

THE INSURRECTION OF THE COVENANTERS IN 1666.

[The contemporaneous or original authorities used in the compilation of the following narrative are Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, Kirkton's History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, Wallace's Narrative of the Rising at Pentland, Turner's Memoirs of his own Life and Times, the Scots Worthies, Crichton's Memoirs of John Blackadder, and M'Crie's Memoirs of William Veitch; and the two modern works occasionally quoted in it are Aikman's Annals of the Persecution in Scotland, in the department of prose, and Brown's Covenanters, in the department of poetry; but the general histories of Scotland and M'Crie's Review of Sir Walter Scott have also been consulted.]

THE reimposing of episcopacy upon Scotland at the restoration of Charles II. was so flagrant a violation of royal faith and so tremendous an outrage against national feeling, as to be fitly followed by severe tyranny and unflinching oppression. The right of private judgment was denounced, the freedom of public elections was overturned, the liberty of the press was restricted, the voice of complaint and expostulation and protest was stifled, the mouth of piety and of all true pastoral

admonition was gagged, and even the cry which had begun to arise against the burning of poor, old, friendless creatures ignorantly or maliciously accused of witchcraft, was sternly hushed. The new prelates were armed with despotic authority in all ecclesiastical affairs; the awe-struck and cringing legislators surrendered the main powers of the law to the unconstitutional purposes of the crown and the crosier, and formally declared those principles to be treasonable for which their fathers had contended unto blood; and the privy council, with Middleton in a sort of vice-king capacity at its head, made unscrupulous use of every possible appliance for enthraling or punishing all the conscientious Presbyterians in the land. "In council, Middleton unwarrantably extended the tyrannical acts of his servile parliament, and wantonly laid waste hundreds of peaceable and flourishing congregations. With a cunning worthy the priesthood of Rome, he invited numbers of unsuspecting ministers from distant parts of the country to Edinburgh, as if to consult them on the affairs of the church, then ensnared them by insidious questions, and punished their unsuspecting simplicity with deprivation, imprisonment, and exile. Without any shadow of law, and without the form of a trial, he turned ministers from their congregations—prohibited them from preaching, praying, or expounding the Scriptures, and sent them to the most distant corners of the land, or forced them to seek an asylum in foreign countries—then intruded on the desolated parishes worthless and incapable hirelings—and concluded his career by commanding the people to attend upon their ministrations under a severe and oppressive penalty."

The ejected ministers, in general, were pious, learned, and of respectable abilities, and enjoyed the affections of the people; and the intruded ones, even according to the account of Burnet, himself an Episcopalian and a Bishop, were "ignorant to a reproach, a disgrace to their order and the sacred function, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts of

Scotland, and in many cases openly vicious,"—and they were so distrusted or despised or hated by their respective parishioners, particularly in the west and south, as to be scarcely or not at all able to escape open derision and contempt. Yet the hearing of any ejected minister who still dared to preach was more firecely denounced by both legislator and magistrate than debauchery and pilfering; and non-attendance on the performances of the curates was first made a finable offence, and afterwards denounced as sedition. Any nobleman, gentleman, or heritor who did not appear regularly in his parish church, became liable to forfeit the fourth part of his yearly income; any yeoman or farmer, to forfeit one fourth or less of all his moveable property; and any burges, to lose his freemanship, to forfeit one-fourth of his moveable property, and to undergo an indefinite or discretionary amount of corporeal punishment. Military parties were distributed throughout the country to enforce the new laws, and compel the people to become Episcopalians. The process against non-conformists was often short; and consisted simply in the curates accusing them, and in the military officers, or sometimes even private sentinels, judging and condemning them, and summarily levying the enormous fines. The soldiers needed no proof, and would take no excuse; and when they could not at once get money, a party of them quartered themselves upon the house till everything eatable was eaten up, and then sold the household furniture and other moveables for whatever they would bring; and many or perhaps almost all of them were persons of the most abandoned character, licentious to a proverb, and gave more offence by their profanity and vice than even by their rapacity and violence.

“Upon the Sabbath, the day peculiarly devoted by the Covenanters to holy rest, and the quiet performance of their sacred duties, a scene of dismay and distress hitherto unknown was commonly exhibited; and the day to which they

had in other times looked forward as the glory of the week, was now dreaded as the signal of their renewed torments. Multitudes were brutally driven to church, or dragged as felons to prison; and hesitation or remonstrance provoked only additional insult or blows. Lists of the parishioners were no longer kept for assisting the minister in his labours of love, but were handed over to the troopers, with directions for them to visit the families, and to catechise them upon their principles of loyalty and their practice of obedience to their parsons. After sermon, the roll was called by the curate, when all absent without leave were delivered up as deserters to the mercy of the military. At churches where the old Presbyterian ministers were yet allowed to remain—for a few still continued to preach at their peril, or through the interest of some influential person—the outrage and confusion were indescribable. As they were generally crowded, the forsaken bishops and their underlings were enraged, and the soldiers were instigated to additional violence. Their custom was to allow a congregation peaceably to assemble, while they sat carousing in some alehouse nigh at hand, till public worship was nearly over; then they sallied forth inflamed with liquor, and, taking possession of the church doors or church-yard gates, obliged the people whom they only suffered to pass out one at a time, to answer upon oath whether they belonged to the parish; if they did not, although their own parish had no minister of any kind, they were instantly fined at the pleasure of the soldiers; and if they had no money, or not so much as would satisfy them, their Bibles were seized, and they were stripped of their coats if men, or their plaids if women; so that a party returning from such an expedition, appeared like a parcel of villanous camp-followers, after an engagement, returning from a battle field, laden with the spoils of the wounded and the slain.”

Nowhere was the general oppression more severe than in

Southeastern Galloway and the lower part of Nithsdale. The people of these districts had enjoyed eminent excellence in their quondam ministers, and had shown special restiveness or downright opposition at the incoming of the curates; and they therefore were very amply watched with the military vigilance, and castigated with the coercing and plundering discipline, which were judged the fittest means for making them Episcopalians. Sir James Turner, who formerly had been zealous for the Covenant, and now, like a true renegade, was fully more zealous to put it down, was the person selected by the state to effect their conversion; and, however much he failed to convince their conscience, he at least made such a diligent use of the "powerful" appliances under his control as to earn the express commendation of his employers, "for his care and pains taken in seeing the laws anent church government receive due obedience." He conducted two campaigns principally in Southeastern Galloway, and then conducted a third in both that district and Southern Nithsdale; and in all, but particularly in the last, he perpetrated or sanctioned such gross and numerous excesses as were never attempted to be justified by the major part of even his own hottest abettors. He says indeed, and perhaps with truth, "I was so far from exceeding or transgressing my commission and instructions, that I never came the full length of them,—sometimes not exceeding the sixth-part of the fines, sometimes not the third, and seldom the half;" but he only lets out by this statement how red-hot nefarious his instructions must have been; for thus speaks history respecting his third campaign: "The exactions in his former expeditions had been chiefly confined to the common people; now they were imposed upon the gentlemen of the country; and the curates, attended by files of soldiers, fined at their discretion all whom they considered inimical, and of such sums as they judged proper. The landlord was compelled too pay if his wife, children, servants or tenantry were not regular

church-goers. The tenant was mulcted when his landlord withdrew from public worship—if the curate's service deserved the name—nor did it avail him, although both himself and his family were as punctual as the parson. The aged and the sick, the poor, the widow, and the fatherless—all were compelled to liquidate the church-fines; and even the beggar was forced to lay down his pittance to satisfy the unhallowed demand. From mere wantonness, the ruffian soldiery would eject from their dwellings the non-compliants—driving husband from wife, and wife from husband—snatch the meat from their children to give it to their dogs—then quarter in their houses till they had wasted their substance, and finish by committing to the flames what they could not otherwise destroy. Thus many respectable families, reduced to utter indigence, were scattered over the country, not only robbed of their property, but deprived of the means of procuring subsistence. Complaints were useless or worse,—they were either disregarded, or answered by additional outrage.”

During the progress of the military coercions, about three years after the promulgation of the royal deed for the overthrow of Presbyterianism, a new and terrible engine of oppression was constructed in the form of the High Commission Court. This was substantially an Inquisition, armed with most exorbitant powers, and impelled by an inhuman spirit. It sought the promotion of professedly religious objects by means of deprivation, imprisonment, and torture; and it was absolute, irresponsible and essentially clerical; for though it comprised thirty-five lay members, it also comprised all the bishops with the honourable exception of the pious Leighton, and was so constituted as to be always under the bishops' control. Any five of its members were a quorum, provided one of them was a bishop; and all the five might be bishops, without so much as the formal presence of even a single layman. They met when they pleased, and let fly their fulminations at will. They had authority to suspend or depose, to fine or

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imprison all ministers who dared to perform any pastoral duty without episcopal licence,—who preached in private houses or in the open air,—who held any sort of religious meetings which could be branded with the opprobrious name of conventicles; to summon before them, and to punish all persons who spoke, wrote, or printed anything derogatory to the hierarchy or the episcopalian church establishment,—or who expressed any dissatisfaction with the public acts of the king; to issue warrants to magistrates and military commanders for the incarceration of delinquents; and, in fine, to do whatever they might think necessary or expedient for serving the king, for preventing and suppressing schism, for enforcing general conformity, for settling the affairs of vacant congregations, and for procuring submission and reverence to the recently constituted powers of the crosier and the mitre. The mere erection of this tribunal placed the whole community at the mercy of the bishops, and was both fitted and intended to fill the Covenanters with dismay; and its proceedings soon flared out upon the public view in awful keeping with its fiery and devouring character. Its records have been mislaid or lost; but they are known to have been a tissue of spoliation, torture, exile, and ruin,—and the illustrations of them furnished by the pages of contemporaneous history have provoked a cry of horror from all posterity.

