioners for settling the preliminary articles. Being Secretary of State for Scotland during the last Scottish Parliament, he supported the treaty both with eloquence and address. Mar does not appear amongst those who received any portion of the equivalents; but as he lost his secretaryship by the Union, he was created Keeper of the Signet, with a pension, and was admitted into the English Privy Council. Upon the celebrated change of the Administration in 1710, the Earl of Mar, then one of the fifteen peers who represented the nobility of Scotland, passed over to the new Ministers, and was created one of the British secretaries of state. In this capacity he was much employed in the affairs of Scotland, and in managing such matters as they had to do in the Highlands. His large estate upon the river Dee, in Aberdeenshire, called the forest of Braemar, placed him at the head of a considerable Highland following of his own, which rendered it more easy for him, as dispenser of the bounties of Government, to establish an interest among the chiefs, which ultimately had fatal consequences to them and to himself.

Such were the three principal Scottish nobles on whom the affairs of Scotland, at that uncertain period, very much depended. We are next to give some account of the manner in which the forty-five members, whom the Union had settled to be the proportion indulged to Scotland as her share of the Legislature, were received in the English Senate.

And here it must be noticed that although individually

the Scottish members were cordially received in London, and in society saw or felt no prejudice whatever existing against them on account of their birthplace, and though there was no dislike exhibited against them individually, yet they were soon made sensible that their presence in the Senate was as unacceptable to the English members, as the arrival of a body of strange rams in a pasture, where a flock of the same animals have been feeding for some time. The contentions between those who are in possession and the new comers are in that case carried to a great height, and occasion much noise and many encounters; and for a long time the smaller band of strangers are observed to herd together, and to avoid intermingling with the original possessors, nor, if they attempt to do so, are they cordially received.

This same species of discord was visible between the great body of the English House of Commons and the handful of Scottish members introduced among them by the Union. It was so much the case that the national prejudices of English and Scots, pitted against each other, even interfered with and overcame the political differences by which the conduct and votes of the representatives of both nations would have been otherwise regulated. The Scottish members, for example, found themselves neglected, thwarted, and overborne by numbers, on many occasions where they conceived the immediate interests of their country were concerned, and where they thought that, in courtesy and common fairness, they, as the peculiar representatives of Scotland, ought to have been allowed something more than their small proportion of five-and-forty votes. The opinion even of a single member of Parliament is listened to with some deference, when the matter discussed intimately concerns the shire

or burgh which he represents, because he obtains credit for having made himself more master of the case than others who are less interested. And it was surely natural for the Scots to claim similar deference when speaking in behalf of a whole kingdom, whose wants and whose advantages could be known to none in the House so thoroughly as to themselves. But they were far from experiencing the courtesy which they expected. It was expressly refused to them in the following instances :—

1. The alteration of the law of high treason, already mentioned, was a subject of discord. The Scottish members were sufficiently desirous that their law, in this particular, should be modelled anew, by selecting the best parts of the system of both countries, and this would certainly have been the most equitable course. But the English law in this particular was imposed on Scotland, with little exception or modification.

2. Another struggle for national advantage occurred respecting the drawbacks of duty allowed upon fish cured in Scotland. This advantage the Scottish merchants had a right to by the letter of the treaty, which expressly declared that there should be a free communication of trade and commercial privileges between the kingdoms, so that the Scottish as well as the English merchant was entitled to these drawbacks. To this the English answered, that the salt with which the Scottish fish were cured before the Union had not paid the high English duty, and that to grant drawbacks upon goods so prepared would be to return to the Scottish trader sums which he had never advanced. There was some reason, no doubt, in the objection; but in so great a transaction as the union of two kingdoms, there must have occurred circumstances which, for one cause or another, must necessarily create an ad-

vantage to individuals of the one country or the other ; and it seemed ungracious in the wealthy kingdom of England to grudge to the poorer people of Scotland so trifling a benefit attendant on so important a measure. The English Parliament did accordingly at last agree to this drawback ; but the action lost its grace from the obvious unwillingness with which the advantage was conceded, and, as frequently happens, the giving up the point in question did not consign to oblivion the acrimony of the discussions which it had occasioned. The debates on the several questions we have just noticed all occurred in the sessions of the British Parliament during which the Union was completed.

