

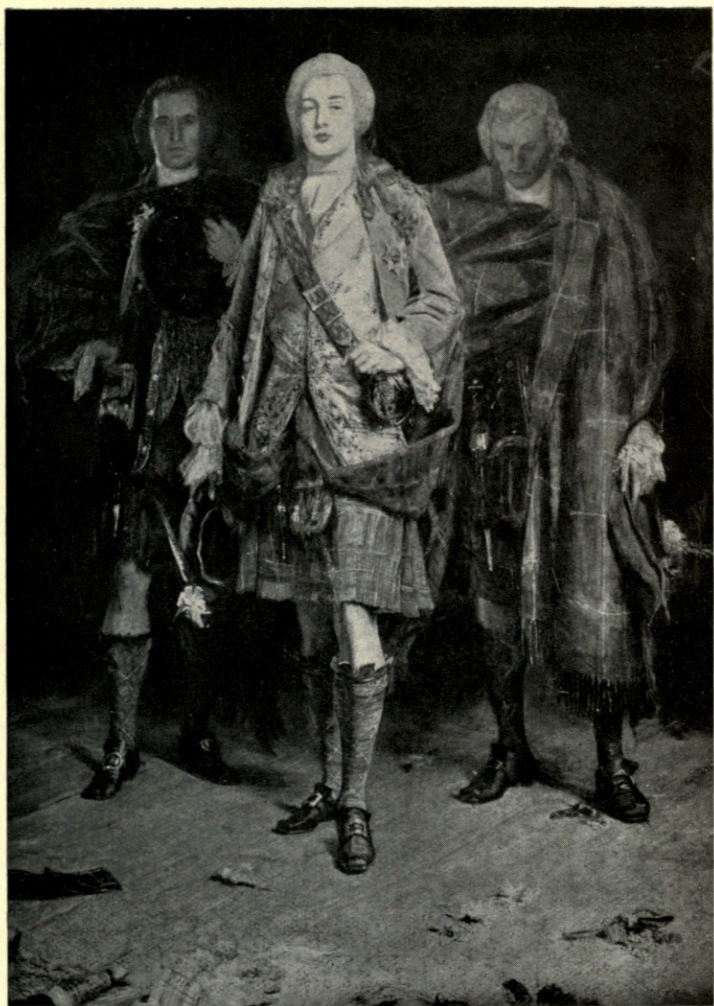
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SCOTTISH DIARIES
AND MEMOIRS
1550-1746



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BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE
(From the Painting by J. Pettie, R.A.)

SCOTTISH DIARIES
AND
MEMOIRS
1550 - 1746

Arranged and Edited by
J. G. FYFE, M.A.

With Introduction by
Professor R. S. RAIT, C.B.E., LL.D.
Historiographer-Royal for Scotland.

ENEAS MACKAY
STIRLING

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are no more attractive materials for History than the Diaries which successive generations of our forefathers have left behind them, nor are there any more illuminating and revealing sources than these autobiographical records. They are corner stones in the historical building. I do not, of course, argue that everything said in diaries and recollections is necessarily true. The diarist may not have wished to tell the truth. He may have wished to tell the truth and yet have failed to do so through prejudice, or because of the confusions produced by an inaccurate memory, or, possibly, from a desire to improve the story and give truth the "little more—and how much it is" that artistic adornment may contribute. But when we read him, his very prejudices place us upon our guard. We soon find out whom he loved and whom he hated, and we are warned to make allowances for love and hate alike. Where his memory fails him, we can often check what he says by comparison with other evidence; where he tells only part of the truth we can often supply the remainder from other sources and put the whole story together. Contemporary letters have many of the same qualities as diaries or reminiscences, but in reading a letter we may not be quite sure whether it says what the writer really thought or whether it says what he desired his correspondent to believe that he thought. Two personalities, author and recipient, are concerned in a letter, and we must

know something about both before we can judge it properly. In a Diary we are dealing with only one personality, and it is correspondingly easier to make up our minds whether to trust the writer or to estimate the number of grains of salt which it is desirable to apply to him.

Good diaries are not merely good historical evidence, they are also good stories, and only the pedant will complain if the diarist has added a little decoration; it will not trouble us much to suspect that Sir James Melville, whose fascinating account of his interview with Queen Elizabeth is one of the gems of this book, may have elaborated his impromptu retorts when leisure permitted him to reflect upon what he ought to have said. Even when the topics are of less interest than Melville's, the old Diary appeals to us as a record of human life, its aims, hopes, disappointments, joys and sorrows, losses and gains. It reveals to us a living man in his family, among his neighbours, friends and foes alike, and the conditions of life in a by-gone age, difficult for the imagination to reconstruct, are illustrated and explained as the narrative proceeds. The Diary is the easiest, the most attractive, and, in many ways, the most trustworthy key to the past, and especially to the social life of the past.

From the Reformation to the 'Forty-five, we are fortunate in possessing a succession of diaries and reminiscences from which no small part of the Scottish history of the period has been built up. Mr. Fyfe seems to me to have made a very happy, as well as a representative, selection from this wide range of materials. The best things that these

diarists have to tell us are to be found in the pages of this book, and the quotations are introduced by explanations adequate for their purpose and well designed to lead the reader to undertake adventures on his own account in these attractive fields. The topics are various and they touch the political, social, and ecclesiastical life of two centuries. Considerations of space have forbidden the inclusion of many interesting passages, and especially the introduction of quotations from those of the Covenanting Diaries which are rather essays or exercises in religious psychology than social or political reminiscences, and, to be understood or appreciated, must be read in bulk. But there is abundant material here for all tastes, and I do not know of any book which opens a more attractive avenue to a knowledge of the living past.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW,
St. Andrew's Day, 1927.

PREFACE

THIS volume has a two-fold aim—firstly, to interest the general reader in the Scotland of yesterday ; and secondly, to give intimate glimpses of life in Scotland during the period from 1550 to 1746, and to shed the light of contemporary observation and knowledge on certain historical personages and events.

Many passages of great historical value have been omitted simply because they are entirely lacking in general interest; but, on the other hand, I have inserted several paragraphs for the very selfish reason that a turn of phrase or a peculiar point of view has appealed to my sense of humour. Perhaps, indeed, personal considerations have affected my choice rather too often, but I hope that part at least of what has attracted me will interest and amuse every reader.

The arrangement of the book has been determined by the periods of time covered by the extracts from the various authors. In several instances, however, the advisability of keeping in close proximity passages dealing with the same subject has necessitated slight departures from strict chronological order.

Though the spelling of a few of the earlier authors has been modernised, there are many extracts in Scots dialect. These will present little difficulty, however, for obscure words are annotated, and when a seemingly unknown word is encountered an attempt at phonetic pronunciation will generally solve the problem.

Several narrations of events and criticisms of men have been given from different points of view. The more important of such passages are linked by cross-references, but the index must be the guide to what the book contains on any particular subject.

I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Rait, not only for writing a delightful introduction, but also for the invaluable help and kindly encouragement which he has given me.

I have also to record my thanks to the Hon. Evan Charteris for permitting me to quote from his edition of Lord Elcho's *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the years 1744, 1745, and 1746*; to Captain M. J. Erskine-Wemyss for placing at my disposal the manuscript of the *Journal* of the 2nd Earl of Wemyss; to Dr. George Pratt Insh for allowing me to make extracts from two journals in his volume of *Darien Papers*; and to the Scottish History Society for permitting me to make use of its texts of Lauder of Fountainhall's *Journal*, the *Diary* of Erskine of Carnock, the *Diary* of Clerk of Penicuik, *The Darien Papers*, and *The Lyon in Mourning*.

For permission to reproduce the illustrations in this volume, I am indebted to The Church of Scotland, The Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Messrs. John Swain & Son, Ltd., and Messrs. T. & R. Annan & Son.

J. G. F.

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SCOTTISH DIARIES AND MEMOIRS

JOHN KNOX.

(1505-1572.)

THERE is much obscurity about the early life of John Knox, but he appears to have been born at Giffordgate, Haddington, in 1505, and he is known to have attended Glasgow University in 1522. About 1540 he became a notary in Haddington, and some time about 1543 he was admitted to minor orders in the Roman Catholic Church. As his *History of the Reformation*, which begins in 1544, is largely autobiographical, the facts of his life after that date are well known.

Knox, rejecting the priesthood, became tutor to two families in East Lothian, and while there he met George Wishart, the martyr, and became very friendly with him. Indeed, it is from the period of his association with Wishart that his work in the cause of religious reform dates. After the burning of Wishart in 1546, and the subsequent murder of Cardinal Beaton, Knox ministered in the Chapel of St. Andrews Castle, which was for the time held by Wishart's avengers. When the siege was raised Knox adopted the career of preacher and gained many converts to his views. In July, 1547, St. Andrews Castle was taken by a

French fleet, and Knox, who was made prisoner, was sent to the galleys where he spent the next eighteen months. In 1549, Edward VI used his influence to secure his freedom, and he came to England, settling first at Berwick and then at Newcastle. He was made a Royal Chaplain, and was offered a bishopric which he declined because he did not approve of the English form of Church government.

Shortly after the accession of Mary Tudor in 1554 Knox left England for the continent, where he travelled in France and Switzerland, and at Geneva met Calvin for the first time. In the summer of 1554 he received a call to Frankfurt-on-Main, but he only stayed there a few months, returning to Geneva early in 1555, and later in the year going home to Scotland. Here he found that the Reformation had made great progress, though the time was not yet ripe for the final assault. His chief supporters at this time were John Erskine of Dun, Lord Erskine (afterwards Earl of Mar), Lord Lorne (afterwards Earl of Argyll), and Lord James Stewart (afterwards the Regent Moray). He embarked on a great preaching campaign in the course of which he visited the Lothians and Ayrshire, and everywhere he went he met with great success. He returned to Geneva in July, 1556, as minister of the English Church, and for the next three years he was in constant communication with Calvin by whom he was instructed in Church discipline. In 1559 he published his pamphlet *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. This was a most unfortunate production, for it deeply

offended Elizabeth, who had succeeded to the English throne in November, 1558, and prevented her from helping the Scottish reformers at a time when assistance was most needed.

At the beginning of 1559 the crisis of the Scottish Reformation appeared to be imminent, and Knox returned home and commenced another great preaching campaign which culminated in his appointment to be minister of St. Giles in Edinburgh. Everywhere his sermons had a tremendous effect, and in many towns (notably in Perth) his congregations were so carried away by his eloquence that they attacked and ruined the Roman Catholic buildings in the vicinity. The reformers were now in open revolt against the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and the Roman Catholics, and Knox, realising how helpless his party was against an opposition supported by France, made earnest appeals for English assistance. This was forthcoming, and in 1560 the death of the Queen Regent and the Treaty of Leith made the reformers supreme. Parliament ordered Knox and the ministers to draw up a *Confession of Faith* and the *First Book of Discipline*, and Protestantism was established. The first General Assembly met in December, and in 1561 the *Book of Common Order* was issued.

Queen Mary returned to Scotland in August, 1561, and the Sunday after her arrival attended a private celebration of Mass. This occasioned the first of Knox's famous interviews with the Queen, for not only was he determined to stop all Roman Catholic activities, but he also considered that, as the minister of St. Giles, he was responsible

for Mary's spiritual welfare. The two had nothing in common, and as time went on Knox became so outspoken regarding the Queen, the frivolity of the Court, and the division of ecclesiastical property, that he completely alienated Moray. Like the rest of his party, he was gravely concerned at Mary's marriage with the Roman Catholic Darnley in 1565, and after the murder of Rizzio in the following year he retired to Kyle in Ayrshire, where he busied himself with his *History of the Reformation*.

In 1567 Knox visited England, but after the Queen's abdication he preached the sermon at the Coronation of James VI. As Moray was now Regent, the Reformers were again in power, but his assassination in 1570, and the rise of a party favourable to Mary under Maitland of Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange, caused a temporary set-back, and Knox retired to St. Andrews. He had never been physically robust, and an apoplectic stroke in 1570 had greatly weakened him. His health grew gradually worse, but on the earnest representations of his congregation in Edinburgh he returned there in November, 1572, and preached his farewell sermon. He died a fortnight later.

John Knox is one of the most striking figures in the history of Scotland, and Morton's words at his tomb: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man," are an epitome of his character and career. He was the ideal religious reformer—from the time of his meeting with Wishart his life was dominated by the one idea, and he brooked no opposition. So intense was his feeling, so clear

his call, that he could see no good in an enemy and no evil in a friend. Every Protestant in every land was his friend, but everyone else was outside the pale. He caused the overthrow of the mediæval Church in Scotland, but the Reformation of which he was the chief agent was no mere change in dogma, it was a complete transformation from a corrupt and overbearing Church to one which was democratic in government, and simple and sincere in doctrine. The Reformed Church in its organisation and teaching mirrored the ideals of the Scottish nation, for Knox knew well the Scottish love of independence and appreciation of straightforwardness and of freedom from affectation.

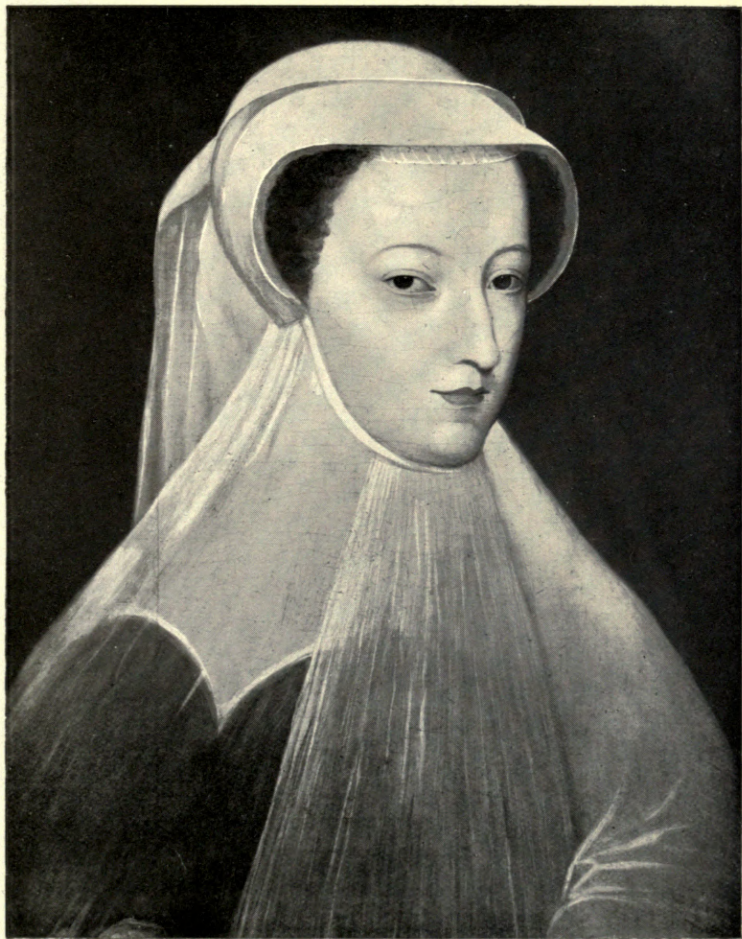
Knox's life was full of conflict, but his strength of will, his lack of vanity, his fearlessness, and his eloquence compelled attention, admiration, and allegiance. At the crisis of the Reformation in Scotland he was the dominant personality both in the Church and in political affairs. It is hardly just to call him a fanatic (he was too shrewd and too much a man of the world), but at the same time it must be admitted that he was very narrow in many ways, and that much of his criticism of Mary and her court was quite uncalled for. When he died his task was not completed—the Reformed Church had still many hard storms to weather, and his educational system had never been put into practice—but this detracts in no way from his greatness. The surest testimonies to John Knox are Morton's words at his tomb, and the fact that over three hundred years after his death the

Church of Scotland is in discipline and doctrine substantially as he left it.

Knox was a prolific writer of tracts, but his only literary work of importance is his *History of the Reformation*, from which the following extracts have been taken. This history is of course a partisan production, but it is of unique value and interest because every page is stamped with the vigour of Knox's compelling personality. The spelling in the following extracts has been modernised.

MARY ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND.

The 19th day of August, 1561, betwixt seven and eight hours before noon, arrived Mary queen of Scotland, then widow, with two gallies out of France. . . . The very face of the heaven, at the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, *to wit*, sorrow, dolor, darkness, and all impiety ; for in the memory of man, that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue: for, besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts ; the sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us but alas the most part were blind. At the sound of the cannons, which the gallies shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the queen ; the protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed. . . . Fires of joy were set forth at night,



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber-window : the melody, as she alledged, liked her well ; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her from all quarters, and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August : when that preparations began to be made for that idol of the mass to be said in the chapel ; which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldned, and men began openly to speak, " Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm ? It shall not." The lord Lindsay, then but master, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the closs or yard, " The idolatrous priests should die the death, according to God's law." One that carried in the candle was evil afraid ; but then began flesh and blood fully to shew itself. There durst no papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper : but the lord James,¹ the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel-door : his best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass ; but it was and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have entry to trouble the priest, who, after the mass ended, was committed to the protection of the lord John of Coldingham, and lord Robert of Holyrood-house, who then were both protestants, and had communicate at the table of the Lord : betwixt them both was the priest conveyed to his chamber.

¹Lord James Stewart, the Queen's half-brother.

And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and after noon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again.

WHAT KNOX THOUGHT ABOUT IT ALL.

The next Sunday, John Knox inveiging against idolatry, shewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the same : and added, That one mass (there were no more suffered at first) was more fearful unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion.

KNOX'S OPINION OF THE QUEEN.

John Knox's own judgment, being by some of his familiars demanded what he thought of the queen, said, " If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me ; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I will unto her, and by her, to the church and state."

KNOX INTERVIEWS THE QUEEN.

The Queen in a vehement fume began to cry out, that never Prince was used as she was. " I have," said she, " borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles ; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means ; I offered unto you presence and audience, whensoever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you ; I vow to God I shall be once revenged." And

with these words scarce could Murdock, her secret chamber boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry, for the tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. The said John did patiently abide all the first fume, and at opportunity answered, " True it is, Madam, your Grace and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me ; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error, wherein ye have been nourished, for the lack of true Doctrine, your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the Preaching-place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me, and there, Madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth." " What have you to do," said she, " with my marriage ? Or, what are you within the Commonwealth ? " " A subject born within the same," said he, " Madam ; and albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and useful member within the same ; yea, Madam, to me it appertaineth no less, to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility ; for both my vocation and conscience craveth plainness of me ; and therefore, Madam, to yourself I say, that which I spake in public, whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent, that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the

Truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words, of her beauty, of her excellency ; and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favours. But all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire. The said John stood still, without any alteration of countenance, for a long time, while that the Queen gave place to her inordinate passion ; and in the end he said, " Madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures ; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of mine own boys, whom my own hands correct, much less can I rejoice in your Majesty's weeping ; But seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your Majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the Commonwealth by silence." Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.

RICHARD BANNATYNE.

(d. 1605).

HARDLY anything is known of the life of "the guid godlie Richart Ballanden" (see p. 88), and his importance is entirely due to his association with John Knox, whose secretary he was, and to his *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland . . . 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573*, from which the following extracts have been taken. He was probably a catechist, and he is known to have spoken frequently in General Assemblies. In 1572 he obtained permission from the General Assembly to arrange Knox's papers with a view to their preservation, and about 1575, when this task was finished, he became a clerk to Mr. Samuel Cockburn of Templehall, advocate, with whom he continued till his death. Bannatyne may have belonged to the West of Scotland, for one of the executors of his will was his brother, James Bannatyne, merchant in Ayr.

The *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland* is chiefly valuable because it contains a great deal of detailed historical information not available elsewhere. It is mainly concerned with the strife between the supporters of Queen Mary and those of her son, James VI, and gives an illuminating account of the state of affairs in Edinburgh during the period 1570-1573. There are many glimpses of John Knox, and there is a particularly full and graphic description of his last days.

Bannatyne's work is remarkable neither for scholarship, nor for literary style: he moralises whenever possible, and, as is only to be expected, his *Journal* is not without bias.

THE WICKED REJOICE.

In this meane tyme¹ Jhone Knox was stricken with a kynd of Apoplexia, called by the phisitiones Resolutione, whairby the perfect use of his tounge was stopped. Heirof did the wicked not a litle reioys. The brute passed not onlie throuth Scotland but also to England, that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was sene. That his face was turned into his neck: that he was dead, that he wold never preich nor yit speik. Wharin God within few dayis declared thame liaris, for he convalescet and so returned to his exercise of preiching at leist upon the Sounday.

THE EARL OF CASSILIS COOKS A ROAST.

Maister Allane Stewart² freind to Captane James Stewart of Cardonall, be meanis of the quenes corrupted court, obteaned the abbacie of Croseraguall. The said erle³ thinking him self gritter then ony king in thea quarteris determined to have that whole benefice (as that he hes dyvers utheris) to pay at pleasour: and becaus he culd not find sic securitie as his insatiable appetite requyred, this shift was devysit. The said Mr Allane beand in cumpany with the lard of Bargany was be the said erle and his freindis entyset to leave the savegard which he had with the said lard and come make gud cheir with the said erle.

¹October, 1570.

²Bannatyne places this incident in October, 1570.

³The Earl of Cassilis.

The simplicitie of the imprudent man was suddenlie abused : and sua he passed his tyme with thame certane dayes efter the which the said erle as king of the countrie, apprehendit the said Mr Allane, and carried him to the hous of Dunure, where for a season he was honorablie entreated : but after that certane dayis were spent and that the erle culd not obtene the fewis of Croceraguall according to his awin appetite, he determined to prove gif a collatione could work that which neather denner nor supper could doe of a long tyme. And so the said Mr was caried to a secreat chalmer ; with him passed the honorable erle, his worschippfull brother, and sic as was appointed to be servantis at that banquet. In the chalmer there was a grit iron chimlay, under it a fyre ; other grit provisione was not sene. The first cours was, My lord abbot (said the erle) it will pleis you confess heir that with your awin consent ye remane in my cumpany, becaus ye darre not comitt you to the handis of utheris. The abbote answerit, I am not able to resist your will and pleasour in this place. Ye man then obey me, said the erle, and with that were presentit unto him certane letteris to subscryve, amonges which ther was a fyve yeare tack and a 19 yeare tack, and a charter of few of all the landis of Croceraguall, with all the clausses necessaire for the erle to haist him to hell. . . . Efter that the erle espyed repugnance, and that he culd not come to his purpose be fair means, he comandit his coockis to prepare the bancquett, and so first they fled¹

¹Skinned.

the scheip, that is, they took of the abbotis cleathes ewin to his skyn, and nixt they band him to the chimlay, his leggis to the ane end and his armes to the uther, and so they began to bait the fyre sometymes to his buttockis, sometymes to his legis, sometymes to his shulderis and armes. And that the rost suld not burne, but that it myght rest in soppe, they spared not slamping¹ with oyle; and that the crying of the miserable man suld not be hard they closed his mouth that the voice myght be stopped. The famous king of Carrick and his coockes perceiving the rost to be aneuch, comandit it to be tane fra the fyre, and the erle him self began the grace in this maner: *benedicite Jesus Maria*, you are the most obstinat man that ever I saw, gif I had knowin that ye had bene so stubburne I wold not for a thousand crownis handled you so. I never did so to man befor you. And yit he returned to the same practeis within two dayes, and ceassed not till that he obtaned his formest purpose; that is, that he had gotten all his pieces subscrivit, alsweill as ane half rosted hand culd doe it. The erle thinking him self sure aneugh so long as he had the half rosted abbote in his awin keping, and yit being eschamed of his presence be reasone of his former crueltie, left the place of Dunure in the handis of certane of his servantis, and the half rosted abbote to be keapit thair as presoner. The laird of Barganie, out of whose cumpanie the said abbote was entysed, understanding (not the extremitie) but thereteaning of the man, send to the court and reased

¹Literally "smearing."

lettres of delyvrance of the persone of the man according to the ordour, which being disobeyed the said erle for his contempt was denounced rebell and put to the horne. . . . The said larde of Barganie perceaving that the ordiner Justice . . . could neather help him, nor yit the afflicted, applyed his mynd to the nixt remedie, and in the end be his servandis tuke the house of Dunure whair the poore abbote was keapit prisoner ; . . . and so . . . delyvered the said Mr Allane, and caried him to Ayre, whair publictlie at the mercat croce of the said towne he declared how crewellie he was entreated, and how the murdered king sufferit not sic torment as he did : that onlie excepted he escaped the death. And therfore publictlie did revoicke all thingis that were done in that extremitie, and speciallie he revoiked the subscriptione of the thrie wrytingis.

A HERALD EATS HIS DESPATCHES.

About this tyme¹ ane pursevant being sent from the new erected auctority in Edinburgh, to proclame the same in Jedburgh, was sufferit to reid his letteris till it come to this poynt, " that the lordis assembled in Edinburgh had fund all thingis done, and proceedit against the quene null, and that all men suld obey hir only." When I say he had redd this farre, the prowest called . . . caused the pursevant cum doun of the croce,² and causit him eat his letteris : and ther-after lowsit doune his poyntis, and gave him his vages upon his bare buttockis with a brydle,

¹July, 1571.

²The proclamation was read at the Mercat Cross;

thretning him, that gif ever he cum agane he suld lose his lyfe

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS CONDUCTS A SERVICE.

At this tyme¹ Mr Archibald Douglas . . . gat a tollerance of the kirk to bruke² his benefice, whilk before the kirk refused, becaus he was found unmeit when he was examined at Stirveling in August preceeding In register it was appointed to be put the exercise made to Mr Archibald Douglas, made at Stirveling in the assemblie in August 1571, who being comandit to prepare him self for the same be the kirk, send Mr. Walter Gourlay, to bid him be reddie against the morne, fand him playing at the tables³ with the lard of Bargany ; and efter he had resavit the kirkis charge in wrait, fra the said Walter, answerit : " Why not, ye may say I am at my studie." On the morne when he come to the place of examinatione wanting a psalme buke, and lukiug till sum gud fellow suld len him one, Mr David Wemys bad give him the Grek testament but he said, " think ye, sir, that everie minister that occupeis the pulpet hes Greik ; " and when he had gottin the psalme buike, after lukiug, and casting ower the leives therof a space, he desyrit sum minister to mak the prayer for him ; " for," said he, " I am not used to pray." Efter he red his text he sayis, " for the conexione of this text I will reid the thing that is befoir," and sua red a gud space, till he come whair he began, and sa continewd his exercis with mony hastlie noses, etc.

¹October, 1570. ²Enjoy. ³Probably backgammon.

THE PASSING OF JOHN KNOX.

The Tuysday¹ Mr Knox was stricken with a grit host,² whairwith he being so feabled caused him upon the 13 day leive his ordinarie reading of the Byble; for ilk day he red a certane chapteris, both the auld Testament and new, with certane psalmes, quhilk psalmes he passed through everie moneth once Upon the Thurisday after, Mr Knox tuik his seiknes, which pat end to his lang travelis, quhilk he maist earnestlie cravit of God. . . . Befoir his seiknes, he gave comand to his wyfe and his servant Richart, that when God suld send him seiknes, that he was not able to reid himself, that then one of thame suld reid unto him ilk day the 17 chapter of Jhones Gospell, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesianis, and the 53 of Esaii, whilk was done; so that few houris or none of the day did pas ower, whairin sumwhat was not red, besydes, according as he wald appoint, and oftymes sum sermondis of Calvine in French, and of the Psalmes; and sindrie tymes when as we wald be reiding of the forsaidis sermondes thinking him to be a sleip, we wald ask gif that he hard, whairto he wald answir, I heir (I prais God) and understandis far better, whilk worde he spak the last tyme about foure houris befoir his last breath. . . . Upon Fryday, the 21 day, he comandit Richart togar mak his kist,³ whairin he was borne to his buriall. . . . When he would be lying, as we supposed, in a sleip, then was he at his meditatione, as his manifold sentences may weill declair, as this that

¹Tuesday, 11 November, 1572.²Cough.³Coffin.