Such great and wanton oppressions, even when calmly seen by an uninterested party in the far distance, seem a furious incentive to rebellion,—an express and busy manufactory of crime. Yet during five years, from the period of this commencement, the people bore them with only secret murmurs and groans, and, with one or two trivial exceptions, were as peaceable and orderly as if they enjoyed the amplest liberty and the most palmy protection. How happy if they had always acted thus! They never suffered one half of what the early Christians did under the Roman persecutions,—especially under the long and terrifically sanguine persecution

of Dioclesian; and they had just as little occasion to appeal to arms, and would quite as certainly have triumphed in the end by the mere energy of passive resistance. How disastrous for the truest interests of Christianity would have been an insurrection of the Christian churches against Imperial Rome! how ruinous to the just exposition of the gospel would have been a holy war of the Apostles and their followers, for the defence of their persons against imprisonment and exile! how strangely would the record of campaignings and battles, from the days of Christ till the days of Constantine, for the overthrow of heathenism and the establishment of true religion, have figured on the pages of ecclesiastical history! To fight for a creed is worthy only of Mahomedanism, and scarcely half worthy even of Roman Catholicity, and utterly and odiously unworthy of genuine Christianity. Whenever any portion of tolerably orthodox professing Christians have rushed to arms in the cause of their religion, only the Peter-like ones have really drawn the sword, and hacked at the heads of their fellow-men, and all the thoroughly Christ-like ones have stood aloof, and practically said to them, "Put up again your sword into its place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword;"—"If our kingdom were of this world, then would its subjects fight for it, but now is our kingdom not from hence." The general body of the Covenanters, and still less the prime portions of it, are not for a moment to be confounded with the mobs who marshalled and fought in a civil war. David's contest with Saul was all right on David's side, and secured him the sympathy and the hearty good wishes of the major part of the population, yet drew to him, in the season of his greatest need, only "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented;" and the cause of the Covenanters, in spite of all its goodness and all its popularity, attracted for the purposes of warfare, if not solely or principally, at least in a marked degree, a very similar gathering. The social liberty, the na-

tional wellbeing, and the religious advantages which at length grew out of the Covenanters' struggles, resulted, not from the battles which the embodied mobs fought, but from the piety which the scattered multitudes exemplified,—not from deeds of arms on the part of the noisy few, but from deeds of prayer and endurance on the part of the silent many,—not from the blood-shedding might of the soldiers, but from the bleeding heroism of the confessors and the martyrs,—not from the brute force which heathens on every battle-field and bears and tigers in every wilderness have exemplified as doughtily as “the hill-men” did at Drumclog, but from the moral might of that unseen sway which almightily protects all the holy and devout, and subdues every enemy in answer to their cry, and holds in derision all counsels of all rulers against the Lord and his Anointed; and that social liberty and national well-being and religious good would unquestionably have been brighter and better if not one drop of blood except that of the martyrs had been shed. The insurgent Covenanters only gave the government a pretext to increase and prolong the persecution of their brethren. All the benefits which came down to posterity were connected only with the suffering faithfulness and the fervent piety of the martyrs, the confessors, and the enduring non-conformists who “took joyfully the spoiling of their goods;” and all the evil which was mixed with the benefits,—the virus of disease which fevered the constitution of the re-established Presbyterian church,—the series of ecclesiastical disasters which has put the whole country into throes of anguish at intervals down to the present day, may be traced, if not directly to the conduct, at least indirectly to the principles and influence, of the military Covenanters who made their appeal to the sword. Mere moral might has done wonders in our own day in overthrowing the oppressions of borough-mongering and the corn-laws,—and would have been prodigiously enhanced if the questions with which it dealt had possessed some high reli-

gious element,—but would as certainly have been ruined if any small or considerable portion of its abettors had burst into insurrection. The goodness of the Covenanting cause alone made it eventually triumph, in spite of the sin and folly of connecting it with military exploits. While, therefore, we undertake to narrate the events which centred in the battle of Rullion Green, and terminated in many exiles and martyrdoms, we must be understood as merely doing the office of an historian, and as not by any means admiring either the events themselves or the principles and passions which originated and moulded them, and as having strong suspicion, or rather pretty direct evidence, that only a portion of the actors, though we are willing to believe by far the larger portion, were a fair specimen of the Covenanting community.

“ I stood by the martyr’s lonely grave,
Where the flowers of the moorland bloom ;
Where bright memorials of nature wave
Sweet perfume o’er the sleeping brave,
In his moss-clad mountain tomb !

I knelt by that wild and lonely spot,
Where moulders the heart of one
That bled and died, but that blenched not
At the tyrant’s chain, or the soldier’s shot,
Till life’s last sands had run.

And the vision of other days came back,
When the dark and bloody band,
With the might of a living cataract,
Essayed to sweep in their fiery tract,
The godly from the land.

When Zion was far on the mountain height,
When the wild was the house of prayer ;

Where the eye of eternal hope grew bright,
 O'er the saint arrayed in the martyr's might,
 For his God and his country there!

When the barbarous hordes as they onward rode,
 By the wild and rocky glen,
 Have heard, when away from man's abode,
 A voice that awed like the voice of God,—
 'Twas the hymn of fearless men!

For the sunless cave was the martyr's home,
 And the damp cold earth his bed;
 And the thousand lights of the starry dome,
 Were the suns of his path, while doomed to roam
 O'er the wilds where his brothers bled!—

When the clang of the conflict rung on the heath,
 And the watchword of freedom rose
 Like the tones of heaven, on the saint's last breath,
 Far, far o'er the battle notes of death,
 As he soared to his last repose!—

The vision passed; but the home is mine,
 Where the wild bird makes her nest,
 On the rocky altars and mossy shrine,
 Where the weeds and flowers of the desert twine
 Round the martyr's bed of rest.

The lover of freedom can never forget
 The glorious peasant band—
 His sires—that on Scotia's moorlands met;—
 Each name like a seal on the heart is set,
 The pride of his Father-land!"

In the course of the year 1666, some of the oppressed

Covenanters held consultation as to the practicability of redressing the wrongs of their injured country, and corresponded on the subject with some of the Whigs of England and some of the Republicans of Holland, and even formed a plan for organizing an insurrection and seizing the principal forts of the kingdom. They seem, however, to have been both few and timid; and they neither brought any thing to maturity, nor even revealed themselves at the time to the eagle-eyed scrutiny of the government. But at length, in the winter of that year, a petty and unpremeditated incident, with which these persons had no concern, precipitated a considerable body of mal-contents into insurrection.

On the morning of Monday, the 12th of November, Mr. M'Lellan of Barscobe and other three persecuted fugitives ventured to come down from their places of retreat among the mountains to procure some provisions in the Clachan of Dalry on the north-east border of Kirkcudbrightshire. They went into an alehouse in the Clachan, and called for breakfast; and while taking it, they heard that four soldiers of Turner's, who were quartered in the village, had bound an old man in his own house, and were threatening to strip him naked and set him on a gridiron because he could not pay his church fines; and instantly leaving their breakfast, and going to the house, and there finding the man bound, they demanded why he was treated so, and were answered, "How dare you challenge?" They then went forward to loose the man, and were confronted with the drawn swords of the soldiers. A scuffle followed; several persons were wounded; one of the soldiers was pistolled with pieces of tobacco pipe, and fell; and all the four soldiers surrendered themselves prisoners. A party of Covenanters, with a minister at their head, who were holding a religious meeting at Balmaclellan, soon heard of the affair; and fearing to be involved in the terrible reprisals which certainly might be anticipated, they seized and disarmed sixteen of Turner's men in their neigh-

bourhood, and made common cause with the victors of Dalry. They now could not possibly avoid some fierce collision with Turner; and, if they thought at all of retreat, must have seen it to be as dangerous as to go on with their aggression; and knowing that most of Turner's force was scattered in small parties throughout the country, they resolved to be beforehand with him, and to surprise him and his garrison at Dumfries. They sent private advertisement through the country, that all persons who were ready to join them should come in companies to Irongray kirk, on Wednesday night, in order that the whole party might enter Dumfries by daybreak. Ere they could muster, the sun was up; and it was ten o'clock before they got to Dumfries. They amounted to about fifty horse, provided with cloaks girt over their shoulder for fighting, and about two hundred foot, miserably armed with pitchforks, scythes, cudgels, and a few pikes and swords. They approached without giving the least surprise; and did not find even a watch or sentinel at the bridge which leads from Galloway into the town. The foot halted at the bridge end; the horse rode right into the town; and four of the latter, headed by Nielson of Corsack, went on before the rest to Turner's lodgings. Turner had been ill, and was in bed; but hearing a noise of horse, and having had previous notice of the disturbance at Dalry, he ran to the window in his night-gown, and cried, "Quarter, gentlemen; for Christ's sake, quarter; there shall be no resistance." "If you come down to us and make no resistance," replied Nielson, "on the word of a gentleman you shall have quarter." While they were still speaking, Andrew Gray, who had assumed the chief command of the insurrection, came up and, seizing Turner, presented a pistol or carabine to shoot him; but Nielson prevented him, saying, "You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarter." This Gray was said to be an Edinburgh merchant; and, though obeyed without enquiry by the insurgents, was not known to any of them, and had

thrust himself unbidden into the chief command, and was eventually suspected, not without good reason, to be actuated more by love of plunder than by any concern for either liberty or religion.

The insurgents who captured Turner searched his rooms, and seized his papers and trunks, but did not find much money; and himself they brought down stairs in his night-gown and slippers, and set him on a pony bare-backed, with a halter on its head, and led him away to the burgh cross; and there, with a show of loyalty grossly out of keeping with both their character and their enterprize, they drank the king's health. They then carried him through the town, out at the Nether-port, and along the river side to a spot opposite the church of Troqueer, "he being all along in a great panic, expecting they were going to hang him up with great solemnity;" and, after a little consultation, they returned with him in the same posture to his lodgings, and allowed him access to his wardrobe, and told him to make ready to accompany them as their prisoner into the country. They sent parties hither and thither to apprehend his soldiers,—one of whom was killed in the fray; they demanded up from the inhabitants whatever arms could be found, and distributed them among their infantry; and, in the afternoon, they marched out of the town into the west, seemingly without any immediate object except to rouse the country and to augment their numbers.