In 1710 Queen Anne, becoming weary of her Whig Ministers, as I will tell you more at length, took an opportunity to dismiss them, upon finding the voice of the country unfavorable to them, in the foolish affair of Sacheverel ; and as is the usual course in such cases, she dissolved the Parliament, in which the Administration had a majority, and assembled a new one.*

The Tory Ministry, like all Ministers entering on office, endeavored, by civility or promises, to gain the support

* " And then all parties went heartily to work, the Whigs to make the best they could of a losing game, the Tories to appear formidable at their first setting out. The one bellowed far and near that Popery and the Pretender were coming in ; the other cried aloud that the Church and the Monarchy were rescued from the very brink of perdition. Although the Whigs left no stone unturned to promote their interest, the Tories got the better of them by far in most of the elections in England. Neither were they less diligent on all sides in Scotland. The Whigs there, to the fears of Popery and the Pretender added the danger that Presbytery was in. The Tories spoke little above-board, but underhand represented that now or never was the time to do something effectually for the King, and by restoring him, dissolve the Union." — LOCKHART *Papers*, vol. i. pp. 818, 819.

of every description of men; and the Scottish members, who, after all, made up forty-five votes, were not altogether neglected. The new Ministry boasted to the representatives of North Britain, that the present Parliament consisted chiefly of independent country gentlemen, who would do impartial justice to all parts of Britain, and that Scotland should have nothing to complain of.

An opportunity speedily occurred of proving the sincerity of these promises. It must first be remarked, that the opposition made to the measures of Government had hitherto been almost entirely on the side of the Scottish members in the Lower House, who had pursued the policy of threatening to leave the Administration in a minority in trying questions, by passing in a body to the Opposition; a line of political tactics which will always give to a small but united band a certain weight in the House of Commons, where nicely balanced questions frequently occur, and forty-five votes may turn the scale one way or other. By this policy the Scottish commoners had sometimes produced a favorable issue on points in which their country was concerned. But such was not the practice of the representatives of the peerage, who, having some of them high rank, with but small fortunes to sustain it, were for a time tolerably tractable, voting regularly along with the Ministers in power. A question, however, arose of which we shall speak presently, concerning the privileges of their own order, which disturbed this interested and self-seeking course of policy.

Another reason for the lukewarmness of the Scottish peers was, that the commoners of Scotland had been active on two occasions in which they had interposed barriers against the exorbitant power of the aristocracy. The first was an enactment passed rendering the eldest

sons of Scottish peers incapable of sitting as members in the House of Commons. This incapacity was imposed, because, being of the same rank or status as the nobility, it was considered that the eldest sons of the nobles were, like their fathers, virtually represented by the sixteen Scottish peers sent to the Upper House.* The second regulation displeasing to the peerage was that which rendered illegal the votes of such electors in Scotland, as, not being possessed in their own right of the qualification necessary by law, had obtained a temporary conveyance of a freehold qualification of the necessary amount, which they bound themselves to restore to the person by whom it was lent for the purpose of voting at elections. The effect of this law was to destroy an indirect mode by which the peers had attempted to interfere in the election of the commoners. For before this provision, although a peer could not himself appear or vote for the election of a commoner, he might, by cutting his crown-holding into qualifications of the necessary amount, and distributing them among confidential persons, place so many factitious voters on the roll, as might outvote those real proprietors in whom the constitution vested the right of election.

These two laws show that the Scottish members of the House of Commons were alive to the value of their constitutional rights and the danger to their freedom from the interference of the peers in the elections to the Lower House. These differences occasioned some coldness between the sixteen Peers and the Scottish Members of Parliament, and prevented for a time a co-operation between them in cases where the interests of their common country seemed to require it. The following inci-

* The eldest sons of Scots peers were not relieved from this incapacity until the passing of the Bill for Parliamentary Reform in 1832.

dent, to which I have already alluded, put an end to this coldness.