I have befor said, whairin he wald often burst forth, lyve in Christ, and Lord grant us the ryght and parfyte hetread of syn. . . . Lord grant trew pastoris to thy kirk, that puritie of doctrine may be reteaned Monunday, which was the 24 of November, he departed this lyfe to his eternall rest. He rose about 9 or ten houris, and wald not lye (and yit he was not able to stand alone), and pat on his hois and doublet, and sat on a chair the space of half ane houre, and thereafter went to bed, whair he wrought in drawing of his end A litle at afternone he caused his wyfe reid the 15 chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, of the resurrectione, to whome he said, is not that a comfortable chapter. A litle efter he sayes, now, for the last, I comend my soul, spreit and bodie (pointing upon his thrie fingeris), unto thy hand, O Lord; thereafter about fyve houris he sayis to his wyfe, goe reid whair I caist my first ancre; and so scho red the 17 of Jhones Evangle, whilk being endit, was red sum of Calvinis sermondis upon the Ephesianis; we thinking he was a sleip, demandit gif he heard, answirit, I heir, and understandis far better, I prais God. . . . Efter all, about sewin houris at ewen, we left reading, thinking he had been asleep, so he lay still while after ten houris, except that sumtymes he wald bid weit his mouth with a little waik aile: and half ane houre after ten or therby, we went to our ordinary prayer . . . and quhilk being endit, Doctour Prestoun sayis to him, Sir, hard ye the prayeris, answerit, I wald to God that ye and all men hard them as I have hard thame, and I praise God of that heavenlie

sound. . . . Then Richart sitting doune befor him said, Now, Sir, the tyme that ye have long callit to God for, to wit, ane end of your battle, is cum; and seing all naturall power now failes, remember upon thae comfortable promises which often tymes ye have schawin to us of our salviour Jesus Christ, and that we may understand and know that ye heir us, mak us some signe; and so he lifted up his head and incontinent thereafter randerit up the spreit, and sleipit away without ony pane. . . .

RICHARD BANNATYNE'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MASTER.

On this maner departed this man of God, the lycht of Scotland, the comfort of the kirk within the same, the mirror of godliness, and patrone and exemple to all trew ministeris, in puritie of lyfe, soundnes in doctrine, and in bauldness in reproving of wickitnes; and one that cared not the favor of men, (how great soever they were), to reprove thair abuses and synis. In him was sic a myghtie spreit of iudgment and wisdom, that the truble never come to the kirk sen his entering in publict preiching but he foir saw the end therof, so that he had ever reddie a trew counsall and a faythfull to teich men that wald be taught to tak the best and leive the worst. . . . What dexteritie in teiching, bauldnes in reproving, and heattreant of wickitnes was in him, my ignorant dulnes is not able to declair; whilk gif I suld preis to set out, were as who wald lycht a candle to lat men sie the sone, seing all his vertewis are better knawin and not hid to the warld a thousand fold better than I am able to expres.

SIR JAMES MELVILLE OF HALHILL.

(1535-1617.)

SIR JAMES MELVILLE of Halhill was a son of Sir John Melville of Raith. At the age of fourteen he was appointed a page to Mary, Queen of Scots, who was then in France, and he set out for that country under the charge of John de Montluc, Bishop of Valence. He remained in the bishop's retinue for three years, and then entered the service of the Constable of France, with whom he fought against the Emperor. He was wounded at St. Quentin in 1557, and two years later he was sent to Scotland by Henry II of France in order to discover if James Stewart, Mary's half-brother, had any designs on the throne. On his return to France he had to withdraw to the court of the Elector Palatine, where he was well received. The Elector employed him on several delicate missions, one of which was connected with the proposed marriage between the Archduke Charles of Austria and Mary, Queen of Scots, while another was concerned with an attempt to bring about the marriage of John Casimir, second son of the Elector, and Queen Elizabeth.

When Mary returned to Scotland, Melville, at her request, settled at her court, and became a privy councillor, and a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Mary recognised his abilities as a diplomat, and when the problem of her second

marriage was being discussed, she sent him to England to find out what Elizabeth really thought about the matter. He had several notable meetings with Elizabeth, and his accounts of those form the most interesting part of his *Memoirs*. After his return from England, he did all in his power to prevent the murder of Rizzio, and though he was not present at the doing of the deed, he was in Holyrood at the time. Melville's efforts to dissuade Mary from marrying Bothwell incurred for him that nobleman's enmity.

During the minority of James VI Melville was employed on many diplomatic missions, but during the regency of Morton he withdrew from court. When James assumed power, however, he recalled Melville, whose advice he eagerly sought and greatly valued. Indeed, the King at different times wanted to send him on missions to England, Denmark, and Spain, but he always excused himself from going. On the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Melville, on account of his age, did not accompany the court to London, but retired to his estate of Halhill in Fife, where he occupied himself in writing his *Memoirs*. He visited London once between this time and 1617, the date of his death.

Sir James Melville was a man of great tact and foresight, level-headed and astute, and never allowing his personal attachments to blind his reason. His *Memoirs*, written in a charming style, are most interesting, and shed much light both on the international relationships of his time, and on the internal affairs of Scotland. Melville seems to have been a man of most likeable nature,

who made friends wherever he went, and whose personality attracted such widely different people as Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, the Constable of France, and the Elector Palatine. This contributed in no small way to his success as a diplomat—and to this success is due much of the interest and historical value of his *Memoirs*.

THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE GIVES MELVILLE FULL INSTRUCTIONS.

The Constable of France tok occasion to move the K.,¹ whais pensioner I was for the tym, to send me in Scotland. First the K. gave me his commission be mouth; and then the Constable, his cheif conseilour, directed me at lenth in his Maiesteis presens as folowes: "Your natyve Quen," said he, "is married heir in France upon the King Delphin; and the King is infourmed be the Cardinall of Lorrain, that ane bastard sone to K. James 5, callit Priour de St. Andre,² pretendis under coulour of religion till usurp the kingdome unto him self. . . . Now seing ther violent proceadingis sa lyk to cause the kingdome of Scotland be lost from the lawfull Quen, I mon nedis medle and put to my helping hand, . . . I assure yow, that the K. is myndit to wair and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir ryght, now seing that sche is married upon his sone; and purposis to raise and send ane armye in Scotland for that effect. . . . I have brocht you up from a chyld; I understand that ye are com of a gud house; I

¹King Henry II of France. The year is 1559.

²James Stewart.

have assured the King what gud proif I have of your honestie ; sa that his Maieste is weill myndit towardis yow . . . This is a nother maner of commission, and of greter importance than it that Bottouncourt caried ; for the K. will stay or send his armye according to your trew report. Seam only to be ther for to vesit your frendis ; bot let nether the Quen Regent,¹ nor Doseill knaw of your commission, quhairin ye ar employed be the K., wha is now your best maister. First try diligently and parfytly weill, whither the said Pryour pretendis till usurp the crown of Scotland to him self ; or gene he be movit to tak armes only of conscience, for deffence of his religion, him self and his dependers and associatis. . . . Gif it be only religion that moves them, we mon commit Scotismens saules unto God ; for we have anough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew unto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes, that the K. desyres."

ELIZABETH AND MARY DISAGREE.

Bot now every advyse geven be the Quen of England was evell interpret, partly for her proceedingis to the hendrance of the mariage with Charles,² and partly because that Seigneur David,³ now enterit to be hir Hynes Frenche secretary, was not very skilfull in dyting of French lettres quhilk sche did not wret over again with hir awen hand. . . . Wherupon sa gret a cauldnes grew, that they left aff baith fra wreting till uther,

¹Mary of Lorraine, who was in power in Scotland.

²Charles, Archduke of Austria.

³Rizzio. In the year 1563.

as they used to do every owk,¹ be the postis that passit between ther courtis and Barwick ; letting a 2. monethes pass by before that the Quen my mestres tok purpos to send me unto the Quen of England, to renew ther outward frendship ; for in ther hartis, fra that tym fourth, ther was nathing bot gelousies and suspicions.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

The nyxt mornyng, Maister Lattoun and Mester Randolphe, lait agent for the Quen of England in Scotland, cam to my logging to convoy me to hir Maieste,² wha wes as they said alredy in the garding ; . . . I fand her Maieste spacing in ane alley. . . . Sche inquiryed gene the Quen had send any answer anent the proposition of a mariage³ maid to hir be Maister Randolphe. I answerit as I wes instructed, that the Quen thocht litle or nathing therof ; bot lukit for the meting of some commissioners upon the borders . . . to confer and trait upon all sic matters of gretest importance, as mycht concern the quyetnes of baith the contrees, and contentement of baith the Quenis myndis. " Sa seing that your Maiesteis can not sa schone find the opportunitie of meting, samekle⁴ desyred betwen your selves . . . be your maist trusty and famylier counsellours ; the Quen my mestres . . . is myndit to send for hir part, my L. of Murray and the

¹Week.

²Melville's mission in 1564 was to find out what Elizabeth really thought about Mary's marriage.

³Elizabeth had proposed that Mary should marry Lord Robert Dudley (afterwards Earl of Leicester).

⁴So much.

secretary Liddingtoun,¹ and is in hope that your Maieste will send my Lordis of Bedford and my L. Robert Dudley." Sche said, that it apperit I maid bot small accompt of my L. Robert, seing that I named the Erle of Bedford before him; bot or it wer lang, sche suld mak hym a greter erle, and that I suld se it done before my returnyng hame; for sche estemed him as hir brother and best frend, whom sche suld have married hir self, gif ever sche had bene myndit till tak a husband. Bot being determinit to end hir lyf in virginite, sche wissit that the Quen hir sister suld marry him, as metest of all uther; and with whom sche mycht find in hir hart to declare the Quen second person, rather then with any uther. . . And to cause the Quen my mestres to think the mair of him, I was requyred to stay till I had sean him maid Erle of Leycester, and Barron of Denbich, with gret solemnite at Westmester; hir self helping to put on his ceremoniall, he sitting upon his knees before hir, keping a gret gravite and discret behaviour; bot sche culd not refrain from putting hir hand in his nek to kittle him smylyngly, the French ambassadour and I standing besyd hir. Then sche asked at me how I lyked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subiect, he was happy that had rencontrit a princes that culd dicern and reward gud service. "Yet," sche said, "ye lyk better of yonder lang lad;" pointyng towardis my Lord Darley,² wha as nerest prince of the bluid bure the swerd of honour that day before hir. My answer again was, that na woman of sprit wald

¹Maitland of Lethington.

²Darnley, who afterwards married Mary.

mak choice of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man ; for he wes very lusty, berdles and lady facit. I had na will that sche suld think that I lyked of him, or had any ey or deling that way ; albeit I had a secret charge to deall with his mother my Lady Lenox, to purches leawe for him to pass in Scotland, wher his father was alredy, that he mycht se the contre, and convoy the Erle his father bak again to England.

Now the said Quen was determinit to trait with the Quen my soverane, first anent hir mariage with the Erle of Leycester, and for that effect promysed to send commissioners unto the borders. In the mean tym, I was favorably and famylierly used ; for during nyn dayes that I remanit at that court, hir Maieste plesit to confer with me every day, and somtymes thrys upon a day, to wit a foir nun, efter nun and efter supper. Sometymes sche wald say, that sen sche culd not meit with the Quen her gud sister hir self, to confer famylierly with hir, that sche suld open a gud part of hir inwart mynd unto me, that I mycht schaw it again unto the Quen ; and said that sche was not sa offendit at the Quenis angry lettre, as for that sche seamed to disdain sa far the mariage with my L. of Leycister, quhilk sche had caused Mester Randolphe propon unto hir. I said that it mycht be he had tuechit something therof to my L. of Murrey and Liddington, bot that he had not proponit the matter directly unto hir self ; and that asweill hir Maieste, as they that wer hir maist famylier consellouris, culd conjectour na thing therupon bot delayes and drifting of tym, anent the declaring of hir to be second persoune ;

quhilk wald try at the meating of the commisioners abone specified. Sche said again, that the tryall and declairation therof wald be haisted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behavoir, and applying to hir pleasour and advyse in hir mariage; and seing the matter concernyng the said declairation wes sa weichty, sche had ordonit some of the best lawers in England, diligently to search out wha had the best rycht; quhilk sche wald wiss suld be hir dear sister rather than any uther. I said I was assured that hir Maieste wes baith out of dout therof, and wald rather sche suld be declarit then any uther; bot I lamented that even the wysest princes will not skance¹ sufficiently upon the parcialites and pretences of some of ther famylier counseillouris and servandis. . . . Sche said that sche was never myndit to mary, except sche wer compellit be the Quen hir sisters hard behaviour towardis hir, in doing by hir counsaill as said is. I said, "Madam, ye ned not to tell me that; I knaw your staitly stomak: Ye think gene ye wer married, ye wald be bot Quen of England, and now ye ar King and Quen baith; ye may not suffer a commander."

Sche apperit to be sa effectionit to the Quen hir gud sister, that sche had a gret desyre to se hir; and because ther desyred meting culd not be sa haistely brocht till pass, sche delyted oft to luk upon hir picture, and tok me in to hir bed chamber, and oppenit a litle lettoun² wherin wer dyvers litle pictures wrapped within paiper, and wreten upon the paiper, ther names with hir awen hand.

¹Shine; make a display of.

²Desk.

Upon the first that sche tok up was wreten, "My lordis picture." I held the candell and pressit to se my lordis picture. Albeit sche was laith to let me se it, at lenth I be importunite obteanit the sicht therof, and askit the same to cary hame with me unto the Quen; quhilk sche refused, alleging sche had bot that ane of his. I said again, that sche had the principall; for he was at the farthest part of the chamber speaking with the secretary Cicill. Then sche tok out the Quenis picture and kissit it; and I kissit hir hand, for the gret love I saw sche bure to the Quen. Sche schew me also a fair ruby, gret lyk a racket ball. Then I desyred that sche wald eyther send it as a token unto the Quen, or elis my Lord of Lecesters picture. Sche said, gene the Quen wald follow hir consaill, that sche wald get them baith with tym, and all that sche had; bot suld send hir a dyamont for a token with me. . . . Hir hair was reder than yellow, curlit apparantly of nature. Then sche entrit to dicern what kind of coulour of hair was reputed best; and inquyred whither the Quenis or hers was best, and quhilk of them twa was fairest. I said, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worst faltes. Bot sche was earnest with me to declaire quhilk of them I thocht fairest. I said, sche was the fairest Quen in England, and ours the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet sche was earnest. I said, they wer baith the fairest ladyes of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome.¹ Sche inquyred quhilk of them was of hiest stature. I said, our Quen. Then sche said, the Quen was

¹Lovely.

over heych,¹ and that hir self was nother over hich nor over laich. Then sche askit what kynd of exercyses sche used. I said, that I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting ; and when sche had leaser fra the affaires of hir contre, sche red upon gud bukis, the histories of dyvers contrees, and somtymes wald play upon lut and virginelis. Sche sperit gene sche plaid weill. I said, reasonably for a Quen.

That same day efter dener, my L. of Hundsden² drew me up till a quyet gallerie that I mycht heir some musik, bot he said he durst not advow it, wher I mycht heir the Quen play upon the virginelis. Bot efter I had harkenit a whyll, I tok by the tapisserie that hang before the dur of the chamber, and seing hir bak was toward the dur, I entrit within the chamber and stod still at the dur chek, and hard hir play excellently weill ; bot sche left aff sa schone as sche turnit hir about and saw me, and cam forwartis semyng to stryk me with hir left hand, and to think schame ; alleging that sche used not to play before men, bot when sche was solitary hir allaine, till eschew melancholy ; and askit how I cam ther. I said, as I was walken with my L. of Hundsden, as we past by the chamber dur, I hard sic melodie, quhilk ravyst and drew me within the chamber I wist not how ; excusing my falt of hamelynes, as being brocht up in the court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kynd of punissement wald pleise hir lay upon me for my offence. Then sche sat down laich upon a kusschen, and I upon my knee besyd

¹Too tall.

²This earldom is now extinct.

hir ; bot sche gaif me a kusschen with hir awen hand to lay under my kne, quhilk I refused, bot sche compellit me ; and callit for my lady Stafford out of the nyxt chamber, for sche was hir allain ther. Then sche asked whither the Quen orsche played best. In that I gaif hir the prayse. . . .

I was earnest to be dispetschit ; bot sche said that I tyred schoner of hir company nor sche did of myn. . . . Sche inquyred at me whither sche or the Quen dancit best. I said, the Quen dancit not sa hich and disposedly as sche did. Then again sche wissit that sche mycht se the Quen, at some convenient place of meating. I offerit to convoy hir secretly in Scotland be poist, clothed lyk a paige disgyssed, that sche might se the Quen ; . . . and how that hir chamber suld be kepit as thoch sche wer seak, in the mean tym, and nane to be prevy therto bot my lady Stafford, and ane of the grumes of hir chamber. Sche said, Alace ! gene sche mycht do it ; and seamed to lyk weill of sic kynd of langage, and used all the meanis sche culd to cause me persuad the Quen of the gret love that sche bure unto hir, and was myndit to put away all geleusies and suspitions, and in tymes comyng a straiter frendschip to stand betwen them then ever had bene of before ; and promysed that my dispasche suld be delyverit unto me very shortly.

WHAT MELVILLE REALLY THOUGHT.

At my hamecommynng,¹ I fand the Quenis Maieste still in Edinbrough ; to whom I declaired the maner of my proceeding with the Quen of

¹After the events narrated in the last extract.

England Efter that hir Maieste had understand at gret lenth, all my handling and proceedingis in England, sche inquiryt whether I thocht that Quen menit trewly towardis hir asweill inwartly in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach. I said, in my judgement, that ther was nather plain dealing nor uprycht meanyng, bot gret dissimulation, emulation, and fear that hir princely qualities suld over schone, chaise hir out, and displace hir from the kingdome ; as having alredy hendrit hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles of Austria, and now offering unto hir my L. of Leycester, whom sche wald be laith as then to want. Then the Quen gaif me hir hand, that sche suld never mary the said new maid erle.

THE COMING AND THE PASSING OF RIZZIO.

Now ther cam heir in company with the ambassadour of Scavoy, ane David Ricio, of the contre of Piedmont, that was a merry fallow and a gud mucitien ; and hir Maieste had thre varletis of hir chamber that sang thre partis, and wanted a beiss to sing the fourt part ; therfor they tald hir Maieste of this man to be ther fourt marrow,¹ in sort that he was drawn in to sing somtymes with the rest ; and eftirwart when the ambassadour his maister retournit, he stayed in this contre, and wes retiret in hir Maiestes service as ane varlet of hir chamber. And efterwart when hir French secretary retired him self till France, this David obtenit the said office, and therby entrit in greter credit, and occupied hir Maiesteis ear of tymes in presens of the nobilite, and when

¹Literally, "mate."

ther was gretest conventions of the estatis; quhilk maid him to be sa invyed and hated . . . that some of the nobilite wald glowm¹ upon him, and some of them wald schulder him and schut hym by,² when they entrit in the chamber, and fand him alwais speaking with hir Maieste. And some again addressit them unto him, and dependit upon hym; wherby in schort tym he becam very rich. Not without some fear, therefore, he lamented his estait unto me, and askit my consaill, how to behave hym self. I tald him, that strangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit over far in the affaires of forren contrees. I said again, that it wes thocht that the maist part of the affaires of the contre past throw his handis; and advysit him, when the nobilite wer present, to gif them place, and prey the Quenis Maieste to be content therwith. Quhilk he did, and said unto me efterwart, that the Quen wald not suffer him, bot wald nedis have him to use him self in the auld maner Efterwart, seing the invy against the said David till increase, and that be his wreck hir Maieste mycht incurre displesour, I tok occasion to enter with hir Maieste, and in maist humble maner schew her what advyse I had geven unto Seigneur David, as is abone specified. Hir Maieste said, that he medlit na farther bot in hir French wretingis and affaires, as hir uther Frenche secretary had done of before; and said, that wha ever fand falt therwith, sche wald not leave to

¹Frown.

²Would jostle him with their shoulders and push him out of the way.

do hir ordinary directions. . . . Sche thankit me for my continuell cair, and promysed to tak sic gud ordour ther intill as the cause requyred. . . . The K.¹ wes wone to geve his consent over facely to the slauchter of seigneur David, quhilk the Lordis of Mortoun, Ruthven, Lindsay and uthers had devysit; that way to be masters of the court, and to stay the parlement. The King was yet very yong of yeares, and not weill experimented with the nature of this nation. It was supponit also that the Erle of Lenox knew of the said enterpryse, for he had his chamber within the palice; and sa had the Erles of Atholl, Bothewell, and Huntly, wha baith eschaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle garding wher the lyons are lugit. This vil act was done upon a Satterday [the 9.] of [March] in the year [1565] about sex houres. When the Quen was at hir supper in hir cabinet, a number of armed men entrit within the closs before the closing of the yetis, and tok the keyes from the porter. Ane part of them passit up throw the Kingis chamber, conducted be the Lord Ruthven and George Douglas the postulat;² the rest remanit in the close, with drawen swerdis in ther handis, crying "a Douglas, a Douglas," for ther slougern; for it was in the glomyng of the evenyng. The King was past up to the Quen of before, and was leanin upon hir chair, when the Lord Ruthven entrit with his knappisca³ upon his head, and

¹The King—Darnley.

²A Postulate Bishop was one who, though he could not be canonically elected, was through favour admitted to his high office.

³Headpiece.

George the postulat entrit in with him and dyvers uther, sa rudly and unreverently, that the burd¹ fell, the candelis and meat and plaitis fell. Sr David tok the Quen about the waist, and cryed for marcy ; bot George Douglas pluckit fourth the Kingis dager that wes behind his bak, and strak him first with it, leavyng it sticking within him. He geving gret skirlis and cryes, wes rudly reft from the Quen, wha culd not get him saif, nother for boist² nor fairnes. He wes forceably drawn fourth of the cabinet, and slain in the utter hall, and her Maieste keped as captyve. . . . The nyxt mornyng, quhilk was Sondag, I was lettin fourth at the yet : for I lay therin.³

HOW ELIZABETH RECEIVED THE NEWS OF THE BIRTH OF A SON TO MARY.

All this whyll I lay within the castell of Edenbrough, preing nycht and day for hir Maiesteis gud and happy delyvery of a fair sonne. This prayer being granted, I was the first that was advertist be the Lady Boyn, in hir Maiesteis name, to part with deligence, the xix day of Junij in the year 1566, between ten and eleven houres before nun. . . . The fourt day efter I was at Londoun, and met first with my brother ; wha sent and advertist the secretary Cicill that same nycht of my commyng, and of the birth of the prince ; willing hym to kep it up, untill my being at court to schaw it my self unto hir Maieste, wha was for the tym at Grenwitch ; wher hir Maieste was in gret merines and dancing efter supper ; bot sa schone as the secretary Cicill

¹Table. ²Threat. ³*i.e.*, within the palace.

roundit¹ the newes in hir ear of the prince birth, all merines was layed asyd for that nycht ; every ane that wer present marveling what mycht move sa sodane a chengement ; for the Quen sat down with hir hand upon hir haffet ;² and boursting out to some of hir ladies, how that the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sounne, and that sche was bot a barren stok.

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS FEEL SLIGHTED—AN INCIDENT AT THE BAPTISM OF THE PRINCE.³

At the principall banket ther fell out ane gret eylest⁴ and gruge amang the Englis men ; for a Frenchman callit Bastien devysed a number of men formed lyk sattyres, with lang tailes and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall upon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing upon all sortis of instrumentis and singing of musick. Bot the sattiers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to their tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic sort as the Englismen supponit it had bene devysed and done in derision of them,⁵ daftly apprehending that quhilk they suld not seam to have understand. . . . Sa schone as they saw the sattires waging ther tailes or romples, they all set down upon the bair flure behind the bak of

¹Whispered. ²Cheek. ³Year 1567. ⁴Flaw.

⁵There was a mediæval superstition, particularly prevalent in France, that the English had tails. These were supposed to have been given as a punishment for ill-treating a saint.

the burd, that they suld not see them selves scornit, as they thocht. Mester Hattoun said unto me, gif it wer not in the Quenis presens and hall, he suld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Bastein, whom he allegit did it for dispyt.

AN INCIDENT AT THE BATTLE OF CARBERRY HILL.¹

In the mean tym the lard of Grange² raid about the bra,³ with a tua hundreth horsmen. . . . When the Quen understod that the lard of Grange was cheif of that company of horsmen, sche send to desyre hym to com and speak with hir, under surete ; quhilk he did, efter he had send and obtenit leave of the lordis. As he was speaking with hir Maieste, the Erle Bodowell had apponted a soldiour to schut him, untill the Quen gaif a cry, and said that he suld not do her that schame, wha had promysed that he suld com and return saifly. For he was declairen unto the Quen, how that all they wald honour and serve hir, sa that sche wald abandon the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir awen husband ; and culd not be a husband unto hir, that had bot laitly married the Erle of Huntleis sister. The Erle Bodowell harkenit and hard part of this langage, and offerit the singular combat to any man that wald mentean that he had done it. The lard of Grange offerit hym self first. The Erle Bodowell answerit, that he was nother lord nor erle, bot a barroun, and sa culd not be his

¹Year 1567.

²Kirkcaldy of Grange fought with the confederate lords against Bothwell at Carberry.

³Brae.

pere.¹ The lyk answer he maid to Tullibarden. Then my L. Lyndsay offerit to feicht him, quhilk he culd not planly refuse, bot his hart cauldit² ay the langer the mair. Then the Quen sent again for the lard of Grange, and said to him, that gene the lordis wald do as he had spoken to hir, sche suld put away the Erle Bodowell and com unto them. Wherupon he asked at them, gif he mycht promyse it to hir Maieste in ther name ; quhilk they willit him to do. Then he raid up again, and saw the Erle Bodowell part,³ and cam down again, and assured the lordis therof ; whom they desyred to pass up again to the hill, and resave her Maieste ; wha met hym, and said, " Lard of Grange, I render me unto you, upon the conditions ye rehearsit unto me in the names of the lordis ; " and gaif him hir hand, quhilk he kissit, and led hir Maieste be the brydill down the bra unto the lordis. . . . Hir Maieste was that nycht convoyed to Edenbrough, and logit in the midis of the toun, in the provestis logging. As sche cam throw the toun, the commoun people cryed out against her Maieste at the windowes and staires, quhilk was a pitie to heir. . . . Uthers again schew ther malice, in setting up a banere or enseigne, wherupon the K. was painted lying dead under a tre, and the yong prince sitting upon his knees, preing, " Juge and revenge my cause, O Lord."

THE CHARACTER OF REGENT MORAY.

Him self was at the first of a gentill nature, weall inclynit, gud with gud company, wyse with

¹Peer, i.e., equal.

²Grew colder.

³Go away.

wyse company, stout with stout company, and contrary wayes with uthers of the contrary qualiteis; sa that as company chancit to fall about him, his busynes gaid rycht or wrang. . . . When he wes Regent, flatterers for ther proffit drew till him, and puft him up in ouer gud oppinion of him self. His auld trew frendis again wald reprove him, wherby they tint¹ his favour. I wald somtymes say to him, that he was lyk ane unskilfull player in a keatchepoill, runnyng ever efter the ball; wheras ane expert player wald se and dicerne wher the ball will leicht, wher it will stot,² and with small travell³ will let it leicht in his hand or racket. Thus I said, because he tok very gret panes in his awen persone to small effect. . . .

REGENT MORTON, ADVICE TO A COURTIER, AND
A NOTE ON KING JAMES'S MEMORY.

This Regent held the contre under gret obedience in ane establissit estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen syn; for ther was not another Erle of Mortoun to steir up the subiectis in factions, as he used to do against the rest of the Regentis. Quhilk maid him sa proud and disdanfull, that he dispysed the rest of the nobilite, and used na mans consaill bot his awen, and becam ingrat to all his auld freindis and sarvandis; and under pretext of justice, used to commit dyvers wrangis and extorcions; The lard of Carmychell lamented to me grevously of his ingratitude towardis him, and was myndit to leav him, untill I gave him consaill,

¹Lost.

²Bound.

³Travail.

to help himself be the hurtfull experience of the lard of Grange, and my brother Walter Melville, wha wes an gentilman of the Erle of Murra's chamber. Quhilk twa tint him sa schone as he becam Regent, and lykwais my self ; for we had bene lang famylier with him, and had assisted him in all his troubles ; bot when he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish and tell him his faltis, wherby we tint his favour. And uthers that had ay bene in his contrair before, cam in and flatterit him in all his proceedingis, and bekit¹ wery laich to him, callen him " your grace " at ilk word. " Thir men," I said, " wan him, and we tint him ; and apperantly," said I to Carmichell, " ye folow the lyk fulische behaviour as we did ; therefore ye mon tak up another kynd of doing, now sen your frend is becom Regent. Ymagen that ye wes never acquainted with him of before, bot entrit to serve a new maister. Cast never up your auld and lang service ; bek laich, " grace " him at every word, find na falt with his proceedingis, bot serve all his affections with gret deligence and continowell onwating, and ye salbe sure of a reward. . . . " Carmychell gaif me gret thankis, and his hand that he suld folow this consaill ; quhilk he did restrictly, and becam a gretair courteour then ever he was bot I fand him not thankfull efterwart to me for my consaill. . . . The Regent again, reuling all at his pleasour, maid na accompt of any of them that wer about the King, untill a discret gentilman callit Mester Nycholl Elphinstoun advertist him, how that he was invyed of many and hatted of every man,

¹Bowed.

specially be them that wer in Stirling with the King ; advysing him, (albeit over lait) to bestow part of his gold unto samany of them as he beleved wer wonnable. Wha, till ane that was in mean rank, he gaif twenty pieces of gold, at xx lb. the piece. What he gaif till uthers I can not tell ; bot sic as had spoken ill of him before, durst not alter ther langage, because of the Kingis wit and gud memorie, wha culd chek up any that he persavit had first spoken evell, and then began to speak gud again ; as his Maieste had done till ane of the company, alleging that he had chengit his coit,¹ as I was informed for the tym.

