

LADIES OF THE COVENANT

APPENDIX.

No. I.- (See last page on the chapter of Lady Boyd)
Letter of Mr. Robert M'Ward to Lady Ardross.

[This letter, which is in vol. 1x. folio, no. 31 of the Wodrow MSS., is in M'Ward's handwriting, and he describes it, "A double of a line to the Lady Ardross when I was in prison, and she was to leave the town."]

Worthy Madam,- All that I can do (neither can I do that to purpose), is only to acknowledge a debt to your Ladyship, which I am not able to pay; but I know you were pleased upon such an account to concern and interest yourself in that business, as, when I cannot requite it, He who takes notice of less, and will not suffer a cup of cold water to want its reward, will remember this your labour of love, and make it a fruit which shall abound to your account. I hope, Madam, however your affairs have, by calling you hence, deprived your Ladyship of the occasion, and me of the advantage of your interceding with men in my behalf, yet ye will not forget to deal with God in my behalf, that now, when it comes to the swellings of Jordan, I may not sink nor succumb, and desert a cause upon which [I] am obliged not only to venture my life, but some way soul also, which is by sealing that poor testimony with my blood, if he call me to it, though he should suffer me to die in the dark, and never say to my soul he could save me."

No. II.- (See Chapter on Lady Margaret Douglas, Marchioness of Argyll.)
The Marchioness of Argyll's interview with Middleton, after the condemnation of her husband.

In another part of his *Analecta* (vol. i. p. 73), Wodrow records a few additional facts in reference to this interview. "Dec. 6, 1705.- As to what goes before Nov. 11, Mr. Robert Muir gives the very same account, that he had from Mr. James Drummond, the Lady Argyll's chaplain, with this variation, that the King told Middleton while yet a gentleman at Breda, that he behoved, when he went over to England (it was a very little before his restoration), he behoved to be his commissioner in Scotland, [to] get these three things done. And he told him this would anger the nobility, and refused, till for three days the King looked down on him; and when he asked him the reason, he said he would still do so till he went in with his former proposal; which he did. And, therefore, says he, to the Lady Argyll, 'I can do you no service.' And he told her, that purposely he had shifted speaking to her; and that he kept spies on her servants when they came to the Abbey; so that when they called for him he was still not to be found; and at this time she had surprised him. This, Mr. Drummond heard her tell frequently."

No. III.- (See Chapter on Lady Margaret Douglas, Marchioness of Argyll.)
Marchioness of Argyll, and her son the Earl of Argyll.

Her son the Earl of Argyll afterwards became a great courtier, took the Declaration abjuring the covenants, and in other respects complied with the evil courses of the time. This was deeply regretted by his mother, and the best friends of the Argyll family, who were ready to exclaim, *O temporal O mores!* But she never lost hopes of his returning to his father's principles, as appears from a letter of Mr. James Stirling, minister of Barony, Glasgow, to a brother minister whose name is unknown; dated Glasgow, May 5, 1722, in which he says, "I

was yesterday visiting Mr. John Stewart's eldest son, who I truly fear may be dying. His mother, Mrs. Stewart, told me a passage which she had from her honest father, John Ritchie, which I suppose ye may have known, and she said he told it to her several times, that he was very intimate with that choice elect Lady, my Lady Marchioness of Argyll. He was one day with her in her chamber, and he said very freely to her, 'Madam, I apprehend that your son the Earl of Argyll's going on in such a way, with the court of this time, will be grieving to your Ladyship.' The sun was shining then very brightly in that chamber where he and my Lady was, and she answered John Ritchie thus: 'John, I am as clear[ly] and fully persuaded as ye now clearly see the sun shining in this chamber, that my son will have a saving change wrought upon him before he die, and that he will return to his father's way, and that he will be brought to suffer for it.' Mrs. Stewart said to me that her father told her this, that I now write to you, many times, as good as twenty times, and that her father was very great with 'that noble prince' (as worthy Mr. John Carstairs used to call him), the Marquis of Argyll. I heard once something like this, but never got such a document for it as I got yesterday." [Letters to Wodrow, vol. x. 4to, no. 170. MSS. In Advocates' Library.]

No. IV.- (See Chapter on Mrs James Guthrie, Mrs James Durham, and Mrs John Carstairs.)

Letter of Mrs. John Carstairs, to her husband.

The letter which it was intended to insert here having appeared in the Christian Instructor for 1840, p. 66, is omitted to make room for some original papers.

No. V. - (See Chapter on the Duchess of Hamilton)

Suspected Corruption of Clarendon's History.

Wodrow, writing in 1731, says, "Mr. J. Hamilton tells me that he had what follows from the Duchess of Hamilton's own mouth; the old Duchess I mean, the heir to the family; and so, I think it may be depended on: - He says Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs were published a little before Clarendon's History, first printed 1710, at Oxford. That it was then generally believed that the edition of Bishop Guthrie was much altered from the Bishop's papers, by the influence of the gentlemen of Oxford, who had the publishing of Clarendon in their hands. That when he was talking of this with the Duchess, and the approaching edition of Clarendon, her Grace told him that when she was at Court, after the restoration, when the Earl of Clarendon was writing his History, he came and visited her, and told her that he knew her father very well, and took him to be one of the honestest men of his acquaintance. He added, her father had been abused and very ill used by the party writers, before and since his death; and that now he was writing a History of those times, he was willing to do the Duke all the justice in his power, and desired her to furnish him with any papers which might give light to his actings. Accordingly, when she came down to Scotland, her Grace called for Dr. Burnet, and implored him to rummage all the papers in Hamilton that related to her father, and to lay out what he reckoned might be of use to the Earl; and she sent up by an express a large bundle of papers relative to her father to England. That, next time she went to Court, a year or two after, the Earl of Clarendon came and waited upon her at London, thanked her for the papers she had communicat to him, and returned them all safe. He told her he was now perfectly satisfied as to her father's character, and that he was as honest a man as breathed, and would give it fully and fairly to the world; only, there remained one particular about which he was not yet so clear as he could wish. The Duke's enemies alleged that he brought over ten thousand stand of arms from Holland, and seemed to vouch it; they pretended further, that he himself had a design on the crown, to accomplish which he got these arms. This, the Duchess said, touched her very nearly, and she immediately resolved to send a servant express to Hamilton, and ordered a new search to be made at Hamilton, particularly for anything that related to ten thousand stand of arms; and, very happily, the servant brought her the original commission,