They rested that night at Glencairn; but were soon and hurriedly frightened thence by a false report that Lords Anandale and Drumlanrig were pursuing them with a strong party of friends and vassals. They marched next day to Carsphairn, carrying Turner under a strong guard, and receiving some small accessions to their force; yet greatly annoyed and in much perplexity, both on this day and on following ones, that "they got so little increase to their company, by reason the country could not be ready, being so

surprised,"—and, no doubt, by reason also that multitudes of the Covenanters disapproved their conduct, and must have thought it unprincipled, wild, and riotous. At the Clachan of Dalry, where the whole affair had begun, and where they made a halt in the course of this day's march, Turner was invited to dine with Hugh Henderson, the ousted minister of Dumfries, who was residing in the vicinity; and he says, "Though he and I be of different persuasions, yet I will say, that he entertained me with very real kindness, and desired the Captaine to set me at libertie; whose answer was, that he could not dispose of me, till he came to the shire of Aire, where he was to receive further orders from his superiors. At this place, Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a visite, and though he be a Presbyterian, yet in plain enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves. It was reported to me, that Captaine Graye did here offer to resigne his command to this Major Steuart, and that he absolutely refused it." Gray was really anxious to be off, whether from conscious incapacity or dread of consequences or convicted rascality, no man can tell; and at Carsphairn, he took French leave during the night, not without violent suspicion of having carried away with him a considerable sum of money.

The command now devolved on Maclellan of Barscobe, Nielson of Corsack, and a preacher of the name of Alexander Robertson; and next day the insurgents marched, in the manner of a disorderly rabble, to Dalmellington; and there they were joined by the Reverend John Welsh, Mr. Maxwell of Moreth, and five or six other gentlemen, who had received special intelligence at Edinburgh of the insurrection, and had proceeded thence with all haste to guide it by their counsel. A special religious interview here occurred between Turner and Welsh; and an account of it given by the former possesses uncommon interest for the testimony which it bears by one of the chief of the persecutors to one of the chief of the ministers. "After my guards had supped at my charges,"

says he, " Mr. Welch sent one to enquire of me, if I wold ressave a visite from him. My ansuere was, he was a person I was lookeing for these tuo yeares bygone, bot I had found him now in a wrong time; however, he might come when he pleasd. When he came, he enterd in a tedious discourse of the Covenant, which, as he said, had made Scotland glorieous in the eyes of the nations. He held out to me, how great ane enemie I had beene to that Covenant, and how much I had endeavord to support Prelacie, by suppressing and oppressing the people of God, who loved not that government. He wishd me to meditate much on death, which, as he said, I knew not how soone might overtake me; that, thogh perhaps I might ansuere before men for all I had done, yet it wold be hard for me to ansuere all before the tribunall of Jesus Christ, where it was like I might shortlie compeare. He confidentlie offerd to assure me, that the Lord had re-veald it unto them, that this was the time appointed by God, for the deliverance of his saints and people, from the persecutions and tirannies of these who had vilipended and contemned the Covenant. And then he told me, that thogh a strict guard was still to be keepd over me, yet it was the salvation of my soule that they sought, and that they resolvd to endeavor to gain me, and that I needed not to apprehend death; bot added these words, 'I meane,' said he, 'not so soone.' I ansuerd particularlie to everie part of this long discourse. Among other things, I told him, that revelations and miracles were ceasd; that it was not probable that he or his partie could set up their Covenant, with such inconsiderable numbers as either they yet had, or were like to get, against the King's standing forces; the which, in all probabilitie, were on their march against them. I wishd they wold more maturalie consider what they were doeing, and give over in time, goe home to their houses, and submit to the King's clemencie; whose former acts of grace might give them confidence to beleeve, that they had to doe with a mercifull prince, who

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would pardon their errors, and take their grievances to his royall consideration. Bot by these discourses I prevailld as much with him, as he did with me by his. I calld for a cup of ale, purposlie that I might heare him say grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the restoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of God's servant who was then in bonds. He prayd for my conversion, and that repentance and remission of sinnes might be granted to me. After this, the conference broke up, at which were present as many as the roome could well hold."

From Dalmellington, Mr. Welsh went to the south to rouse his friends and gather a reinforcement, and the main body of the insurgents marched toward a general rendezvous in the vicinity of Ayr or of the Bridge of Doon. The insurgents received some accessions on their way, both from the neighbourhood and from somewhat distant places; and, though still a mere mob, and very inconsiderable in numbers, they began to feel determined and sanguine. Some small parties of them foraged, and brought in many horses; and one large party went into the town of Ayr, and brought out thence a collection of arms which Turner and the Earl of Glencairn had taken from the country people in the preceding year. "I cannot omit to tell," says Turner, "that on our march to Aire, Major Mackulloch, who was since executed at Edinburgh, in my hearing, praisd God for that happie day he had now seene; and, said he, 'Magnified be thow, Lord, for thow hast done thy oune worke thyselve.' One of his partie, and my guards, rejoyned in this language; 'Bide you yet, sir, the worke is not half done, the play is bot beginning.'"

Colonel Wallace set out from Edinburgh about the same time as Mr. Welsh to join the insurgents; but had high hopes of getting up an insurgent army on his own account by the way, and of arriving at the main body with a mighty rein-

forcement. He proceeded first to Libberton, and expected to get there forty well-mounted horsemen, but got only eight; and he proceeded thence by Linton, Dunsire, Avondale, and Mauchline, suffering similar disappointments,—learning, in one or two instances, that small bands had gone on before him to join the main body,—but finding, in general, that most of his expected supporters cared nothing for the enterprise, and that some condemned or opposed it; and he mustered altogether a very petty force. “Their mistaken hopes,” says Kirkton, “that when they came to the country around Machline, all the gentry and ministry should presently join them; but when they come hither, they find Major-General Montgomerie and the Laird of Gadgirth, of whom they expected great matters, were both gone to meet Dalryell (the government General) at Eglinton, and the ministers living quietly in their families. This offended the Collonel’s party very much, that friends in the country should be so little concerned. The friends in the country were as much grieved with the undertaking, believing it to be unadvised, and fearing it would be unsuccessfull. But at length the Colonell and his party arrive at Air, and there they found the body of their friends at a rendivouze beyond the bridge of Doone.” Between Evondale and Mauchline, Wallace was joined by Captain Arnot, the brother of the Laird of Lochrig, at the head of a company of Clydesdale men; and, learning between that point and Ayr that a number of persons in Cunningham would rise if temporarily sanctioned by a protecting force, he despatched Captain Arnot on that service, at the head of 40 horse, with instructions to make speed to the general rendezvous. Two important persons in Wallace’s company, who, with several others, had joined him between Avondale and Mauchline, were the Reverend William Veitch and Major Learmont,—the latter a skilful, resolute, courageous though uninventive man; and Wallace and Learmont afterwards came to be the most conspicuous military actors, and Veitch

one of the most influential clerical advisers, in the subsequent and concluding movements of the insurrection. Hugh M'Kail, who became a singularly distinguished sufferer, was also present at the general rendezvous; and there almost fell from his horse, and required to be carried to bed, on account of debility and fatigue. The total number of insurgents at Doon, even after the accession of Wallace's party, seems not to have been much above seven hundred.

While the insurgents were thus doing their best to get up a conquering army, powerful preparations were in progress on the part of the government to arrest and suppress them. News of the insurrection were promptly carried from Dumfries to the supreme authorities at Edinburgh; and orders were speedily issued to General Dalziel to march immediately to the west with as many men as he could muster, to establish his head-quarters at Glasgow, and to proceed thence to any point at which his presence might be most urgently required; the guards of the metropolis were doubled, the train-bands were ordered to be filled up by the most loyal citizens who should cordially swear the oath of allegiance, and all unknown or suspected persons in the city were ordered to be registered or arrested; the principal landowners in the districts around the source of the insurrection, and in those most likely to become affected by it, were instructed to use every possible local effort to maintain the public peace, and to receive and assist the government's military forces; every manageable obstruction which could be thought of was put in the way of all travelling or mustering on the part of the disaffected; and a proclamation was issued commanding the rebels to lay down their arms, yet attempting merely to overawe and terrify them, and containing no offer of pardon.

The insurgents learned at their general rendezvous, on the 21st of November, at the Bridge of Doon, that General Dalziel and the Duke of Hamilton had arrived at Glasgow, and were likely to be speedily upon them with a large govern-

ment force; and they resolved instantly to adjourn their general rendezvous to Ochiltree. They accordingly marched thither next day; and there they were joined by Mr. Welsh with a party of about one hundred ill-armed foot and some fifteen or sixteen horse from the south,—by Mr. John Guthrie, the minister of Tarbolton, with a party of his parishioners,—and by Robert Chalmers, who reported the despatch of John Ross with a small party to serve as scouts in ascertaining the approach of the government troops. At Ochiltree, also, they heard sermon by one of their preachers, marshalled their army, appointed their officers, placed guards, and held a council of war to examine their condition and prospects; and at this council they resolved that no farther help might be expected from the south or the south-west, that Captain Arnot would probably bring with him as many friends from Cunningham and Renfrewshire as might be obtained if the whole army prolonged its stay, that they had the prospect of being joined by numerous adherents if they passed into Clydesdale, and that therefore they should immediately march to the east.

Next day, they set out for Cumnock; and, learning by the way that the Duke of Hamilton with his whole force was at Kilmarnock, and had taken Ross and his party prisoners, they pressed on through a dismal moor, during a violent storm of wind and rain, to Muirkirk. They did not arrive till within two hours of midnight, and were as completely drenched as if they had been immersed in a pond; and the foot were obliged, wet and weary as they were, to lie all night in the church without any refreshment and with very little fire. Here Mr. Andrew M'Cormack, an Irish minister commonly called "the good man," informed Colonel Wallace, who had now become commander-in-chief, that, as matters seemed to be getting worse, and small expectations existed of any important succours, some of the leaders were wishful that the enterprise should not be prosecuted farther, and that the insurgents

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should be quietly dismissed, and left each to shift for himself in the best way he could. Wallace greatly disliked the proposal, but promised to hold a council upon it when they should arrive at Douglas.