THE CHARACTER OF MASTER GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Mester George was a stoik philosopher, and loked not far before the hand ; a man of notable qualites for his learnyng and knowlege in Latin poesie, mekle maid accompt of in other contrees, plaisant in company, rehersing at all occasions moralities schort and fecfull,² wherof he had abundance, and invented wher he wanted. He was also of gud religion for a poet, bot he was easely abused, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilke maid him factious in his auld dayes ; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourmed him. For he was becom sleperie and cairles, and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion ; for he was naturally populaire, and extrem vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quhilke was his gretest falt.³

¹Coat.

²Literally "stout." Here meaning "pithy."

³Cf. p. 95.

KING JAMES CHOOSES A WIFE.

Now the Kingis Maiesteis mariage being suttet of sindre gret princes, and his ambassadours being com bak, baith out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the yong princesses, his Maieste determinit first to seak consaill at God, be his earnest prayer, to address him wher it wald be metest, and the weill of him self and his contre. Sa that efter fyften dayes advysement and devuot prayer, as said is, he callit his consaill togither in his cabinet, and tald them how that he had bene advysen and praying unto God, the space of fyften dayes, to move his hart the way that was metest, and that he was resolvit to mary in Denmark.

“ DISCRET COMPANY ” FOR THE QUEEN.

About this tym¹ his Maieste send for me, and at my commyng to Facland,² wher the court remanit for the sommer seasoun, it plaisit his hynes to tell me, how that at his commyng out of Denmark he had promysed to the Quen and Consell ther, to place about the Quenis Maieste his bedfallow gud and discret company ; quhilk he had left over lang ondone, till at lenth he advysed with him self that I wald be metest ; willing me not to refuse the just calling of my prince. Wherin I mycht serve as in ane lawfull vocation ; because they that sut for service in court or any office, dois it for ther awen proffit ; bot they ar mair profitable for princes, that ar socht and chosen for ther qualites. “ I knaw that ye wald fayn lyve at hame in your house with contente-

¹1590. ²Falkland Palace.

ment of mynd ; bot ye knaw that a man is not born for him self only, bot also for the weall of his prince and contre ; and wheras your continowall unwating wilbe coistly and chargeable to yow, and hendersome to your awen affaires at hame, I sall ordane sufficient enterthenement for your present relief, and recompence for this and your formair faithfull service." I answerit that, as his Maiesteis maist humble sarvant and subiect, I never refused till obey his commandement ; and suld be his direction do my utter deligens to satisfie his hynes expectation.

ROBERT BIRREL.

(fl. 1567-1605).

NOTHING is known of Robert Birrel except that he was a burges of Edinburgh, and that he wrote a diary, the full title of which is, "*The Diarey of Robert Birrel, Burges of Edinburghe, containing Divers Passages of Staite, and uthers memorable Accidents. Frome the 1532 yeir of our redemptione, till ye Beggining of the yeir 1605.*" The diary is just what the title says it is, and is not in the slightest degree personal—indeed, so far is it from being so, that the author's own opinions are never expressed, and it seems to be entirely free of political and religious bias. Up till 1567 the diary is a bare record of events, but after that date much more detail is given and, as a result, it gains in interest. In addition to the notices of events of national and local importance there are many passages which shed interesting light on the social conditions of the time. Birrel seems to have written with the intention of publishing, and it is interesting to compare his diary—that of an ordinary burges—with the works of three other men who lived at the same time; Sir James Melville, the diplomat, Rev. James Melville, the divine, and David Moysie, the civil servant.

"KIRKE OF FEILD."

The 13 day of Januarii¹, the Queine and

¹1567.

Prince¹ came to Edinburghe out of Striveling ; at wiche time, K. Henrey wes layand seike in Glasgow of the small poks, bot some sayed he had gottene poysons.

The 20 day of Januarii, the Queine departit out of Edinburghe to Glasgow to visitt the King.

The last of Januarii, the K. and Queine came to Edinburghe out of Glasgow, the King being caried in ane chariott, and took his lodgeing in the Kirke of Feild.

One the 9 day of this moneth,² being Sonneday befor Fasteryng's even,³ the K. wes murdered in his lodgeing in the Kirke of Feild, about midnight or therby . . . The hous wes raisett up from the ground with pouder ; and the King's chamberman, named Johne Tailzeour, wes found with him lyand in ane yaird dead under ane tree ; and the King, if he had not beine creuely wyrriet, after he fell out of the aire, with his awen garters, he had leived.

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES

The 27 day of Januarii,⁴ Mathew Steuarte Earle of Lennox, wes proclaimit Regent, and ye Earle of Mortone hes Lieutenant. This Mathew Earle of Lennox, halding ane Parliament at Striveling,⁵ quher the young King wes present, he made ane oratione to the haill nobility, being sitting in ye Parliament. Ye chyld King looking

¹Queen Mary and James, her son.

²February, 1567.

³Shrove Tuesday ; the evening before the first day of the Fast of Lent.

⁴1570.

⁵Stirling.

upward to ye rooffe of the hous, he saw ane holl throughe the sclaitting ; he said, I think ther is ane holl in this Parliament ; sua that shortly therafter hes Maiestie's words came true.

KING JAMES AS PEACEMAKER.

Upone the 13 of Maii,¹ the King being in Holyruidhous, convenit ye haill lords and noblemen yat had feid ;² and ther, in the palace of Holyruidhous, he caused ye haill noblemen yat had deidly feid at uthers, to aggre togidder ; and after they had shoken hands togidder, and drunken ane to ane uther, for confirming of ye saidd aggrement and freindschipe, and also, yat the haill cuntrey might the better understand yat it wes hes Maiestie's worke, caused them to come from ye palace of Holyruidhous, every one in uthers hands, and hes Maiestie with them, to ye crosse of Edinburghe, quher ye city made them a verey sumptous banquet ; at quhilk tyme, ther wes much ioy and solemnity, with mutuall salutations of good will ane to ane uther ; hes Maiestie drinking peace and happines to them all, yat ye lyke wes nevir befor sein in Edinburghe.

BOTHWELL TAKES " TOO GRATE PRESUMPTIONE."

The 27 of September,³ the Earle of Bothuell made a steir in the Abbay of Holyruidhous, quho came in over ye hous in ye south syde of the palace, and the said Earle taking too grate presumptione, he, with hes complices, strake with ane hammer at his Maiesties chalmer dore, and, in the meine tyme, the haill noblemen and gentlemen of hes Maiesties hous raise, quho thought to have taken

¹1586. ²Feud. ³1591.

ye said Earll Bothuell and hes complices: the said Earle fled: yet he returned at the south syde of the Abbay, quher the said Earle and hes complices slew hes Maiesties maister stabler Bot the King's folks tooke 8 men of Bothuell's factione, and, on the morrow, hangit them all without ane assyze. . . .

MUTINY IN THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The 15 of September,¹ Johne Macmorrane slaine be the shott of ane pistole out of the schooll. This Johne Macmorrane being baillie for the tyme, the bairns of the said gramar schooll came to the tounes counsell conforme to yair yeirlye custome, to seek the priviledge, quha wes refusit; upone the qlk, ther wes ane number of schollaris, being gentelmens bairns, made ane mutinie, and came in the night and tooke the schooll, and provydit yameselfis wt meit, drink and hagbutis,² pistolet, and suord: they ranforcit the dores of the said schooll, sua yat yai refusit to let in yr mr.³ nor nae uthir man, wtout they wer grantit ther privilege, conforme to yr wontit use. The Provost and Baillies and Counsell heiring tell of the same, they ordeinit John Macmorrane baillie, to goe to the gramar schooll and take some order yrw. The said Johne, with certein officers, went to the schooll, and requystit the schollaris to opin the doreis: yai refusit. The said baillie and officers tooke ane geast⁴ and rane at the back dore with the geast. Ane schollar bad him desist from dinging up the dore, utherways, he vouit to God,

¹1595. ²An ancient firearm

³Their master. ⁴Joist; beam of wood.

he wald shute ane pair of bulletis throw hes heid. The said baillie thinking he durst not shute, he, with his assisters, ran still wt the geast at the said dore. Ther came ane schollar callit William Sinclair and with ane pistolet shott out at ane window, and shott the said baillie throw the heid, sua yat he diet. Pntlie¹ the haill tounesmen ran to the schooll, and tuik the said bairns and put yame in the tolbuith : bot the haill bairns wer letten frie wtout hurte done to yame for the same, wtin ane short tyme yairafter.

FAMINE IN SCOTLAND.

In this pnt yeir² of God, the dearthe of victuall increased, and yair wes sic famine in yis countrie, the lyk wes nevir heard tell of in aney aidge befor, nor nevir red of since the world wes maid, as ye sall heir : In yis moneth of October and November, the quhyt and malt at ten lib: the boll ; in Marche yrafter, the ait maill 10 lib: the boll, the humbell corne 7 lib: the boll. In the Moneth of Maij, the ait maill 20 lib: the boll in Galloway. At this tyme, ther came victuall out of uthir partis, in sic aboundans, that betwixt the first of Julii and the 10 of August, thair came into Leith thre scoir and sex shippes laden wt victuall.³

THE EDINBURGH CRAFTSMEN SHOW THEIR LOYALTY.

The 17 day of December 1596, being Fryday, hes Maiestie being in the tolbuith sitting in session,

¹Presentlie. ²1595.

³The boll equalled 4 Imperial bushels. The pound Scots here referred to equalled one shilling and eightpence sterling.

and ane convention of ministers being in the new kirke ther came in some divilish officious persone, and said that the ministers wer coming to take hes lyfe; upone the qlk, the tolbuith dores wer shut and steiket¹; and yair araise sick ane crying, God and the King, uther some crying, God and the Kirk, that the hail commons of Edr. raise in armes, and knew not quherfor allways. Yair wes ane honest man, quha wes deiken of deikens,² hes name wes Johne Watt, smythe. This Johne Watt raisit the hail craftis in armes, and came to the tolbuith and yair cryed for a sight of hes Maiestie, or ellis he sould ding up the yet wt foir hammers; At length, hes M: lookit our the window, and spake to the commonis, quha offerit to die and live with him; . . . sua hes M: came doune after the tounesmen wer commandit of the gait, and wes convoyit be the craftis men to the Abbay of Holyruidhous.

THE "SOWPLE TRICKS" OF A FUNAMBULIST.

The 10 of Julii,³ ane man, sume callit him a juglar, playit sic sowple tricks upone ane tow, qlk wes festinit betwix the tope of St. Geills kirk steiple and ane stair beneathe the crosse, callit Josias close heid, the lyk wes never sene in yis countrie, as he raid doune the tow and playit sa maney pavies⁴ on it.

THE WINE TAX PROVES UNPOPULAR.

The 15 of Januarii, [1600] ther wes ane proclamatione, yat ye King sould have 12d

¹Fastened, locked.

²Deacon of deacons, *i.e.*, Deacon Convener.

³1598. ⁴Lively motions.

Scottis¹ one everie pynt of wyne sold in taverns ; the lyk of wich imposte had not bein hard tell of befoir The 10 of Marche, the vintenars of wyne put to the horne² for non payment to the King of 12d of the pynt of yr wyne sauld wtin the tavernis, conforme to the act of conventionne. . . . The 19 day of Marche, ane proclamatioun, that nae vintenars sould sell wyne better chepe nor 6³ the pynt, under the paine of confiscatioun of the wyne ; notwithstanding, the ventinars willinglie sold the wyne for 5 the pynt, and payit the impost.

FIRE AND SWORD.

The 14 of Januarii, [1569] Robert Hepburne, sonne to ye laird of Waughtone, came to the hous of Waughtone, and brake ye stabills, and tooke out 16 horses : the laird of Carmichall being capitane and keiper of the said house of Waughtone. They issued out of the place, and slew three of them ; and divers wer hurt of bothe ye parties.

. . . . The 17 of Januarii, the castell of Draphane randred for laick of victualls, by Johnstoun of Westerhall, being capitane therof, quho randred it to ye Hamiltouns. The same night, Roslinge surprisit and woune by the laird and hes servants from ye laird of Lochinories servants, Syme of Panango being capitane therof.

The 9 of Februarii, [1602] the laird of MacGregor, wt 4 hunder of hes name and factioun,

¹One penny sterling.

²Denounced as rebels. This was formally done by sounding three blasts on a horn.

³Presumably 6 shillings Scots—*i.e.*, 6 pence sterling.

enterit in the Lennox, qr: he maid spulyie¹ and slaughter to the number of 60 honest men, besyde wemen and bairnis: he spared nane qr he came.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

The same 25 of Junii [1591] Euphane M'Kalzen wes brunt for witchcrafte.

The 29 of Apryll [1594], Wm. Hegie hangit for receiving the Earl of Bothuell.²

The 11 of Junii [1595] ane callit Cuming the Muncke, hangit for making of fals writtis.

The 22 of Novr. [1595] 4 heralds sitting drinking, tua of yame fell in words, viz. Johne Purdie and Johne Gladstanis. The said Johne Gladstanis stikit³ Johne Purdie at the table, and the said Gladstanis being apprehendit, he was beheidit upone the 25 day of the same moneth of Novr.

The 8 of September, [1596] thrie young men challengit for braking of Mr Johne Lang's hous. . . . They wer hangit at the crosse on the 15 of September wt grate lament.

The 20 day of Februar, [1597] Thomas Dobie drounit himself in the Quarrel holes besyde the Abbay, and upone the morne, he wes harlit throw the toune backward, and ther after hangit on the gallows.

The 27 of Maii, [1598] the laird of Johnestoun his pictor⁴ hung at the crosse with hes heid dounward, and declarit ane man sworne man; and upone the 5 of Junii, he, and his complices, wer put to the horne.

The 16 of Junii, [1604] Robert Weir broken on

¹Spoil, booty.

²Bothwell being an outlaw.

³Stabbed.

⁴Portrait.

ane cart wheel wt ane coultter of ane pleuche in the hand of the hangman,¹ for murdering of the guidman of Warriston

The 20 day, [Nov. 1604] Johne Stewart hangit on the castell hill, for steiling of two ky² frome the laird of Braid.

A CUNNING ATTEMPT AT PRISON-BREAKING.

The 2 of Apryll,³ being the Sabbathe day, Robert Achmutie, barber, slew James Wauchope at the combat in St Leonard's Hill, and, upone the 23, the said Rt put in ward in the tolbuith of Edr : and in the meine tyme of hes being in ward, he hang ane cloke wtout the window of the ironehous ; and anuther wtin the window yr, and saying yat he was seik, and might not sie the light : he had aquafortis⁴ continuallie seething at the irone window, quhill at the last the irone window wes eiten throw ; sua, upone a morneing, he caused hes prentes boy attend quhen the tounie gaird⁵ should have dissolvit, at qlk tyme the boy waitit one and gaif hes Mr ane token yat ye said gaird wer gone, be the schaw or waiff of hes hand-curche.⁶ The said Rot : hung out an tow,⁷ qr on he thought to have comeit doune ; the said gaird spyit the waif of the handcurche, and sua the said Rot : wes disappoyntit of hes intentione and devys ; and sua, on the 10 day, he wes beheidit at the crosse upone ane scaffolt.

¹The man was bound, spread-eagled, on a cart wheel, and his limbs and spine broken by blows with the coultter of a plough. See p. 198.

²Cows. ³1600. ⁴Nitric Acid. ⁵Guard.

⁶Handkerchief. ⁷Rope.

THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.

The 5 of Auguste,¹ his M. the King being invitit be the Earle of Gowrie to banket wt him at the said Earle his hous at St. Johnestoun.² . . . The maner of the conspiracie wes—Quhen they fund occatioun that hes M: haill nobillis and courtiers wer gone furthe, the twa brether³ desyrit his M: to goe and sie yair cabinet. His M: a blist soul, thinking of no evil, went wt yame, qr they enterit in gripis wt him wt dageris to have slaine him. The King of kingis, the grate God, gave him strenthe; sua that he twist the Mr: of Gowrie under hes feit: and befor the Lord hes brother came to hes M: he cryit ouir ane window, Treasone! Treasone! In the meine tyme, the fairsaid twa brether, had ane man standing behind the tapestrie in armes with ane twa handit sword in his hand, quha wes ordeinit, giff yair sould come aney helpe, he sould come furthe and keip the dore till the murder sould be done; bot it pleasit God yat he wes maid powerless, and could not steir out of the place qr: he stuid. In the meine tyme that hes M: and the twa brether are at the wrestling, Thomas Erskine and Johne Ramsay, hes M: page of honour for the tyme, came rinning up to the cabinet qr: yair pntlie: wes hard payment: at the last, the twa brether conspyreris of hes M. baith wer stikit; and the Lord preservit the holy innocent prince. . . . The newis came to Edr: the 6 day of August . . . grat yair wes sic ioy yat the canons shott, the bellis rang, the trumpettis soundit, the drums

¹1600. ²Perth.³Gowrie, and Alexander, Master of Ruthven.

strak. The toune rais in armes with schutting of muskettis, casting of fyir workes, and banefyirs set furth, in sic maner the lyk wes nevir sene in Scotland, ther wes sic dancing and mirrines all the nicht. . . . The 19 of November, the Earle of Gowrie and his brother harlit to the gibbit, and hangit and quarterit; and yrafter, yair heidis set upone the heid of the prisone hous, yair to stand quhyll the wind blaw yame away. . . . The 18 day,¹ane proclamatione made, yat all yame of the name of Ruthven sould change yair names, and yat yai came not neir the King be 10 myles, under the paine of treasone.

A TACTLESS TOWN OFFICER.

The same day,² Archibald Cornell, toune officer, hangit at the crosse, and hung on the gallows 24 houres; and the caus qfore he wes hangit—He being an unmerciful, greiddie creatur, he poyndit³ ane honest manis hous, and, amongst the rest, he poyndit the King and Quein's picturis; and quehn he came to the crosse to compryse⁴ the same, he hung yame up upone twa nailis on the same gallows to be comprysit; and yai being sene, word gead to the King and Queine; qrupone he wes apprehendit and hangit.

THE UNION OF THE CROWNS AND SOME PROPHECIES.

The 5 of Apryll, being Tuesday 1603, hes M: tuik iourney to Berwick: at qlk tyme thair wes grate lamentatioun and murneing among the comons for the loss of yair daylie sicht of yair blissit Prince. At yis tyme, all the haill comons

¹November, 1602.

²27 April, 1601.

³Distrained.

⁴To attach for debt.

of Scotland yat had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of uyr: prophesies qlk wer prophesied in auld tymes; as, namely, it wes prophesied in King Henrie the 8 dayis—Hempe is begun, God give it long to last: Frae Hempe begun, England may tak rest. To make it yat it may be understood—H, for Henrey; E, for England; M, for Mary; P, for Philipe King of Spaine, that mariet with Queine Marey; and E, for guid worthie Queine Elizabeth: sua it is come yat England may take rest; for yair is no mor England, bot Grate Britaine. Siclyke it wes spoken in Scottis—Ane Frenche wyfe shall beir a sone, shall bruike all Britaine be the sie. For it is trew, that King James the 6 hes mother, wes ane Frenche wyff, in respect scho wes mariet to the Prince of France, quha wes so stylit. Yai wer mariet, Dolphin and Dolphines of France, and King and Queine of Scotland.

DAVID MOYSIE.

(fl. 1590).

LITTLE is known of the life of David Moysie except that he was a writer by profession, and that from 1582 he was a Crown servant, first as a clerk of the Privy Council, and then, from 1596 onwards, as an assistant to Sir John Lindsay of Menmuir, King's Secretary. His *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* is written in the form of a diary and is of considerable historical value since, because of his official position, Moysie had exceptional opportunities for observing in detail the actions of King, Court, and nobility from 1577 (the year of the assumption of personal rule by James VI) till 1600. The narrative, which is in no way personal, is almost entirely concerned with court intrigues, baronial rebellions against the Government, plots against the King himself, strife between great houses, and bickerings between James and the Kirk. Such matters, however, as the King's perambulations through the country, his journey to Denmark to be married, and the business transacted at his Councils are all duly chronicled. It is interesting to compare Moysie's outlook and sympathies with those of Rev. James Melville whose *Autobiography and Diary* deals with the same period of time (see p. 80). Appended to the *Memoirs* is a very full account of that still mysterious affair, the Gowrie Conspiracy. Moysie, of course, wrote in Scots dialect,

but the following extracts are taken from the first edition of his *Memoirs*, which was in English.

MAR TAKES PRECAUTIONS.

Upon the 16th of March,¹ it being proposed to his majesty by his council, where his highness thought best to make his residence ; his majesty declared, that he would remain still in the castle of Stirling, where he had been brought up, until he saw further ; and would pass only forth to the park thereof, in summer, for his recreation and pastime : and inquiring of his council what they thought of it, they answered, since it was his majesty's own will and pleasure, they could not in duty disagree thereunto ; providing that, for the relief of the earl of Marr, when it pleased his majesty to pass out at the gate of Stirling castle, the said earl and his sureties, who were bound for the sure keeping of his majesty, should be exonerated in case of any inconveniency ; and an act of council to be extended thereupon.

SEDITIONOUS LITERATURE.

Upon the 12th of August¹ one Turnbull and one Scot were both hanged at the cross of Stirling, for making up ballads tending to the sowing of sedition among the nobility, which was thought a precedent, never one being hanged for the like before : and, in the mean time, at the scattering of the people, there were ten or twelve despitelous letters and infamous libels in prose, found as if they had been lost among the people, tending to the reproach of the earl of Morton and his predecessors.

¹1579.

THE ACCUSATION, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF
MORTON.

Upon the last day of December,¹ betwixt four and five o'clock at night, captain James Stewart, son to the lord Ochiltree, openly in presence of his majesty and council, at the council-table in Holy-rood-house, challenged and accused James earl of Morton, of art and part of the horrible murder of his majesty's father,² affirming that Mr. Archibald Douglas, cousin to the said earl, was actually at the deed doing, by command and direction of the said earl. That same night, the said earl was charged to confine himself within his lodging in the Abbey of Holy-rood-house, under the pain of treason; and, upon Monday the 2d of January,³ he was removed and committed to ward within the castle of Edinburgh, where it was ordained, that no person should have access to, nor intercourse with him, but the four persons he had to serve him. The said Mr. Archibald Douglas being sought for that night at his dwelling in Morham he having some notice of the matter, fled to England. Upon the 18th of January, the said Earl of Morton was transported from the castle of Edinburgh to the castle of Dumbarton. . . . Upon the 1st of June, the said earl was presented in the tolbooth of Edinburgh to his trial and was found guilty and therefore doom was pronounced against him, that he should be hanged, beheaded, quartered, and demeaned as a traitor. . . . When upon the scaffold, he declared touching that murder, that the earl of Bothwell, principal

¹1580.²Darnley.³1581.

actor thereof, came to him before the murder, and desired him to subscribe a bond concerning the execution of it, which he altogether refused to subscribe; and so Bothwell, finding his answer repugnant, never came again to sollicite him in that purpose. Likeways he confessed, that he knew of the deed, and concealed the same, and for that merited to die: And so declared on his conscience, that he knew no further of the matter. . . . He said he had great comfort that he died a Christian, and in the profession of the true and sincere religion; . . . His head was cut off, and put up upon the tolbooth of Edinburgh. . . . Upon the next day, one John Binning, servant to Mr. Archibald Douglas, declaring that he was present with his master at the murder, was hanged, and demeaned as a traitor.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS BROUGHT TO BOOK.

Upon the 10th of May,¹ the foresaid Mr. Archibald Douglas was accused before the justices within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as one of the special actors of the murder of his majesty's father. He pleaded first a remission for art and part, foreknowledge and concealing thereof, and stood an assize for the rest, whereof he was acquitted. In that process there was great knavery and shift used; for that part of the earl of Morton's deposition concerning him, wherein he confessed, that Mr. Archibald acknowledged to him, that he was actually at that deed doing, was concealed and abstracted. He handled the matter so, as he made his own dittay, he closed

¹1586—five years after the events related above.

his own assize, he foreknew all that was to be said against him, and so was absolved most shamefully and dishonestly, to the exclamation of the whole people. It was thought the filthiest iniquity that was heard of in Scotland.

THE RUTHVEN RAID.

Upon the 23d of the said month of August 1582, the earls of Marr and Gowry, with their friends, enterprized the taking of the king within the place of Ruthven ; and the same night, about seven o'clock at night, the earl of Arran coming to his majesty, and foreseeing that the earl of Marr was lying in wait for him, he separated himself from his company, and came, only with a page, to the gate of Ruthven, before any man knew ; where he was laid hands on, and taken at the gate, and confined to ward in a chamber of the same till next day The earl of Marr and his company encountering with William Stewart, the said earl of Arran's brother, and his company, the said William Stewart was attacked, fired at, and much wounded. After the said conflict his majesty came to Perth and the said lords enterprizers presented their supplications to his majesty, declaring the cause of their undertaking that purpose, and what moved them thereto. Whereupon there was a proclamation given out, declaring his majesty was not detained against his will, as the report was spread, and that the noblemen with him had attempted nothing but that which became them of their duty ; and all things done were good service. Another pro-

clamation¹ was made, declaring the present state of the king's majesty, and how he had been handled in the year preceeding by certain of his subjects, against his own good pleasure and mind, and how he was taken and detained captive by them at the raid of Ruthven.

SHORT SHRIFT.

Upon the 2d day of December,² a baxter's boy, called Robert Henderson (no doubt by the instigation of Satan) desperately put some powder and a candle in his father's heather-stack, standing in a close opposite to the trone of Edinburgh, and burnt the same with his fathers house, which lay next adjacent, to the imminent hazard of burning the whole town: For which, being apprehended most marvelously after his escaping out of the town, he was on the next day burnt quick at the cross of Edinburgh, as an example.

JAMES VI LEARNS OF HIS MOTHER'S (MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS) CONDEMNATION AND EXECUTION.

About the 24th of the said month of November,³ sure word came that the queen was convicted, and was to be executed. . . . Patrick, master of Gray, the abbot of Dunfermling, and Sir Robert Melvil of Mordecairny, treasurer-depute, were directed as ambassadors to England⁴. . . . Certain instructions were given them to be

¹This entry refers to the transactions of a Council held at Perth towards the end of July, 1583—almost a year later.

²1584. ³1586.

⁴This refers to December 18, 1586.

proposed to the queen and council of England, for the relief and preservation of the queen of Scotland's life. . . It was thought that Francis, earl of Bothwell should have gone in this embassy : but the English refused to grant him a safe conduct. . . . About the first of February, there came an express from his majesty's ambassadors, signifying that the execution of the queen was respited ; and that the said ambassadors had gotten their answer and dispatch little to their contentment. With the same express, as the ambassadors desired, there was a threatening letter wrote back to the queen of England, avowing, that if she meddled with the blood of his majesty's mother, that his highness should be revenged, and would sollicite the aid of all the foreign princes in Europe for that effect. . . . The king's majesty, to manifest his natural affection towards his dearest mother, whose preservation he always earnestly wished, required the ministers to pray for her at all preachings and common prayers after the following form : " The Lord illuminate and enlighten her spirit, that she may attain to the knowledge of his truth, for the safety of soul and body, and preserve her from the present peril." Some of the ministry agreed to that form of prayer, thinking it very lawful, since it was his majesty's pleasure : but some of them, especially the ministers of Edinburgh, refused to pray, but as they were moved by the spirit. Upon this occasion, the king appointed Patrick¹ archbishop of St. Andrews, a man evil thought of by the ministry and others, to preach in the kirk of Edinburgh, upon the 3d

¹See p. 103 ff.

day of February, and resolved to attend the preaching himself When the day came, Mr. John Coupar, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, accompanied with the rest of his brethern, came in and prevented the bishop, by taking place in the pulpit before his coming into the kirk : and as the said Mr. John was beginning the prayer, the king's majesty commanded him to stop ; whereupon he gave a knock on the pulpit, using an exclamation in these terms ; " This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh ! for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst ! " After having uttered these words, he passed down from the pulpit, and, together with the whole wives in the kirk, removed out of the same. Immediately the bishop of St. Andrews went up to the pulpit. Upon the 15th of February at night, there came an express with letters to the secretary, informing him, that the queen his majesty's mother was beheaded and executed in the place where she was confined, upon the eight day of the said month of February. Mr. George Young¹ returned on the 23d of this month, and assured his majesty that his mother was executed. This put his majesty into a very great displeasure and grief, so that he went to bed that night without supper ; and on the morrow by seven o'clock went to Dalkeith, there to remain solitary.