under the King's own hand, to bring so many stand of arms for his service! This the Duchess immediately sent to the Earl. When he saw and read it, he came back with it to her Grace, and said, 'Now, Madam, I am satisfied in every point; and I believe, and am assured your father was one of the best, sincerest, and honestest persons of that time; and I will give him, as is my duty, a just and fair character to the world.' This passed before Clarendon was published. Expectations were great enough when the Earl's history was a-printing. As soon as it came down, the Duchess got it and read it. When Mr. Hamilton saw her after she had got the printed Clarendon, he asked how she liked it? She answered, with some concern, 'I have read it, and I and my family are greatly abused in it, and, I apprehend, this is the fruit of the Earl's MS. its lying twenty years in the hands of the gentlemen at Oxford;' and she verily believed that the Earl's original History was grossly vitiated." [Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iv. pp. 299-301.]

No. VI.- (See Chapters on Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey)
Indictment of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey.

The Justiciary Court having met at Edinburgh, on the 17th of January 1681, the Judges on the bench being, Lords Richard Maitland of Duddop, Justice-Clerk, James Foulis of Colintoun, Robert Nairn of Strathurd, David Balfour of Forret, David Falconar of Newtoun, and Roger Hog of Harcars; the two martyrs were brought to the bar, and their indictment was read, an extract of which, from the records of the Justiciary Court, we here subjoin.

"Intram.

Isabel Alison) Prisoners,
Marion Harvey,)

Indicted and accused. That where notwithstanding by the common law, the law of nations, laws and acts of Parliament of this kingdom and constant practice thereof, the rising, joining, and assembling together in arms of any number of his Majesty's subjects, the entering into leagues or bonds with foreigners, or amongst themselves, without and contrary to his Majesty's command, warrant, and authority, and the abetting, assisting, receipting, intercommuning, and keeping correspondence with such rebels, supplying or furnishing them with meat, drink, &c., are most detestable, horrid, heinous, and abominable crimes of rebellion, treason, and lese-majesty, and are punishable with forfeiture of life, lands, heritages, and escheat of their moveables; and by the 129th act, 8th Parliament King James VI, the royal power and authority in the person of the King's majesty, his heirs and successors, over all estates spiritual and temporal, within this realm, is ratified, approved, and perpetually confirmed, and it is thereby statute and ordained that his Highness, his heirs and successors, by themselves and their council, are, and in time to come shall be, judges competent to all persons his Highness's subjects, of whatever estate, degree, function, or condition they be, of spiritual or temporal, in all matters wherein they or any of them shall be apprehended, summoned, or charged to answer to such things as shall be speired at them by our sovereign Lord, or his council, and that none of them that shall happen to be apprehended, called, or summoned to the effect foresaid, presume or take upon hand to decline the judgment of his Highness, his heirs, and successors, or their council, under the pain of treason. And by the 10th act, 10th Parliament, King James VI, it is statute and ordained, that all his Highness's subjects content themselves in quietness and dutiful obedience to his Highness and his authority, and that none of them presume nor take upon hand publicly to disclaim, or privately to speak or write any purpose of reproach or slander to his Majesty's person, estate, or government, or to deprave his laws and acts of Parliament, or misconstrue his proceedings, whereby any misliking may be moved betwixt his Highness, or his nobility, and loving subjects in time coming, under the pain of death, to be execut upon them with all rigour, as seditious and wicked instruments, enemies to his Highness and the common weal of this realm. And by the 12th act of the same Parliament of King James VI, it is statute and ordained, that in time coming no leagues nor bonds be made amongst his Majesty's subjects of any degree upon whatsoever colour [or] pretence, without his Highness's

and his successor's privity, and consent had and obtained thereto, under the pain to be holden and execut as movers of sedition. And by the 2d act, 2d session of his Majesty's first Parliament, it is statute and ordained, that if any person or persons shall hereafter plot, contrive, or intend death or destruction to the King's Majesty, or any bodily harm tending to death or destruction, or to deprive, depose, or suspend him from the style, honour, and kingly name of the Imperial crown of this kingdom, or any others his Majesty's dominions, or to suspend him from the exercise of his royal government; and shall by writing, printing, or other malicious and advised speaking, express and declare such their treasonable intentions, after such persons being, upon sufficient probation, legally convict thereof, shall be deemed, declared, and adjudged traitors, and shall suffer forfeiture of life, lands, and goods, as in the cases of high treason: NEVERTHELESS, it is of verity that ye, the said Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, have presumed to commit and are guilty of the said crimes, in so far as ye have oft and diverse times receipt, maintained, supplied, intercommuned, and kept correspondence with Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Thomas Douglas, Mr. John Welsh, the deceased Mr. Richard Cameron, the bloody and sacrilegious murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, and sundry other notorious traitors; have heard the said ministers preach up treason and rebellion, and they and their associates having formed and devised a treasonable paper, called the Fanatics' New Covenant, whereby they covenant and bind themselves to overthrow his Majesty's power and authority, most treasonably asserting that the hands of our King and most part of the rulers have been against the throne of the Lord, the purity and power of religion, and godliness, and have degenerat into tyranny, have manifestly rejected God, his service and reformation as a slavery, have governed contrary to all laws, Divine and human, exercised tyranny and arbitrary government, oppressed men in their consciences and civil rights, used free subjects (Christians and reasonable men) with less discretion than their beasts; most horribly and treasonably declaring the King's government to be but a lustful rage, exercised with as little right, reason, and with more cruelty than in beasts, and the King himself, and the governors under him, to be public grassators and public judgments, which all men ought as earnestly to labour to be free of as of sword, famine, or pestilence raging amongst them; declaring themselves obliged to execute God's judgment upon them, and that to uphold them is to uphold Satan's kingdom and to bear down Christ's; most solemnly, avowedly, and treasonably (therefore) rejecting the King's most sacred Majesty, their gracious sovereign, a native prince, and those associat with him from being their rulers, declaring them henceforth to be no lawful rulers, and that they neither owe nor should yield any willing obedience to them; and also declaring themselves as much bound in allegiance to devils as to them, they being (as they most treasonably say) the devil's vicegerents and not God's; and likewise the said monstrous traitors having published an execrable declaration at the market-cross of Sanquhar, upon the 22d of June last, whereby they most treasonably disown their sovereign and native prince, whom they call Charles Stewart, who hath been tyrannizing on the throne of Scotland, and government thereof forfeaulted (as they treasonably pretend) several years since by this perjury and breach of covenant with God and his church, and other reasons therein mentioned; most treasonably therefore denouncing and declaring war against their sacred sovereign (whom they call a tyrant and usurper) and all the men of his practices, as enemies to the Lord Jesus Christ, his house, and covenants, and against such as have strengthened him, sided with him, or any ways acknowledged him in his usurpation and tyranny, civil and ecclesiastic: As also the said traitorous rebels having entered into and subscribed a treasonable bond of combination against their sacred sovereign, wherein they openly and avowedly disown him, as a perfidious covenant-breaker, usurper of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and encroacher upon the liberties of the church, a stated opponent to Jesus Christ himself (the Mediator), and to the free government of his house, as the said covenant declaration, and bond of combination, containing therein sundry other treasonable articles and clauses, in themselves at length purport; the which horrid and treasonable papers, abominable and unchristian expressions, principles, and opinions, above mentioned therein contained, ye, the said Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, have judicially, in presence of the Lords Justice-Clerk, and Commissioners of Justiciary, owned and adhered to, the same being read to you, because (as ye say) ye see nothing in them against the Scriptures, and have most treasonably declined the King's Majesty's authority, and the authority of the Lords of Justiciary, because (as ye most falsely and treasonably say) they carry the sword against the Lord. And ye, the said Marion Harvey, have most treasonably approven of the execrable excommunication used by Mr. Donald Cargill against his sacred sovereign at Torwood, upon the - day of [Sept.] last, and likewise owned and