Next night, that of Saturday the 24th of November, they reached Douglas; but received neither there nor by the way any further reinforcements than about forty men brought in by Captain Arnot. After having quartered the troops and set the guards, the leaders met in council, engaged in prayer, and earnestly discussed the question whether they should disperse or continue in arms; and they concluded that they had been summoned by Providence to their present position, and ought, not only to go on with their undertaking, but to bind themselves to it by again formally and solemnly swearing the Covenant. They next debated what they should do with Turner, whether kill him or let him live,—for they had hitherto carried him constantly with them for want of a prison to lodge him in, and seem often to have considered and vacillated about the propriety of taking his life; and they decided by a small majority to spare him with the view of seeking his conversion,—the minority apparently being almost or altogether as thirsty for the blood of principal antagonists as the Episcopalian persecutors, and even the majority understanding little or nothing of the principles of toleration and forbearance, and probably having a regard, in Turner's desired conversion, as much to the eclat and influence of it upon the cause of the Covenanters, as to the true and abstract merits of it in his own salvation. Even the best men in the Covenanting army appear to have been woefully tarnished with the coercing spirit of the age.

On Sabbath, the 25th, learning that General Dalziel was at Strathaven, the insurgents decamped early in the morning from Douglas; and hearing, though falsely, that the Duke of Hamilton had gone to Lesmahago with only one troop and a few country gentlemen, they marched thither in the hope of

beating up his quarters; and then looking at their own ill-organized condition, they made a formal review of their force, sent out some small parties to plunder horses, marched to Lanark, made a general search in that town for arms, and made as great and diligent improvements as they were able upon both their organization and their commissariat. They were in a pitiful plight as an army, and could have kept up their spirits and cherished hope only under the influence of enthusiasm. Turner witnessed their review, and says respecting it, "The horse men were armed for most part with suord and pistoll, some onlie with suords; the foot, with musket, pike, sith, forke and suord, and some with staves, great and long. There I saw tuo of their troopes skirmish against other tuo, (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided,) which I confesse they did handsonlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilite of both horse and rider, and to see them keepe troope so well, and how they had comd to that perfection in so short a time." Only four or five of their officers had ever seen any military service; and the whole army was miserably provided with arms and ammunition; and both the town and country had been so well scoured before, that their searching and plundering parties could find but very scanty warlike supplies.

But they had small excuse from their necessities, or none whatever, for the heathenish manner in which they spent that Sabbath; and though they resolved in the evening to have sermon on the morrow, and had resolved on the preceding night to renew at the same time their adherence to the Covenant, they may safely enough be pronounced to have committed such crying sin on that sacred day as was quite sufficient of itself to bring down a divine judgment upon their enterprise. Turner sorely twits them with this, as well as with alleged general irreligiousness; and though he no doubt lays on as black a colouring as conscience and a sense of honour would let him, yet he wins credit from the comparative probity of

other parts of his narrative for speaking a considerable portion of truth. "Now," says he, "let all people of impartial judgments determine, whether this armie of pretended saints spent this Lord's day, as Christians ought to doe; and these who make Sabbath breakeing a crying sinne, how will they excuse this crue of rebellious hipocrites, who began that dayes worke in the morning with stealeing a silver spoone and a night gounse at Douglas, and spent the rest of the day, most of them in exerciseing, in a militarie way, and the rest in plundering houses and horses, and did not bestow one houre or minute of it, in the Lord's service, either in prayers, praises, or preaching? This I shall say, they were not to learne to plunder, and that I have not seene lesse of divine worship any where, then I saw in that armie of theirs; for thogh at their rendezvouses and halts they had opportunitie enough everie day for it, yet did I never heare any of their ministers, (and as themselves told me, there was not so few as tuo and threttie of them, whereof only five or sixe conversd with me,) either pray, preach, or sing psalmes; neither could I learne that it was ever practis'd publiklie, except once by Mr. Robbison at Corsfairne, ane other time by Mr. Welch at Dammellinton, and now the third time by Mr. Semple at Lanrick, where the lauffull pastor was forced to resigne his pulpit to him. What they did in severall quarters, I know not; perhaps they had some familie exercise there. I am sure in my quarters, my guards neither prayd nor praisd, for any thing I ever heard; and being for most part in one room together, it is to be supposed I must have beene a witnes to their devotions. Bot I confesse I was more overwearied with the tediousness and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the scarsnes or badnes of my meate and drinke."

On Monday morning, the insurgents heard that Dalziel's army was only about two miles distant, though on the other side of the Clyde, which could not at the time be crossed

without great difficulty; and some therefore proposed to delay the intended swearing of the Covenant; but the majority determined that as this act was a religious one, and had been deliberately resolved upon, and might prove the best or only demonstration which they might be able in present circumstances to make against the enemy, they would not be deterred by anything short of downright impracticability from performing it. The influence of the Solemn League and Covenant, in fact, was the bond which united them, the corps d' esprit which animated them, the enthusiasm which impelled them, the furor which excited and bewildered and intoxicated them; and to have forborne to quaff it anew when they were on the giddy verge of a crisis, would have been to the full as marvellous, on the part of even the least principled, as for a band of ancient rieurs or clansmen at the onset of a foray to have forborne the gathering cry; and all the best of them were driven to it in addition by the mighty force of a paramount religious conviction. The insurgents, therefore, sent out scouts to watch the enemy, placed guards at the point by which he might approach, and then went impressively about the great work of the day. The horse convened at the head of the town, where Mr. Gabriel Semple and Mr. John Crookshanks presided; and the foot were ranged in the street, near the Tolbooth stairs, where Mr. John Guthrie stood and preached; but few or none of the inhabitants of Lanark, though generally friendly to the Covenant, attended, so great was the universal terror. The whole proceedings were solemn and affecting, particularly the address of Mr. Semple from Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? And shall not he render unto every man according to his works?" After sermon, at each of the places, the Covenant was read, article by article, and

the hearers with uplifted hands, and apparently with much emotion, engaged and vowed to perform.

“ The heart-wept tears of that devoted band,
 The breathless silence, and the lifted hand,
 Spoke more than language, when the words were given,
 Heard on the earth, and registered in heaven :—
 ‘ To live, to breathe for liberty alone,
 And make Religion’s holy cause their own ;—
 Enjoy the birthright which their fathers gave,
 Or sword meet sword, and perish like the brave !’
 And fearless men, who helm and corslet wore,
 Trembled and wept who never quaked before.”

The insurgent force attained its maximum at Lanark, more persons having joined it there, and fewer deserted, than on any of the preceding three days ; and it is said by Kirkton to have amounted then to nearly three thousand men, but by Turner not to have exceeded eleven hundred. Many persons in it thought that if they were to fight at all they ought to fight here, as it would be better, in the event of defeat, to find themselves among friends than among the lukewarm or the hostile ; but the majority felt that they were in too bad a state of discipline and equipment to risk an action with the King’s troops unless they should be forced into it,—and they likewise felt incited to precipitate themselves into the Lothians in the hope of receiving succours from Edinburgh. Yet both the minority who wished to court battle on the spot, and the majority who wished to attain more strength for it at a distance, were sadly damped by several discouragements. Mr. Alexander Peden here left them ; Major Kilgour and Mr. John Scott, the minister of Hawick, came to join them, but, on seeing their undisciplined and disorderly condition, suddenly withdrew ; Lowrie of Blackwood, the chamberlain of the Marquis of Douglas, and a sort of neutral

between the Prelatists and the Covenanters, appeared among them, and was supposed to have come to join their standard, but proved to be an emissary of the Duke of Hamilton, to request them to lay down their arms, and conducted himself in a manner so offensive to Wallace and some of the other leaders, that they afterwards regretted not making him prisoner; and, what was worse than all, a great part of the surrounding country was arming against them,—sheriffs and heritors and gentlemen-farmers were in motion to beset them,—and ere they had well formed a hasty resolution, and were but just beginning to get clear of the town, the army of Dalziel came in sight above Stonebyres.

The insurgents fancied Edinburgh to be largely favourable to them; and they therefore determined to make a run for it by way of Bathgate. “So fatal it was,” says Kirkton, “for those poor people to embrace false intelligence, thereupon to found false hopes, and so to take their false measures, that to Bathgate they will goe that night, which was just to bring themselves into a net, and run upon the sword’s point.” Dalziel, on seeing them move in the direction they did, probably knew that they must early pass through strong intrenching ground; and he sent merely a reconnoitring body of horse after them, and snugly laid up his main army to a night’s repose in Lanark. “The rebels,” says Turner, “had marched now about a mile and a halfe from Lanrick, and enterd in a moras, when one came and told them that the enemies forepartie was seene on the other side of the river; and that Mondrogat, who commanded a partie of theirs at the foord, had either dround or broken the boate. Lermond was sent thither, to see in what condition their affaires stood, their body marching on. Bot within one houre, or therby, the Generall had passd the river with both his horse and foot; the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie showing their foot companies good example by wading the river first themselves. Upon this intelligence the rebels facd about, and drew up as formallie as the ground

could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable seene disadvantage, the moras being so deepe, and the way so narrow, that hardlie the foot, much lesse the horse, could do any great service. When they heard the Generall had made his quarters at Lanrick, they marchd on."

A most miserable march they had. The road led across the moors, and was broken, deep, and plashy; the weather blew a hurricane and raiped incessantly; the night set in, pitch dark, two hours before their arrival at Bathgate; and the half-armed yet most heroic multitude imagined that Dalziel was closely pursuing them, and therefore compelled themselves to move in compact marching order. "They came neere to Calder with daylight," records Turner; "and againe, I must say, that I have seldome or never seene lustier foot then these they had. They keepd rank and file on that miserable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horse, and got to the van of them, either thorough neglect or misunderstanding of their officers. Bot Maxwell of Morith and Lermopd rode up, and reducd them to their former order. Neere to Calder, I saw halfe a dozen of farmers meet with Master Semple, who told him, as I was informed, that a good number of his persuasion had that morning keepd a private rendezvous, of purpose to joyne with him, bot having heard that the Covenanted armie had marchd towards Glasgow, they had disbanded. Mr. Semple employed these fellows to be guides to their armie. When Wallace came up to us, he orderd his forces to march to Bathket, which was a litle out of the roade way to Edenburgh; this, I confess, made me doubt whether he intended for Edenburgh or Glasgow. He increased my doubt, by asking me, whether I did not think that when Generall Dalzell heard that he, the said Wallace, was at Bathket, he wold not imagine that he had turnd head to Glasgow, and therfor wold endeavour to get between him and it. He smild when he askd me this

question, hugging himselfe (as I found afterwards) with the fancie, that he had, by that turn of his, cast the Generall a whole day's march behind him. I told him, there was no question bot the King's Lieutenant Generall could not readily resolve, whether to follow him straight to Edinburgh, or intercept his passage to Glasgow, for I myself, who was with him, did much doubt which of the tuo places he intended for. This doubt of mine made him laugh with open mouth, for it was no small joy to him to think he had puzzled me; and this gave me occasion to meditate a whole houre after, how vaine a thing man is. Haveing well enough perceavd, notwithstanding this frolicke of his, that he still imagind the King's forces were at his heels, and therfor wold not stay long in one place, I desird him to permit me, with my guards, to goe to some house, where I might repose a little. My desire was civillie granted by him, and he seemd to regrate very much, both my condition and indisposition."