¹The king, having received no official information, refused to believe the report, and Mr. George Young, secretary-depute, was sent to Berwick to seek confirmation.

KING AND JESUIT.¹

The earl of Huntly sent in his uncle, Mr. James Gordon the jesuit, to the king's majesty who coming before his majesty, his highness declared the cause for which he had sent for him, which was, that, as he understood him to be a learned man, come into this country on purpose to persuade the people to embrace the popish religion, he would therefore shew him, that his majesty was himself disposed to use some reasoning with him on religion: Whereunto the said Mr. James objected, and said, that he desired not to reason with his majesty, but would reason with any other. The king's majesty answering, offered, and promised to lay his crown and royalty aside, and to reason with him as if he were a private man: and so his majesty began and laid down some grounds of religion, which he still observed and reasoned upon for the space of four or five hours. Some things were yielded to by Mr. James, and others denied; the particulars I cannot well write till I hear farther.

BOTHWELL BESIEGES FALKLAND.

Upon the 28th of June 1592, a little before midnight, the said forfeited earl of Bothwell with his accomplices, who conspired the taking of his majesty's person and those about him, came to Falkland, accompanied with three hundred men in arms or thereby, and attacked and beset the palace from that time till seven o'clock in the morning: but the king's majesty, and such as were about him, being forewarned of their purpose,

¹This took place in February, 1588.

and advertised by an out-watch, withdrew themselves within the tower of Falkland which they had furnished with some wines, and fired all night forth thereof, without harm of any within; and in the mean time sent out posts to alarm and convene the country about: and so the earl of Bothwell and his associates being disappointed, departed about seven or eight in the morning westward. His majesty not having a sufficient number to follow them, in respect Bothwell and his company had carried off all the horses both from the stables and the park, was forced to let them go off unpursued.

LOCKERBY LICK.

Upon the 6th of December,¹ the lord Maxwell, warden of the west-marches, having convened two thousand men or thereby, in arms, who were lying in Eskdale near Lockerby, with intention to have besieged the laird of Johnston's house of Lochwood, and razed out the memory of him and his name in these bounds, according to the king's commission granted to him for that effect . . . it so fell out, that the laird of Johnston in the mean time putting himself to the field with a company of forty horse, in the sight of the lord Maxwell and his great army, some couriers of the Lord Maxwell's, to the number of fourscore, were sent out to attack him and his company, who betaking themselves to flight, had an ambush of about three or four hundred men lying directly in their way in a wood hard by: these broke out, and turned the chase again on the lord Maxwell's

¹1593.

couriers, and followed them very hard, until they came unto the main host, who seeing their men chased, took the alarm, and fled all together. The lord Maxwell stood in the midst of these forces unarmed, as tho' he regarded not his enemy ; when the laird of Johnston approached to him, and gave him the first stroke on the head, by which he fell from his horse, and was there cruelly murdered, with sundry others of his kindred and friends : some were also drowned, some were taken, and others slain in the chase. A great number were hurt in the face, which was called *A Lockerby Lick*. . . . There were some of the Scotts who assisted Johnston in this conflict, who at first made as if they knew not what the matter was, and lay upon an eminence till they saw how things went.

MR. BLACK SPEAKS OUT AND HAS TO ANSWER FOR IT.

In the mean time¹ one Mr. David Black, minister at St. Andrews, being complained of to his majesty by the English ambassador, that he had called the queen of England an atheist, and said, that the religion of England was a shew of religion ; he was thereupon cited before his majesty and council ; who finding the ambassador to swerve from his accusation, another summons was libelled against the said Mr. David, upon which he was charged to compear and answer upon his speeches, which he had pronounced out of the pulpit, within three days, viz. That he had said

¹November, 1596.

publickly in pulpit, that the popish earls¹ were come home by the king's knowledge and consent, wherein his highness's truth was traduced ; that all kings were devils, and come of devils ; that the devil was in the court, and in the head of the court ; that he prayed for the queen for the fashion, but he saw no appearance of good in her time ; that he read a copy of a summons of suspension in the middle of his sermon, discussed and repelled the reasons thereof, and called the lords of session miscreants, bribers and holly-glasses ; and the nobility cormorants : that he called the queen of England an atheist ; and at last he and Mr. Andrew Melvil had convened a number of barons in Fife within the Town of Coupar, and made a covenant with them to rise in arms This Black pled a declinature to his majesty's judgement, alledging his preaching to be doctrine, and that the prophets and ministry were only judges competent to him *in prima instantia*. This passing to an interlocutor, his majesty and council repelled the said declinature, and found themselves judges : whereupon witnesses being called in and sworn, some of the chief of the council were appointed to examine them ; which being done, deponed, that the said Black was guilty of the whole speeches before specified. Upon which his majesty, ever inclined to lenity, superseded his punishment, it being remitted to his highness's own pleasure by the council, in hopes that matters would be taken

¹Huntly and Errol, the leaders of the Roman Catholic rising in the North in 1594, who had been banished in that year and allowed to return in 1596.

away and pack'd up betwixt his highness and the ministry, who all took part in maintaining that declinature Upon this ensued a great controversy betwixt his majesty and the ministry, his highness acclaiming to be judge of them in all matters of treason and sedition, and they denying the same. This Black being convicted and remitted to his majesty's punishment, his highness warded him beyond the North-water, until he should declare his farther pleasure.

REV. JAMES MELVILLE.

(1556-1614).

JAMES MELVILLE was born in the manse of Mayton near Montrose in 1556, and in 1572 he was admitted B.A. of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. His father intended that he should study law, but he himself showed a decided preference for the church—a preference which was fostered by the sermons of John Knox, and by the influence of his uncle, Andrew Melville, the great reformer. James was therefore placed under Andrew's charge, and in 1574 accompanied him to Glasgow when he became Principal of the University there. He himself was elected a regent at Glasgow in 1575, and in 1580 Andrew Melville became Principal of, and James Melville became Professor of Oriental Languages in New (now St. Mary's) College, St. Andrews. Here, because of their uncompromising Presbyterianism, both the Melvilles were constantly quarrelling with the Episcopalian party, and particularly with Patrick Adamson, Bishop of St. Andrews. Andrew was more than a match for his opponents, but at length, being brought to trial for some of his pulpit utterances, he was ordered to go into ward in Blackness Castle, and had to escape hurriedly to Berwick in 1584. James now took full charge of the College, but a few months later he too had to flee to England. In November, 1585, however, he came back to

Scotland and resumed his duties at St. Andrews. The quarrel with Bishop Adamson broke out anew, and, after there had been some rather undignified exchanges, the King, in order to end the disputes, sent Andrew Melville on a mission to the Jesuits of the North, and told James Melville that he would be well advised to confine his activities to his university work.

In 1586 James Melville became minister of Anstruther Wester, removed to Kilrenny in 1588, and in 1589 was appointed moderator of the General Assembly, his opening sermon at the Assembly in 1590 being characterised by a renewal of the attack on Bishop Adamson. Melville was a member of the Assembly Commission sent to the King in 1593-1594 to urge him to take action against the Catholic earls, and, in spite of efforts to discredit him, he became, rather unexpectedly, an object of royal favour. Probably, of course, the King's liking for Melville was dictated by a recognition of his power and by a desire to win his approval of Episcopacy. He had no success, however, and for the next few years Melville was continually expostulating with the King regarding his attempts to change the government of the Church. This opposition to King and Episcopacy culminated in 1606, when both the Melvilles went to London to attend a conference on the ecclesiastical state of Scotland. The result of this conference was, that in 1607 the King ordered Andrew Melville to the Tower, and sent James to Newcastle, a virtual prisoner. During the next few years constant attempts were made by bribes and threats to secure James

Melville's approval of the King's proposals, but he never wavered. In 1610 he was removed to Berwick, but it was not till 1613 that he received permission to return to Scotland. His health was shattered, however, and though he set out for Edinburgh he was forced to go back to Berwick, where he died in January, 1614.

James Melville is somewhat overshadowed by his uncle, Andrew Melville. This, of course, is largely due to differences in character and temperament: Andrew was a bluff, choleric, likeable man, strong in his zeal for the Presbyterian cause, impatient of argument, ever ready to say what he thought in no uncertain language and regardless of consequences, and fearing no man—James, on the other hand, though no less sincere, was a more skilled fighter, preferring tactics to unbridled force, and persuasive argument to peremptory assertion. Then, too, James had a tremendous admiration for his uncle, which made him more ready to follow Andrew's lead than to strike out for himself. In spite of this, however, he did great work for the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and is worthy of a place beside John Knox and Andrew Melville. His *Autobiography and Diary* is a very complete and valuable record of his own life and of the struggle in Scotland to establish the Presbyterian discipline. It is much more, however, than a mere record of ecclesiastical bickerings, and of quarrels between King and Kirk; it also contains much information about contemporary social and university life, gives a shrewd picture of Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century, and includes many comments

on historical events. The *Autobiography and Diary* is, indeed, as the following extracts show, full of interest to the student of history and to the general reader, though the author's "piety" is inclined to be tiresome. This open show of religious conviction was, however, merely the custom of the time, and in James Melville it was absolutely sincere, and free from all traces of sanctimoniousness. It is interesting to compare Melville's *Diary* with the *Memoirs* of David Moysie (see page 67), who lived at the same time and was a strong supporter of the Court party.

A LIBERAL EDUCATION.

I haid an evill-inclyned woman to my nuris ; therefter speaned¹ and put in a cottar hous, and about four or fyve yeir auld brought hame to a step-mother ; yit a verie honest burges of Montros hes oft tauld me, that my father wald ley me down on my bak, plying with mie, and lauche at me because I could nocht ryse, I was sa fatt ; and wald ask mie what ealed² mie : I wald answer, " I am sa fatt I may nocht geang." About the fyft yeir of my age, the Grate Buik was put in my hand, and when I was seavine, lytle thairof haid I lernit at hame ; therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother, David, about a year and a halff in age above me, and me togidder, to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his, to scholl, a guid, lerned, kynd man ; whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr. Wilyam Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose. Ther we lerned to reid the Catechisme, Prayers, and Scripture ; to

¹Weaned.

²Ailed.

rehers the Catechisme and Prayers *par ceur*; also nottes of Scripture, efter the reiding thair of. . . . We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche; also dyverse speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronounciation of that tounge. We proceidit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer; therwith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epistles of Horace; also Cicero his Epistles *ad Terentiam*. . . . Ther also we haid the aire guid, and fields reasonable fear,¹ and be our maister war taught to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to loope, to swoom, to warsell, to preve pratteiks,² everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. . . . I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs, in the quhilk tyme, of publict news I remember I hard of ³Seingnour Davie's slauchter, of the King's mourder at the Kirk of Field, of the Quein's taking at Carbarri, and the Langsyd feild.

"TWA LURD FAULTES," AND "A THING UNPOSSIBLE."

About the spring tyme,⁴ my father resolved to send me to the scholl againe for a yeir or twa, that thereafter he might acquent me also with housbandrie, and prepear for me a roum.⁵

¹Fair. ²Literally "to prove experience," *i.e.*, to practise.

³At this place James Melville has written in the margin of his manuscript the words, "the mariage of Hendrie and Marie, King and Quein of Scots."

⁴Of the year 1570. ⁵A small farm.

. . . . Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose.
. . . . The maister of the scholl, a lerned, honest,
kynd man, whom also for thankfulnes I name,
Mr Andro Miln ; he was verie skilfull and diligent.
. . . . I never get a strak of his hand, whowbeit
I comitted twa lurd¹ faultes, as it war with fyre
and sword : Haiffing the candle in my hand on a
wintar night, befor sax hours, in the scholl, sitting
in the class, bernlie and negligentlie pleying with
the bent,² it kendlet sa on fyre, that we haid all
ado to put it out with our feit. The uther was
being molested by a condisciple, wha cutted the
stringes of my pen and ink-horn with his pen-
knyff, I minting³ with my pen-knyff to his legges
to fley⁴ him ; he feared, and lifting now a lag,
now the uther,⁵ rasht on his lag upon my knyff,
and strak him selff a deipe wound in the schin
of the lag, quhilk was a quarter of a yeir in curing.
In the tyme of the trying of this mater, he saw
me sa humble, sa feared, sa grieved, yeild sa
manie teares, and by fasting and murning in the
scholl all day, that he said he could nocht find in
his hart to punishe me fordar. Bot my righteous
God let me nocht slipe that fault, bot gaiff me a
warning, and remembrance what it was to be
defyld with blude, whowbeit negligentlie ; for
within a short space efter I haid causit a cutlar,
new com to the town, to polishe and scharpe the
sam pen-knyff, and haid bought a pennie-worthe
of aples, and cutting and eatting the sam in the

¹Stupid.

²The bent-grass or rushes strewn on the floor.

³Aiming.

⁴Frighten.

⁵Lifting now one leg, now the other.

Linkes, as I put the cheive¹ in [my] mouthe, I began to lope upe upon a little sandie bray, haiffing the pen-knyff in my right hand, I fell, and thairwithe strak my selff, missing my wombe, an inche deipe in the inwart syde of the left knie, even to the bean, wherby the æquitie of God's judgment and my conscience strak me sa, that I was the mair war of knyffes all my dayes. . . . The exercese of the ministerie waskeipit ouklie² then in Montrose, and thair assemblies ordinarlie; quhilk when I saw I was movit to lyk fellow weil³ of that calling, bot thought it a thing impossible that ever I could haiff the abilitie to stand upe and speak when all helde thair tounge and luiked, and to continow speaking alean⁴ the space of an houre.

SOME GLIMPSES OF JOHN KNOX.

Bot of all the benefites I haid that yeir⁵ was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhone Knox, to St. Androis; wha, be the faction of the Quein occupeing the castell and town of Edinbruche, was compellit to remove thairfra with a number of the best, and chusit to com to St Androis. I hard him teatche ther the prophecie of Daniel that simmer, and the wintar following. I haid my pen and my litle book, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an halff houre; bot when he enterit to application, he maid me sa to grew⁶ and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt. I hard him oftymes utter these

¹Shave, i.e., slice.

²Weekly.

³Very well.

⁴Alone.

⁵1571.

⁶Shudder.

IOANNES CNOXVS.



JOHN KNOX

(From a Woodcut by Beza)

thretenings in the hicht of their pryde, quhilk the eis of monie saw cleirlye brought to pass within few yeirs upon the Captean of that Castle, the Hamiltones, and the Quein hir selff. . . . Mr Knox wald sum tymes com in and repose him in our Collage yeard, and call us schollars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to knaw God and his wark in our contrey, and stand be the guid cause.

. . . In the tyme of his being in St Androis, ther was a General Assemblie hauldin in the scholles of St Leonards, our College. Thair, amangs uther things, was motioned the making of Bischopes; to the quhilk Mr Knox opponit him selff directlie and zealuslie. Yit a number of Comissionars of the Kirk, meatt at Leithe, with the Lords that haid the guid cause in hand, (wharof everie ane was hounting for a fatt kirk leiving, quhilk gart them fecht the faster,) and ther aggreit to mak Bischopes; the warst turn that ever was done for the kirk leiving, as experience atteanes declared, when they war named "Tulchains," that is, calff's skinnies stuffed with stra, to cause the cow giff milk; for everie lord gat a bischoprie, and sought and presented to the kirk sic a man as wald be content with least, and sett tham maist of fewes, takes,¹ and pensiones. . . . At Mr Knox coming to St Androis, Robert Lekprivik, printar, transported his lettres and press from Edinbruch to St Androis,²

¹Tacks.

²When, in 1571, Maitland of Lethington, leader of the Queen's party, ordered all supporters of the King to leave Edinburgh, John Knox found temporary refuge in St. Andrews. Lekprivik was one of the most notable of the early Scottish printers. Printing was introduced into Scotland in 1507.

whar first I saw that excellent art of printing ; and haid then in hand Mr Patrik Constant's Catechisme of Calvin, converted in Latin heroic vers, quhilk with the author was mikle estimed of. . . . The town of Edinbruche recovered againe,¹ and the guid and honest men therof retourned to thair housses. Mr Knox with his familie past hame to Edinbruche. Being in St Androis he was verie weak. I saw him everie day of his doctrine go hulie and fear, with a furring of martrijs² about his neck, a staff in the an hand, and guid godlie Richart Ballanden,³ his servand, halding upe the uthar oxtar,⁴ from the Abbay to the paroche kirk ; and be the said Richart and another servant, lifted upe to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie ; bot or he haid done with his sermont, he was sa active and vigorus that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads,⁵ and fly out of it !

MR ANDREW MELVILLE, ON HIS WAY HOME FROM
GENEVA, PRACTISES JUSTIFIABLE DIS-
SIMULATION.

From Lions they traversit the Franch Compté to the heid of the river of Loir, and cam down the sam be water to Orleans, haiffing in companie, sevin or aught dayes, a captean, a mediciner, and a preist, superstitius Papists at thair meitting kythed⁶ in ther speitche and meattes, bot be mirrie and solid reasoning withall, becam flecheatters on Fredday, and the captean nocht far

¹1572.

². . . . go slowly ; with a marten fur

³See p 23. ⁴Armpit. ⁵Break the pulpit in pieces.

⁶Made known.

from the kingdome of heavin or¹ they parted. The portes² of Orleans wer streat keipet, (being. bot a yeir and halff efter the horrible massacres). Brechine and Mr Andro Polwart was on fut, and Mr Andro³ weill mounted on horse, because he haid wraisted⁴ his leg, they past the twa futmen, and deteining the horseman, the souldarts⁵ inquiryres what he was? He answerit, "a Schottes man." "O! yie Scottes men are all Hugonotes," sayes the gard. "Hugonotes!" says he "what's that? we ken nocht sic." "O," sayes the souldart, "yie haiff nocht mess." "Forsuthe," says he mirrelie, "our berns in Scotland gaes daylie to mess!" "Guid companion," sayes the uther, lauching, "go thy way." Coming to thair ludging, he tells his nibours, and garres them lauche: "Bot surlie," say they, "we war verie fleyed⁶ our pasport sould haiff bein loked,⁷ and finding us com from Genev, sould haiff bein troubllet." "Yea," sayes thair host, "tak it for a speciall providence of God, for within this twall monethe, monie thowsands for les hes lost thair lyves." Going out of the town again at the turn of a rew,⁸ they meit the procession;⁹ Breachin and his pædagog was befor, Mr Andro a lytle efter. Brechin turns bak and sayes, "What sall I do?" "Fordwart!" quod he; and so he

¹Ere. ²Gates.

³Andrew Melville, to whose return home from Geneva this passage refers. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Brechin and by Mr. Andrew Polwart.

⁴Twisted.

⁵Soldiers, *i.e.*, the guards at the town gates.

⁶Afraid. ⁷Inspected. ⁸Street.

⁹Roman Catholic procession.

does. Mr Andro haulds out his syde klok¹ with his armes als thought he haid bein bearing sum thing under his oxstars, and so passes by.² But his hart bet him thairefter oft and sear, that he sould haiff sa stoutlie counsellit the uther, and usit a piece of dissimulation him selff.

THE EVIL EFFECTS OF A COMET.

This yeir,³ in the wintar, appeired a terrible Comet, the stern⁴ wharof was verie grait, and proceeding from it toward the est a lang teall, in appeirance, of an eall and a halff, lyk unto a bissom⁵ or scourge maid of wands, all fyrie. It rease nightlie in the south-weast, nocht above a degrie and an halff ascending above the horizon, and continowed about a sax oukes, or twa monethe, and piece and piece weir away. The graittest effects wharof that out of our countrey we hard was a grait and mightie battell in Barbaria in Afric, wharin thrie kings war slean, with a huge multitud of peiple.

THE TRIALS OF A UNIVERSITY REGENT.

The Lord Boid was grait with the Regent,⁶ and haid a cusing in our Collage, named Alexander Boid, a youthe of a grait spreit and ingyne, bot verie commersom⁷ and refractar. . . . I . . . besought him to be weill conditioned, and he sould find na thing in me bot speciall courtessie

¹Long cloak.

²Being a Protestant, he did not wish to do reverence to a Roman Catholic procession.

³1576.

⁴Star.

⁵Brush.

⁶Friendly with the Regent, *i.e.*, with the Earl of Morton, the Regent of Scotland.

⁷Quarrelsome.

and affectione ; bot giff he sould preass to missuse me, and mak trouble as he haid done to his maisters befor, for als meik as I seimed, he wald find me scharper nor anie he haid delt with. Upon this premonition he continowes halff a yeir as guid a bern as was in the seage.¹ Till taking occasion of Mr Thomas Smetone's companie, in the quhilk I mikle delyted, I past with him to Edinbruche to fetche ham his wyff ; and befor my going, I tuk exact ordour with my schollars, injoyning large task to tham, and apointing of censurers and deleattors of all ther behaviour. Coming ham again, I fand the said Alexander often dealeated in grait faultes, namlie, absenting him selff from the kirk, and pleying the loun² on the Sabbathe. I begin to deall with him in words ; he disdeanes and vilipends with misbehaviour in words and countenance ; I command him to correction, he rebelles : To be schort, I wald nocht be deforcit ; and he gat his deat peyit, bot indeid far within his demearit. He sittes down in a nuk fra my sight, and whill I was teatching my lessone, he takes his pen and ink-horn, and striks him selff on the face and nease till effusion of bluid ; he ryves³ his buik, and dightes his nease⁴ with the leaves thairof , and drawes the bluid athort his face, and spots his clothes with the saming ;⁵ and incontinent efter the lessone rinnes out of the Collage, and away and compleanes to his frinds he was sa misusit crewalie be me. The Principall and Maisters at the bruit,⁶ and my desyre, takes

¹Bench.²Clown, rascal.³Tears.⁴Wipes his nose.⁵Same.⁶Rumour.

tryell, and finds it as is spoken. He byds away fra the Collage a monethe; about the end wharof, on a simmer evening efter supper, I was coming out of the Castell with twa of my companions Sa, my schollar lying in weat with an¹ Alexander Cuningham, sistar-sone to the Lord Boid, wha hounds out the youthe with a baton in his hand to strik me behind my bak. Heiring the sound of his feit, I turned and spak a few words, at the quhilk the boy rinnes by me and luiks for his helper, Alexander Cuninghame, wha cam with speid efter him with a drawin sword and monie bludie words. The twa that war with me saw nocht this Alexander, bot ran and tuk the boy; sa Alexander leyes out a strak at me with the sword, quhilk, declyning my bodie a little, I eschewed, and closing with him, I gripped his sword arm under my left oxter, and with my right hand caucht his quhingar,² haiffing na kynd of wapean upon my selff, and bids him stand. Withe this, incontinent my twa companiones commes and sinders³ us Coming to the Collage, I schew the mater to the Principall, wha upon the morn conveyes the Rector and Magistrats of the town, according to the ordour, and cites the parties befor tham. I compeir; the uther is contumax, and perseveres in his bost.⁴ The mater is tryed exactlie. They decern Alexander Cuninghame, for his wrang, to come to the place whar it was done, and ther, humblie, bear-futted and bear-headet, to crave the Rectour, the Principall, and me, the persone offendit, forgiffnes. This being

¹One.²A short sword.³Separates.⁴Threatening.

notefied to Alexander, he malings, and vowes ther sould be graitter cause maid or anie forgiffnes cravit. Ther na thing was noysit sa mikle in the countrey, as the Boids and Cuninghams wald slay the Maisters and burn the Collage. Bot the Principall jarget never a whit,¹ nor movit him selff, whowbeit sum of us war right fleyd;² but send and reasit Letters, and summoned Alexander befor the King and Secreit Counsall, wha compeired with a grait number of his frinds, thinking to bost us fra it; bot we cam befor the King and Counsall at St Androis, producit the proces and decreit of the Rector and Bailyies of Glasgw, and obtained the sam to be ratefiet; and the said Alexander chargit to fulfill and obey it sic a day, or then to enter in ward within the Castell of Blaknes. . . . Sa the day comes, at the quhilk the Lord Boid comes to Glasgw, accompanied with all his frinds; so comes my Lord of Glencarn³ with his, to the number of four or fyve houndrethe gentilmen. The Principall is delt with be diverse intercessors nocht to present the place: Bot terrifie as they wald, he sayes, "They that will go with me go; they that are fleyed, let them tarie!" And sa the Rector, the Principall, and I, with our schollars at our bak, in our gowns, com to the kirk-yearde, and stude at the place wher I was unbesett; the kirk-yearde being full of gentlemen, giffes place. Then comes Alexander, arrayit in his best abuilyment, in the middes of twa gentlemen, wherof an was the eldest brother of my

¹Never flinched.

²Afraid.

³Glencairn was related to both Boyd and Cunningham.

schollar, the uther his neirest frind ; and the said Alexander, bear-headit and bear-futed, and offers to fulfill the decreit giff anie wald accept of it. "Dout nocht of the acceptation," answers the Principall: "We are heir readie !" And sa the said Alexander, in presence of all his frinds, to bear him witness, recited the words of the decreit, and obeyed conform to everie circumstance. The quhilk, when the gentilmen saw, wha, for the maist part, knew nocht for what cause they cam, luche¹ him to skorn, spendit thrie or four hounder mark in the toun, and returned, as they confessit, graitter fulles nor they cam a-field !

GEORGE BUCHANAN STANDS BY THE TRUTH.

That September,² in tyme of vacans,³ my uncle, Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring that Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his Historie under the press, past ower to Edinbruche annes earend,⁴ to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer, we fand him sitting in his chaire, teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab ; e, b, eb, etc. Efter salutation, Mr Andro sayes, "I sie, Sir, yie are nocht ydle." "Better this," quoth he, "nor stelling sheipe,⁵ or sitting ydle, quhilk is als ill !" Thairefter he schew us the Epistle Dedicatorie to the King ; the quhilk, when Mr Andro haid read, he tauld him that it was obscure in sum places, and wanted certean words to perfynt the sentence. Sayes he, "I may do na mair, for thinking on another mater." "What is that ?"

¹Laughed. ²1581. ³Vacation.

⁴For the express purpose.

⁵Sheltering or watching sheep.

sayes Mr Andro. "To die!" quoth he; "bot I leave that and manie ma things for yow to helpe." We went from him to the printar's wark-hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 Buik of his Cornicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying¹ the haill wark, anent the buriall of Davie.² Thairfor, steying the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again, and fund him bedfast by³ his custome; and asking him, whow he did? "Even going the way of weelfare," sayes he. Mr Thomas, his cusing, schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his Storie, that the King wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. "Tell me, man," sayes he, "giff I have tauld the truthe?" "Yis," sayes Mr Thomas, "Sir, I think sa." "I will byd his fead,⁴ and all his kin's, then!" quod he: "Pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all!"

MR. ANDREW INTERVIEWS AN ENEMY.

Ane uther, that haid bein Regent in that Collage under Mr Robert Hamilton,⁵ was Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, a daft wousten⁶ man. He bosted that he wald houche⁷ Mr Andro, with mikle mair daft talk; and a day he comes in to Mr Androe's chalmer, being alan in it, and askes him, weill rudlie, giff he knew him? "Na," sayes Mr Andro, "I knaw you nocht." "I sould be knawen," sayes he, "as a Maister in this Collage;

¹Stopping. ²Rizzio. ³Contrary to. ⁴Feud.

⁵Mr. Robert Hamilton, Principal of New College, St. Andrews, was deposed from office in 1581, and Mr. Andrew Melville appointed in his stead.

⁶Silly boaster. ⁷Hamstring.

my nam is Mr Jhone Caldcleuche." "Ho!" quoth Mr Andro, "Is this yie that will houch men?" And with that put to¹ the chalmer dure, and sayes, "It is even best tym now!" Bot the uther calmit atteanes,² and beginnes to speak with mair reverence; whom Mr Andro, by manlie courage and force of reasone, sa dantoned and tamed, that the Maister was fean to tak a bursare's place in the Collage, and live thairin as a humble student. I was in the chalmer abon and hard all, and cam doun at last to the ending of it.

ST. ANDREWS DISLIKES PLAIN SPEAKING.

The Session of the Kirk haid a custome to send twa of thair eldars everie ouk³ to desyre Mr Andro and me to helpe tham on the Sabbathe, during the want of a minister and absence of the Bischope. Sa Mr Andro, coming in the pulpit, spak the treuthe of all thingis with grait ardentness and zeall; and being acquent with sum corrupt proceedings of the rewlars against equitie and justice, and perceaving they lyked nocht of guid men to be thair minister, sic as Mr Andro wald haiff haid, bathe for the weill of the Town and Universitie . . . he causit tham heir thair doings in the deaffest eare! This was takine sa hiche,⁴ that a grait space ther was na thing bot affixing of plackarts upon the Collage yett,⁵ bosting with batoning,⁶ burning and chassing out of the town; wherwith, to speak the treuthe, I was mikle fearit, seing Town, University, and all malcontents against us atannes; and luikit for na thing, day for day,

¹Shut.