approved of the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrews as lawful, declaring that he was as miserable a wretch as ever betrayed the Kirk of Scotland: of the which treasonable crimes above mentioned, ye, and ilk ane of you, are actors, art and part, which, being found by an assize, ye ought to be punished with forfaiture of life, land, and goods, to the terrors of others to commit the like hereafter.”

No. VII - (See Chapter on Helen Johnston, Lady Graden)

Apprehension of Hume of Graden, and the scuffle in which Thomas Ker of Heyhope was killed.

This scene is particularly described (but who the writer was we are unable to determine) in a paper among the Wodrow MSS. entitled, “A true account of the cruel murder of Thomas Ker, brother to the Laird of Cherrytrees, according to the relation of some who were present, which I find amongst my father’s papers as follows:” - “I come now to the tragical passage of our dear friend’s murder, Thomas Ker, Cherrytrees’ brother. Graden Hume, being with my Lord Hume at dinner, was speaking somewhat freely to him, and after dinner, my Lord takes him aside, and tells him he might take him if he would, and that the King had sent an express to Colonel Struthers to apprehend all vagrant Scots that were in Northumberland. Whereupon Graden, without taking leave, came straight to Crookum, where were Thomas Ker, young Bukum, Henry Hall, Alexander Hume, and Hector Aird (who were there sheltering, the persecution being now so hot in their bounds), and presseth them to go from that place, and not to stay all night; which they did, though late. But Graden, being wearied, lies down in their bed, and at midnight the party comes and apprehends Graden, and carries him first to my Lord Hume, and from thence to Hume Castle. Our friends, hearing of it, send to advertise some more friends for his rescue; and they go to Crookum, where the tryst was set to wait the party’s coming that way. However, there came none but whom I have named, and after they had staid a little at the place, they are advertised that the party was gone another way, which put them to consult what to do next. In the meantime comes there one telling them Struthers is at hand with his party. They, not judging it could be so, thinking he had been gone with Graden, Ker comes to the door, and while he is walking there smoking his pipe, he discovers the party, and immediately calls his friends to draw their horses, and draws his own first, resolving not to be taken, but thought to have taken a by-way, thinking Struthers would have passed them. However, when Ker mounts, one Squire Martins, Sir John Martins the mayor of Newcastle’s son, Struthers’ nephew, would by all means challenge our friend, contrary [to] the rest their inclination, and coming up to Ker, asked who he was. He answered, he was a gentleman. He says, ‘Be taken, dog.’ Ker says, ‘Where is your order?’ upon which he drew his pistol, and shot Ker in the belly. Immediately Ker fired, and shot him dead through the head; and after, Ker, finding himself deadly wounded, ran upon the party, and fired his other pistol, and then drew his sword, and fought while he was able to sit on horseback and then dropped down, yet wrestled on his knees and prayed, while the rest were fighting, till his breath was gone. Our friends fought while they were able. Alexander Hume is run through the body; Henry Hall is shot through the arm; all sorely wounded, but hopes of their recovery; the English, some mortally wounded, and two killed, with two of their best horses, valued at 100 pieces. Our friends, being disabled, retired, and the enemy durst not pursue them. Struthers comes to Ker while his breath was hardly out, and he and all of them run their swords in him, and takes by the heels and trails him through the puddle, and then flings him on a dunghill. They would not let bury his corpse, till a party of friends went in and brought it away. This is the truest account of it I can learn.” [Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxii. folio, no. 175.]

No. VIII - (See Chapter on Lilius Dunbar, Mrs Campbell.)