Queen Anne, in the course of her administration, had begun to withdraw her favors from the Whigs and confer them upon the Tories, even upon such as were supposed to have embraced the Jacobite interest. Among these, the Duke of Hamilton being conspicuous, he was, in addition to his other titles, created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of the Duke of Brandon. A similar exertion of the Queen's prerogative had already been made in the case of the Duke of Queensberry, who had been called to the British peerage, by the title of Duke of Dover. But notwithstanding this precedent, there was violent opposition to the Duke of Hamilton taking his seat as a British peer. It was said no Scottish noble could sit in that House by any other title than as one of the sixteen Peers, to which number the peerage of that kingdom had been restricted as an adequate representation; and the Opposition pretended to see great danger in opening any other way to their getting into the Upper House, even through the grant of the sovereign, than the election of their own number. The fallacy of this reasoning is obvious, seeing it was allowed on all hands that the Queen could have made any Scotsman a British peer, providing he was not a peer in his own country. Thus the Scottish peerage were likely to be placed in a very awkward situation. They were peers already, as far as the question of all personal privileges went; but because they were such, it was argued that they were not capable of holding the additional privilege of sitting as legislators, which it was admitted the Queen could confer, with all other immunities, upon any Scottish commoner. Their case was that of the bat in the fable, who was rejected both by birds and mice, be-

cause she had some alliance with each of them. A Scottish peer, not being one of the elected sixteen, could not be a legislator in his own country, for the Scottish Parliament was abolished; and, according to this doctrine, he had become, for no reason that can be conjectured, incapable of being called to the British House of Peers, to which the King could summon by his will any one save himself and his co-peers of Scotland. Nevertheless, the House of Peers, after a long debate, and by a narrow majority, decided, that no Scottish peer being created a peer of Great Britain since the Union, had a right to sit in that house. The Scottish peers, highly offended at the decision, drew up a remonstrance to the Queen, in which they complained of it as an infringement of the Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The resolution of the House of Peers was afterwards altered, and many of the Scottish nobility have, at various periods, been created peers of Great Britain.

But during the time while it remained binding it produced a considerable change in the temper of the Scottish peers, and brought them to form a closer union among themselves and with the commons. Influenced by these feelings of resentment, and by the energy of the Duke of Argyle, they bestirred themselves to resist the extension of the malt tax to Scotland.

This tax, which the Scots dreaded peculiarly, because it imposed upon their malt a duty equal to that levied in England, had been specially canvassed in the course of the treaty of Union; and it had finally been agreed that Scotland should not pay the tax during the continuance of the war. In point of strict right, the Scots had little to say, excepting that the peace with Spain was not yet proclaimed, which might have enabled them to claim a

delay, but not an exemption from the imposition. In point of equity, there was more to be pleaded. The barley grown in Scotland, being raised on an inferior soil, is not, at least was not at the time of the Union, worth more than one third or one half of the intrinsic value of that raised on the fertile soil, and under the fine climate, of England. If, therefore, the same duty was to be laid on the same quantity as in South Britain, the poorer country would be taxed in a double or triple proportion to that which was better able to bear the burden. Two Scottish peers, the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar, and two commoners, Cockburn, younger of Ormiston, and Lockhart, of Carnwath, a Whig and Tory of each house, were deputed to wait upon Queen Anne, and represent particularly, besides some other grievances, the dangerous discontents which the imposition of a tax so unequal as that upon malt was likely to occasion in so poor a country as Scotland. This was stated to her Majesty personally, who returned the answer ministers had put into her mouth.* "She was sorry," she said, "that her people of Scotland thought they had reason to complain; but she thought they drove their resentment too far, and wished they did not repent it."

The war, however, being ended by the peace of Utrecht, the English proposed to extend the obnoxious tax to Scotland. The debates in both Houses became very animated. The English testified some contempt for the poverty of

* "We accordingly set out," says Lockhart, "soon after the meeting, to Kensington, where the Queen then was, and though we made what haste we could, the Earl of Oxford, having been acquainted with the design, was got before us with the Queen, from whom coming out, as we were admitted, he told us he understood our errand, and that the Queen was prepared to give us an answer."—*Papers*, vol. i. p. 432.