²Immediately, at once.

³Week.

⁴So high; in such bad part.

⁵Gate.

⁶Threatening to cudgel.

but steiring upe of sum tumult for ane evill turn. But Mr Andro, with ane heroicall spreit, the mair they stirit and bostit, the mair he strak with that twa-eagit sword ;¹ sa that a day he movit the Provost, with sear rubbing of the ga² of his conscience, to ryse out of his seatt in the middes of the sermont, and with sum muttering of words to goe to the dure, out-throw the middes of the peiple : For the quhilk, being delt with be the Presbyterie, and convicted in his conscience, the said Provost maid publict satisfaction be acknowlaging of his offence, and craving God and the congregation forgiffnes.

WHO DARES ?

Newes³ war sparpelit athort⁴ the countrey, that the Ministers war all to be thair massacred ; quilk moved me go repear to Perthewith diligence, to tak part with my uncle and father in Chryst. Coming ther, Sir James Melvill of Hahill⁵ schawes me whow evill my uncle and I was thought of at Court, because of our sermons in St. Androis the tyme of the fast, and our doings and sayings at Assemblies, and counsallit us to depart af the town ; quhilk I schew Mr Andro, and willit sa to do, bot in vean : “ For I thank God,” sayes he, “ I am nocht fleyed⁶ nor feible-spirited in the cause and message of Chryst. Com what God pleases to send, our commission salbe dischargit ! ” At last the Commissionars of the Kirk war callit, wha, coming in befor the King and his Counsall,

¹*i.e.*, His tongue, or rather, the truth. ²Gall.

³This refers to a convention in 1582 to lay the Kirk's complaints before the King.

⁴Spread across.

⁵See p. 32.

⁶Afraid.

delyverit thair Greiffes and Articles ; quhilk being read, Captan James¹ beginnes to threttin, with thrawin brow, and bosting langage. "What !" sayes he, "wha dar subscrivve thir treasonable Articles ?" etc. Mr Andro answeres, "We dar, and wil subscrivve tham, and gif our lyves in the cause !" And withe all starts to, and taks the pen fra the Clark, and subscrivves, and calles to the rest of the breithring with couragius speitches ; wha all cam and subscrivvit.

PRESUMPTION AND DEFIANCE.

In the beginning of Februar,² Mr Andro Melvin is summoned to compeir befor the King and Counsall within les nor thrie dayes, to answer to sic things as war to be leyit to his charge, anent certean speitches uttered be him from pulpit, seditius and treasonable. . . . I being in Angus . . . cam to Edinbruche the day of his second compeirance. The quhilk day he declyned the judicator of the King and Counsall, being accusit upon na civill cryme or transgression, but upon his doctrin uttered from pulpit. The quhilk, when the King and Captain James,¹ then maid Grait Chancellor, with roarings of lyones, and messages of deathe, haid taken sa hat,³ that all the Counsell and Courtes of the Palice war filled with fear, noyes, and bruttes, Mr. Andro never jarging, nor daschit a whit⁴ . . . and . . . planlie tauld the King and Counsall, that they presumed ower bauldlie in a constitut esteat of a Christian Kirk,

¹James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Arran, Captain of the King's Guard.

²1583. ³Hot.

⁴Neither flinched nor was at all abashed.

the kingdome of Jesus Chryst to tak upon
tham to judge the doctrin, and controll the
ambassadors and messingers of a King and Counsall
graitter nor they, and far above tham! "And
that," sayes he, "yie may sie your weaknes,
owersight, and rashnes, in takin upon yow that
quhilk yie nather aught nor can do," (lowsing
a litle Hebrew Byble fra his belt, and clanking
it down on the burd¹ befor the King and Chan-
celar,) "Thair is," says he, "my instructiones
and warrand; let sie quhilk of yow can judge
thairon, or controll me thairin, that I haiff past
by my injuncciones!" The Chanclar, opening
the buik, findes it Hebrew, and putes it in the
King's hand, saying, "Sir, he skornes your
Majestie and Counsell." "Na, my lord," sayes
Mr. Andro, "I skorn nocht; bot with all earnest-
nes, zeall, and gravitie, I stand for the cause of
Jesus Chryst and his Kirk."

WORSE THAN DEATH.²

Thus my cusing, being a mariner, conducit
a bott to carie a town of his portage wyn about to
Carell, and decking me upe in his sie attyre
betymes in the morning, about the simmer solstice,
tuk me in down under Dondie as a shipbroken
sie-man; and rowing about, behoved to go to the
heavin of St. Androis, to lose a certean of skleatt
steanes;³ and because it was law water, we behoved
to ly a whyll in the road till the water grew,

¹Table.

²This passage refers to the beginning of James Melville's
flight to England in 1584 (see p.80).

³To deliver a cargo of slates.

whare the bott wanting ane owerlaft,¹ the seall was cassen ower hir ta end², and ther I leyed upe, lest I sould be spyed of sum shipes rydding besyde. Bot within schort space, partlie be rokking in the sie, and partlie for want of eare, I grew sa extream seik, that manie a tyme I besaught my cousing to sett me a-land; schosin rather anie sort of dethe, for a guid cause, nor sa to be tormented in a stinking holl.

THE KING DEMANDS A LESSON—AND GETS IT.

About the end of Junie,³ his Majestie cam to St Androis, and . . . coming first without anie warning to the New Collage, he calles for Mr. Andro, saying he was com . . . to haiff a Lessone. Mr Andro answeres, That he haid teatched his ordinar that day in the fornoone. "That is all ane," sayes the King, "I mon haiff a lessone, and be heir within an houre for that effect." And, indeid, within les nor an houre, his Majestie was in the scholl, and the hail Universitie convenit with him; befor whom Mr Andro *ex tempore* intreated maist cleirlie and mightelie of the right government of Chryst, and in effect refuted the hail Actes of Parliament maid against the discipline thairof, to the grait instruction and confort of his auditor, except the King alleane, wha was verie angrie all that night.

A FOOTNOTE TO THE STORY OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

For within twa or thrie monethe thairefter,⁴

¹Deck. ²The sail was thrown over her tall end.

³1587.

⁴1588. James Melville was at this time minister of Anstruther.

earlie in the morning, be brak of day, ane of our bailies cam to my bedsyde, saying, " I haiff to tell yow newes, Sir. Ther is arryvit within our herbrie this morning a schipe full of Spainyarts, bot nocht to giff mercie bot to ask ! " And sa schawes me that the Commanders haid landit, and he haid commandit tham to thair schipe againe till the Magistrates of the town haid advysit, and the Spainyarts haid humblie obeyit : Therfor desyrit me to ryse and heir thair petition with tham. Upe I got with diligence, and assembling the honest men of the town, cam to the Tolbuthe ; and efter consultation taken to heir tham, and what answer to mak, ther presentes us a verie reverend man of big stature, and grave and stout countenance, grey-heared, and verie humble lyk, wha, efter mikle and verie law courtesie, bowing down with his face neir the ground, and twitching my scho¹ with his hand, began his harang in the Spanise tounge, wharof I understud the substance ; The sum was, that King Philipe, his maister, haid riget out a navie and armie to land in Eingland for just causes to be advengit of manie intolerable wrangs quhilk he haid receavit of that nation ; but God for ther sinnes haid bein against thame, and be storme of wather haid dryven the navie by² the cost of Eingland, and him with a certean of Capteanes, being the Generall of twentie hulks, upon an yll of Scotland, called the Fear Yll, wher they maid schipewrak, and whar sa monie as haid eschapit the merciles sies and rokes, haid mair

¹Touching my shoe.

²Past.

nor sax or sevin ouks suffred grait hunger and cauld, till conducing that bark out of Orkney, they war com hither as to thair speciall frinds and confederats to kiss the King's Majestie's hands of Scotland and to find releiff and comfort thairby I answerit this mikle, in soum: That whowbeit nather our frindschipe, quhilk could nocht be grait, seing ther King and they war frinds to the graitest enemie of Chryst, the Pape of Rome, and our King and we defyed him, nor yit thair cause against our nibours and speciall frinds of Eingland could procure anie benefit at our hands for thair releiff and confort; nevertheles, they sould knaw be experience, that we war men, and sa moved be human compassion, and Christiannes of better relligion nor they, quhilk sould kythe,¹ in the fruicts and effect, plan contrar to thars. . . . This being trewlie reported again to him be his trunshman,² with grait reverence he gaiff thanks, and said he could nocht mak answer for thair Kirk and the lawes and ordour thair of, onlie for him selff, that ther war divers Scotsmen wha knew him, and to whome he haid schawin courtesie and favour at Calles,³ and as he supposit, sum of this sam town of Anstruther. Sa schew him that the Bailies granted him licence with the Capteanes, to go to thair ludging for thair refreschment, bot to nane of thair men to land, till the ower-lord of the town war advertised, and understand the King's Majestie's mynd anent thame. . . . That night, the Lard⁴ being advertised, cam, and on the

¹Manifest.²Interpreter.³Cadiz.⁴The Laird of Anstruther.

morn, accompanied with a guid number of the gentlemen of the countrey round about, gaiff the said Generall and the Capteanes presence, and efter the sam speitches, in effect, as befor, receavit tham in his hous, and interteined tham humeanlie, and sufferit the souldiours to com a-land, and ly all togidder, to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled,¹ and houngered, to the quhilk a day or twa, keall, pottage,² and fische was giffen In the mean tyme, they knew nocht of the wrak of the rest, but supposed that the rest of the armie was saiffie returned, till a day I gat in St Androis in print the wrak of the Galliates³ in particular, with the names of the principall men, and whow they war usit in Yrland and our Hilands, in Walles, and uther parts of Eingland; the quhilk when I recordit to Jan Gomes,⁴ be particular and speciall names, O then be cryed out for greiff, bursted and grat. This Jan Ganes schew grait kyndnes to a schipe of our town, quhilk he fund arrested at Calles at his ham-coming, red to court for hir, and maid grait rus⁵ of Scotland to his King, tuk the honest men to his hous, and inquiryrit for the Lard of Anstruther, for the Minister, and his host, and send hame manie commendationes. Bot we thanked God with our hartes, that we haid sein tham amangs us in that forme.

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND FALL OF MR. PATRICK ADAMSON.

Ther⁶ was Mr Patrik Adamsone, presented

¹Dragging their limbs.

²Soup.

³Galleons.

⁴The Spanish Commander.

⁵Praise.

⁶At the General Assembly in 1576.

to the Bischoprik of St Androis; and being inquyrit, in the publict Assemblie, giff he wald receave that bischoprik? he answerit, he wald receave na office judgit unlawfull be the Kirk; and as to that bischoprik, he wald na wayes accept of it without the advyse of the Generall Assemblie. And, nevertheless, or the next Assemblie, he was seasit hard and fast on the bischoprik; whereby all gossoprie¹ ged upe betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro,

* * * * *

When the Assemblie² haid concludit the Discipline, diverse of the breithring, as namlie, Mr Andro Melvill and Andro Hay, desyrit the sam to be subscrivrit be the haille breithring. To the quhillk Mr Patrik Adamsonsone answered, "Nay, we haif an honest man, our Clark, to subscribe for all; and it war to derogat to his fathfulness and estimatioun, gif we sould all severalie subscribe." "Weill," sayes Mr Andro Hay, "gif anie man com against this, or deny it heirefter, he is nocht honest." And to Mr Patrik he said, before thrie or fower, "Ther is my hand, Mr Patrik; gif yie com against this heirefter, consenting now sa thorowlie to it, I will call yow a knave, and it war never sa publictlie!" Mr Patrik receaves the conditioun: Bot at the presenting of the conclusiounes befor the Regent and Counsall, the Regent askes Mr Patrik, gif he haid assented thairto? He denyit it, and that he haid refusit to subscribe it. Wherupon the said Conclusiones of Discipline war refused be the Counsall. The

¹Familiarity.

²1578.

cause wharof, when Mr Andro Hay haid inquyred at diverse honorable Counsellors, they leyd the wait on the said Mr Patrik ; wha coming by in the mean tyme, Mr Andro Hay takes him be the hand befor the said Counsallour, and dispytfullie to his face sayes, " O knave ! knave ! I will crown thee the knave of all knaves ! "

* * * * *

The graittest enemie of all¹ was the Bischope, Mr Patrik Adamsonsone, craftelie and quietlie concurring with the Court ; bot alwayes, as yit, under profession of grait frindschipe, and sa maist dangeruslie seikand his distruction, with the utter overthrow of the libertie of Chryst's Kirk and kingdome.

* * * * *

The Sabathe following,² the Bischope wald neids tak courage, and nochtwithstanding his suspending from pretching of auld be the Generall Assemblie, and now excommunication be the Synodall, yit he wald to the pulpit and preatche. But being com to the Kirk, and the bell rounge, and he ready to go to pulpit, an comes and telles him, (upon what mynd I know nocht,) that a number of gentilmen, with certean citiciners, war conveyined within the New Collage, of purpose to tak him out of the pulpit and hang him ! Wharat, calling for his jakmen³ and frinds to byde about him, he reased a grait tumult in the Kirk, and for feir could nocht byd in the Kirk,

¹This refers to the enemies of Andrew and James Melville when first they came to St. Andrews in 1580.

²Year 1586.

³Retainers.

but tuk him to the stiple ; out of the quhilk, be the bailyies, accompanied with all his favorars and freinds, skarslie could he be drawin to be convoyed saiffie to his awin Castell.

* * * * *

The Bischope,¹ being a man that delt deceatfullie with all, and never dischargit sa mikle as a civill dewtie according to the lawes, reposing upon the King's favour, at last the King was sa faschit with compliments of all sortes of men upon him, that he was sa often denuncit to the horn, and sa lang lying registrat thairat ; and understanding thairwith that he was infamus and evill-loved be all men, he was eschamed of him, and cust him af ; and fordar, disponit his lyffrent to the Duc of Lennox, with the temporalitie of the bishoprik, wherby the miserable Bischope fell in extream povertie, and thairwithall in a heavie disease of body and mynd. Bot he haid simulat sa often seiknes, that nan beleived him till he was brought to sic necessitie that he was compellit to wrait to Mr Andro, my uncle, mak confession of his offences against God and him, and crave his helpe ; wha, but fordar, visited him, and supported him sa, that the space of divers monethes he leived on his purse. . . . In the end of that wintar¹ he send to the Presbyterie, and maid humble sudd to be relaxed from excommunication ; and the breithring, douting whither it was that he felt the dint thairof in effect upon his conscience, or to be a mean to insinuat him in the breithring's pitie, to gett wharby to sustein him, send Mr Andro Moncreiff,

¹Year 1590.

of guid memorie, and me, with sum others, to try him. We fand him in a miserable esteat; and whowsone he marked me, he plukked af the thing on his head, and cryed, "Forgiff, forgiff me, for God's seak, guid Mr James, for I haiff offendit and done wrang to yow manie wayes!" I schawing him his sine against Chryst and his Kirk, exhorted him to unfeiniyt repentance, and thairwith confortd him in the mercie of God, and forgaiff him with all my hart. Then proponing to him anent his excommunication, giff he acknowlagit it lawfullie done, and felt the force of it in his conscience, he interrupted me, and cryed pitiouslie out in these words: "Louse¹ me, for Chryst seak!" dyvers tymes, over and over. The quhilk, when we reported to the breithring, with prayer and thanksgiffing he was relaxit.²

* * * * *

Mr David Blak³ haid bein apointed Minister of St Androis. He attendit maist charitablie upon the Bischope, furnesing him confort bathe for bodie and soull, to whom the Bischope promisit divers dayes to com to the pulpit, and suppleing his roun⁴ to mak publict confession; bot so often was Mr David disapointed, and maid to occupie his awin roun with the les preparation. He cravit of his wyff, and tham that wated on him, that in anie ceas he sould be advertised of the tyme when they saw him weakest, for Mr David wald haiff fellon fean sein⁵ sum comfortable mark

¹Loose, absolve. ²Freed from his excommunication.

³Year 1591. ⁴His place in the pulpit.

⁵Would fain have seen.

of God's Spreit working with him ; bot being warnit, came and fand him, as he levit, sensles of spiritual sanctification, sa to die ; thairfor, commending him to the mercie and guid pleasour of God, with a heavie hart, departed.

A DANGEROUS " UPROAR AND TUMULT."

In that simmer¹ the devill steired upe a maist dangerus uproar and tumult of the peiple of St Androis against my uncle, Mr Andro. . . . The wicked, malitius misrewlars of that town . . . hated Mr Andro, because he could nocht bear with thair ungodlie and unjust delling, and at thair drinking, incensit the rascals be fals information against Mr Andro and his Collage, making tham to think that he and his Collage sought the wrak and trouble of the town ; sa that the barme² of thair drink began to rift³ out crewall thretnings against the Collage and Mr Andro. They being thus prepeared, the devill devyses tham an appeirance of just occasion to fall to wark. Ther war a certean of Students in Theologie, wha weireing to go out of the Collage to thair exerceive of bodie and gham,⁴ big⁵ a pear of buttes in the Collage garding, joyning to a wynd and passage of the town. Wharat a certean of tham shootting a efter noone, amangs the rest was Mr Johne Caldcleuche,⁶ then an of the Maisters of Theologie, bot skarse yit a schollar in archerie, wha missing the butt and a number of thak housses beyonde, schouttes his arrow down the hie passage of the wynd, quhilk lightes upon a auld honest man, a

¹1592.

²Yeast.

³Belch.

⁴Game.

⁵Built.

⁶See p. 95

matman¹ of the town, and hurts him in the crag.² This coming to the eares of the forsaid malitius and seditius, they concitat the multitud and popular crafts and rascall, be thair words and sound of the comoun bell; wha setting upon the Collage, braks upe the yett thairof, and with grait violence unbesets³ the Principall's chalmer, dinging at the forstare⁴ thairof with grait gestes,⁵ crying for fyre, etc. Bot the Lord assisting his servant with wesdome and courage, maid him to keipe his chalmer stoutlie, and dell with sum of tham fearlie, whom he knew to be abbusit, and with uthers scharplie, whom he knew to be malitius abbusars of the peiple. . . . Efter lang vexation and mikle adoe, the peiple's insurrection was sattelit.

THE CHAMPION OF THE KIRK CROSSES SWORDS
WITH "GOD'S SILLIE VASSALL."

Sa,⁶ Mrs Andro Melvill, Patrik Galloway, James Nicolsone, and I, cam to Falkland, whar we fand the King verie quyet. The rest leyed upon me to be speaker, alleaging I could propone the mater substantiuslie, and in a myld and smothe maner, quhilk the King lyked best of. And, entering in the Cabinet with the King alan, I schew his Majestie, That the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, with certean uther breithring ordeanit to watche for the weill of the Kirk in sa dangerous a tym, haid convenit at Cowper. At the quhilk word the King interrupts me, and crabbotlie⁷ quarrels our meitting, alleaging

¹Maltster. ²Neck. ³Attacks.

⁴Outside stair. ⁵Joists. ⁶The date is 1596.

⁷Testily.

it was without warrand and seditius, making our selves and the countrey to conceive feir whar thair was na cause. To the quhilk, I beginning to reply, in my maner, Mr Andro doucht nocht¹ abyd it, bot brak af upon the King in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr Andro bure him down, and outtered the Commission as from the mightie God, calling the King bot "God's sillie vassall;" and, taking him be the sleive, sayes this in effect, throw mikle hat reasoning and manie interruptions: "Sir, we will humblie reverence your Majestie alwayes, namelie in publict, but sen we have this occasioun to be with your Majestie in privat, and the treuthe is, yie ar brought in extream danger bathe of your lyff and croun, and with yow the countrey and Kirk of Christ is lyk to wrak, for nocht telling yow the treuthe, and giffen of yow a fathfull counsall, we mon discharge our dewtie thairin, or els be trators bathe to Christ and yow! And, thairfor, Sir, as divers tymes befor, sa now again, I mon tell yow, thair is twa Kings and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the Kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member! And they whome Chryst hes callit and commandit to watch over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, hes sufficient powar of him, and authoritie sa to do, bathe togidder and severalie, the quhilk na Christian King nor Prince sould controll and discharge, but

¹Could not.

fortifie and assist, utherwayes nocht fathfull subjects nor members of Chryst."

THE MINISTERS PLAY FOR SAFETY.

The King wrytis¹ to the Presbyteries severallie, and appoyntis ane Conventioun of the Ministerie with the Estaites of the realme to be in Pearth, in the end of Februar The Ministerie conveyning, they were in gryt perplexitie and doutsume anguisch of mynd, for the best saw cleirly that the owirthraw of the Discipline and Governement of the Kirk wes sought, and thairfoir wald noways condiscend to mak the meitting a Generall Assemblie. . . . The wisest perceaved that by most dangerous and pernicious counsel, the Kirk and King wes brought to be most aposit, that the safetie of ane was wraike and undoeing to the other; and, thairfor, taking pity of boith, they thought meittest sumquhat to mitigat the King, and by ane pice of toleratioun to putt off ane evill tyme.

AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.

In the moneth of Februar thairefter following, upon the twentie-four day thairoff,² being the Saturday, betwixt nyne and ten houris befoir noone, a maist fearfull and conspicuous ecclipse of the soun began, quhilk continuit the space of tua houris; for the body of the moone enterit on that of the sonne. Till the going off the samyn, the haill face of the soun semit to be coverit and darknet about halff ane quarter of ane houre, so that non could sie to reid on a buik: The starris

¹This extract occurs under the year 1596.

²1597.

appeirit in the firmament, and the sea, land, air, and tries sua still strickin deid, as it war, that upon thair astonishment the faintnes of heartis of men and womene, foulis and beistis, were prostrat to the ground. I knew, out of ephemerides and almanak, the day and hour of it, as was also, by the naturall philosophie, the causses. I sett my selff to marke the proceedingis of it in a basine of watter mixit with inke, thinking the matter but commoune ; but yie quhair it com to the extremitie of darknes, and I my selff lossit all the sunne, I was struckin with such feir and astonishment, that I had no refuge but to prostrat on my kneis, and commend my selff to God, and to cry for mercie. This wes thought by all the wyiss and godlie verie prodigious ; so that in pulpit and by wrytting, boith in prose and verse, admonitiounes wer given to the Ministeres to be warr that the changeabill glistening shaw of the world sould not go in betwix thame and Christe, and remove the lycht of his countenance from his Kirk.

“ WHOM THE KING COULD NOCHT ABYD.”

On a night at evin, I, sitting at my supper, Sir Patrik¹ sends for me to confer with him in the kirk-yearde. I, raising from supper, cam to him. The matter was anent my uncle, Mr Andro, whom the King could nocht abyde. I wald do weill to counsall him to return ham, or the King wald discharge him. I answerit, It wald be bot in vean to me sa to do, for he wald nocht tak that

¹Sir Patrick Murray. He was employed by the King to win over the ministers to the Court. The year is 1597, and the place Dundee, where the General Assembly was sitting.

counsall ; and gif the King wald use his authoritie, he wald suffer patientlie ; bot I was certean that deathe wald nocht cause him do against his conscience ! “ Surlie,” sayes he, “ I fear he suffer the dint of the King’s wrathe ! ” “ And trewlie,” said I, “ I am nocht fearit bot he will byd all ! ” Upon the morn, befor Assemblie tyme, I was commandit to com to the King, and Mr Andro withe me ; wha, entering in his Cabinet, began to dell verie fearlie with my uncle ; bot thairefter entering to twitch maters, Mr Andro brak out with his wounted humor of fredome and zeall, and ther they hecled¹ on till all the hous, and clos, bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end, the King takes up and dismisses him favourablie.

THE KING WORKS CUNNINGLY TO ESTABLISH EPISCOPACY.

In the beginning of the moneth of Marche following,² the Generall Assemblie wes keipit at Dundie, verie frequentlie,³ and with grypt expectatioun on both the sydes. The Commissioners, on the one side, houping to be assisted and fortified be the Kingis Majestie, and be all meinis he could perswad, terrifie, or mak. For the two first dayis, thair wes nothing done, frae airly in the morneing till late at night, but calling for this and that Minister to the Kingis Majestie ; and deilling with thame, that they mycht be his. The Brethreine, standing for the establishit constitutioun of the Kirke, on the uther side, finding many Presbyteries that had Grieves and Complaints against the

¹Disputed. ²1598.

³Was very numerously attended.

Commissioneris, in houpe to finde Godis concurrence, and standing for the caus of the Kirke ; the Politicianis and Papistes, in the mein tyme, bussie to egge the bargaine,¹ thinking to take thair pastyme in beholding the battell and the blawis of thair enimies amongis thame selves But the King, feiring that his purpose in setting up Bischoppis, by quhom he mycht reull the Kirk at his plesoure, sould not succeed weill that way, efter a few dayes controversies, composeit all matteres, buried the Grieves, forgaiff the Ministeres of Edinburghe, and enterit in freindschippe with thame again. Sua, at the tenth sessioun, the King had a speiche, declairing how gryt care he had to pacifie, adorne, and accommodat the Kirk. . . . He meinit not to bring in neither Angelicall nor Papisticall Bischopricks, but only the best and wysest of thair Ministeres, apoyntit by the Generall Assemblie, sould haiff place in Counsell and Parliament, to sitt upoun thair awin matteres, and sie them done, and not to stand alwayes at the doore, dispysit like poor supplicantis, and not regardit.

* * * * *

Dissimulatioun ;² in sa meikle that as making on the Bischoprie with all mycht and maine, yet they did give it out amangis the Breitherine thair wes no sick thing meinit.

* * * * *

Now, the last General Assemblie that the King kepeit in Scotland wes at his Palace of

¹Foster the quarrel.

²This paragraph refers to the proceedings of the Assembly of 1600.

Halirudhous, in the moneth of November, 1602.
 The haill drift of the Assemblie being to
 sett up the Bischoppis in the second Sessioun,
 the same wes convoyit, first, be the tryell of the
 Commissioneris appoyntit by the last Assemblie ;
 in place quhairoff thair wes thrie Bischopis put
 in possessioun of thair Bischopricks, undir
 cure¹ of thair Commissioun givin thame to Visit
 thais Provinces, to witt, Rosse, Caitnes, and
 Aberdeine.

MR. ANDREW OFFERS HIS HEAD.

Mr Andro Melvill come to the Assembly,² by
 Commissioun of his Presbytrie, but wes com-
 mandit to keip his ludgeing ; quho, being callit
 to the King in private, and demandit, Quhy he
 wes so troublesome as to come to the Assemblie,
 being dischairgit ? He answerit, He had a calling
 in the Kirk of God, and of Jesus Chryst, the King
 of kings, quhilk he behovit to dischairge at all
 occasiounes, being orderlie callit thairto, as he
 wes at this tyme ; and that for feir of a grytter
 punischment then could any earthly being inflict.
 Quhairat the King being angrie, utterit sume
 minassing words. The said Mr Andro, laying his
 hand to his heid, said, " Sir, it is this that ye
 would haiff ! Ye sall haiff it : Tak it ! Tak it !
 or ye bereave us of the liberties of Jesus Christ
 and his kingdome ! "

THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH ARE DEPOSED.

This yier,² in the monethe of August, the fyft
 day thairof, the Erle of Gowrie, and his brother

¹Care.

²1600.

Mr Alexander, war slean be the King's folks at St Johnstoun, for a maist hid and horroble conspiracie, intendit be tham to have cut af the King;¹ The King immediatlie thairefter send ower the word to the Counsall that was at Edinbruche, commanding the Ministers of Edinbruche to publis the maner in pulpit, and move the peiple to giff thanks with tham to God for the King's preservatioun. The Ministers gladle aggreit to thank God for the King's delyverance, but to declar and preache the maner, in particular, as a treuthe of God out of pulpit, because the informationes war divers and uncertean, they refusit. The King cam to Edinbruche, whar he was receavit with grait concourse, and past in persone to the mercat cors of Edinbruche, and thair causit his awin Minister, Mr Patrik Galloway, mak a declaratioun of the mater to the peiple, the quhilk the King him selff secoundit and confirmit, to move the peiple to dewtie and thankfulnes. Thairefter satt in Counsall with his ordinarie counsallours, and gave out a sacrilegius sentence against the Ministers of Edinbruche, usurping Chryst and his Kirk's place and authoritie, deposit tham from pretching the Gospell within his countrey for ever,

MR. ANDREW IS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER.