The fiery cross carried through the shire of Moray in 1679.*

That the design in carrying the fiery cross through the shire at this time was to prevent the heritors and militia

* The use of the fiery cross by the Highland chieftains, for summoning their clans to a place of rendezvous upon any sudden or important emergency, was common in the olden time. It was also called *Crean Tarigh*, or the *Cross of Shame*, because disobedience to what the symbol implied inferred infamy. One of the ends of the horizontal piece was either burnt or burning, and a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood, was suspended from the other end; and then the signal was delivered from hand to hand, till it had passed through the whole territories of the clan, which it did with incredible celerity. "At the sight of the fiery cross, every man from sixteen years old to sixty, capable of bearing arms, was obliged instantly to repair in his best accoutrements to the place of rendezvous. He who failed to appear, suffered the extremities of fire and sword, which were emblematically denounced to the disobedient by the bloody and burned marks upon this warlike signal." - Sir Walter Scott. On June 9, 1685, by order of the privy council, this signal was sent through the west of Fife and Kinross as nearer to Stirling, that all betwixt sixty and sixteen might rise and oppose Argyll and his forces. - Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 364. This is perhaps, the last instance in which the fiery cross was sent round by the command of the government. It often made its circuit, by the direction of the Highland chieftains, during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. - Brown's History of the Highlands, vol. i. p. 129.]

from going out to assist the King's host, was an allegation which, after the closest investigation, remained unproved. To protect the country from the M'Donalds seems to have been the sole object of those with whom its mission originated on that occasion, though they may have been misinformed as to the hostile intentions of the M'Donalds. But of this the reader may judge for himself, from the evidence collected on this subject by the commissioners of the privy council at Elgin some years after, and which is as follows: -

"February 3, 1685.

"In presence of the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

"ALEXANDER BRODIE of Lethin, being solemnly sworn, upon his great oath depones he received a letter from his daughter, the Lady Grant, about the time of the going out of the King's host, informing him of the M'Donalds coming down upon the country, and that the Laird of Grant was gone through the country amongst his friends to advise what to do; and depones, that being called to a burial at Auldearn, he showed the letter to the gentlemen present, and thereafter, at a meeting of the gentry of the shires of Moray and Nairn, it was resolved to send Captain Stewart express to the Earl of Moray, to advise what to do; and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God: Depones the Earl of Moray sent an answer, and the militia was ordered to come out with all diligence.

ALEXANDER BRODIE.

"ALEXANDER TULLOCH of Tannachies, being solemnly sworn,, depones, at the time the heritors were called out to the King's host, the time of Bothwell-bridge, there came a fiery cross through the country from the West, which surprised the people, and put them in a fright, as if Mr. M'Donald were coming to invade the country, which was altogether false, and supposed by the loyal party to be done of purpose by the disaffected, to impede the heritors from going to the King's host.

ALEXANDER TULLOCH.

"JOHN CUMMING of Logie, being solemnly sworn, depones, when he was busy convening the militia, and furnishing them with ammunition, there came an alarm of a fiery cross through Moray, as if it were to be invaded by the M'Donalds, which, he apprehends, was to interrupt the King's service, and hinder the militia and heritors to go out to the King's host, there being no such thing as M'Donalds invading the country: Depones it was reported to have come from the Highlands and from Strathspey.

JOHN CUMMING.

“GEORGE KAY, procurator-fiscal of Moray, being sworn, upon oath depones he saw the fiery cross that came, through Moray, the time of the going out of the King’s host, as the same came to Elgin: Depones it was a fiery stick, kindled at both ends, and set upon a pole, and carried in a man’s hand, and so affrighted the country, and the town of Elgin, that they kept a guard of thirty men nightly: Depones the name of the person who carried the fiery cross from this is [John] Proctor, as he remembers, but knows not who brought [it]: Depones the bearer of the cross alarmed the country with the invasion of the M'Donalds, but never anything followed thereupon, nor did the M'Donalds come down: Depones the cross came from Strathspey or the Braes of Moray, from the West, as they were informed: and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

GEORGE KAY.

“SIR ALEX INNES of Carlestoun depones he heard of a fiery cross that came through Moray the time they were going to the King’s host, and that Robert Innes, por. [portioner] of Urquhart, took it out of the man’s hand that brought it there, and waved it before the minister, fore [before] the time of sermon: Depones he heard it came from Calder, or Lethin, or Old Brodie, and he heard the other night, that Lethin took out a paper at that time, which he said was a letter from Strathspey, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down upon the country: Depones the M'Donalds were not near the country, nor near those places from which the alarm came, but all was designed of purpose to fright the country, and hinder them to go out to the King’s host, as he heard.

ALEXANDER INNES.

“Elgin, February 4, 1685.

“In presence of the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

“JOHN PROCTOR, tailor in Elgin, depones he was the man that carried the fiery cross from this town to Urquhart, and that he got it from the magistrates, and that the man that brought it did alarm the country, as if the M'Donalds were presently coming down to slay them; all which so affrighted the town that they kept strong guards: Depones he heard it came from the Highlands and Strathspey, and that it was designed, as has been since believed, to hinder the people to go out to the King’s host: Depones it came from the kirk of Birney: and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God: Depones he cannot write.

ERROL.
KINTORE.
G. MONRO.

“ALEXANDER KINNAIRD of Culbin depones . . . that about the time they were going out to the King’s host, there was a report and alarm raised, as if the M'Donalds were coming down to invade the country; whereupon there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn, amongst whom his father was one, and that there Lethin took out a letter which, he said, came from Strathspey, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down; whereupon the gentlemen took care for their security, and his father closed up his papers in a stone wall: Depones about that time there came a fiery cross through the country, which gave them the same alarm, and that there was no such thing as the M'Donalds coming down, but all was done on design to keep the people from going out to the King’s host.

ALEX. KINNAIRD.

“THOMAS KINNAIRD, elder, of Culbin, being solemnly sworn, depones that there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn by Lethin, at which most of the gentlemen in that part of the country were present, and there Lethin produced a letter which, he said, had come from Strathspey, from Grant, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down to invade the country, and there he proposed and advised that the gentlemen should stay at home and guard the country, and not go out to the King’s host: Depones the letter was read, and

he remembers there was this expression in it, that M'Donald said he should dine at Brodie, and sup, at the sea-side; which affrighted the country; and that, at the same time, there went a fiery cross through the country, which gave the same alarm: Depones he himself, and several of the gentry present, opposed the motion of staying at home, and that, having secured his papers in a stone wall, he and his son and several of his servants went out against the rebels: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

THOMAS KINNAIRD.