Scotland, while the Scottish members, on the other hand, retorted fiercely, that the English took advantage of their great majority of numbers and privilege of place, to say more than, man to man, they would dare to answer. The Scottish peers in the Upper House maintained the cause of the country with equal vehemence. But the issue was the duty was imposed, with a secret assurance on the part of Ministers that it was not to be exacted. This last indulgence was what Scotland, strictly speaking, was not entitled to look for, since her own Estates had previously conceded the question; and they had no right to expect from the British Parliament a boon, which their own, while making the bargain, had neglected to stipulate. But they felt they had been treated with haughtiness and want of courtesy in the course of the debate; and so great was their resentment, that in a general meeting of the forty-five Scottish members, they came to the resolution to move for the dissolution of the Union, as an experiment which had failed in the good effects it was expected to produce, — which resolution was also adopted by the Scottish peers. It was supported by Scottish members of all parties, Whigs and Revolutionists, as well as Tories and Jacobites; and as all the English Whigs who, being in office, were so eager for the establishment of the Union, were now, when in opposition, as eager for its dissolution, its defence rested with the English Tories, by whom it had been originally opposed at every stage of its progress. This important treaty, which involved so much of national happiness, stood in danger of sharing the fate of a young fruit-tree, cut down by an ignorant gardener, because it bears no fruit in the season after it has been planted.

The motion for the dissolution of the Union was ^{1st June,} brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord ^{1713.}

Findlater and Seafield,* — that very Lord Findlater and Seafield, who, being Chancellor of the Scottish Parliament by which the treaty was adjusted, signed the last adjournment of his country's representatives with the jeering observation, that "there was an end of an old song." His Lordship, with a considerable degree of embarrassment, arising from the recollection of his own inconsistency, had the assurance to move that this "old song" should be resumed, and the Union abolished, on account of the four following alleged grievances: 1. The abolition of the Privy Council of Scotland; 2. The introduction of the English law of High Treason; 3. The incapacity of Scottish peers to be called to Parliament as peers of Britain; 4. The imposition of the malt tax. None of these reasons of complaint vindicated Lord Findlater's proposition. 1. The abolition of the Privy Council was a boon rather than a grievance to Scotland, which that oppressive body had ruled with a rod of iron. 2. The English treason law was probably more severe in some particulars than that of Scotland, but it had the undeniable advantage of superior certainty and precision. 3. The incapacity of the Scottish peers was indeed an encroachment upon their privileges, but it was capable of being reversed, and has been reversed accordingly, without the necessity of destroying the Union. 4. If the malt tax was a grievance, it was one which the Scottish commissioners, and his Lordship amongst others, had under

* "His Lordship," says Lockhart, "was both well and ill pleased with this task; well pleased, because he hoped he might thereby take off part of that odium he lay under, for being so instrumental in promoting the Union; and ill pleased, because he would be obliged to unsay many things he had formerly advanced, and might perhaps offend the Ministry. On the other hand, other people were diverted by seeing his Lordship brought to this dilemma." — *Papers*, vol. i. p. 434.

their view during the progress of the treaty, and to which they had formally subjected their country, and were not, therefore entitled to complain, as if something new or unexpected had happened, when the English availed themselves of a stipulation to which they themselves had consented.

The Duke of Argyle supported the motion for abrogating the Union with far more energy than had been displayed by Lord Findlater. He declared, that when he advocated the treaty of Union, it was for the sole reason that he saw no other mode of securing the Protestant succession to the throne; he had changed his mind on that subject, and thought other remedies as capable of securing that great point. On the insults and injuries which had been unsparingly flung upon Scotland and Scotsmen, he spoke like a high-minded and high-spirited man; and to those who had hinted reproaches against him, as having deserted his party, he replied, that he scorned the imputations they threw out, as much as he despised their understanding.

This bold orator came nearest to speaking out the real cause of the universal discontent of the Scottish members, which was less the pressure of any actual grievance, than the sense of the habitually insulting and injurious manner in which they were treated by the English members, as if the representatives of some inferior and subjugated province.* But personal resentment, or offended

* "The Earl of Peterborough compared the Union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce; the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Hly replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the Union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed that the contract could not have been more solemn,

national pride, however powerful, ought not to have been admitted as reasons for altering a national enactment, which had been deliberately and seriously entered into; for the welfare of posterity is not to be sacrificed to the vindictive feelings of the present generation.