The insurgents, though drenched with rain and sadly fatigued, found little or no accommodation at Bathgate; and so early as midnigh, at the raising of a false alarm, they suddenly left the little shelter they had, and resumed their march toward Edinburgh in one of the darkest and most dismal nights which any of them had ever seen. The rain fell in torrents; the wind blew boisterously; the clouds intercepted every twinkling of light from the stars; and the whole multitude scrambled along as if they were stone-blind, and had become the sport and scorn of the tempest. Many stuck in the mud, and fainted by the way; many sought refuge in houses and open shelters on the side of the road; and they who kept together and persevered amounted to less than one half of the army, and were in so disastrous a plight that forty of Dalziel's horsemen would have been more than enough to have routed them all. "Except we had been tied together," says Wallace, "it was impossible to keep together, and every little burn was a river." "And in the morning,"

says Kirkton, "they looked rather like dyeing men than soldiers going to conquer; it would have pitied a heart to see so many faint, weary, half-drowned, half-starved creatures betwixt their enemies behind and enemies before." Yet about ten o'clock, at New-Bridge, about 9 miles from Edinburgh, the army mustered to the number of more than a thousand men, and drew up in two squadrons of horse and one of foot, and displayed a surprising degree of collectedness and spirit; and they were harangued by one of their preachers, either Guthrie or Ogilvie, in a speech which, even as reported by their great enemy Turner, reflects the highest credit upon the character of their chief clerical advisers. "He desired them," says Turner, "to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had suorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themselves not onlie pieoualie to God, bot civillie and discreetlie to man. He assurd them, their friends were readie to ressave and embrace them with open armes, and furnish them with all necessaries for backe and bellie, as also with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies; armes and amunition assuredlie he meant. 'Bot,' said he, 'you must not stop there, for to be civill to those who are good to you, deserves neither thanks nor reward. Bot I intreate you,' said he, 'to use all imaginable discretion to those who are not of your persuasion; endeavor to gaine them with love, and by your good carriage, stop the mouths of your adversaries.'"

They here learned, however—contrary to the intimations of this speech, and to the hopes which they had founded on former intelligence—that all Edinburgh and its neighbourhood were in arms against them,—that the gates of the city were barricaded and planted with cannon, that an advanced guard of horse and foot were stationed on Bruntsfield Links, under the command of Lord Kingston, that the advocates and the train-bands were accoutred and active, and that all the available military array of the Lothians, the Merse,

and Teviotdale, were ready to come into action, at a moment's bidding. The insurgents were dreadfully perplexed, and felt themselves alike imperilled behind and before, and had not distinct enough intelligence to see any outlet for extrication or retreat; but, on the spur of the moment, they resolved to go forward, and march to Colinton.

On their way to Colinton, they were visited by Lowrie of Blackwood with a verbal message from the Duke of Hamilton, requesting them to lay down their arms, and promising that, if they did so, an endeavour would be made to procure them an indemnity; but, notwithstanding the extreme urgency of their circumstances, they could not see any prudence or safety in complying with so vague an arrangement; and when Lowrie entreated them to accept it, they dismissed him with an admonition to take care how he acted, and to see well that he did nothing wrong in his attempts to negotiate between the two parties. In some parts of their march, they were in full view of Edinburgh Castle, but at such a distance as to be beyond the reach of its guns. When they reached Colinton, they felt dreadfully exhausted from fatigue, hunger, want of sleep, and exposure to the weather, and were exceedingly desirous to get some refreshment and repose; and though they were then within three miles of the royal forces at Edinburgh, and within five miles of the forces under General Dalziel, who was advancing from Lanark, yet they found easy means, in the churchyard walls, the stone bridge, and the flooded river, to arrange a defence against any assault,—and were almost sufficiently protected by the continuance of the mere tempestuousness of the weather from any serious immediate efforts of their enemies,—and they therefore sent out foragers to the neighbouring country, quartered their horse on the adjacent farms, disposed their foot as well as they could in the village, set guards, and laid themselves up for a night's rest. “My guards and I,” says Turner, “were lodged in the best inne, and about the evening, Wallace and most

of his officers gave me a visite. He told me that he was more troubled for me than for himselfe; for he found it wold be convenient for him to stay in the field most of that night, which he thought wold not be fit for me to doe, and therfor askd me, if I wold not stay in my lodgeing with my guards. Bot I apprehending my guard might have order rather to dispatch me, then suffer me to be taken from them, told him, I wold rather choose to goe to the field with him. While we were speaking thus, the noyce of tuo pistolls gave ane alarm; Wallace presentlie left me, bot left order with my guard to keepe me in my lodgeing till his further direction. After a litle time he returned, and told me it was boysterous and rainie weather, and that he had resolved to let ane evill night kill itselfe; and that I might goe and take some rest if I pleased."

When the officers were retiring to rest, Lowrie of Blackwood came to them again, accompanied by Richards, the Laird of Barskimming, repeating the proposal which he had formerly made, and adding an offer from Dalziel to exchange a parole with Wallace for a cessation of hostilities till the morning. Wallace, in reply, told Lowrie that "he did not understand this paroling of his, but he believed neither would break the truce in such a night;" and sought to dismiss him. Richards took this reply as tartly as it was meant, and went off without taking leave; but Lowrie, and also Turner, who was allowed to be present at part of the interview, seem to have been really anxious to drive on an accommodation and prevent the effusion of blood,—and the former remained for a final answer till daybreak. During the night, a messenger attempted a last and forlorn communication with the Covenanters of Edinburgh; but returned without any heartening. "And now," says Kirkton, "when they perceived their friends at Edinburgh stirred not, (all that they did, as also all their friends in the countrey, being only to fast and pray for them in secret, few being clear to take armes,) then they came to

ane end of both hopes and counsells." About two o'clock, some of their outposts were beaten up, and several of their men killed or captured, by a small party from Edinburgh under the command of Lord Ramsay. Early in the morning, the leaders, on calmly considering the broken state of their force, the utter hopelessness of reinforcements, and the desperate circumstances in which they were placed, felt strongly desirous to come to some terms with Dalziel, if they could be obtained consistently with honour, and without detriment to the principles of the Covenant; and they therefore proposed to send one of their number along with Lowrie, to state their grievances, and to offer an apologetic explanation of their appearing in arms. But they learned from Lowrie that the only person with whom they could intrust their message would be considered as an outlaw; and they, therefore, sent a written communication with Lowrie, to the effect "that, on account of the intolerable insolences of the prelates and their insupportable oppressions, and being deprived of every useful method of remonstrating or petitioning, they were necessitated to assemble together, in order that, jointly, they might the more securely petition His Majesty and council for redress; they therefore requested of his Excellency a pass for a person whom they might send with their petition, and begged an answer might be returned by Lowrie, who had promised to fetch it."

The insurgents, however, expected little from the negotiation with Dalziel, and began with all possible speed to attempt a retreat toward Nithsdale and Galloway by way of Biggar. They accordingly decamped from Colinton, and commenced their march round the east end of the Pentland Hills. They moved in straggling order, and were broken into knots and groups, who called at farmeries and gentlemen's houses in quest of breakfast or other refreshments; and, when they arrived at Gallow Law, near the House of Muir, they halted and formed into order, in order both to check the straggling

and to review their strength. The ground rises, in the form of a long low-shouldered hill, from the south to the north, and terminates in an abrupt and lofty eminence; and is completely shut in from all view toward the north-west, the direction in which Dalziel's army at the time was lying. The right, consisting of a small body of horse, was drawn up on the south, under M'Lellan of Barscobe and some other Galloway gentlemen; the centre, consisting of the poor ill-accounted foot, under Colonel Wallace; and the right, consisting of the greater part of the horse, on the north, under Major Learmont. This array was not made with the view of giving or receiving battle; for the leaders still cherished some slight hope from the negociation with Dalziel, and seem to have been not at all aware that he was now in their very near vicinity; but they speedily found that their arrangement for review had to serve on the nonce as an arrangement for action.