“FRANCIS WISEMAN, one of the bailies of Elgin, being solemnly sworn, depones that the very Sabbath before the people went out against the rebels, there came a fiery cross from Birney to Elgin, and that it was talked that it had come from Knockandoch to Birney, and that it alarmed them that Mr. M'Donald was presently coming down upon the country, which so frightened them that they kept strong guards about the town: Depones it came to Elgin in the hand of a servant of John Dikeside's, as he was informed: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

FRANCIS WISEMAN.

“JOHN INNES of Dikeside, in Birney parish, depones that the time the heritors were going out to Bothwell-bridge against the rebels, there was a fiery cross that came through the country, to alarm the country, as if the M'Donalds were coming down to take all away, which so affrighted the people, that it put a stop to the going out of the gentry and militia against the rebels for eight days: Depones the cross came down from Gedloch, by a servant of John Leslie's of Middletoun, to him, and the deponent gave it to Peter Kynes, his servant, who carried it in to the provost of Elgin: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

JOHN INNES.

“Mr. John Cumming, minister at Birney, being solemnly sworn, depones that the time the people were making ready to go against the rebels, there came a fiery cross through the country, from Rothes to the parish of Birney, and they said it came from Strathspey to that, and that the alarm went that M'Donald was in the Braes of Badenoch with men in arms, or thereabout, and that the laird of Grant was making ready, and raising men to oppose him: and depones, this so affrighted the country, that they were afraid to leave their houses to go out to the King's host, as he judged: And this is all he presently remembers, and the truth, as he shall answer to God.

JOHN CUMMING, minister at Birney.

“Mr. John Leslie, minister at Rothes, depones there came a fiery cross from the parish of Dallas to the parish of Rothes, the time the heritors were going out against the rebels, which strangely alarmed the country, as if M'Donald were coming with a thousand men to invade the country, and it was a falsehood, and was looked upon by honest men to be done of purpose and design to retard the King's service: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

JOHN LESLIE.

ARCHIBALD GRANT of Balmholm, solemnly sworn, depones he lives in Knockandoch parish, and that the time the heritors and militia were convening to go out against the rebels at Boswell-bridge there came a fiery cross from Kirkdals, which is in Knockandoch parish, down the country, to his house, and from that to Rothes, and down to the sea: Depones the cross went from house to house, and was changed from hand to hand, to give the quicker alarm, and that the report went with it that M'Donald was in the hills coming down to invade the country, which strangely affrighted the people, and retarded their going out against the rebels, but the deponent himself went to serve the King's host, against the rebels: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

ARCHIBALD GRANT.
[Warrants of Privy Council.]

No. IX - (See Chapter on Lilius Dunbar, Mrs Campbell.)
Desired extension of the Indulgence to Morayshire.

Though no active measures were taken at Edinburgh by the Commissioners referred to in the text, for the extension of the Indulgence to Morayshire, the entertainment of the question by the Presbyterians in the North was displeasing to the Government, and the Commissioners of the Privy Council which met at Elgin in 1685, made particular inquiries as to this matter. The depositions of such as were examined in regard to it, extracted from the records of their proceedings, may be interesting to the reader. They are as follows: -

“Elgin, Feb. 10, 1685.

“In presence of the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

“Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, being solemnly sworn, depones that about July 10, 1679, he being come to Brodie to visit his uncle, he cannot say whether he was called or came accidentally, his uncle being then unwell, he used to come oft and visit him: Depones when he came there he found several gentlemen, such as Grant, Grange, Lethin, Kinsterie, Milntoun, Windiehill, young Innes, and Donald Campbell, the deponent's brother, and some others, to whom and to the deponent Brodie told that he was informed that the King's Majesty had granted an indulgence to those be-south Tay, and that if it were known that any there had a mind to have the like indulgence, it might be obtained. It was spoke of whether a petition might be drawn to that purpose, but the deponent said it was against law, and was not to be done. The next thing was thought on was to send a gentlemen or two to Edinburgh, to see what was in the matter, and whether such a thing was feasible, and it was proposed that young Innes and Donald Campbell should go. But they excusing themselves at that time, Brodie desired Grange to go; but he declined it, or to do anything by himself, although he seemed to have some other affairs at Edinburgh. Whereupon Brodie pressed the deponent to go with him, in respect he knew he was to go very shortly however; which at Brodie's desire he condescended to do, and to give him his advice, when upon the place, if he could see that anything could be done without giving offence. Whereupon there was a letter written, and left blank upon the back, that Grange and the deponent might fill up any person's name there they should think fit, if they saw any ground to think that their desires could be granted. The letter was but short, narrating what we heard, and desiring to inform himself whether an indulgence might be obtained; and the only argument as he remembers proposed in the letter was that none of the subscribers had ever been at any field conventicle, and had never joined in arms, and never should join in arms with any person, who had, or should take arms against the King's person, or authority: Depones likewise, that the deponent does not mind how much money should have been collected for the expense of any who should [have] been employed in case the affair could have been prosecute, but the deponent well remembers that Donald Campbell, his brother, did collect £500 Scots, and some little odds, which money, with the letter above mentioned, was given to the laird of Grange; and within a few days after the deponent and he came to Edinburgh, Grange asked the deponent what to do with the letter, and he advised him to destroy it, which was accordingly done; and when Grange came home, leaving the deponent at Edinburgh, he left the £500, and odd money, with the deponent, to be given to his brother, who was not then arrived at Edinburgh, and accordingly the deponent hold compt with his brother anent it. This is all he remembers of the affair, according to his present knowledge and memory, as he shall answer to God: Depones the letter was subscribed (for what the deponent knows) by all that were present, and that the deponent himself did contribute no money: Depones Mr. Robert Martin came to the deponent, and dealt with him, that he might be employed to negotiate to obtain the indulgence, but the deponent absolutely declined to employ him, but caused destroy the letter relating to it, as is above said.