The debate on Lord Findlater's motion was very animated, and it was wonderful to see the energy with which the Tories defended that Union which they had opposed in every stage, while the Whigs, equally inconsistent, attempted to pull down the fabric which their own hands had been so active in rearing. The former, indeed, could plead, that, though they had not desired to have a treaty of Union, yet, such having been once made, and the ancient constitutions of both countries altered and accommodated to it, there was no inconsistency in their being more willing it should remain than that the principles of the constitution should be rendered the subject of such frequent changes and tamperings. The inconsistency of the Whigs hardly admits of equal apology.

The division upon the question was so close, that it was rejected by a majority of *four* only; so nearly had that important treaty received its death-blow within six years after it was entered into.

Shortly after this hair-breadth escape, for such we may surely term it, another circumstance occurred, tending strongly to show with what sensitive jealousy the Scots of that day regarded any reflections on their country. The two great parties of Whig and Tory, the former forming

unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven. He inveighed against the Scots as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the Union, but would pay nothing by their good-will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates." — SMOLLETT, b. i. c. 11.

the Opposition, and the latter the Ministerial party, besides their regular war in the House of Commons, had maintained a skirmishing warfare of pamphlets and lampoons, many of them written by persons of distinguished talent.

Of these, the celebrated Sir Richard Steele wrote a tract, called the *Crisis*, which was widely circulated by the Whigs. The still more able Jonathan Swift, the intimate friend and advocate of the existing Ministers, published (but anonymously) a reply, entitled "The Public Spirit of the Whigs set forth, in their Encouragement of the Author of the *Crisis*." * It was a sarcastic political lampoon against the Whigs and their champion, interspersed with bitter reflections upon the Duke of Argyle and his country.

In this composition, the author gives rein to his prejudices against the Scottish nation. He grudged that Scotland should have been admitted into commercial privileges, by means of this Union, from which Ireland was excluded. The natural mode of redressing this inequality, was certainly to put all the three nations on a similar footing. But as nothing of this kind seemed at that time practicable, Swift accused the Scots of affectation, in pretending to quarrel with the terms of a treaty which was so much in their favor, and supposes, that while carrying on a debate, under pretence of abrogating the Union, they were

* "In *The Crisis*, the Union is pronounced to be sacred and inviolable. No blame is, however, thrown on the Scottish peers, who had moved for the dissolution. On the contrary, it is intimated, that it became the English, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving the Union, since the Scotch had sacrificed their national independence, and left themselves in a state of comparative impotence of redressing their own wrongs." — SIR WALTER SCOTT, Note, *Swift's Works*, vol. iv. p. 221.

all the while in agony lest they should prove successful. Acute observer of men and motives as he was, Swift was in this instance mistaken. Less sharp-sighted than this celebrated author, and blinded by their own exasperated pride, the Scots were desirous of wreaking their revenge at the expense of a treaty which contained so many latent advantages, in the same manner as an intoxicated man vents his rage at the expense of valuable furniture or important papers. In the pamphlet which gave so much offence, Swift denounced the Union "as a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason;" and he defied "any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a Union." The necessity, he justly, but offensively, imputes to the Scots' refusing to settle the crown on the line of Hanover, when, according to the satirist, it was thought "highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor, fierce, northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. He censures Godolphin highly for suffering the Act of Security to pass, by which the Scots assumed the privilege of universally arming themselves. "The Union, he allows, became necessary, because it might have cost England a year or two of war to reduce the Scots." In this admission, Swift pronounces the highest panegyric on the treaty, since the one or two years of hostilities might have only been the recommencement of that war which had blazed inextinguishably for more than a thousand years.