The array was scarcely formed when a cry arose, "There comes the enemy!" Dalziel's van, under the command of Major-General Drummond, had come through the defiles of the Pentlands right toward them, undiscovered and unsuspected, and now appeared on the summit of a ridge at the distance of only two or three furlongs. But a glen intervened, so deep and acclivitous as to arrest all direct approach; and after the two forces had gazed at each other for a while, a picked party of about fifty horsemen were despatched by Drummond to defile round the hills and attack the Covenanters' lower wing, and a mounted party of about equal strength, under the command of Captain Arnot, was despatched by Wallace to intercept and confront them. Arnot's party drew up on a piece of level ground, and there received their antagonists; and after discharging their pistols, they closed at the sword's point, maintained a severe and prolonged contest, cut down a few of their opponents, and put the rest to flight. Two of Arnot's men in this skirmish, were most wofully unfit persons to be there,—John Crookshanks and Andrew M'Cor-

mack, ministers of the gospel, from Ireland, who had all along been prominent in the insurrection ; and both at this time fell in battle. Drummond's routed troopers could not well be chased by their victors, in consequence of the rugged nature of the ground ; nor could they, and the body to whom they fled, be overtaken and annoyed by a party of foot whom Wallace sent to harass them ; but they moved to another and safer eminence farther to the east, and waited there till their own foot came forward ; and then Dalziel's whole army descended to the low ground on the west, and drew up on Rullion Green in front of the Covenanters, and tried to provoke the latter to leave their vantage-ground and come down into a general engagement. For some time, however, the two armies only looked at each other, the royalists averse to incur the risks of ascending to the Covenanters, and the latter unwilling to forego the advantages of their strong position. At length Dalziel sent forward a squadron of horse, flanked by foot, in a direction to charge Learmont's wing ; and the Covenanters observing this, consulted whether they would give them a second meeting, when, considering that, although they might succeed in postponing the battle that night, yet they would be forced to fight under much greater disadvantages on the following day, as the enemy would certainly get fresh reinforcements,—they, after prayer, resolved to accept the combat, and “ never to break till God should break them, though they should serve for no more than to give a testimony by leaving their corpses on the field.” A party of Learmont's horse, supported by foot, was then sent forth ; and after spending their fire upon the foe, entered into close conflict with them, and compelled them, both horse and foot, to run. A second detachment of horse from Dalziel, was similarly met and similarly routed ; and a third was so far successful as to oblige the conquering Covenanters to retire up the hill to their original station. So long as the combating bodies were at all equal, the royalists were repelled and beaten ; but about

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nightfall, Dalziel's whole remaining force, fresh and multitudinous, marched on a point where only about eighty weak horse stood to receive them; and they overwhelmed them with numbers, crushed them at a stroke, and trampled them down or drove them away like chaff. The Covenanters could not make one effort to rally; and most of the unfallen fled in a panic to hiding places and the hills. "I shall only notice," says Mr. Blackadder, "that it was greatly wondered, that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outwearièd with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have faced such a formidable enemy; they being scarce 900 of them who engaged against 3,000 horse and foot, beside great multitudes attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country, all well armed with all manner of furniture for war offensive and defensive; and yet, not only in the morning, but twice in the afternoon, they both faced them and resolutely fought till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes."

About fifty of the Covenanters were slain on the battlefield; and only some half-dozen or so of the royalists were officially reported or admitted to have been slain,—though, from the obstinacy of the fight and the nature of the onsets in all the rencounters previous to the final blow, the real number who fell can scarcely have been less than that of the fallen Covenanters. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple were on the field, yet neither mingled in the battle nor remained near the ranks, but ensconced themselves in a place of safety behind the brow of an eminence, and there cried out very loudly and very often, "The God of Jacob! the God of Jacob!" Mr. Veitch became entangled in the flight with a whole troop of the enemy, and made a most wonderful escape from among them and from shots specially fired after him, and found refuge that night in a herdsman's house on Dunsire Common, within a mile of his own dwelling. A considerable number of the fighters and fugitives surrendered to the royalists on

an express promise of quarter from Dalziel. Turner, at an early period of the engagement, made a paction with his guards that, in the event of the royalists gaining the victory, his guards should protect him from the discomfited Covenanters, and he would supplicate Government for their pardon; and he accordingly gained his liberty during the flight, and kept his word with the guards. About fifty of the Covenanters were taken prisoners on the field; and about as many more were either taken in the flight or afterwards dragged from near places of concealment. The flight, however, was both favoured by the speedy setting in of night, and slackened by the sympathy or the secret good wishes of not a few of the royalist troopers who pursued it. Mr. Welsh and Colonel Wallace fled over the hills to the north-westward; and, after turning their horses away, entered a poor countryman's barn, and there enjoyed a sweeter night's repose than they had done for a week or two before. Many others of the fugitives also found refuge and concealment in the out-houses of farmers and in the dwellings of some kind-hearted Episcopalian gentry. But a few were murdered, and a good many informed upon or captured, by the ill-disposed portion of the neighbouring population; and even those who fell on the battle-field were stripped on the spot by miscreants who hovered like vultures around the scene of carnage,—and the corpses lay naked and unburied till wrapped in winding sheets and interred next day by some humane women from Edinburgh,—and they were afterwards taken out of the graves by some ruffians for the sake of the linen! But many of the survivors of the insurrection, as well as thousands upon thousands who had no other share in it than the profession of the Covenanting faith, might well have envied the pious portion of the dead. The rushing to arms, as we showed at the commencement of our narrative, was provoked by a career of wanton and galling oppression on the part of Government, and the loss of the battle of Rullion-Green armed the perse-

cutors with a vast increase of both pretence and power against the persecuted, and was followed by a woful outspread and grinding increase of the worst forms of the oppression.

“ The death-hymn chaunted over Cromwell’s tomb
 Rose like the song of hope amid the gloom,
 Saluting exiled Charles, doomed to roam,
 Monarch of kingdoms, yet without a home.
 Joyous he heard the nation’s loyal call
 Back to his throne, his kingdom, and his all.
 Then, ’mid the rapturous shout and loud acclaim,
 When every echo rung to Charles’ name,—
 Oh! would not generous patriot feelings rise,
 With heaven-like love, to calm a nation’s sighs?
 Would not his full and grateful bosom burn,
 To thank, by deeds a people would not spurn?
 Scotland, the nursling of the rugged North,
 The freeman’s home, the land of virtuous worth,
 Thy fearless children shed their blood for him,
 Shouting his name when life’s bright eye grew dim.
 The storm of vengeance, with a darker shade
 Than Nature’s, round thy rocky mountains played!
 The first dread waking of his wrath was hurled
 In deeds of blood that might have waked the world.
 The good Argyle, the pious Guthrie, fell,
 To satiate ire no offering could quell,—
 The first of Scotland’s wide spread sacrifice,
 Hurried from earth, swift heralds to the skies,
 Loaded with tidings of the Church’s tears,
 And the dark gathering gloom of coming years;
 Blending their prayers with martyred saints who lie
 ’Neath the eternal altars of the sky!
 The heartless satellites, without a tear,
 Traversed the land when not a foe was near!

It lay all cradled in the arms of peace ;
Yet on they rode like fierce Eumenides,
Converting men by bayonets to God,
Driving them heaven-ward by the royal road !
Goaded to madness, they indignant rose,
Wild as the breaking billow, on their foes :
Yet with a generous soul, a love like heaven,
Bestowed the mercy that had ne'er been given ;
Saw, felt, and paused o'er ruin's lawless sway,—
Leant on their arms, and sternly took their way !
Disastrous twilight over Pentland hung,
While the tumultuous din of carnage rung.
Ah, vainly brave ! with high heroic mind,
Fighting they died, or left a wreck behind.
But those slept well who gained a soldier's tomb,
Saved from the torture's agonizing doom !
For from the fatal field, a thousand woes,
Tinged with the hues of death, to Scotland rose.
Pentland's dark day was victory for Dalzell—
Gospel for Sharp—and Law for Lauderdale !

The spirit shrinks from what it would relate
Of agonies that wrung the captive's fate ;
The living deaths of long protracted pain ;
The iron tortures of that iron reign.
Along the damp churchyard they guarded lay ;
Night brought no slumber, and no hope the day ;
Hour after hour all shelterless they past,
Amid the night dews and the ruffian blast.

No deed too dark, no torture too severe ;
No law to check them in their wild career ;—
The cordon of a fatal spell was cast
Around the throne, oblivious of the past :—

No tear was heeded, and no wrong redrest,
 While deeds of death were matter for a jest;—
 A thousand wrongs the rising spirit crushed,
 And all to whispered tones and looks were hushed.”

The victors entered the capital in a sort of triumphal procession, with their prisoners in bonds, and with loud acclamations and flying banners. “This,” says Wallace, “the godly people of the town esteemed the saddest sight that ever Edinburgh had seen, which drew tears in abundance from the eyes of all that feared God, considering what vast difference there was between the persons and the cause, on the one side and the other; and surely a most astonishing dispensation it was, to see a company of holy men (for such were the greatest part, yea, but few otherwise), and that in a good cause, given up into the hands of a most desperate crew of scoffing, prophane atheists. But God helped them to glorify him in their sufferings, which made their cause more lovely throughout all parts of the land, even in the eyes of enemies and neutrals, than their victory would have done.” A few of the principal—including Hugh M’Kail, who had been caught on the preceding night in the course of fleeing from the Covenanters’ camp eastward by way of the Braid Hills—were lodged in the Tolbooth; and the rest, as well as a good many more who were afterwards betrayed or brought in by Episcopalian or rascally civilians—were lodged in the part of St. Giles’s cathedral called Haddo’s Hole. Some died in prison; some, as we shall afterwards see, were brought to the scaffold; some soon made their escape, with the help of friends and disguises; and the remainder broke out of prison in a body, after a period of about three months, and were never recaptured.

On the 4th of December—six days after the battle—a proclamation was issued by the Privy Council prohibiting all persons from harbouring or corresponding with Colonel Wallace, or any of those who had been in arms with him, under

pain of being treated as accessory to the late rebellion ; and at a subsequent date, Wallace and six other leaders who had absconded with him, were formally declared guilty of treason, and condemned to be executed as soon as they could be found and taken ; and for many years, Wallace was watched by emissaries and haunted with missives on the Continent, but eluded all, and long served as an elder in the Scottish Church of Rotterdam, and eventually died privately and in peace. Acts of Council were early promulged to sequestrate the property of all the Covenanters who had been at Pentland, and to apprehend all persons who had aided or abetted them either before or after ; and some extensive and inhuman confiscations were made in the case of landowners, who had never joined the army of the insurgents, and had taken little or no part in the insurrection beyond showing themselves desirous that it should succeed. The general severities against the whole community of nonconformists, too, were increased in both vigilance and rigour ; and all—from the beginning of the insurrection onwards, through all the confiscations and martyrdoms and national oppressions which followed—were rendered intensely bitter by being conducted under the direct sway of Archbishop Sharp, who, in the absence of the King's secular representative, was wielding at the time, not only the real, but the ostensible government of the kingdom.