H. C. of Calder.

“LUDOVICK GRANT of that ilk, being solemnly sworn, depones he was at Brodie eight or ten days after their return from Bothwell or thereby, where there were present Calder, Grange, Lethin, Innes younger, and other

gentlemen, and a letter was drawn and signed by them, but not direct on the back, but to have been backed for any of the statesmen should be thought most fit, that they might deal for procuring the indulgence to be extended to this country, and the letter was given to Calder and Grange, who carried it south, and the affair was referred to their management: Depones there was money to have been given to Calder and Grange, for their expense in going to Edinburgh: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

LUDOVICK GRANT.

“THOMAS DUNBAR of Grange, being solemnly sworn, depones that Innes younger told the deponent about the 12th of July 1679, that there was an indulgence granted to the west and south of Scotland, and within a few days thereafter he had occasion to be at my Lord Brodie’s house seeing him, where there was Innes younger, Calder, Grant, Kilravock, Lethin, Milntoun, and Donald Campbell, and being discoursing anent, the indulgence, old Brodie told that he had got some advertisement that there was indulgence granted, and thought, if we moved any such thing, we might have the like favour granted to us: whereupon the gentlemen above named resolved that they would draw a letter; which accordingly was done, the contents whereof were in these terms; - That forasmuch as his Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant indulgence to the south and west parts of Scotland, who had been in actual rebellion against his Majesty, and kept field conventicles, the like whereof had never been in those parts of Scotland, and we hoped there never should be such practices found amongst us, that therefore their Lordships would be pleased to try if his Majesty would be pleased to extend his gracious favour to this place of the country. This letter was left blank upon the back as to the address, till it should be considered whether it should have been addressed to my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Secretary. Young Innes, and Donald Campbell were desired to go south with the letter. Donald Campbell could not go at that time, and Innes would not go without him. Whereupon the laird of Calder and the deponent being going however, the letter was given to them, that they might try what might be gotten done in the matter; and they having come to Edinburgh, he thinks before the 20th of July, found that there was no place for moving in that matter, but rather that the indulgence granted was like to be retracted, they did not move at all, less or more, but tore the letter, and came home how soon they had done their business: Depones Mr. Robert Martin would be intruding himself upon the employment, but they gave him none: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

THOMAS DUNBAR.

“FRANCIS BRODIE of Milntoun, being solemnly sworn, depones, that about the beginning of July 1679, being at Brodie at a meeting where there were present Grant, Grange, Calder, Innes younger, Kilravock, and some others (but remembers not if Pitgavenie was there), there was a letter drawn which he conceives was direct to the Chancellor, or Lords of Privy Council, and a warrant or instructions given to young Innes and Donald Campbell, to go south, to deal and negotiate that this country might participate of his Majesty’s favour and indulgence, granted to those in the south and west of Scotland, and money was to have been given for their expense as he heard, but himself gave none: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. -

FRANCIS BRODIE.

ERROL.

KINTORE.

G. MONRO.”

[Warrants of the Privy Council.]

No. X - (See Chapter on Margaret McLauchlan & Margaret Wilson.)
Sense in which the Covenanters refused to say “God save the King.”

Though it is incorrect to affirm that Margaret Wilson refused to save her life by saying “God save the King,” yet many of the Covenanters no doubt refused to say this even to save their lives. It would, however, be to take a very superficial view of the case, to ascribe this to a foolish obstinacy. They were quite ready to use the

words in the spirit of that exhortation of Paul, "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2). The sense in which they declined to say "God save the King" was the sense put upon the words by their persecutors - a sense which implied an acknowledgment not only of the King's civil supremacy, which all the Presbyterians, with the exception of the Cameronians, were ready to make, but also of his ecclesiastical supremacy, an acknowledgment which none of them could consistently make, as, according to their principles, this would have been sacrilegiously to yield to him that headship over the church which Christ claims as his exclusive and inalienable prerogative. When, in August 1684, John Campbell of Over-Welwood, in Ayrshire, was imprisoned in Glasgow, Windram asked him if he would pray for the King? Campbell answered, that he both did and would pray that the Lord would enable him to live a godly life here, and bestow upon him a life of glory hereafter. "That is not enough," said Windram, "you must pray for King Charles II as he is supreme over all persons and causes, ecclesiastic as well as civil." Campbell replied, that in his opinion that was "praying for him as the head of the church, which belonged only to Christ; and he reckoned it arrogance in any creature whatsoever to claim it." - Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 49.

No. XI - (See Chapter on Lady Anne Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, afterwards Countess of Argyll.)
Countess of Argyll's sympathy with the Covenanters.

In illustration of this lady's benevolent sympathy with and favour for the persecuted Presbyterians, we may here insert the two following letters, addressed to "Mr. Robert Miller, merchant in the Exchange at Edinburgh;" which refer to some individual not named, who was evidently sneering for nonconformity, and in whom she felt deeply interested.

Letter I.

Stirling, September 8, 1683.

LOVING FRIEND, - I received yours, for which I heartily thank you. I was both satisfied and grieved to read all you sent me. My heart felt what he was suffering, as much as any alive; for I both love and respect that person, and were it fit for me, would go far to do him any good. But I hope in him [that he] who is merciful, and hath a care of his own, and also of the innocent, will show his sovereign power, and not only preserve him, but bring him through this his trouble, and reward all does [who do] him good. I spoke to my Lady Arroll for him, and I think it were not amiss his sister Mary came in, and spake to her and the Lady Largo, and tell her all that belongs him remembers their kindness to their father, and that even he expects they will do him good in what is in their power. I was much for Mary's going to England. I wish she could go yet, and that your affairs would allow you. I shall not offer to desire it absolutely; but since you go once a year, I would be in your debt £5, so you could go and assist him, and take Mary with you; and she being a woman and a sister, might venture where it were not fit to you to go. I should write with her to some, and you would be able to advise her, and do things she could not do. I went and spoke to the advocate ere he went, and he and his lady promised to do Mr. W. all the service they could; and her woman Mrs. Carintoun promised to mind them. So the sooner any go, it were the better. Let your cousin Mary know of all that you sent to me, and if you kept the cipher of them, let her see them and advise with her lady, who I am sure will not hinder her to go, and I doubt not will assist him, and I think so should all that concerns him for whom he is innocently suffering, only because he served him he is suspected. The great God direct well all that may contribute for his relief and advantage. I expect to hear by the bearer from you: so adieu!