Upon the 26 of Appril,² being the Sabbath day, betymes, in the morneing, being foulle, ane of my Lord of Salisberrie his men cume to Mr Andro Melvill, lyand at Bow, two mylis from Londoun, in Mr Somaris house, and verie cour-

¹See p. 64. ²1607.

teouselie intreatit him, in his lord and maisteris name, to come to the Court at Quhythall, to my Lordis chalmer, at nyne of the clocke, quhair my Lord wald talk with him. . . . Thairfoir, Mr Andro makis him self readie with diligence, thinking it wes in freindschippe, and that, eftir conference, my Lord would bid him to dinner. Cuming from his chalmer to our ludging, quhair, we nocht being ready, told us, he must goe to Court, and would schortly stay to break his fast ; but haifing borrowit the horse of his hoiste, he with his men postit away to Court. Eftir the custom, Mr James Melvill had said ane word to him, " Tak heid that your biding to diner be not a new calling befor the Counsel ! " Mr William Scot, Mr Robert Wallace, Mr James Melvill, followit on fut, and, taking the first convenient boiteing, com by watter to Westminster, quhair, a little eftir elevin of the clock, he come to the hous out of the Palace to James Archesoune's hous, and tauld us how he waittit in a gallerie befor the Erle of Salisberrie's chalmer since nyne a'clock ; and, sieing the Erle and all going to dinner, and he left alone, come to dyne with us : We had not half dyneit quhen one comes to him from Lord Salisberrie ; to quhom he said, " Sir, I waitted longe upon my Lordis dinner till I waxed verie hungrie, and could not stay longer. I pray my Lord to suffir me to tak a lytle of my awin dinner ! " That messenger wes not weill gone quhill¹ againe comes another ; soone eftir that, Mr Alexander Hay, the Scottish Secretar, telling him that the Counsel wes long

¹Until.

sett, attending him. At the heiring quhairoff, with great motioun, raysing, he prayit; and, leiving us at diner, (for we wer expressely chairgit that we come not within the Palice,) went with Mr Alexander Hay, with great commotioun of mynd. This wes sone eftir tuo of the clocke. About three, one of our men, quhom we sent to attend at the Counsel doore, comes to us with tearis, and schew us that he wes carieit direct from the Counsel, by watter, to the Tour. We followit with dilligence, yit could not meit with him by the way, neither could we get accesse to him by any meines.

DAVID, SECOND EARL OF WEMYSS.

(1610-1679.)

DAVID, second Earl of Wemyss, was, as a young man, active in the Covenanting interests. In 1640, when still Lord Elcho, he commanded a regiment of Fifeshire infantry in the second Bishop's War, in 1644 he was routed by Montrose at Tippermuir, and in 1645 he was a member of the Covenanters' Committee which made the fatal mistake of giving battle at Kilsyth. For some years after this Elcho took a leading, though not conspicuous, part in the affairs of the Covenanters, but on his succession to the earldom in 1649 he appears to have withdrawn from public life.

He now devoted himself to the management of his coal mines and to the development of the mineral resources of his estates. He had a thorough knowledge of mining, and was an excellent man of business, so that under his very active management the coal and salt industries at Wemyss flourished. He it was who built the harbour of Methil, and his enterprise and initiative developed the coal trade both by sea and land.

The *Diary* of the second Earl of Wemyss has never been published, and, indeed, the following extracts are the first parts of it to be printed. In this volume Wemyss noted down all sorts of things, some of purely personal interest, others, as he clearly states, for the benefit of his posterity. It was also his business account and memorandum

book, and in it he carefully entered such matters as wage agreements with his miners, ships chartered, coal sold, and miners in his employment. At the end of each quarter Wemyss noted in his diary a full statement of his financial position. All sums of money owing to or owed by him were here set down, and cancelled when settlement was made. There is much, too, about the management and expenses of his house and estate, and there are notes on such things as servants' wages, amounts spent on food, the building of dikes, and the erection of a new wing to his house.

Scattered throughout the diary, too, there are various references to the historical events of the time, and not the least interesting passages are those which detail cures and medical "recatts"¹ which Wemyss notes that he received from "my lord generall Monck." Family affairs, such as births, deaths, and marriages, are, of course, not forgotten.

Coal, however, monopolises the greater part of the diary. Wemyss was a real enthusiast for his work, had a good knowledge of mining, and was thoroughly acquainted with his own coal-workings. Apart from financial and business matters connected with his mines, he has long accounts of the state of "my colles," including detailed information about the seams, plans for development, and advice to his "posteritie" regarding the opening of new workings. There are also diagrams and descriptions of new "ingynes" (mainly water pumps) invented by Wemyss.

Though much of the diary is of interest only

¹Recipes.

to those who know something of coal and coal mining, it is not by any means without value to the general reader. It gives an admirable idea of certain aspects of industrial and commercial life in seventeenth century Scotland, the notes on social life and historical events are most interesting, and the financial details have considerable comparative value.

The original manuscript of the diary is in the possession of Captain M. J. Erskine-Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, through the kindness and courtesy of whom it has been possible to print extracts here. The passages are printed exactly as they were written. By the addition of some punctuation marks and capital letters they might have been made easier to read, but a considerable part of their interest and value would have been removed.

A START IN LIFE.

My Lord my father hes sett me doune frie with my tuo salt pans and my threittie chalders of wicktual be yeire peing all the debettes that I have contrackted befor Quttsunday terme in May 1635 whilk debtt was peid 7400^m by—4000^m for cloeths. I have fitted my wittell counts¹ with all my Tenents and laborers of my grounds in Bear Melle² and silver deutie. All others deuties and Keams³ peid me complitly be them for the crop 1634 one the 20 Junne 1635.

¹Victual accounts.

²Barley meal.

³The usual spelling of this word is "cain" or "kain."

It denotes part of the produce of the soil payable to the landlord as rent, but is usually confined to smaller articles such as poultry.

"SO THIS DID BEGINE THE TRUBELLES OF SCOTTLAND."

In Anno 1638 The Bishops in Scotland with the advisses of the Bishopes of Inland (chifly Willam Lade chife) (then Bishop of Canterberie) did divisse with his Counsell from Rome (for he was popish) ane commone prayer Bouk or service Buok for all the churchs in Scotland which Buek was so filthy poluttet with the treue Rittes and radgs of Rome that sum Religijs men and women of all sortes did so heat itt that they would not permitt itt to be read in Edniburgh and first att the ridding of the sead service bouk the good religijs wimen did rise up to the ridder and flange ther bouks ther stoules att him and did rive all the service Bouk a peisses and the Bishop of Edniburgh called Mr. David Lindesy quho was sitting in the Kirk that caused reide itt was so stoned with the wifes and knocked that he was forsed to flie to ane steare benorth the crosse and did wine up otherways they head killed him.¹ So this did begine the Trubelles of Scotland in July 1638.

TWO ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

Mr. George Gillespie was admitted minister of the Wemyss be the presbitrie and not be the Bishope one the 26 Aprill 1638 in the Churh of the Wemyss.

The covenant for settling of religion in this land was renewed and sworne be the holle pearrosh of Wemyss one the 26 day of May 1638.

¹See also p. 136.

WITH THE SCOTTISH ARMY.

I went out of the Wemyss to my regiment to Leith one the 20 of July 1640 and from that I marched to Haddintoune one the 23 July and from thense to Choushie Woode one the 28 July and ther all the Scottis armie was. The holle Scottis armie did crosse Tuide River one the 20 of Agust 1640 fitt and horsse, Badge and Badgage. Artilarie and all the ammonitione to Cornuall Hill¹ in Ingland and never ane man drowned but ane of Muntrose men. All past well over that day benig² one ane thoursday 4 in the after noune and still we was crossing till 9 att night ; the manys of the Collenelles did wide the River our selfs befor our men.

* * * * *

The Scottish armie cam to Scotland ageane from Bishoprick and Newcastleill & Northumberland. We did begine our march towards Scotland boeth horsse and fitt one the 20 of Agust 1641 and we did crosse the river one the 23 Agust 1641, and did leay doune our lidger³ att the hirshill law which then did belong to the Earle of Homd and we did bring with us of monys outt of Inglande (which the steatte of Ingland head given us to a Count of thoes monys they were conditionat to give us munthly to menteine our armie—100000 lib. Starling or 1200000 lib. Scottis) and ther we did give every many⁴ sum quhatt of this sead soumme and did disband our armie ther att the

¹Cornhill, a village of Northumberland, near Coldstream.

²Being.

³Camp. Usually spelt "leaguer." From Dutch *leger*.

⁴Man.

Hirshell law. one the 25 of Agust 1641. . . . we was 20000 men horsse and fitt quhen we did disband one that day. The kingdome of Ingland did agrie to give us be consent of ther King and oures and ther Parlament dayly—850 lib. Starling, mounthly it was—25500 lib. Starling And likways the Parlament of Ingland did condissend and agrie to give us (as they did terme itt) to thir brithren in Scotland ane brotherly assistance of—300000 lib. Starling in ane Soumme but treuly itt was to cause us goe home and not to trubel them any more.

HAMILTON IN SCOTLAND.

The Marquisse of Hamiltoune cam in this firth¹ with—40 ships of Ingland and 5000 fitt of English. One the 1 of May 1639 he did first appeire to us att Wemyss. He did leay doune betuix Leith and Bruneiland and refreshed his men one the Eillands of Inshkithe and Sant Collmes² and drilled his men one thoes eillands from 20 day and did ship sum 3000 of them and did cearie them to Beruick and landitt them ther about the 24 May 1639 and joyned them to the Kings armie quhoe was leiving then for the time att the Birks in the South seid of Tuide over ageainest foulden³ one our Scottish seid in the Mersse. And one the 15 June that peace was mead betuix his Mat¹⁶ and us for that time and the Marquisse went away (newer onse did offer to land in Scotland) one the 28 June 1639.

¹Firth of Forth.

²Inchcolm.

³Foulden is 5m. N.W. of Berwick-on-Tweed.

AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SALTERS.

First I most give them suffitiant good pan woode or small colle and for every 12 leads¹ (or seacks of this Colls). The salters gives me tuo Bolls and firlote² of salt well dried and I give them 3 shilling Scotts³ for making of every bolle of the sead salt, and yt wick they peaddill I give them ane dousen of leads of colles frie to themselves yt they peie nothing of salt to me for, and they gett 20 lib. Scotts of Bounte yeirly and for stings⁴—6 li—13s.—4d. wt. 2 li for Shulles⁵ and 3 li Scotts yeirly to uphould ther eiron lumes:⁶ and when ther pans ar att beitte;⁷ Herthing or standing could I give them 3 lib. yt wick. . . . The salter most tak a firlot of melle wickly for wages.

MINERS WAGES.

Notted Whitt: Munday 15 May 1654. I did agrie and sattill with my collers in the chimes houche at Whitsunday 1654 yt. they shall have for every leade of gritte colle to the shore or herbure for hewing and bearing of them 22 penes Scotts and for every full leade of hard colls 20

¹Loads.

²A firlot is the fourth part of a boll. A boll is about six imperial bushels.

³Scots coins had one-twelfth the value of sterling coins of the same denomination. Thus one pound Scots was equal to 1s. 8d. sterling, and one shilling Scots was equal to 1d. sterling. A mark was 13s. 4d. Scots, or 13½d. sterling. A dollar was a five shilling piece.

⁴Poles. ⁵Shovels. ⁶Chimneys.

⁷"To beitt" is to kindle. This means "when the fires beneath the salt pans are kindling."

pennes and for every load of pan smealle or colls att the mesure of a Beire Bunne 10 pennes Scotts¹ the leade and every man hes termly of Bountae —4 li. 7s. Scots¹ for a shoulle & pocks² and feiss. . . . They gott every man of them 13.s. 4d wickly for readdings³ beseids the prisses sett dounne for hewing and bearing of ther colls as sead is and every man wickly ane weadge leade at 3.s. 4d. a leade. . . . If any pocks of stoune⁴ colles be gotten going away he losses his mark or 13.s. 4d. wickly.

THE WAGES OF HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS.

The not of Servants feies at Whitsunday 1654 at Wemyss serving yeirly as followes . . .

	lib.	s.	D.
To Mr. James Nearne or any chaplane yt I shall have	200	—	—
To Francesc Scotte or thes yt weatts on the Countes of Buccluche ⁵	120	—	—
To George Weane or any not houshalde	199	—	—
To James Carswall	133	6	8
To Laurance Malconie	133	6	8
To Will. Brugh peing his man	100	—	—
To Will. Southirland peing his men	100	—	—
To Will. Murray Mr. Porter	028	—	—
To Jo. Buchen under porter	020	—	—
To Will Willamsone Cocche man and 2 stand of liverae cloeths and a clocke. In a yeir & half the cloeths, & in 2 yeirs the clocke	060	—	—
To Alex. Alexander 2 soutte & a clocke & the cloeths in 18 munths & the clocke in 2 yeirs	020	—	—

¹See note on p. 125.

²Bags.

³Leavings.

⁴Stolen.

⁵He married in 1653 the Duchess Dowager of Buccleuch.

To Johne Murray my groume peare of shoues	
yeirly 	40 li. & 2
To James Deae as yett cloeths only	
To Willam Deas littill B. cloeths only	
To Willam Achessone littill B. cloeths only	
To James Scotte Corne Grive & 5 ells of gray	
and 1 peare of ould Bouts 	060 ———
To George Thomsone officer 5 elles of gray 8 Bs.,	
Melle & 	013 6 8

*Summalateris 1127 0 0

*In addition, female servants (including three washers who got £12 each) received £356 a year, making a total of £1483 Scots. Elsewhere Wemyss mentions "Tuo gentilmen to reid with my self one kiping ane horsse I giving the other one—200m.;" "To my fallconer himself and his man—80m.;" "To my wifes two g. we: and quins; to them all—200m."

THE BUILDING OF A DIKE.

I agried wt James MacKinroche in Leiven tounne to bould a fealle dick¹ in the lands of haughe neir Leven one douries² march and mine ther of fye fitt brode in the boddome and of tuo ells heigh wt. a grasse in the inner seid of the dick and he most leave tuo fitts of a fitt bauk³ healle betuix the dick and the grasse and I should give him 6 sh 8d Scotts for boulding every 6 elles of the sead dick and 6 Bolls of melle to the holle dicks in the haughe as Bounte to the bargine. This notted one 11 September 1658.

THE FIRST SHIP IN METHIL HARBOUR.

One 15 September 1664 Andrew Thomsone

¹A turf dike.

²This is, of course, a proper name.

³The strip of land left unploughed round the sides of a field.

in Leiven did leade his Botte in the New Herbure of Methill wt colles from the colle of Methill being 60 leades of colles and he did tak them to Leith one 17 of Sepr. 1664. Which was the first Botte yt did leade wt colles att yt Herbure. The colles was well loved att Leith & since thorow all sea ports in Scotland. I sould them then att 5li the 12 lodes & 2 sh. to the grive. I give 22d for mining them to the coller and 1sh. 2d. to the caller of them from the colle pitte to the Herbure.

THE CORPORATION OF THE FISHERY TRADE.

I did enter in the Corporation of the fisherie trade for Scotland att Edinburgh one the 8 day of Aprill 1670 and did subscribe ther Contract yt day for 200 lib Starling to be peid in 4 yeirs the first yeir 50 lib Star and so furth yeirly and I to have my peart as other in the benifitte or my sheaire in the losse of the venture.

THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE FORTH.

One the last day of Aprill 1667 The hollandis flitte inveadded Scotland & cam up yt day to Bruneiland wt 30 good ships sum of 60 sum of 80 gunes a peisse Beseids 10 littill ones. They did offer to land to have brunt all the Ships in Bruneiland but was beatten back and they shott above 1000 gritte sott att itt sum of 24 li. Balle and did not kille man wife or child. Shott att noe other Toune or please killed one man in off Buickheavin yt day the Botte being att fishing and they would not cum abourd of them so they shott att the Botte & killed one Alex. Chirsstie. . . . The flette went away one 1 May 1667 and did littill more only tuek one privattire belonging to Leith

Shoe ridding in Brunelland Rode when they cam up. They head out Inglish Cullers. 3 of the Kings ships was ridding in Leith Rode whoe weayed & went above the Quinis ferrie when I shotte 3 Cannone aff the housse of Wemyss to warne them.

THE "CONDITIONE OF MY COLLES."

Heir follues the present esteat and conditione of my healle colles in my lands of West Wemyss and Methill one the first day of March 1669 and ye neid not trust to what is written befor in this book; only mak ousse of itt in sum things but not fully only (in the colles yt differs not with this) but if what is written befor agrie with this it is to be trusted otherways not; and I will ade to this so long as I live if I find cheange, by long working and earnestly desires my sone & posteritie to doe the liek to posteritie also anent Louchead colles.

CHARTERING A SHIP.

One 9 July 1670 at Wemyss I have fraughted William Whitt in Kirkaldie Mr. of the good shipe called the Margrett to Lunden wt Salt. Shoe hes in of Wemyss mesure of salt fitted & clired by Will White to me 78 chalders att 17 Bolls for the chalder. I give him for frought 14 shillings Starling & six pens for every way of Salt he shall mette outt att Lunden againe for my account. I have derected hir to Thomas Binning Factor at Lunden to selle it for me.

AN ADDITION TO THE HOUSE AT WEMYSS.

One the 7th day of Desember 1669 Ther is a contrat past betuix me and Robert Millne Mr.

Meassone to his Mat^{le} in Scotland. He is to bould me ane additione to my ould holl in West Wemyss of ane 117 fitts of mesure over the walles 28 of Bride over the walls of foure stories heie & its Battillment is to be als heie as the ould ones aff the leads ar now ceaped with eassler and the lumes is to be als heie as the ould ones ar now wt dores lumes & windoues conforme to a draught subscribed be us boeth this day for which I give him P^{eld}₃₀₀ lib¹ Starling and 4 chalders of melle att 4 termes one this day, one att Whitt : one att Lammissie & one att Martines 1670 at which the work must end. I furnish all materialls be the meassone work & lyme.

* * * * *

One the 16 March 1672 James Adamsone Plummer in Edinburgh hes ended the covering of my new additione of my housse of West Wemyss being Dyning Rume Drawing Rume and tu Bead chambers and tu clositts aff one floure. . . . The holle work did tak 18 Tunes or fothers of lead.

A DEFAULTER BROUGHT TO BOOK.

Att the terme of Candilmisse 1671 I did calle befor me one the 11th day of Februare 1671 George Herper & my holle work men at West Wemyss Collers Collers² gritte and small to pans also quarriers pumpe men and all others who Geo.

¹Wemyss carefully noted all sums of money owed by or owing to him, and when a debt was settled he turned back to the original mention and cancelled it. Sometimes he added a note with the date, but usually he simply crossed out the entry. Here he has adopted another method.

²The same word is used for collieries and colliers.

Herper my servant as gritte receaver of monys for all my colles thir 15 yeirs by past att Wemyss herbure hes peid for me and Juditially in a courte houlden by me yt day 11th Febr. in the Ture hall of Wemyss Jo. Simsone being Clerk to me it was found efter every man was called by name he rested them of ther wages befor 4th day of Febr. 1671—3118 lib.—16s—02d Scots which he head lifted monys for colles, to have peid them for me upon which fealling of peidment to the workmen & me I have put him out of his office ther one the 15 Febr. 1671.

METHIL.

And give me libertie to say Sum what for my so gritte ane undertaking¹ It was knowen to none Bot myself (Being treuly informed by my father who head wrought thes colles 1616 yt they would improve my fortoune) upon which I did itt (The King God blesse him) did give me a new gift to bould a herbure at Methill 1660 and the Bishope of St Androis did erect itt in a frie Brught of Barronrie 1662 called Methill: wt a wickly markitt one the Weaddnsdays: and tu publick feaires in the yeir. . . . And now² it is worth yeirly 20000 marks Scotts, and I trust in God shall be so for many yeirs.

"ADVICE TO MY POSTERITIE."

My advice to my posteritie is to by the lands of Balcournie haughe mille and Brigend of Camrone

¹The working of Methil coal and the building of the harbour. The cost of building the harbour and of improving the mines was, between 1662 and 1677, £100,000 Scots.

²1677.

as also the lands of Dounnie-feace which lands ar the Leard of Douries att present eritably. . . . To my sertane knowledge ther ar many of all the colles yt ar in the lands of West Wemyss in these lands yea I have mead this well knowen to myself. . . . But treuly we was feared¹ yt dourie might seatt dounne one the North seid of the watter of Leiven and work yt colle which indeid he might have done (or may doe when he pleasses) or any man that hes thes lands of Balcurnie or brige end of Camrone. . . . I think yt it will be your best to by Balcurnie first if ye can for as yitt ther is noe apparance of any colles in itt. But I will assure you ther is 8 in itt. . . . So dourie will never suspect any thing of colles when ye by Balcournee first. And for Dunny feace ye will gett the bying of itt or long for assure yourself when evir (Mr Jo. Ramsay new Eriter) deies althoe his wife have his Joyner² of itt yitt shoe and his frinds will sell itt wery willing to you, for they being angus pipille they will be glead to sell itt.

THE MURDERERS OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

The chiffe actors was John Balfour of kinlouche and Ro. Hackstounne of Raffillitte his Brother in law and sum 9 or 10 more of Beasse mechanocke fellows as one Turnbille 2 other Balfours one divers not worthe the naming as yitt not apprehended.

¹This refers to the year 1636, when Wemyss was investigating the extent of the coal seams that crossed his land.

²Jointure.

HENRY GUTHRIE.

(? 1600-1676.)

HENRY GUTHRIE, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, was born at Cupar-Angus, where his father was minister. He was educated at St. Andrews, becoming a Master of Arts in 1620, and thereafter studying divinity at St. Mary's College. For a time he was tutor to the family of the Earl of Mar, and in 1632 Charles I presented him to the charge of Stirling, where he received Episcopal ordination. Though Guthrie favoured the Government, he was no extremist, and not only did he disapprove of the liturgy of 1637, but he also signed the Covenant in 1639. This gave him a certain influence in Covenanting circles, and he was frequently a member of the General Assembly. He lost favour in 1643, however, by his speech in the Assembly concerning the letter from the Westminster divines (see p. 147), and in 1647 a sermon in favour of the "engagement" led to his dismissal from his charge during the next year. In 1655 this ban was lifted and he became minister of Kils-pindie in Perthshire, and in 1661 his charge in Stirling was restored to him. Four years later he was appointed to the Bishopric of Dunkeld.

Guthrie's *Memoirs* deal with the period 1637-1649, and are of considerable historical value. They also illustrate the character of the man, for, though they are not without bias, they are moder-

ate in tone, and obviously intended to be impartial. Guthrie was essentially a Royalist, and a man of moderation—therefore, just as Charles' action in 1638 made him side with the Presbyterians, so did the extreme measures of the Covenanters in later years, their surrender of the King to Cromwell, and their attitude towards the "engagement" make him conform to Episcopacy.

CHARLES I ANSWERS A COVENANTERS' PETITION.

Whereupon, when the king came to Scotland, in the year 1633, to hold his first parliament, they resolved upon a petition to his majesty and parliament, for redress of all their grievances; and the same being subscribed with their hands, was committed to the earl of Rothes, to the end, that before it were delivered to the clerk register (to whom it belonged to receive petitions) his lordship might first acquaint the king with it in private. For which end, upon the day that the king made his entry into Edinburgh, the earl of Rothes went timely in the morning to Dalkeith, and imparted the business to the king; but his majesty having read the petition, restored it to Rothes, saying, "No more of this, my lord, I command you;" which Rothes having at his return communicated to the rest, they concluded to suppress the petition.

BISHOPS—FROM THE PRESBYTERIAN POINT OF VIEW.

They spared not to undermine their reputation, taxing them of worldliness, and that their care was only to make up estates for their children, but no ways to procure the good of the

church; defaming them, that they thought it not enough to trample upon the church, but strove also to domineer over the state; yea, they accused them of unsoundness also, that they were friends to Popery, and had it in their thoughts to bring in the Mass; and in special, it was their care that noblemen should drink in those prejudices against them, which was the more easily obtained, that some of them having aimed at state preferments, and met with disappointments, blamed the bishops therefore; and others, who were in high places already, were not without jealousies, that they intended their fall. Of the former sort was Archibald, lord of Lorn¹ (a man very considerable both for power and parts, and at that time generally beloved) the reason of whose turning against the bishops was judged by wise men, to be, that the office of high chancellor happening to become vacant in the year 1635 the lord Lorn dealt for it; but the king having lately done great things to him conferred the office of chancellor upon the archbishop of St. Andrews;² which disappointment irritated Lorn against the bishops, whom he blamed for the same.

TROUBLE AMONGST THE BISHOPS.

The adversaries had also other advantages over them;³ as first, want of harmony amongst the bishops, by reason that the younger, who in wisdom and experience were far short of the elder, yet were no ways observant of them, which came to pass upon this occasion. It had been

¹He did not succeed to the earldom of Argyll till 1638.

²Spottiswoode.

³The bishops.

King James's custom, when a bishopric fell void, to appoint the archbishop of St. Andrews to convene the rest, and name three or four well qualified, so that there could not be an error in the choice, and then out of that list that king pitched upon one, whom he preferred. . . . But King Charles followed another way, and without any consultation had with the bishops, preferred men by moyen at court. . . . Now among these late bishops whom king Charles preferred, none were generally esteemed gifted for the office, except bishop Maxwell ¹ Thus the young bishops, not having been beholden to the old bishops for their preferment, for that cause they depended not upon them, but kept a fellowship among themselves apart ; and happening to gain an intimacy with the archbishop of Canterbury, caused him to procure from the king, power to himself to prescribe things to the old bishops, which they did not well relish. Another advantage the adversaries had, was the discontent which daily encreased among the ministry, because of the bishops too much slighting of them ; yet was not this to be imputed to the old bishops, who were prudent and humble men, and gave respect to all honest and deserving ministers as their brethren, but it was the fault only of the younger bishops, who indeed carried themselves so loftily, that ministers signified little in their reckoning.

THE WOMEN OF EDINBURGH AND LAUD'S LITURGY.

They began the work in the city of Edinburgh, where upon the 16th of July, 1637 the

¹Bishop of Ross.

ministers in their several pulpits made intimation that the next sabbath (being the 23rd) the service-book would be read in all the churches, extolling the benefit of it, and exhorting the people to comply with it. . . . And that the work might be done in St. Giles's kirk with the greater solemnity, the bishop of Edinburgh came there himself from Holyroodhouse to assist at it. No sooner was the service begun, but a multitude of wives and serving women in the several churches, rose in a tumultuous way, and having prefaced awhile with despightful exclamations, threw the stools they sate on at the preachers, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, and strove to pull them from their pulpits, whereby they had much ado to escape their hands, and retire to their houses.¹ And for the bishop (against whom their wrath was most bent) the magistrates found difficulty enough to rescue him This tumult was taken to be but a rash emergent, without any predeliberation ; whereas the truth is, it was the result of a consultation at Edinburgh in April, at which time Mr. Alexander Henderson came thither from his brethren in Fife, and Mr. David Dickson from those in the west country ; and those two having communicated to my lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope the minds of those they came from, and gotten their approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the house of Nicholas Balfour in the Cowgate, with Nicholas, Eupham Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig, and several other matrons, and recommended to

¹The more picturesque story of Jenny Geddes is founded on this incident.

them, that they and their adherents might give the first affront to the book, assuring them that men should afterwards take the business out of their hands.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT IS SIGNED AND THE BISHOPS FLEE.

And so upon the first of March 1638, they being all assembled in the Gray-friers church, and church-yard, the covenant (having been prepared beforehand) was publicly read, and subscribed by them all with much joy and shouting. The archbishop of St. Andrews being then returned from Stirling to Edinburgh, when he heard what was done, said: "Now all that we have been doing these 30 Years past is thrown down at once;" and, fearing violence, he presently fled away to London (where the next year he died;) so did also such other of the bishops, as knew themselves to be most ungracious to the people; only four of them staid at home, whereof three delivered their persons and fortunes from sufferings, by their solemn recantations; . . . but the fourth, Mr. John Guthry, bishop of Murray, as he chose not to flee, so upon no terms would he recant, but patiently endured excommunication, imprisonment, and other sufferings, and in the midst of them stood to the justification of Episcopal government until his death.

ARGYLL WARNS CHARLES AGAINST LORD LORNE.

The Lord Lorne returned upon the twentieth of May¹ . . . and the reason of Lorne's haste

¹On receiving the news of the widespread acceptance of the Covenant, in 1638, the king sent for the lord treasurer, the lord privy-seal, and Lorne to go to London, that he might consult with them.

was talked to be a counsel, that his father (the earl of Argyle, who resided at court) gave the king, which was, to keep his son with him, and not let him return to Scotland, or else he would wynd him a pirn (that was his expression.) The king thanked Argyle for his counsel, but said, "He behoved to be a king of his word;" and therefore, having called him up by his warrant, would not detain him.

HAMILTON BIDS THE COVENANTERS "GO ON WITH COURAGE."