The selected victims for the scaffold were soon brought up to trial ; and three things were dreadful aggravations of the fatal proceedings against them,—first, that the prime priest of “the black prelacy” against which they had contended, was their supreme persecutor,—next, that a letter from the King to the Privy Council, commanding a cessation of public executions, was kept up by one or both archbishops till several, whose lives would have been saved by it, were judicially murdered,—and next, that the promise of quarter which had been given by Dalziel on the field, and which had induced many to surrender who otherwise might have escaped, was wrested

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from the General by the Judges and truculently broken. "When the question, whether the prisoners should be sent to trial, was first agitated at the Privy Council board, Sharpe violently urged the prosecution. Sir John Gilmour, esteemed one of the best lawyers of his day, pusillanimously shrunk from giving any decided opinion, and the rest seemed inclined to be silent, when, unhappily, Lord Lee started the vile jesuitical distinction, not, however, unmatched in later times, that men may be granted quarter on the field as soldiers, yet only be spared to die on a scaffold as citizens,—a distinction which General Dalziel, notwithstanding his little respect for the lives of Covenanters, could not by any means be brought to comprehend." Another, though digressionary instance of Dalziel's inferior inhumanity to that of the chief Privy Councillors—notwithstanding his popular reputation of being more fiendish than any of the persecutors of the period except the infamous Claverhouse—deserves well to be recorded. When John Paton, who had been a Captain of the Covenanters at Pentland, and had there fought Dalziel in a personal encounter, was on his way to Edinburgh as a prisoner after the battle of Bothwell-Bridge, he was upbraided by one of the soldiers with being a rebel, and replied, "I have done more for the King than perhaps you have done,"—referring to the battle of Worcester, where he had fought for Charles. Dalziel, overhearing the conversation, said, "Yes, John, that is true;" and, turning to the soldier, struck him with his cane, and told him he would teach him other manners than to abuse such a prisoner. He then expressed his sorrow for Paton's situation, said he would have set him at liberty if he had met him on the way, and promised that he would yet write to the King for his life. Paton thanked him, but added, "You will not be heard." "Will I not?" replied the General; "if he does not grant me the life of one man, I shall never draw a sword for him again." He only obtained a reprieve for him, however; and was not able to procure him a pardon.

The first and largest band of the Pentland captives selected for the gibbet consisted of Major M'Culloch, Captain Arnott, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton, John Parker, Christopher Strang, John Shiels, John Ross, and two brothers John and Robert Gordon. Strong objections were raised against the relevancy of their indictment, and were argued with high eloquence and power—especially the mighty one based on the quarter given by General Dalziel; but they were overruled by the Court; and all the ten panels were pronounced guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hanged on the 7th of December. While they lay under sentence of death, they drew up a joint public declaration, in which they say, among other things, “We are condemned by men, and esteemed as rebels against the King, whose authority we acknowledge; but this is the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ,—particularly for renewing the Covenant, and, in conformity with its obligations, for defending ourselves by arms against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the prelates, and against the most unchristian and inhuman oppression and persecution that ever was enjoined and practised by rulers upon free, innocent, and peaceable subjects! * * Though this be the day of Jacob's trouble, yet are we assured that when the Lord hath accomplished the trial of his own, and filled up the cup of his adversaries, he will awake for judgment, plead his own cause, avenge the quarrel of his covenant, make inquiry for blood, vindicate his people, break the arm of the wicked, and establish the just, for to him belongeth judgment and vengeance; and though our eyes shall not see it, yet we believe that the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under his wings,—that he will revive his work, repair his breaches, build the old wastes, and raise up the desolations.” The ten were executed together; and, on the scaffold, they uttered similar sentiments, and spoke with a high and elevated courage,

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which excited no common emotion among the spectators. The two brothers, the Gordons, were thrown off locked in each other's arms, and endured their last agonies in the convulsion of each other's embrace. The heads of all were sent to various parts of the country; and their right hands, which they had uplifted at the oath of the Covenant, were sent in derision to be affixed to the top of Lanark gaol.

Another band, consisting of Nielson of Corsack, Alexander Robertson the preacher, George Crawford of Cumnock, and John Gordon of Irongray, were executed on the 14th of December; and a third, consisting of Hugh M'Kail the preacher, John Wodrow of Glasgow, Ralph Shields of Ayr, John Wilson of Kilmaurs, Mungo Kaipo of Avondale, and Humphry Colquhoun, were executed on the 21st; and all more or less displayed the same noble, affecting, martyrly character as the other ten. Several more also were condemned to die, but received a pardon. Hugh M'Kail's trial and execution were, in several respects, the most remarkable of any, and made the deepest impression on the popular mind, and afford as glorious an instance of holy courage and unctuous devotion and triumphant dying as almost any which illuminates the whole roll of British martyrology; and they derived high interest from the circumstances of his being but very young in years, and very eminent in excellence, and of his having incurred the resentment of the persecutors, far less by the trivial part he acted in the insurrection, than by a piece of famous rebuke which he launched in a sermon in the High Church of Edinburgh, in 1662, against "an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church;" and though the record of his last sayings occurs, with few variations, in many popular works on Scottish ecclesiastical history, yet it richly deserves emblazonment in all which remains to be written till the end of time, and may here, for the benefit of such of our readers as have not elsewhere seen it, be transcribed from that racy and well-known

martyrology, the Scots Worthies. " On the 28th of November, he was, by order of the Secret Council, brought before the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Priest-field, and others, in order to examination; when being interrogated concerning his joining the west-land forces, he, conceiving himself not obliged by law to be his own accuser, declined the question. After some reasoning, he was desired to subscribe his name, but refused; which when reported to the Council, gave them great offence, and brought him under some suspicion of being a dissembler. On the 29th he was again called before them, where, for allaying the Council's prejudice, he gave in a declaration confessing that he had been with the west-land forces. This only awakened their jealousy the more, and suspecting him to have been privy to all the designs of that party, they dealt with him with the greater importunity, to give an account of the whole business; and upon December 3d, the boots (a most terrible instrument of torture) were laid on the council table before him, and he was certified, that, if he would not confess, he should be tortured on the morrow. Accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to declare as they desired, he solemnly assured them, that he knew no more than what he had already confessed; upon which they ordered the executioner to put his leg into the boot, and to proceed to the torture, to the number of ten or eleven strokes, at considerable intervals: yet all this could not move him to express any bitterness or impatience. This torture was the cause of his not being indicted with the first ten who were arraigned. On December 18th, he, being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the justices, when the general indictment founded on acts of parliament, made against rising in arms, entering into leagues and covenants, &c., was read against them. M'Kail was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places. Upon which, being permitted to answer, he spoke in his own

defence, both as to the charge laid against him, and as to the obligations that were upon this land to God; commending the institution of Presbyterial government. He said, that the last words of the national covenant had always had a great weight upon his spirit. Here, however, he was interrupted by the King's Advocate, who bade him forbear his discourse, and answer the question for the crime of rebellion. Unto which he answered, that what moved him to declare as he had done, was the weighty and impressive saying of our Lord Jesus, 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.' His confession, and the depositions of those examined anent him being read, with his replies to the same, the assize was enclosed; and shortly after, by the mouth of Sir William Murray, their chancellor, announced their verdict, reporting him guilty. The verdict being registered, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him and the rest of them, to be taken to the market cross of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be escheated and forfeited for his Highness's use. At hearing of this sentence he cheerfully said, 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' He was then carried back to the tolbooth, through the guards, the people making lamentations for him by the way. After he came to his chamber, he immediately addressed himself to God in prayer, with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himself and those who were condemned with him. Afterwards, to a friend, he said, 'O how good news, to be within four days' journey of enjoying the sight of Jesus Christ;' and protested, 'he was not so cumbered how to die, as he had sometimes been to preach a sermon.' To some women lamenting for him, he said, that his condition, though he was but young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours in the ministry, was not to be mourned; 'for, one drop of my blood,' added he, 'through the grace of God, may make more

hearts contrite, than many years' sermons might have done.' In the afternoon, he supplicated the Council for liberty to his father to come to him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he discoursed a little concerning obedience to parents, from the fifth commandment; and then, after prayer, his father said unto him, 'Hugh, I call thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruit.' He answered, that his too good thought of him afflicted him. His father said, 'He was persuaded God was visiting not his own sins, but his parents' sins, so that he might say, Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquity.' He further said, 'I have sinned; thou poor sheep what hast thou done?' Mr. Hugh answered with many groans, that through coming short of the fifth commandment, he had come short of the promise, that his days should be prolonged in the land of the living; and that God's controversy with his father was for overvaluing his children, especially himself. The last night of his life he propounded and answered several questions for the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners: 'How should he go from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people, and guards of soldiers, to a scaffold and gibbet, and overcome the impression of all this?' He answered, by conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of angels, who are onlookers; according to that, 'We are a gazingstock to the world, to angels, and men;' for the angels rejoicing at our good confession, are present to convoy and carry our souls, as the soul of Lazarus, to Abraham's bosom, not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himself, with the songs of angels and blessed spirits; but the angels are ministering spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen dying believers. 'What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are hastening to it, seeing the word saith, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the glory prepared by God

for them that love him? To this he answered, that the scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven, (1.) By way of similitude, as in Rev. xxi., where heaven is held forth by the representation of a glorious city, there described. (2.) By holding forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. v. 12; and no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven. The last words he spoke at supper were in commendation of love above knowledge. 'O but notions of knowledge without love are of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dangerous.' After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th Psalm, and then said, 'If there were any thing in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the scriptures. I said I shall not see the Lord in the land of the living; but this needs not make us sad, for where we go, the Lamb is the book of Scripture, and the light of that city; and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs to delight its inhabitants.' Supper being ended, he called for a pen, saying, it was to write his testament: wherein he ordered some few books he had borrowed to be re-delivered to several persons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and slept till five in the morning; then he arose and called for his comrade John Wodrow, saying pleasantly, 'Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going to be hanged this day, seeing we lie so long.' Then he spake to him in the words of Isaiah xliii. 24; and after some short discourse, John said to him, 'You and I shall be chambered shortly beside Mr. Robertson in heaven.' He answered, 'John, I fear you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold.' He said, 'He had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awakening, but it was a little overclouded thereafter.' He prayed with