P.S.- The enclosed I would have you to send with some sure hand to Fife, to my Sophia. If you will be pleased to speak to George M'Kenzie, or his man, to send any of my son's servants to you, that is going to Fife, he will do it.

Letter II.

LOVING FRIEND, - Since your own affairs takes you not where I wished you to go, I will not take on me to send you. But if you had been to go, I would have been content with all my heart to have been, as I said, £5 in your debt, so you could have served your worthy cousin, and been useful to him at this time. Had I had the money beside me when I wrote, I had sent it you; and had I money, or could get my own, I could have sent one with a better sum, if it could contribute to his good for whom I have a real kindness; for the Lord, I hope, will be in place of all to him, and let the world see his innocence and faithfulness. If I have time I will write to your cousin Mary. I have time to say no more but ----- [*These two letters are printed from copies obligingly communicated by David Laing, Esq., Signet Library. There is a letter written by the same Lady to Mr. Robert Douglas, dated London, August 21, 1669, in vol. xxvi. folio, no. 112 of the Wodrow MSS. But this letter I have not seen. The volume in which it is to be found is probably in the possession of the very Rev. Principal Lee.*]

No. XII - (See Chapter on Lady Anne Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, afterwards Countess of Argyll.)
A Letter of the Earl of Argyll, to his Lady, in ciphers.

This letter was probably written after he heard that the conspiracy was discovered; and it abounds in mute ciphers. It is as follows: -

“ 32 67 48 45 25 43 24 51 26 41 44 36 51 40 43 44 69 28 37 26 54 56
48 57 53 52 39 44 56 27 47 44 29 48 57 39 50 53 57 58 22 53 53 40 50
48 52 58 57 64 54 59 56 54 53 57 44 57 68 58 47 56 48 42 44 51 69 21
56 44 43 57 51 40 43 44 28 54 56 53 54 53 58 48 58 48 53 52 20 53 45
44 59 44 56 62 67 58 47 48 52 40 32 51 48 46 47 58 57 44 42 59 56 44
39 41 56 40 52 43 60 48 58 47 53 59 58 40 41 53 61 64 58 47 44 52 58
53 43 44 40 50 44 60 48 58 47 41 48 56 42 57 41 59 58 48 58 48 57 52
53 58 58 40 50 49 48 52 46 60 48 50 43 53 44 48 58 64 60 47 50 58 48
57 74 40 54 44 52 44 43 52 44 44 43 97 52 53 58 47 48 52 43 44 56 41
59 58 57 47 53 59 50 43 45 59 56 58 47 44 56 44 51.”

The above letter deciphered, and mutes pointed out: [As, by the alphabet made use of in this letter, 40 stands for the letter a, 41 for b, and so on till you come to 64, which stands for &; the way to distinguish the mutes from the significant cyphers is to observe whether any two figures fall within the compass of the alphabet from 40 to 64. Thus, the figures 32, 67, at the beginning of the letter, are mutes, 32 being a number below the first cipher, and 67 a number above the last.] m sands for mute: -

m m m Duke m Monmouth m m m m m
“32 67 If 25 D 27 M 26 be 36 made 69 28 prison³⁹er,
m m m m m
27 he 29 is 39 lost 22 to all intents and purposes. 68. Thrice
m Carstairs m m m m
Mr. 69²¹ Red* made 28 proposition 20 of every 67 thing 32 might
m Scotland battle England
secure 39 Brand without a box, and then to deal with Birch; but
it is not talking will do it; and what has happened need not hinder,
but should further them.” [*Carstairs’ State Papers, p. 107.*]

* This alludes to a plan which Mr. Carstairs had formed for surprising the castle of Edinburgh.

No. XIII (See Chapter on Lady Anne Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, afterwards Countess of Argyll.)
Extracts from a Letter of the Countess of Argyll, to her son Colin, Earl of Balcarres.

The letter from which the following extracts are taken, was written by the Countess to her son, after his marriage, at an early age, to Mademoiselle Mauritia de Nassau, daughter of Louis de Nassau, Count of Beverwaert and Auverquerque in Holland, [*Natural son of Maurice, Prince of Orange.*] by Elizabeth, Countess of Horn. The particulars of the marriage have more than the interest of romance. The young Mauritia had fallen in love with Colin, who was extremely handsome, at his first presentation at the Court of Charles II; and ere long the day was fixed for their marriage. "The Prince of Orange, afterwards William III, presented his fair kinswoman, on this joyful occasion, with a pair of magnificent emerald ear-rings, as his wedding gift. The day arrived, the noble party were assembled in the church, and the bride was at the altar; but, to the dismay of the company, no bridegroom appeared! The volatile Colin had forgotten the day of his marriage, and was discovered in his night-gown and slippers, quietly eating his break-fast! Thus far the tale is told with a smile on the lip, but many a tear was shed at the conclusion. Colin hurried to the church, but in his haste left the ring in his writing-case; a friend in the company gave him one - the ceremony went on, and, without looking at it, he placed it on the finger of his fair young bride. It was a mourning ring, with the morthead and crossed bones. On perceiving it at the close of the ceremony, she fainted away; and the evil omen had made such an impression on her mind that, on recovering, she declared she should die within the year, and her presentiment was too truly fulfilled.

"It was in the joy of seeing Colin established, to all appearance, so happily for life, that his mother addressed him an admirable letter of advice, moral, religious, political, and domestic. No subject is left untouched, of which a mother would be anxious to impress right ideas on a son."