After his settling in Holyroodhouse,¹ the covenanters nominated to attend his grace, and treat upon the affairs, John earl of Rothes, James earl of Montrose, and John lord Loudoun, and with them Mr. Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant. At the first meeting, his deportment to them was stately and harsh; so that upon the fourth of July he caused to be published at the cross of Edinburgh a proclamation, tending rather to approve than condemn the service-book, and other novations complained on, which was solemnly protested against by many thousands present. . . . Upon the morrow those lords and ministers returned to his grace, and found him more plausible in treating with them, even publicly before Roxburgh, Southesk, the treasurer-depute, and justice-clerk, and other counsellors that were present; but that which came to be most talked of, was something which at their parting he told them in private; for,

¹James, Marquis of Hamilton, became Royal Commissioner in Scotland in June, 1638. See p. 157.

having desired those lords of council to stay in that chamber till his return, himself conveyed them thro' the rooms, and stepping into the gallery, drew them into a corner, and then expressed himself as follows: My lords and gentlemen, "I spoke to you before those lords of council as the king's commissioner; now there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotsman: If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone: A word is enough to wise men." My warrants for what I have set down are these, 1st, That the same very day, Mr. Cant told it to Dr. Guild, who the next morning reported it to Mr. Henry Guthry,¹ minister at Stirling. 2 dly. The said Henry being that night with the earl of Montrose at supper, his lordship drew him to a window, and there told it him. . . .

MODERATE MEN SATISFIED BUT COVENANTERS
UNAPPEASED.

The commissioner² having convened the council, his grace and the whole lords thereof (according to his majesty's command) did upon the twenty-second day³ subscribe that covenant, which of old in the year 1580, had been subscribed by king James and his council, and by the body of the land; and they also by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh discharged the servive-book, the book of canons, and high commission,

¹The author of these memoirs.

²The Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Hamilton.

³September, 1638.

declaring the Perth articles to have no force, and indicted a general assembly to sit at Glasgow upon the first of November 1638, and a parliament at Edinburgh upon the fifteenth of May 1639. Upon the hearing thereof all moderate men were overjoyed, expecting that the covenanters would now be well satisfied . . . but the leaders, whom the rest durst not contradict, instead of acquiescing, went boldly to the mercat-cross with a protestation, wherein, as they professed to accept the favours granted them in that proclamation with thanks, so did they protest against the tenor of it, as being in other things not satisfactory. THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY GETS TO WORK.

The chief things that were done in the assembly were these; all preceding general assemblies since the year 1605 were declared null, the service-book, the book of canons, the book of ordination, the high commission, together with the five articles of Perth, were all condemned; that covenant which had been allowed in the year 1580 by king James, and this, to be declared substantially one, and that Episcopacy was in the former abjured. The bishops were all deposed, and most part of them excommunicated . . . many ministers were also deposed, and commissioners appointed to sit in several places after the rising of the assembly, for deposing the rest that should happen to persist in opposing the work.¹

THE COVENANTERS AND THE "GOLDEN CALF."

And that they² might have wherewith to encourage soldiers of fortune at their going out,

¹See p. 158. ²The Covenanting party.

the committee found out a pretty overture for raising money, which was, that all who had silver work should bring in the same to the public to be coined, and the owners to receive bonds from noblemen and others for the worth thereof. This relished ill, at first, with the rich burghers, but when once the ministers undertook the management hereof, by their preaching in public, and private trafficking with their wives, they became so forward in obeying the same, as made the royalists to liken it to the golden calf. . . . And it was observed, that of all others the prime committee men subscribed the fewest bonds, and Argyle, who was the chief, none at all.

THE VALUE OF ARGYLL'S SAFE-CONDUCT.

The people of Athol, and the Ogilbys in the braes of Angus, being suspected to carry no goodwill to the cause, a commission was given to the earl of Argyle to take order with them. So he levied three regiments and therewith marched forward to the ford of Lion ; upon notice whereof, the earl of Athol drew his people together, reckoned to be about twelve hundred, and encamped against them. By this, Argyle concluded, that the Athol men had a mind to fight, whereunto neither himself nor his people were thought very willing ; and therefore finding the occasion of Sir Patrick Ogilby of Inshmartin at the Ballach, Argyle employed him to draw the matter to a treaty, which he went about ; and, being the earl of Athol's brother-in-law, prevailed so far, that having, according to the warrant which Argyle gave him, assured them of safe access

and recess ; the earl of Athol, and with him eight special gentlemen of his country, went with Inshmartin to the earl of Argyle's tent and having received from him some articles to be advised upon, left him for that time, to go back to their people But having passed his inner guards, when they came to the outward guard they were stopped ; whereupon they returned to the earl's tent to complain ; but he told them plainly they were his prisoners ; and when they replied, " That they came thither upon his assurance which they hoped he would not violate ; " he answered, " That he was not to debate with them thereanent, but would be accountable for his deportment in that affair to those from whom he had his commission : " So, without more ado, he commanded them to send an order to their people to disband, which was done ; and they themselves kept as prisoners . . . until they gave assurance of their good behaviour, and then they were enlarged, and permitted to return home.

" THE BONNIE HOUSE O' AIRLIE."

He [Argyle] began to march downwards to the braes of Angus, altho' he knew there was little work for his highlanders there ; for the house of Airly, which was the only place that, in those fields, had been fortified for the king's service, was surrendered to the earl of Montrose before his marching to the south, who had placed therein colonel Sibbald, and writ to the earl of Argyle, that he needed not to be at the pains to draw his people thither, seeing the house was already gained.

But the earl of Argyle did nevertheless advance, and coming before the house, called colonel Sibbald to come forth and speak with him, which he did whereupon Argyle commanded to cast open the gate, and bring his soldiers forth. . . . Argyle stayed there for a week, his highlanders in the mean time pillaging all the country about very miserably. And thereafter, having dismantled and slighted the house, he did, upon the fourteenth,¹ lead them northward.

LOVE LETTERS.

In the month of June bypast, when Montrose was imprisoned,² his chamber in the Canongate, where he had lodged, being, by order of the committee searched, and no papers of correspondence with his majesty found therein, the lord Sinclair (then more furious in the cause than afterwards) was commissioned to go to old Montrose, the earl's chief dwelling-house, and search what he could find there to militate against him. At his coming he broke open his cabinets, but found nothing therein belonging to the public affairs, only instead thereof he found some letters from ladies to him in his younger years, flowered with Arcadian compliments, which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose made them to be interpreted in the worst sense. The lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of corres-

¹July, 1640.

²From June to November, 1641, Montrose was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on a charge of corresponding with the king and conspiring against Argyll.

pondence betwixt his majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing those letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it.

THE QUEEN PREFERS HAMILTON TO MONTROSE.

In the end of February,¹ the queen returning from Holland,² landed at Burlington bay, upon the notice whereof the earl of Montrose posted away to her majesty, and convoyed her to York ; which, shortly, the king's enemies hearing of, conceived that he would give her majesty a severe information against them ; for countermining whereof, the marquis of Argyle went privately to the marquis of Hamilton (for their profession at that time was to be discorded) and thereupon the marquis of Hamilton rode up to the queen at York ; but, before his arrival there, Montrose had suggested to her majesty, " That altho' the king's enemies in Scotland did not as yet profess so much, yet they certainly intended to carry an army into England, and to join with the king's enemies there ; and, for remedy, offered, that, if the king would grant a commission, himself, and many more, would take the field, and prevent it. . . . " The marquis of Hamilton, at his arrival offered to refute all, undertaking (that without raising arms for the king) he should make that party to ly quiet, and not list an army for England ; " The queen trusting most

¹1643.

²The queen had been sent to Holland for safety. Henrietta had a tremendous influence over Charles.

to the marquis of Hamilton, dismissed Montrose unsatisfied, and exhorted the marquis to perform his promise.¹

THE COVENANTERS SEEK AN EXCUSE.

Knowing that the generality of people throughout the land favoured the king, and were of opinion, that seeing his majesty at his being here,² had given full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty, which themselves had acknowledged, and was still so far from attempting any thing contrary thereto, that in all his letters and declarations, he promised both by word and oath, never to alter any of his gracious condescensions ; it was very hard . . . to engage against him. Therefore the convention chose to proceed slowly, and by degrees, and the most which at first they resolved on was, that because of a rumour, which their ministers and others of the inferior sort devised, concerning some moss-troopers in the south borders, who were said to disturb the peace ; therefore three troops of horse should be presently levied, under the command of Sir John Brown, to curb them. Their policy in that levy was easily seen by the royalists ; for Sir John Brown finding nothing to do in the south, there being no moss-troopers there, led his troops

¹This trust in Hamilton was maintained by Charles even when it became clear that it was misplaced. The Covenanters, thinking Montrose would be angered by this and other rebuffs, tried to win him to their side, but without success. The king, of course, ultimately gave Montrose his commission. The next extract shows the Covenanters' predicament after Hamilton's promise to the queen.

²In 1641.

to and fro through the country, to terrify disaffected people.

“ A ROTTEN MALIGNANT.”

Among other means which the parliament¹ used, four commissioners came from it to the general assembly² They presented to the assembly a letter from the divines assembled at Westminster, together with a declaration from the parliament of England, both to one sense, viz. that they purposed to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, and to introduce that which they should find most agreeable to the word of God. . . . Mr. Henry Guthry, minister of Stirling rising up, spoke to this effect, “ That he observed the assembly of divines, in their letter, and the parliament, in their declaration, were both clear and particular concerning the privative part, viz. that they would extirpate Episcopacy root and branch ; but, as to the positive part, what they meant to bring in, they huddled it up in many ambiguous general terms : So that whether it would be Presbytery, or Independency, or any thing else, God only knew ; and no man could pronounce infallibly concerning it : Therefore, that so long as they stood there, and would come no farther, he saw not how this church, which holdeth Presbyterian government to be *juris divini*, could take them by the hand.” Whereupon he wished, “ That before there were any farther proceeding, the assembly would be pleased to deal with the English commissioners present, to

¹The English Parliament.

²The Assembly of 1643.

desire the parliament and divines assembled at Westminster to explain themselves”
 Mr. Guthry’s reward for what he had spoken, was, that all the zealots cried him down as a rotten malignant, and an enemy to the cause, conceiving that his pleading for Presbyterian government, flowed not from any love to it, but to baffle the work.

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF MONTROSE.

The jollity which this success in the north¹ occasioned to the lords of the committee and commissioners of the church was not ended, before they were startled again with an alarm from the south, that the marquis of Montrose (for that title the king had lately conferred upon him) being accompanied with a considerable number of soldiers had taken-in the town of Dumfries, and had there set up his majesty’s standard.² This invasion was looked upon as a more formidable attempt than the other, in regard of the extraordinary abilities wherewith Montrose was endued, even his enemies being judges, and therefore the committee of estates concluded, that for opposing of him, an army should presently be levied, by calling forth the eighth man throughout the whole land. . . . For Montrose’s attempt, the commission of the general assembly decreed

¹The suppression of Huntly’s rising.

²Montrose received his long-expected commission in February, 1644, and immediately marched to Scotland. He set up the king’s standard at Dumfries, as related here, but was soon driven back, and it was not till later in the year that, disguised as a groom, and with two friends, he penetrated to the Highlands where he raised an army.

the summary excommunication of him The sentence whereof was pronounced in the great church of Edinburgh upon April twenty-sixth, and very peremptory orders sent to all the ministers throughout the kingdom to make intimation of it.

THE DOCTRINE OF MR. ANDREW CANT.

The Scots parliament sate down at Edinburgh upon June fourth¹ . . . Mr. Andrew Cant, by the commission of the general assembly, was appointed to preach at the opening of the parliament, wherein he satisfied their expectation fully. For the main point he drove at in his sermon, was to state an opposition betwixt king Charles and king Jesus (as he was pleased to speak) and upon that account, to press resistance to king Charles for the interest of king Jesus. It may be wondered that such doctrine should have relished with men brought up in the knowledge of the scriptures ; and yet, such was the madness of the times, that none who preached in public since the beginning of the troubles, had been so cried up, as he was for that sermon.

LEX REX.

The general assembly sate down at Edinburgh, upon January twenty-second,² at which time every one had in his hand that book lately published by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, entitled *Lex Rex*, which was stuffed with positions, that in the time of peace and order, would have been judged damnable treasons ; yet were now so idolized, that whereas in the beginning of the work, Buchanan's treatise,

¹1644.

²1645

De Jure Regni apud Scotos, was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted, as not anti-monarchical enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only thought authentic.

A KING'S MESSENGER IS CAPTURED.

At that time¹ fell out an accident, which proved very prejudicial to the king's affairs; this was the catching of a messenger that passed betwixt him and Montrose. The man's name was James Small, son to the laird of Fotherance. . . . This gentleman having served long at the court of England, did undertake to his majesty to hazard himself in bringing a packet of letters to Montrose; for effecting whereof he put on a beggar's habit, and so went safely through to the highlands of Scotland, where he found Montrose at that time; but in his return had not the like good fortune; for, having passed the river of Forth at Alloa . . . he was at Elphinston, thro' the officiousness of a fellow that had known him at court, discovered, and the letters which he carried back taken from him, and himself, with them, sent next day by my lord Elphinston to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, who caused him to be hanged on the morrow, at the cross of Edinburgh, without farther delay: This was on May first. By these letters, the committee came to know what they never had thought on viz. how the king's business being so forlorn in England, that he could not make head against his enemies there, his majesty designed to come with his army to Scotland, and to join Montrose. . . . The prevention of which design was afterwards gone about with success.

¹1645.

THE PRICE OF A KING.

The guilt and stain due to the act,¹ should not, with reason, be imputed to the generality of the Scots nation, in regard, First, Concerning the nobility, that whosoever shall be at the pains to compare the list of Scots noblemen, with the Sederunt of parliament, will find that the third part of the nobility was not present, very many having been secluded for their known affection to the king, and others upon other pretexts, and, possibly, some who would have been admitted, did, on their own accord, withdraw, being, on the one part, resolved not to comply, and, on the other hand, loath by their dissent to offend the prevailing faction, lest they should encroach upon their fortunes. And, for the gentry, burghs and commonalty throughout the land, Fife, and the western shires betwixt Hamilton and Galloway, being excepted, there were an hundred for one, all the kingdom over, that abhorred it, and would never have instructed their commissioners that way: So that they alone have to answer to God for that deportment. Howbeit, those who sent them were so over-awed, that they durst not challenge them. And as to the ministers, albeit they had been always careful to constitute the commissioners of the church so, that the plurality thereof should run their way, yet was there found some who, all along in their debates, exonerated themselves fairly; such as Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. William Colvil, ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Henry Guthry minister of Stirling,

¹The delivery of the king to the English parliament;

See *infra*.

and others : And as for the body of the ministry throughout the kingdom, the far greater part disallowed it ; howbeit, lothness to be deprived of their function and livelyhood, restrained them from giving a testimony.

The act of parliament being quickly sent to the commissioners at London, the English parliament did, without delay, deliver at Newcastle the sum of 200,000*l.* Sterling to the Scots commissary-general ; whereupon followed the delivering up of the king to them, which was upon Thursday January twenty-eighth,¹ at nine o'clock ; and immediately after the Scots army marched thence, and came homeward.

A NOTABLE OMISSION

Upon Saturday the nineteenth² came to Edinburgh from the house of Peers, the earl of Nottingham, and with him Mr Herle, having left the earl of Stanford at Berwick, who was said to march the more slowly, by reason of the money he brought along with him. Mr. Herle preached in the great church of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the twenty-seventh, and was observed not to pray for the king.

CROMWELL COMMUNICATES HIS DESIGN.

While Cromwell remained in the Canongate,³ those that haunted him most, were, besides the marquis of Argyle, Loudoun the chancellor, the earl of Lothian, the Lords Arbuthnot, Elcho,⁴ and Burleigh ; and of ministers, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Guthry. What

¹1647. ²January, 1648.

³1648. ⁴See p. 119.

passed among them, came not to be known infallibly ; but it was talked very loud, that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king, and had their assent thereto.

LE ROI EST MORT.

So ended the best of princes, being cut off in the midst of his age, by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects. Many sad epitaphs were made : But that of the most gallant Montrose (who soon thereafter suffered for his royal master's sake) esteemed so like the author, above all others deserves best here to be inserted :—

Great, good and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain,
As it should deluge once again :
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

(1599-1662).

ROBERT BAILLIE, the famous Presbyterian divine, was born at Glasgow and educated at the University of that city. In 1622 he received Episcopal ordination, became a regent in Philosophy, and was appointed tutor to the Earl of Eglinton's son. Shortly afterwards he was, in spite of his Episcopalian orders, presented by Eglinton to the parish of Kilwinning. He refused to preach in favour of Laud's service-book in 1637, and in 1638 he was a member of the famous Glasgow Assembly. Next year he was a chaplain with the Covenanting army at Duns Law, and in 1640 he was sent to London as a member of the commission appointed to draw up charges against Laud.

Baillie became joint professor of Divinity in Glasgow University in 1642 (his colleague being David Dickson), and a year later he went to London to attend the Westminster Assembly. During the next few years he spent most of his time in England, but in 1646 he returned finally to Scotland. He was sent to Holland by the Church in 1649 to invite Charles II to sign the Covenant and accept the Crown of Scotland. His mission was most successful, and after the Restoration he became Principal of Glasgow University.

Baillie was an ideal type of churchman, and an ecclesiastical diplomat of the first rank. He was

a man of great learning, sound intellect, and shrewd judgment, and, being moderate in his views and as a rule tolerant, he abhorred fanaticism and was an unsparing critic of his adversaries. Despite his modesty regarding himself and his achievements, there was no other churchman of the day who equalled him in learning, common-sense, keenness and ability in controversy, and skill in negotiation.

The *Letters and Journals* of Robert Baillie are among the most important historical documents of the seventeenth century. Many of the letters are to his cousin, Mr. William Spang, minister of the Scots Church at Campvere in Holland, and recount for his benefit all that takes place in Church and State. Of particular value are the accounts of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and of the Westminster Assembly. The narratives and criticisms are carefully considered and well balanced, and Baillie evidently strove to be scrupulously fair in all he wrote. Not only are the *Letters and Journals* invaluable to students of church and of national history, but they also abound in interest to the general reader.

“ INRAGED WOMEN.”

At the outgoing of the church, about 30 or 40 of our honestest women, in one voyce, before the Bishope and Magistrats, did fall in rayling, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr William Annan :¹

¹This took place in Glasgow in 1637. Mr. Annan was minister of Ayr, and had been guilty of using Laud's Service-book. The occasion of his being in Glasgow was a meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.

some two of the meanest was taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of sundry in words and looks; bot after supper, whill needleslie he will goe to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the causey, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four Ministers with him, but some hundredths of intraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves,¹ and staves, and peats, (but) no stones: they beat him sore; his cloake, ruffe, hatt, were rent: however, upon his cryes, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger, even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best qualitie would have been found guiltie.

SCOTLAND IN 1637.

What shall be the event, God knows: there was in our Land ever such ane appearance of a sturr; the whole people thinks Poperie at the doores; the scandalous pamphlets which comes daily new from England, adde oyl to this flame; no man may speak any thing in publick for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, farr above any thing that ever I could have imagined, though the masse in Latine had been presented. The Ministers who has the command of their mind, does disavow their unchristian humour, but are

¹Fists.

no ways so zealous against the devill of their furie, as they are against the seduceing spirit of the Bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the crying sinns of all estates and professions, (which no example of our neighbour's calamities would move us to repent,) is going to execute his long denounced threatnings, and to give us over unto madness, that we may every one shoot our swords in our neighbours hearts.

A CONVERTED JESUIT.

In the heat of all thir actions,¹ God did much incourage us with Father Abernethie the Jesuite's conversion. On the Thursday there after Mr. Andrew Ramsay's sermon made for the purpose, in a large half houres space, he made a very sweet discourse of his errors, and reclaiming by the grace of God, with many teares of his own and the most of his hearers ; thereafter, with great desyre, he subscryved our Covenant, and spake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can finde no apeirance of hypocrisie in the man. He showes us many things among the rest he told, that there is eighteen priests at least ever in Scotland ; he gave their names and abode : he tells, that in England there will be above six thousand.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.²

My Lord Commissioner his Grace seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statesmen the King hes ; a great lover both of the King and his

¹At the Glasgow Assembly in 1638.

²The King's Commissioner to the Glasgow Assembly in 1638.

countrey : as he left nothing unassayed among us to gett the King his will, so we hope he has done his endeavour, and will continue, to obtaine the countrey justice at the King's hand. Though he hes done all against our proceedings what the heart of the Bishops, in any wisdom, could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was putt on him. . . I take the man to be of a sharpe, ready, solid, clear witt, of a brave and masterlyke expression ; loud, distinct, slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtlie, yet simple and natural language : if the King have manie such men, he is a well served Prince. My thoughts of the man, before that tyme, were hard and base ; bot a day or two's audience did work my minde to a great change towards him, which yet remaines, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriouslie evill.

THE SINS OF THE BISHOPS.¹

That day, Dr. Robert Hamilton of Glesfurd, procurator of the bishops, his process was read : He was found to be, according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provocking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day : he was, as we call it, an ordinar swearer ; for the faction delighted, as I have heard sundrie of them, to adorne their speeches with the proverbs. Before God, I protest to God, By my conscience, On my soull, and higher asseverations, by thir phrases to clear themselves of puritanisme : he was a violent persecuter, even to excommuni-

¹At the Glasgow Assembly in 1638 the Bishops were deposed.

cation, and denying of marriage and baptisme of these who would not communicat with him kneeling. Many such things were lybelled against him. He wreitt a letter to the Moderator, as to Mr. Alexander Henderson minister at Leuchars, showing, that he might not compear before ane Assemblie discharged by the King, bot was free of these things he was challenged off ; or what of his lybell was true, he was not worthie to be rebuked for it before a presbytrie, let be called before a General Assemblie. . . . He was deposed by unanimous consent of us all.

* * * * *

It was proven, that two yeaes agoe he¹ was a publick reader in his house and cathedrall of the English liturgie ; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rotchett, a deposer of godly ministers, ane admitter of fornicators, a companier with papists, ane usuall carder² on Sondag : yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at The beast ; had often given absolution, consecrat deacons, robbed his vassalls of above fourtie thousand merks, kept fasts ilk Fryday, journeyed usuallie on Sondag, had been a chief declynner of the Assemblie, and a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State. Of his excommunication no man made question.

* * * * *

Bot of all our monstrous fellows, Mr. Thomas Forrester at Melros, was the first, composed of contraries, superstition, and profanitie : he was

¹The Bishop of Ross.

²Player of cards.

accused of avowing, that said service was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God's essential worship, that all prayers should be read off books ; he made his altar and rayles himself, stood within and reached the elements to these who kneeled without ; he avowed Christ's presence there, bot whether sacramentallie, or by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, he wist not, bot thought it a curiositie to dispuitt it ; he maintained Christ's universall redemption, and all that was in our Service-book was good : yet he used to sitt at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own house, make a way through the church itself for his kine and sheep, made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peets in ; that to make the Sabbath a morall precept was to Judaize ; that it was lawfull to work on it ; he caused lead his corns on it ; that our Confession of Faith was faithless, onlie ane abjuration of manie things better than these we swore to ; he kepted no thanksgiving after communion ; affirmed our Reformed to have brought more damage to the Church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years. This monster was justlie deposed.

THE COVENANTING ARMY AT DUNS LAW.¹

The counsellis of warre were kepted dailie in the Castle ; the ecclesiastick meetings in Rothes's large tent. . . . Our sojourns were all lustie and full of courage ; the most of them stout young plewmen ; great cheerfullness in the face of all : the onlie difficultie was, to gett them dollors or

¹Near Berwick. In 1639.

two the man, for their voyage from home, and the tyme they entered in pay ; for among our yeoman, money at any tyme, let be then, uses to be verie scarce ; bot once having entered on the common pay, their sixpence a-day, they were galliard.¹ None of our gentlemen was any thing worse of lying some weekes together in their cloake and boots on the ground, or standing all night in armes in the greatest storme Our sojourns grew in experience of armes, in courage, in favour dailie ; everie one encouraged another ; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors dailie raised their hearts ; the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells ; the remonstrances verie frequent of the goodness of their cause ; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearlie divine ; also Leslie his skill and fortoun made them all so resolute for battell as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields ; bot such was the wisdom and authoritie of that old, little, crooked souldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solymán. Certainlie the obedience of our Nobles to that man's advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their King's commands. . . . Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some

¹Brisk, lively. A modern translation would be "in clover."

reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed : true, there was swearing, and curseing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved ; bot we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders ; for all of any fashion did regraitt, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses.

THE TRIAL OF STRAFFORD.¹

A number of ladies wes in boxes, above the railles, for which they payed much money. It was daillie the most glorious Assemblie the Isle could afford ; yet the gravitie not such as I expected ; oft great clamour without about the doores ; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clattered ; the Lower House men too loud clattering ; after ten houres, much public eating, not onlie of confections, bot of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye.

STRAFFORD ENTERS WESTMINSTER HALL.

All being sett, as I have said, the Prince in his robes on a little chyre at the syde of the throne, the Chamberland and Black-Rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford ; he was alwayes in the same sute of black, as in doole.² At the entrie he gave a low courtesie, proceeding a little, he gave a second, when he came to his dask a third, then at the barr, the fore-face of his dask, he kneeled :

¹For treason in 1641.

²Mourning.

ryseing quicklie, he saluted both sydes of the Houses, and then satt down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hatts to him : this was his dailie carriage.

THE KING AT EDINBURGH.¹

His Majestie, on Fryday, dyned with the Generall in his house at Newcastle, did give a good countenance to all he saw. On Saturday came to Edinburgh On Sunday, Mr. Alexander Hendersoun, on the 11th of the Rom. ult., had a good sermone to him in the forenoon in the Abbay church. Afternoon he came not, whereof being advertised by Mr. Alexander, he promised not to do soe againe. Mr. Alexander in the morning, and evening before supper, does daylie say prayer, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and say prayer againe. The King hears all duellie, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a Liturgie, or any Ceremonies.

MR. BAILLIE HAS TROUBLE WITH THE HOUSE OF EGLINTON.

Since the thirty-fifth year of God, my stipend had been verie evill payed and farre worse than any man's I knew, he² was onlie due to me for it ; I therefore sent to his Lordship, and required that some better dutie might be done : fair words anew and promises were given : bot pressing that his Lordship might doe some thing, and cause give me either money or his band, for a part at leist of what was long due, it was refused. When

¹In 1641.

²The Earl of Eglinton. The year is 1642.

I sent word that such usadge would make me think of a transportation,¹ the motion was misregarded, so I concluded, that however I would think nought of my transportation, yet that I would expect no more favour of that man of whom I had gott such a prooffe. Farder, I had been oft grieved with the excessive drinking of sundry of my parochiners : when my Lord Eglington's daughter, my Lady Yester, was going to be married, I went over and admonished my Lord, and his children, and his servants, that they would bewarre of excesse ; and in regard my Lord Seatoun, Lord Semple, and other papists, would be present, I entreated the ordinar exercises of religion in the familie might not be omitted, for their pleasure ; notwithstanding all were omitted. My Lord Eglington himself stayed out of the Kirk on Sondag afternoon to bear my Lord Seatoun company. My Lord Montgomerie² having invited all the company to his house, there was among the Lords more drink than needed ; among some of the gentlemen and servants evident drunkenness. One that served a gentleman of my flock, who oft before had been excessive in drinking, within two days being in companie with a gentleman of our neighbour parochie, with whom at Newcastle, when both had been in drink, he had ane idle quarrell, they fell in words, though neither then was drunk, the other strook him dead with a whinger at one stroke, and for this his rashness, had his head the nixt day stroke off by the Justice. It had been a verie great losse of both

¹That is, a change of parish.

²The Earl's eldest son and heir.

the young gentlemen. The day thereafter, being Sondag, I was in high passion, Satan having so much prevailed at my elbow, and in the zeale of God, in presence of all, did sharpelie rebuke all sins came in my way, especiallie drunkenness and cold-ryfness in religion; somewhat also of the breach of Covenant was spoken. . . . Eglintoun thought himself publickly taxed, and complained to everie one he mett with. To all that spoke to me, I replyed, I had not spoken any thing personallie, bot when upon so horrible occasion God's Spirit had moved me, from the word of God, to rebuke upon sin, if any took it in evill part, they behooved to know I was the servant of God, and would not spare to reprove sin in the face of King Charles, let be of all the Earles of Scotland; and if this displeased them, I wish they were assured it should be bot a beginning; so long as they were my parochiners they should have much more of it.

THE OBSERVATION OF CHRISTMAS.