great fervency, pleading his covenant relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witness a good confession before many witnesses. Then his father coming to him bade him farewell. His last word to him after prayer, was, that his sufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. He then desired his father to leave him, and go to his chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with him on the scaffold; 'for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.' About two o'clock, afternoon, he was brought to the scaffold, with the other five who suffered with him; where, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, he had a fairer and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his speech to the multitude northward, saying, 'That as his years in the world had been but few, his words then should not be many;' and then spoke to the people the speech and testimony which he had before written and subscribed. Having done speaking, he sung a part of the 31st Psalm, and then prayed with such power and fervency as caused many to weep. Then he gave his hat and cloak from him; and when he took hold of the ladder to go up, he said with an audible voice, 'I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father's house.' Hearing a noise among the people, he called down to his fellow-sufferers, saying, 'Friends and fellow-sufferers, be not afraid; every step of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven:' and then, having seated himself thereon, he said, 'I do partly believe that the noble counsellors and rulers of this land would have used some mitigation of this punishment, had they not been instigated by the prelates, so that our blood lies principally at the prelates' door: but this is my comfort now, that I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the truth and cause of God,

the covenants and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation ; and it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate the bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope,' (the executioner then putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the people weep, he said, ' Your work is not to weep but to pray, that we may be honourably borne through ; and blessed be the Lord that supports me now ; as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence, so I hope you will not be wanting to me now in the last step of my journey, that I may witness a good confession ; and that ye may know what the ground of my encouragement in this work is, I shall read to you in the last chapter of the Bible ; and having read it, he said, ' Here you see the glory that is to be revealed to me, a pure river of water of life, where the throne of God and the Lamb is, where his servants serve him and see his face, and his name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever. And here you see my access to my glory and reward, ' Let him that is athirst come,' &c. ; and here you see my welcome, ' The Spirit and the bride say, Come.' Then he said, ' I have one word more to say to my friends, (looking down the scaffold,) where are ye ? Ye need neither lament nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I make use of that expression of Christ, ' I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God,' to your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the first-born, to God the judge of all, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant ; and I bid you all farewell, for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he will be now more refreshing to me than you can be ; farewell, farewell, in the Lord.' Then the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a little, and put it up

with his hand, and said, he had a word more to say concerning what comfort he had in his death. 'I hope you perceive no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to myself; and I will tell you the reason of it; besides the justice of my cause, this is my comfort, what was said of Lazarus when he died, 'That the angels did carry his soul to Abraham's bosom;' so that as there is a great solemnity here of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, a people looking out at windows; so there is a greater and more solemn preparation of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom. Again this is my comfort, that it is to come to Christ's hand, and he will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off: farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars; welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death.' Then he desired the executioner not to turn him over until he himself should put over his shoulders; which, after praying a little in private, he did, saying, 'O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed my soul, O Lord God of truth.' And thus, in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord."

While the trials and gibbetings were proceeding in the Capital, judicial measures of similar character were afoot at Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, and Dumfries. "A commission was issued for the Earls of Linlithgow and Winton, Lord Montgomery, and Mungo Murray, to hold a Justiciary Court in Glasgow, and Sir William Purves, Solicitor-general, despatched to prosecute. Four of the Covenanters were accordingly

brought before them, Monday, December 17th, all men in humble life—Robert Buntine in Fenwick, John Hart in Glassford, Robert Scott in Dalsersf, and Matthew Paton in Newmills—found guilty that same day, and ordered to be hanged on Wednesday. They went to the gibbet with the same Christian fortitude, and evinced, by their deportment, that the same peace of God which had comforted the martyrs in the capital, dwelt also in them. But the impression which the dying declarations of the martyrs had made, especially of those last murdered in Edinburgh, forbade that they should be allowed the privilege of addressing the spectators in a quarter where their solemn testimonies might have deeper effect; and when the sufferers attempted to address the crowd, the drums were ordered to beat and drown their voices—a detestable practice, which proclaimed their dread of the truth they were vainly attempting to stifle. Rothes himself took a tour to the south-west, accompanied by the Earl of Kellie, Lieutenant-General Drummond, Charles Maitland of Hatton, and James Crichton, brother to the Earl of Dumfries, as a Justiciary Commission. At Ayr, twelve were tried and ordered for execution; eight in that town, two at Irvine, and two at Dumfries. When those at Ayr were to be executed, the executioner fleeing, and none being willing to perform the hated office, in this dilemma, the Provost had recourse to the shocking expedient of offering any of the prisoners pardon, upon condition of his hanging the rest of his brethren; and one Anderson was found, who purchased a few days' miserable existence at this expense; yet even he had to be filled half-drunk with brandy to enable him to perform the dreadful ceremony, while the sufferers, more to be envied than him, courageously met that death which he basely inflicted. The conduct of William Sutherland, the executioner of Irvine, stands out in fine contrast with that of Anderson. This man, who had been born of poor parents in the wildest part of the Highlands, had been seized with an uncommon

desire to learn the English language, which, with much difficulty, he acquired so well, as to be able to read the Scriptures in that tongue. He had acted as common hangman in the town of Irvine for some time; when, having been converted to God through the reading of the Bible, and the instructions of the persecuted, he scrupled about executing any person whom he was not convinced deserved to die. When the Ayr hangman fled, he was sent for, but would not move till carried by force to that town, and peremptorily refused to execute the prisoners, because he had heard they were godly men, who had been oppressed by the bishops; upon which he was committed to prison, and flattered, and threatened—first, promised money, then told he would be hanged himself, if he persisted; yet nothing could either terrify or induce him to comply. When they called for the boots, ‘You may bring the spurs too,’ said William, ‘ye shall not prevail.’ The provost offered him fifty dollars, and told him he might go to the Highlands and live. ‘Ay, but where can I flee from my conscience?’ was the pointed query of the honest mountaineer. He was then placed in the stocks, and four musketeers stood ready with lighted matches, but the dauntless man bared his bosom, and told them he was willing to die; and, they finding him immoveable, dismissed him.—Anderson was also obliged to execute those condemned to be hung at Irvine. Universally detested, he left the country soon after and settled in Ireland, near Dublin, where his cottage was burned, and he perished in the flames. The others were, pursuant to their sentence, hung at Dumfries, whither the Commissioner went to endeavour to trace the conspiracy; but no other discovery was made than that the rising had been accidental, and that oppression had been the cause. Upwards of thirty-four had now been put to death by the hands of the executioner; yet these executions did more harm to the cause of prelacy than almost any other circumstance could have done; for the universal detestation

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of the people was heightened in proportion to the fortitude and composure of the sufferers, whose dying testimonies possessed a power and energy beyond that of a thousand sermons."

"With bosoms glowing with an earthless thought,
The brave, the zealous Covenanters sought
The lone recesses of the rocky shore,
The shaded glen, or wide and houseless moor,
While Nature's star-lit temple round them glowed,—
While heavenly visions o'er the spirit flowed,—
Deeming that God, in close communion there,
Spoke in the psalm and answered in the prayer.
Their lonely steps the minions still would trace;
And death-shrieks rung o'er many a desert place!—
Untired Oppression issued through the land
Laws bloodier still, to nerve the soldier's hand;
To quench for aye, in that long deadly strife,
The warm and glowing charities of life;—
With sweeping vengeance, make the feelings part,
That live and linger round the human heart!
Brother estranged from brother stood in gloom,
And children's lispings sealed the father's doom;
Affection's tear might glisten on the cheek,
What nature's voice in terror might not speak;
The hand of love, the mother stretched to save
A much loved one, fell lifeless to the grave:
Malice incarnate wrapped herself in smiles,
And wrung forth secrets by her artful wiles;
Beheld triumphant all her labours flow
In one dark crimson tide of human woe!
For what?— Because they worshipped heaven's great
 Lord,
As sanctioned by their conscience and His Word!—

'Twas both religion and their rights as men
That armed those peasants by the moor and glen;—
They heard the voice of Nature's law in all,
And grasped their swords obedient to the call.
The heroes of the Covenant, arrayed
At once with Bible and with battle blade,
Heard no sweet Sabbath-bell announce the day :—
Met on the wild, but not in peace, to pray,
Their temple was the deep and shaded dell,
Where Nature's hymns with artless rapture swell,
Girded with stream and rock ; while hung on high
The sun-illumined vault or starry sky.
Here met the grey-haired man, the veteran sage,
Bending and trembling on the staff of age ;—
Enduring manhood, leaning on his sword,
A still stern listener to the holy word ;—
The youth with dauntless heart and fiery eye,
Ere he had learned to live, here learned to die ;—
The mother with her child ; the blushing maid,
Here raised the song, and here together prayed :
Above them on the rock, or mossy mound,
Great Cargill stood, with years and sufferings crowned ;—
He stood, his white locks streaming in the blast,
Like some prophetic being of the past ;
With inspiration's voice denouncing wo
Against the arm that laid his country low ;—
Spread on the flower-clad table of the moss
The holy sacred Symbols of the Cross !—
All shed a heaven-like sanctity around,
And stamped it holier yet than classic ground ;
And with the promise calmed the troubled breast,
Pointing the spirit to the land of Rest :—
Kindling with heaven-born light and faith sublime
These exiles triumphed o'er the ills of time.—

The sentinel, like danger's nursling child,
 Paced his lone mountain watch-tower on the wild;
 Searching with soldier's eye the wastes afar,
 Timely to wake the alarum note of war :—
 When all into a fearless silence died !
 And swords flashed out with high heroic pride,
 Hope in the heart, and lightning in the eye,
 Like men of many wrongs prepared to die.

They stood like warriors pleading in their arms,
 Fearless in danger, calm in death's alarms,—
 They hurled a brave defiance on the foe,
 Though left by all but hope amid their wo.
 They dared do all, but bend a slavish knee,
 That virtue sanctioned for their liberty.—
 The flaming pyre that round the martyrs rose,
 Blazed like the torch, to light them to repose ;—
 The ocean wave, the scaffold, and the sword,
 Were but a stormy passage to their Lord !
 The fiery hour, the storm that swept them down,
 The soul sent home, and wreathed the martyr's crown !
 Eternal Hope, with bright prophetic eye,
 Pierced the dark shades that round the future lie ;
 Beheld the cloud of suffering pass away,
 And Scotland smile beneath a happier day ;
 Religion, Freedom, wave the olive wand,
 Walk undisturbed and smiling through the land ;
 The fruitful harvests of their sufferings rise
 In peace and love beneath congenial skies :—
 A grateful country, and approving heaven,
 Glowed on the twilight of life's stormy even."