She thus writes in the beginning: - "Because the interest of the soul is preferable to that of the body, I shall first desire you be serious in your religion, worshipping your God, and let your dependence be constantly upon him for all things; the first step in it is, to believe in God that he made and upholds the universe in wisdom, in goodness, and in justice; that we must adore, obey him, and approve of all he does. The fear of God, says Solomon, is the beginning of knowledge; he is a buckler to all that walk uprightly. Dedicate some certain time every day for the service of your glorious Maker and Redeemer; in that, take a survey of your life, shorter or longer, as the time will permit; thank him for making you what you are - for redeeming you, giving you his Word and Spirit, and that you live under the gospel - for all the faculties of your soul and body - that you are descended of Christian parents - for your provisions - for all you have in possession. Read, pray; consider the life and death of your blessed Saviour and Lord, and your heart will be warmed with that love that is beyond expression, that meekness and humility that endured the contradiction of sinners against himself. Strive to be conform to him; no fraud, no guile, no evil-speaking was found with him, for all the injustice and wicked backbiting he met with; he was kind, doing always good. He forgave, was patient in enduring injuries, was charitable. My dear son, the great work to which we are called is to be partakers of his holy, harmless nature; true religion stands in imitating of him and converse with him. 'Truly,' says the apostle John, 'our fellowship is with the Father and the Son.' David says, 'Evening and morning and mid-day will I pray to Thee.' We have directions and examples in the Holy Word for what we should do; we are told to watch and pray, that we be not led into temptation (they are oft most afraid of them that are most resolved and best acquainted to resist them); - to implore his help for supply of grace or strength, or of what we need; and to encourage us to it, he says none shall seek his face in vain. He gives us his Holy Word, that we may daily read out of it Divine lessons; it is a lantern to our feet to walk cleanly, and sure it is for instruction and direction in righteousness; read often of the life and death of your Saviour; read the book of Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; often the Epistles, not neglecting the other Scriptures; for other books, I would have you read those most that will make you know the Scriptures and your duty; and yourself must make conscience of your duty to your particular relations."

that sail with all winds;" to be kind to his servants in their vigour, and careful of them in age and sickness; to love, rather than hate his enemies; and, to extend his charity beyond the external duties of a Christian towards the poor and afflicted, to the regulation of his opinions with regard to others, questioning his own, rather than their judgment; learning of his Saviour to be meek, and remembering that "God was not in the thunder or the fire, but in the calm, still voice;" to be modest in society abroad, and to look on the careful management of his affairs at home as a duty, - these, and many other incidental duties, are enforced with affection as tender as the language is energetic.

"Your good grandfather, Lord David," she concludes, "thought that day misspent he knew not some new thing. He was a very studious and diligent man in his affairs. You that have such a closet [library], such gardens, and so much to do within doors and without, need not think the time tedious, nor be idle; it is the hand of the diligent maketh rich. The good man orders his affairs with discretion; it is the diligent that is the only person fit for government; Solomon saith, his thoughts tend to plenteousness, and he may stand before kings.

"My care hath been great for you and your family, and you may see by this I will be always, my dear son, your kind mother,

ANNA ARGYLL"

[*Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii. pp. 120-128.*]

No. XIV - (See Chapter on Henrietta Lindsay, Lady Campbell of Auchinbreck.)

Sufferings of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck

The account in the text is confirmed by a "petition of Sir Duncan Campbell, for himself and his distressed friends, tenants, and vassals, in Knapdale, Glassary, and Kelislait," presented to the Estates of Parliament after the Revolution. Referring to his having taken up arms with the Earl of Argyll in 1685, "in defence of the Protestant religion, and in opposition to Popery and arbitrary power," the petition states that the "petitioner having from his sense of the justice and necessity of the said Earl, his undertaking, and for the defence of the country, caused man and garrison his house of Carnassary; the same was besieged, and a treaty for surrender being in dependence, the deceased Lauchlane M'Laine of Torlisk, Lauchlane M'Laine of Coll, M'Laine of Ardgour, M'Laine of Kenlochalin, M'Laine of Lochbuy, Donald M'Neil of Collachie, Archibald M'Lauchlane of Craiginterave, and M'Kerchnie in Kintyre, conjunctly and severally with their barbarous accomplices, did in the first place cause hang Dugald M'Tavish, fiar of Dunardarie, at the said house of Carnassary, and immediately after the surrendering thereof, did barbarously murder Alexander Campbell of Strondour, the petitioner's uncle, and without any regard to any conditions of faith given, they did fall upon and wound above twenty of the soldiers of the garrison, plunder and carry away out of the said house threescore horse led [i.e., laden] of goods and plenishing; and after all these cruelties and robberies, the said deceased Lauchlane M'Laine of Torlisk, with his above-named followers and accomplices, did set fire to the said house of Carnassary, and burn it to ashes: and after all, your petitioner's estate being annexed to the crown, the rents thereof were intromitted with, and uplifted by William Stewart of Craigtown, as having commission from the Lords of the Treasury, since the year 1685, to Martinmas 1689, and the same are yet in his hands; and during this space the said friends, tenants, and vassals, were, by the arbitrary exactions of the deceased Viscount of Strathallan and Sir John Drummond of Machonie, oppressed, leised, and damnified in certain great sums of money: Likeas the said Donald M'Neil of Collachie, and Archibald M'Lauchlane of Craiginterave, did intromit with, and take up out of the parishes of Knapdale, Kelislate, Glassary, and Ariskeodnish [i.e., Kilmartin], the number of 2,000 cows, belonging to the petitioner, his friends, and tenants; and the said M'Kerchnie in Kintyre did seize upon the haill goods and plenishing within the petitioner's house of Lochgair, wherethrough your petitioner, his said friends, tenants, and vassals are disabled, leased, and damnified in the sums of money and avails following: viz. by the burning of the said house of Carnassary, in

the sum of £20,000 Scots; by the taking away of the said goods, as will appear by a particular list, in the sum of £20,000 money foresaid; by his lying out of his estate intromitted with by the said William Stewart in the sum of £24,000 money foresaid; by the said arbitrary exactions of the said Viscount Strathallan and Sir John Drummond of Machonie, in the sum of £12,000 money aforesaid; and by the said Donald M'Neil and Archibald M'Lauchlane of Craiginterave, their intromitting with and taking up of the said 2,000 cows, in the sum of £40,000 money foresaid; and by the said M'Kerchnie, his taking away of the plenishing of the house of Lochgair, in the sum of £2,000 money foresaid; extending in hail the said sums, to the sum of £118,000 Scots money foresaid.” *[Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, July 8, 1690.]*