The Duke of Argyle had been a friend, even a patron, of the satirist, but that was when he acted with Oxford and Bolingbroke, in the earlier part of the administration, at which time he gratified at once their party spirit

and his own animosity, by attacking the Duke of Marlborough, and declining to join in the vote of thanks to that great general. While Argyle was in Spain, Swift had addressed a letter to him, in that delicate style of flattery of which he was as great a master as of every power of satirical sarcasm. But when the Duke returned to Britain, imbittered against ministers by their breach of promise to supply him with money and reinforcements, and declared himself the unrelenting opponent of them, their party, and their measures, Swift, their intimate confidant and partisan, espoused their new quarrel, and exchanged the panegyrics of which the Duke had been the object for poignant satire. Of the number of the Scottish nobility he talks as one of the great evils of the Union, and asks if it were ever reckoned as an advantage to a man who was about to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, that she brought in her train a numerous retinue of retainers and dependants. He is supposed to have aimed particularly at the Duke of Argyle, and his brother, Lord Islay, in these words: "I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole revenue, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace, and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotsman who had not travelled could form an idea of."

These shafts of satire against a body of men so sensitive and vindictive as the Scots had lately shown themselves, and directed also against a person of the Duke of Argyle's talents and consequence, were not likely, as the Ministers well knew, to be passed over lightly, either by those who felt aggrieved, or the numerous opposition party, who were sure to avail themselves of such an oppor-

tunity for pressing home a charge against Swift, whom all men believed to be the author of the tract, and under whose shafts they had suffered both as a party and as individuals. The Ministry therefore formed a plan to elude an attack which might have been attended with evil consequences to so valued and valuable a partisan.

They were in the right to have premeditated a scheme of defence, or rather of evasion, for the accusation was taken up in the House of Lords by the Earl of Wharton, a nobleman of high talent, and not less eager in the task that the satirist had published a character of the Earl himself, drawn when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in which he was painted in the most detestable colors. Wharton made a motion, concluding that the honor of the House was concerned in discovering the villanous author of so false and scandalous a libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation.* The Lord Treasurer, Oxford, disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody the publisher and printer of the pamphlet complained of. On the next day the Earl of Mar informed the House, that he, as Secretary of State, had raised a prosecution in her Majesty's name against John Barber. This course was intended, and had the effect, to screen Swift; for, when the printer was himself made the object of a prosecution, he could not be used as an evidence against the author, whom, and not the printer or publisher, it was the purpose of the Whigs to prosecute. Enraged at being deprived

* "It was not the least remarkable circumstance, that, while the violence of party was levelled against Swift in the House of Peers, no less injustice was done to his adversary, Steele, by the Commons, who expelled him from their House for writing the *Crisis*, that very pamphlet which called forth Swift's answer." — SIR WALTER SCOTT, Note, *Swift's Works*, vol. iv. p. 222.

of their prey, the House of Peers addressed the Queen, stating the atrocity of the libel, and beseeching her Majesty to issue a proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the author. The Duke of Argyle and the Scottish Lords, who would have perhaps acted with a truer sense of dignity, had they passed over such calumnies with contempt, pressed their address on the Queen by personal remonstrance, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the writer.*

Every one knew Swift to be the person aimed at as the author of the offensive tract. But he remained, nevertheless, safe from legal detection.

Thus I have given you an account of some, though not of the whole debates, which the Union was, in its operation, the means of exciting in the first British Parliament. The narrative affords a melancholy proof of the errors into which the wisest and best statesmen are hurried, when, instead of considering important public measures calmly and dispassionately, they regard them in the erroneous light in which they are presented by personal

* In his "Political Poetry,—The Author upon himself,"—Swift says, —

"The Queen incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot,
Now through the realm a proclamation spread,
To fix a price on his devoted head,
While innocent, he scorns ignoble flight;
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight."

Works, vol. xii. p. 817.

"It appears, however," says Sir Walter Scott, "that Swift did meditate a flight in case discovery had taken place. In the letter to his friend in Ireland, about renewing his license of absence, dated 29th July, 1714, he says, 'I was very near wanting it some months ago with a witness,' which can only allude to the possibility of his being obliged to abscond." — Note, *Life of Swift*, p. 167.

feeling and party prejudices. Men do not in the latter case ask, whether the public will be benefited or injured by the enactment under consideration, but whether their own party will reap most advantage by defending or opposing it.

END OF VOLUME IV.

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