Sundrie things were in hands, but nothing in readyness to come in publick; for this reason, among others, manie were the more willing to have the Assemblie adjourned for the holy dayes of Zuile,¹ much against our mind. On the Fryday I moved Mr. Hendersone to goe to the Assemblie; for else he purposed to have stayed at home that day; that as all of us stoutly had preached against their Christmass, so we might in private solist our acquaintance of the Assemblie, and speak something of it in publick; that for the discountenancing of that superstition, it were good

¹Christmas.

the Assemblie should not adjourne, but sitt on Monday, their Christmas day. We found sundrie willing to follow our advyce, but the most resolved to preach that day, till the Parliament should reforme it in an orderlie way; so, to our small contentment, the Assemblie was adjourned from Fryday till Thursday next: yet we prevailed with our friends of the Lower House to carie it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the Assemblie's shame.¹

THE "RELICKS OF THE SERVICE-BOOK."

We had so contrived it with my Lord Wharton, that the Lords that day² did petition the Assemblie,³ they might have one of the Divines to attend their House for a week, as it came about, to pray to God with them. Some dayes thereafter the Lower House petitioned for the same. Both there desyres was gladlie granted; for by this means the relicks of the Service-Book, which till then were every day used in both Houses, are at last banished. Paul's and Westminster are purged of their images, and organs, and all which have offence. My Lord Manchester made two fair bonfyres of such trinkets at Cambridge. We had two or three committees for settling orders to have our Covenant received universallie in all the countrey, also for sending it, with a large narration of our condition, in Latine, to the churches abroad; all which will come abroad in print.

¹This refers to 1643, when Baillie was in London attending the Westminster Assembly.

²In the year 1644.

³The Westminster Assembly.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY IN 1644.

Our progress in the Assemblie, albeit slow, yet, blessed be God, is sensible dailie. We have past, but after a world of debate, all the Directorie which concerns ordinarie prayers, reading of the word, singing of psalms, and preaching. Our toyle is exceeding great ; every day, from eight in the morning till near one, and oft in the afternoon, from three to half seven, we are in exercise ; only the Saturday free, and that for Sunday's preaching, when sinle¹ times any of us does vacke.² All of us longs much to be at home ; but we are all commanded to stay, and attend this great service. Of a truth, to our power, we put spurrs to their slow sides. We hope all, ere it be long, shall goe according to our hearts desyre. The Independents, our great retarders it's like, shall not ruise themselves in the end of their oppositions. The most of their partie are fallen off to Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, and Socinianisme ; the rest are cutted³ among themselves.

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

All who are wise, finds the Union of the nations necessare for both their subsistance, and who ever would brangle⁴ it are most unhappie instruments : but there is no humane means for us, were we all angells, to keep our reputation, and the heart of this people, but by strengthening our army. Many advertisements heirop hath been given from time to time to Scotland, bot all in vaine hitherto. Had it been provyded that we might have marched

¹Few. ²Is unoccupied. ³Divided.

⁴Literally "shake." Here the meaning is "upset."

with one twenty thousand men, we might quicklie have gotten here all we desyred. . . . None needs to talk of any fickleness or ungratitude of the English towards us, of any advancement of the Independent party ; for no man here doubts, bot if once our¹ army were in such a condition as easilie, if we were diligent, it might be, all these clouds would evanish, and we would regaine this peoples heart, and doe with all sectaries, and all things else, what we would.²

WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY BUSINESS.³

However we wait daylie on the Assemblie, yet our progresse in the Confession of Faith is but slow. We have many diversions, many dayes of fasts and thanksgivings, with the dayes preceding them for preparation to them. . . . The printing of the Bibles fashed us much, before we could fall on the way to get them printed well for eight groats in 8vo, with the marginal quotations, and for six or seven groats at most in 12mo, unbound. This we hope will encourage poor people to buy Bibles. . . . We stick long sometymes upon scabrous questions ; bot that whereupon the eyes and hearts of all are fixed, is the settling of the Government, and with it the tolleration of Sects. . . . God has helped us to gett the bodie of the ministerie of all the land to be cordiallie for us, and the citie is now striking in ; which we hope shall carry it, and get up a straighter Government, and also exclude tolleration of sects more than many men here doe desyre. We have had many bickerings with the Independents in the grand committee.

¹That is, the Scottish.

²Year 1645.

³In 1646.

MR. BAILLIE AND THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

When I took my leave¹ of the Assemblie I spoke a little to them. The Proloquitor, in the name of the Assemblie, gave me ane honourable testimonie, and many thanks for my labours. I had been ever silent in all their debates; and however this silence sometimes weighted my mind, yet I found it the best and wisest course. No man there is desyred to speake: four parts of five does not speak at all; and among these are many most able men, and known by their wrytes and sermons to be much abler than sundrie of the speakers; and of these few that use to speak, sundry are so tedious, and thrusts themselves in with such misregard of others, that it were better for them to be silent. Also there are some eight or nyne so able, and ready at all times, that hardly a man can say anything, but what others, without his labour, are sure to say also weell or better. Finding, therefore, that silence wes a matter of no reproache, and of great ease, and brought no hurt to the work, I wes content to use it.

A CARELESS POET.

We were fashed with the opening of the mouths of deposed ministers.² Poor Mr. Patrick Hamilton, in the very nick when the Assemblie was to grant all his desire, was rejected by his oun unhappiness. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective against the Church's proceedings. This, by mere accident, had come in the hands of Mr. Mungo Law, who gave it to Mr.

¹In 1647.

²At the General Assembly in 1648.

James Guthrie, and he did read it in the face of the Assemblie, to Mr. Patrick's confusion.

CROMWELL IN SCOTLAND.

While these things are a-doeing at Dumfreiss,¹ Cromwell, with the whole body of his army and canon, comes peaceably by the way of Kilsyth to Glasgow. The ministers and magistrates flee all away. I got to the Ile of Comray,² with my Lady Montgomerie, bot left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesie, which indeed was great ; for he took such a course with his sojourns that they did lesse displeasure at Glasgow nor if they had been at London, though Mr. Zacharie Boyd railled on them all to their very face in the High Church.

THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II.³

This day we have done that what I earnestly desyred, and long expected, Crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scoone, so peaceable and magnificentlie as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God ; for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought easily he might have performed, to have marred by armes that action, at least the solemnitie of it. The Remonstrants, with all their power, would have opposed it ; others prolonged it so long as they were able : allwayes, blessed be God ! it is this day celebrate with great joy and contentment to all honest-hearted men here. Mr. Douglass, from 2 Kings

¹In 1650 the Scottish army which was to oppose Cromwell went to Dumfries, which, as Baillie points out, was just about as far away from the enemy as it could get.

²The Isle of Little Cumbrae in the Firth of Clyde.

³In 1650.

xi., Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wise, and good sermon. The King sware the Covenant, the League and Covenant, the Coronation Oath : when Argyle put on the Crown, Mr. Robert Douglass prayed weell ; when the Chancellour set him in the throne, he exhorted weell ; when all were ended, he, with great earnestness, pressed sinceritie and constancie in the Covenant on the King, delateing at length King James's breach of the Covenant, persewed yet against the family, from Nehemiah v. 13. God's casting the King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues on him if he doe not sincerely keep the oathes now taken : He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th Psalm.

THE STATE OF SCOTLAND UNDER CROMWELL IN
1655 AND 1658.

For the tyme,¹ all Scotland is exceeding quiet, but in a very uncomfortable condition ; very many of the Noblemen and gentlemen, what with imprisonments, banishments, forfaulters, fynes, as yet continueing without any releasement, and private debts from their former troubles, are wracked or going to wrack. The commonalitie and others are oppressed with maintainance to the English armie. Strange want of money upon want of trade, for our towns have no considerable trade ; and what is, the English has possessed it. The victuall is extraordinarie cheap, in God's mercie, but judgment to many. Want of justice, for we have no Barron-Courts ; our sheriffs have little skill, for common being English sojourns ; our Lords of Session, a few English, unexperienced

¹1655.

with our law, and who, this twelve moneth, hes done little or nought: great is our suffering through want of that Court. After long neglect of us as no nation, at last a supreme Councell of State, with power in all things, is come doune, of six or seven English sojourns and two of our complying gentlemen, Colonell Lockhart and Colonell Swinton. We expect little good from them; but if ane heavie excise, as is said, be added to our maintainance, and the paying of all the garisons lye on us, our condition will be insupportable; yet be what it will, it must be borne, we have deserved it. But we hope the Lord will look doune on the affliction of the unjustlie afflicted by men.

* * * * *

Through God's mercie our Toune,¹ in its proportion, thryves above all the land.² The word of God is weell loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought and we desyre; yet in no toune of our land better. Our people has much more trade in comparison than any other: their buildings encrease stranglie both for number and fairness: it's more than doubled in our tyme.

* * * * *

For our State, all is exceeding quiet:³ A great armie, in a multitude of garrisons, bydes above our head, and deep povertie keeps all estates exceedingly at under; the taxes of all sorts are so great, the trade so little, that it's marvell if extreame scarcitie of money end not, ere long, in some mischief.

¹Glasgow. ²1656.

³1658.

MR. GILLESPIE IS BUSY.

For the Colledge,¹ we have no redresse of our discipline and teaching. Mr. Gillespie's² work is building, and pleas ; with the dinn of masons, wrights, carters, smiths, we are vexed every day. Mr. Gillespie, alone for vanitie to make a new quarter in the Colledge, hes cast downe my house to build up ane other of greater show, but farr worse accommodation ; in the meane [while] for one full year, I will be, and am exceedingly incommodat, which I bear because I cannot help it. And also because Mr. Gillespie hes strange wayes of getting money for it, by his own industry alone ; an order he got from the Protector of five hundred pound sterling, (but for an ill-office to the countrie, his delation of so much concealed rent yearly of the Crown ;) also the vacancy of all churches, wherein the Colledge had entres : this breeds clamour as the unjust spoill of churches and incumbents. Upon these foundations are our palaces builded ; but withall our debts grow, and our stipends are not payed ; for by his continuall toying our rent is mouldered away.

THE SORROWS OF SCOTLAND.³

The Countrey lyes very quiet ; it is exceeding poor ; trade is nought ; the English hes all the moneyes. Our Noble families are almost gone : Lennox hes little in Scotland unsold ; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the Baronrie of Hamilton, is sold ; Argyle can pay little annuelrent for seven or eight hundred thousand merks ; and he is no

¹Glasgow University. The year is 1658.

²Patrick Gillespie, the Principal.

³In 1658.

more drowned in debt than publick hatred, almost of all both Scottish and English; the Gordons are gone; the Douglasses little better; Eglington and Glencairn on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families (e)states are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the tyme. What is become of the King and his family we doe not know.

A STRANGE EPISODE.

My Lord Belhaven, without any example I ever heard of in Scotland, with his Ladie a very witty woman's advyce, did faine death, and for seven yeares was taken by all for dead, yet now appears againe safe and sound in his own house. He was much ingadged for Duke Hamilton: fearing the creditors might fall on his person and estate, and knowing, if he were reputed dead, his wife, by conjunct-fie and otherwayes, would keep his estate; he went, with his brother and two servants, towards England. These returned, affirming, that in Solway Sands my Lord was caried downe by the river, and they could no rescue him. His horse and his hatt they got, but when all search was made, his bodie could not be found. His Ladie and friends made great dool for him, and none controverts his death. In the mean time he goes beyond London and farmes a piece of ground, and lives very privatelie there. He had but one boy, a verie hopefull youth, and prettie scholler; God strikes him with a fever, as his Mother said, but as others, with a fall from a horse, whereof in a few dayes he dies. In this reall death, by God's hand, who will no be mocked,

the hope of that house perished. So soon as the Duke's debt was satisfied by selling his own lands, the secret journies of my Lord to his own house were espied, and so much talked of, that he now at last appears in publict,¹ for his great disrepute ; and though he disposes of his estate to his good-son Sillertoun after his death, yet many think both their estates will goe.

¹In 1661.

JOHN NICOLL.

(?1590-?1667.)

THE dates of the birth and death of John Nicoll have been deduced from evidence contained in his diary, but all that is known with certainty about him is that he was born in Glasgow (he repeatedly mentions the fact that he was "born and bred" there) and that most of his life was passed in Edinburgh where he was a Writer to the Signet and a Notary Public.

Nicoll's diary came into the possession of Robert Wodrow, the ecclesiastical historian, and from the catalogue of his library it appears that the diary began in 1637. Unfortunately the early part of the manuscript has been lost, and the diary as it now exists covers the period from 1650 to 1667. It is not a personal compilation, but a collection of notes and observations on local, parliamentary, ecclesiastical, and national history. Much of it is of historical value, since there is a considerable amount of information about Commonwealth rule in Scotland and about parliamentary affairs, but this makes very dull reading. Of great interest, however, are Nicoll's references to crimes and punishments, to witchcraft (in which he firmly believed), and to events of a purely local nature. He was a keen observer of passing affairs, but he was very much a time-server, and without compunction changed his views on all matters so that they would accord with those of

the governing party. Indeed, so pronounced was this feature of his character that in his diary he left blank spaces to permit of subsequent changes should necessity arise. Thus in 1650 he frequently mentioned Montrose as "that excommunicated rebell," or "that bloodie tratour," but after the Restoration, when Montrose received honourable burial, he wrote about "that noble Marquis," and carefully erased all his former statements. After the Restoration, too, he added "God Save the King" at various places in his notes on the years within the Commonwealth period, and Cromwell, who, while in power, had been "His Heynes," and "The Lord Protector," became in 1660 "that late usurper," and "that old traytour." In a sententious moment Nicoll makes the statement, "This I haif markit, that thair is no stability in man." He might well have adopted this as his family motto—for lack of stability and ambidextrousness not only were his chief traits, but also were the probable causes of why nothing is now known of him.

THE ASSEMBLY AND DANCING.

17 Feb. 1650, Ane act of the commissioun of the Generall Assemblie wes red in all the churches of Edinburgh, dischargeing promiscuous dansing.

NEWS OF THE LANDING OF CHARLES II.

The newis of his landing cuming to the knowlege of the Estaites of Parliament, sitting heir at Edinburgh, upone the 26 of Junii¹ lait at night, all signes of joy wer manifested throw the hail kingdome; namelie, and in a speciall maner in

¹1650.

Edinburgh, by setting furth of bailfyres,¹ ringing of bellis, sounding of trumpettis, dancing almost all that night throw the streitis. The pure kaill wyfes at the Trone sacrificed thair mandis² and creillis,³ and the verie stooles thai sat upone to the fyre.

HOW CROMWELL'S MEN TREATED A PRISONER.

They tuik sum of the Scottis men prissoneris;⁴ amongis quhom ane simple sodger, quhois eyes they holkit⁵ out of his heid, becaus upone his bak thair wes drawn with quhyte calk thir wordis, I AM FOR KING CHARLES, stryped him naked of his cloathes, and sent him bak.

THE CROMWELLIANS BUSY IN EDINBURGH.⁶

The College kirk, the Gray Freir kirk, and that Kirk callit the Lady Yesteris kirk, the Hie Scule, and a great pairt of the College of Edinburgh wer all wasted, thair pulpites, daskis, loftes, saittes, windois, dures, lockes, bandis,⁷ and all uther thair decormentis,⁸ war all dung down to the ground by these Inglische sodgeris, and brint to asses.

REMOVING ALL TRACES OF ROYALTY.

Upone Settirday the sevint day of Februar 1652, by ordouris from the Commissioneris of the Parliament of England now sittand at Dalkeith, thair wer maissones, carpentaris, and hammermen direct to the kirk of Edinburgh quhair the Kinges sait wes erectit, and to the mercat croce of Edinburgh quhair his airmes and unicorne with the croun on his heid wes set; and thair pulled down

¹Bonfires. ²Payments. ³Baskets.

⁴July, 1650. ⁵Dug. ⁶1650.

⁷Hinges. ⁸Ornaments.

the Kinges airmes, dang down the unicorne with the croun that wes set upone the unicorne, and hang up the croun upone the gallowis. The same day, the lyke was done at the entrie of the Parliament Hous and Nather Bow, quhair the Kinges airmes or portrat wes fund. . . . The lyke, also, in the Castell of Edinburgh, and Palice of Halyrudhous.

THE POVERTY OF SCOTLAND IN 1654.

This yeir also the povertie of the land daylie increst, be ressoun of the inlaik¹ of tred and traffick, both be sea and land, the pepill being poore and under cess,² quarterings,³ and uther burdinges. . . . Sindrie of gude rank, alsweill nobles, gentrie, and burgessis, denuncit to the horne, thair escheittis⁴ takin, thair persones wairdit and imprissoned, and detenit thairin till thair death. Bankruptes and brokin men throw all the pairtes of the natioun increst.

PROTECTOR OF THE THREE KINGDOMS.

Eftir Generall Monkis down cuming to Scotland, he, schoirtlie thaireftir, come to Edinburgh, upone the 4th of May 1654, in great pomp, and companeyis both of fute and horse, haiffing sex trumpettouris sounding befor him ; quhich companeyis did all compas the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a Proclamatioun was emittit, declarand Oliver Cromwell to be Protector of the three

¹Deficiency.

²Cess was a permanent land tax, but is here used for taxation in general.

³The quartering of soldiers.

⁴Escheat ; property forfeited to the State.

kingdomes. . . . Eftir this Proclamatioun wes red, thair wes ane uther emittit, red, and proclaimed that same day, anent the Unioun of Scotland to the Commonwealth of England.

“ THAT DAMNABLE SECT.”

In this moneth of Januar 1655, and in sindry uther monethis preceeding, and mony monethis following, thair rais up great numberis of that damnable sect of the Quakeris; quha, being deludit by Sathan, drew mony away to thair professioun, both men and women, sindrie of thame walking throw the streitis all naikit except thair schirtis, crying, “ This is the way, walk ye into it.”

HEAVY TAXATION IN EDINBURGH.¹

The taxatioun imposit upone the Toun of Edinburgh, extending to thrie scoir thowsand pund, wes exactlie takin up from the inhabitantes thair of, swa that the Tounes burdinges daylie increst, burding eftir burding; and quahairas thair wes ony deficiency, they war compellit, and sodgeris quarterit upone thame till thair portiounes wer payit.

A STRANGE ANIMAL.

At this tyme, thair wes brocht to this natioun ane heigh great beast, callit ane Drummodrary, quhilk being keipit clos in the Cannogait, nane hade a sight of it without thrie pence the persone, quhilk producit much gayne to the keipar. . . . Thair wes brocht in with it ane lytill baboun, faced lyke unto a naip.

¹1656.

CHARLES II PROCLAIMED KING.

This Proclamatione was proclaimed at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, upone Monday thaireftir, being the 14 of the same moneth,¹ with all solempniteis requisite, by ringing of bellis, setting out of bailfyres, sounding of trumpetis, roring of cannounes, touking of drumes, dancing about the fyres, and using all uther takins of joy for the advancement and preference of thair native King to his croun and native inheritance. Quhairat also, thair wes much wyne spent, the spoutes of the croce rying and venting out abundance of wyne, placed thair for that end ; and the magistrates and counsell of the toun being present, drinking the Kinges helth, and breking numberis of glasses.

SCOTLAND IN 1661.

At this tyme, our gentrie of Scotland did luik with such gallant and joyfull countenances, as gif thai haid bene the sones of princes ; the beastes also of the feild, the numberis of the fisches of the sea, and flowers of the feild, did manifest Godis goodnes towardis this kingdome ; and it wes the joy of this natioun to behold the flower of this kingdome, quhich for samony yeiris hath bene overcloudit, and now to sie thame upone brave horses, pransing in thair acustomat places, in telting, ryneing of races, and suchlyke.

ACROBATS.

In Julii and in August 1662, thair wer sindrie commedeis actit, playing, and dancing, at the Croce of Edinburgh, and at the Neddirbow, and

¹May, 1660.

in the Cannoggait, upone towis,¹ done by strangeris; for quhich, and for droges² sauld be thame, thai resavit much money, and for dancing and volting upone a tow to the admiration of many.

ST. ANDREW'S DAY.

The threttie day of November this yeir³ fallin upone ane Saboth day, and being a day callit Sant Androis day, many of our nobles, barones, gentrie, and utheris of this kingdome, pat on that day ane liveray or favour for that day, and for reverence thair of. This being a novaltie, I thocht guid to record, becaus it wes nevir in use heirtfoir since the Reformatioun.

AN APPENTICES' ROW.

Upone the morrow thaireftir, being Fryday, ther was ane waponeschaw in Edinburgh, Pleasants, Pattaraw, West Port, Cannoggait, and Leith, with twenty six collouris, all of thame richlie cled and furnischt in verrie decent maner. But imediatlie efter thair departure from the Abbay, quhair the Comissioner was, ther fell out ane discord betwixt the merchand youthes and the craftis for the prioritie of place, quhilk of thame sould carrie it; quhairupone ther was ane merchand youth killed, callit John Flemyng, quho was honorablie buried on the morrow thaireftir, all the merchand youthes being in armes, with thair best apparell, being arrayed, and the drumes covered with black cloath, and the youthes trailing thair pickes eftir thame.

¹Ropes;

²Drugs.

³1662;

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

23 Januar 1650. Thomas Hunter, wryter, being convenit befor the Lordis of Sessioun, and accused befor thame, wes fund giltie of perjurie ; and thairfoir wes declaired incapable of wryting or agenting ony bussines within the house and College of Justice. Eodem die et mense. A man callit Johnne Job was scurged throw the toun of Edinburgh, for mareying twa wyfes, both of thame on lyff.

* * * * *

Much falset and scheitting at this tyme¹ wes daylie detectit by the Lordis of Sessioun ; for the quhilk thair wes daylie hanging, skurging, nailling of luggis, and binding of pepill to the Trone, and booring of tounes ; so that it was ane fatall yeir for fals notaris and witnessis, as daylie experience did witnes.

* * * * *

At this tyme² also my Lord Lyntoun wes excommunicat, and wardit, for taking in marriage the Lord Seytounes relict scho being excommunicat for poprie.

* * * * *

At that tyme³ ane gallant Englishe gentillman haid his lug naillit to the gallous, and thaireftir cuttit fra him, for drinking the Kinges helth.

* * * * *

Last of September 1652. Twa Engliches, for drinking the Kingis helth, war takin and bund to the gallous at Edinburgh Croce, quhair ather

¹1650.

²1650.

³1652.

of thame resavit threttie nyne quhipes upone thair naiked bakes and shoulderis, thaireftir thair lugges wer naillit to the gallous. The ane haid his lug cuttit from the ruitt with a resour; the uther being also naillit to the gibbet, haid his mouth skobit,¹ and his tong being drawn out the full lenth, was bund togidder betuix twa stickes hard togidder with ane skainzie² threid the space of half ane hour or thairby.

* * * * *

26 Marche 1655. Mr. Patrik Maxwell, ane arrant decevar, wes brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a pillorie wes erectit, gairdit and convoyed with a company of sodgeris; and thair, eftir ane full houris standing on that pillorie . . . his rycht lug was cuttit af; and thaireftir careyit over to the toun of St. Johnnestoun,³ quhair ane uther pillorie wes erectit, on the quhilk the uther left lug wes cuttit af him. The caus heiroy was this; that he haid gevin out fals calumneis and leyis aganes Collonell Daniell, governour of Peirith. Bot the treuth is, he was ane notorious decevar, and ane intelligencer,⁴ sumtyme for the Englisches, uther tymes for the Scottis, and decevand both of thame.

* * * * *

26 of this same moneth of Januar,⁵ twa Inglische men kicked at the gallous upone the calsey⁶ of Edinburgh, and quhipped, for intending

¹Kept open by the insertion of two crossed sticks.

²"Skeenye" is small twine, or pack thread.

³Perth

⁴Spy.

⁵1657.

⁶Causeway.

to fecht the singill combat, baith of thame being sodgeris.

* * * * *

10 July, 1657. Sevin Egiptianes,¹ men and wemen, wer scurgit throw Edinburgh, and banished this natioun, with certificatioun gif thai returned within the same, they sould be execute to the death.

* * * * *

In this moneth also of December 1665, ther was sindry sent over to Barbadoes, sum for povertie, utheris for criminall causis; utheris lykwyse war prest to remove of the land for not geiving obedience to Episcopall government.

WITCHES AND MARVELS.

Upone the 28 of Maii 1650, thair rayned bluid, be the space of thrie myles, in the Erle of Buckleuchis boundis, upone the landis of — neir to the Englische bordouris; quhilk wes verifeyit in presence of the Committee of Stait.

* * * * *

3 Apryll 1652. By ordour from the Englische Commissioneris sittand at Dalkeith the castell of Blaknes . . . situat upone the sea syde neir to Burrowstounes, wes blawn up with a powder trayne. It was reportit, that the devill was vesible sene upone the wallis of it at its upblowing.

* * * * *

Among many uther executiounes at this tyme, thair wes ane very remarkable; twa witches and ane warlok imprissoned within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh in Februar 1658. Ane of the witches

¹Gipsies.

deyit within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh; the warlok wes brint on the Castelhill; and the thrid being ane young woman callit Andersone, newlie mareyit within thrie monethis or thairby befoir, wes condemnit to be brint. . . . Hir confessioun was, that scho did mary the devill and eftir scho wes contractit with hir present husband, and going to the kirk to be mareyed, scho repented, and wald haif turned bak agane; and confessed, that at hir mariage Sathan appeired unto hir in the kirk, standing behind the pulpitt.

* * * * *

All this spring,¹ somer, and a great pairt of the harvest, numberis of witches wer takin and apprehendit, examinat, and execute to death, within Lothiane and sum pairtes of Fyff, for witchcraft.

¹1661:

SIR JOHN LAUDER,
LORD FOUNTAINHALL.

(1646-1722).

JOHN LAUDER was the eldest son of John Lauder, merchant and baillie in Edinburgh. He became a Master of Arts of Edinburgh University in 1664, and in 1665 went to France to complete his education. Returning home in 1667, he was the next year admitted an advocate. He was debarred in 1674 for asserting the right of appeal from decisions of the Court of Session, but two years later he was restored, and in 1681 he was knighted. In this year his father purchased some lands in East Lothian, which were afterwards erected into a barony. From 1685 to 1707 Lauder was Member of Parliament for Haddington, in 1689 he became a Lord of Session, and in 1690 he was appointed a Lord of Justiciary. He resigned from the Justiciary bench in 1709.

Lauder was not a man of outstanding ability, but, at the same time, he was distinguished by his wide knowledge of the law, by his scrupulous fairness, and by his painstaking discharge of his duties. He was a strong Presbyterian, and a confirmed Royalist, so that even when he opposed the King he was always respectful to the Crown. His religious and political opinions were, however, never obtrusive, and his whole attitude may be

summed up by saying that he was a Presbyterian, a Royalist, and, above all, a firm believer in justice, equity, and a settled government. He looked upon the Covenanters as disaffected subjects, though he did not approve of James VII's treatment of them, and in one of his journals he stated that "A Papist qua Papist cannot be a faithful subject." Perhaps one of the best illustrations of Lauder's character is to be found in the fact that when, after the Revolution, he was offered the post of King's Advocate, he declined because one of the conditions of acceptance was that he should not prosecute the persons implicated in the Massacre of Glencoe. He was led to take this course by his honesty and his desire to see justice done; his action was in no way prompted by love for the Stewarts and opposition to the House of Orange. To Lauder the Crown as an institution was what mattered—not the king as individual, or the ruling dynasty. In the Scotland of his day there was probably no man who was less a partisan in religion and politics.

Lauder is now remembered more as a diarist than as a lawyer, but most of his journals deal with national, political, and legal happenings, and are only indirectly personal. All those journals, however, are valuable historical documents, and also give much information about the Court of Session and about the judicial abuses of the time. The most notable is *Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents* (1686-1701), which, apart from its great historical value, is an interesting and very readable commentary on men and matters.

For the general reader, however, Lauder's journal of his visit to France between 1665 and 1667 has most interest, and it is from it that the following passages have been taken. It is a delightful record of a nineteen-year-old youth's first adventures in a strange world. Everything is new, and nothing is so trivial that it is not worth noting. He gives an intimate picture of seventeenth century French life and manners, and the journal abounds in odd but interesting pieces of information. Being young, Lauder does not use the reserve which is so characteristic of his later journals, but makes many provocative statements of opinion. The style is easy, and though the humour is often rather broad, it makes the book none the less delightful.

Lauder also kept diaries of his journeys in London, Oxford, and Scotland between 1667 and 1676, but these are of little interest, being simply lists of places visited, and of country houses and their owners. His accounts, which he kept with great care, are both instructive and amusing, and some items are printed on pp. 201-203.

LAME WOMEN IN ORLEANS.

The city I fand to be as big as Edinburgh laying wt it also the next greatest city of Scotland. I discovered likewise the city to abound wt such a wast number of lame folk, both men and women, but especially women, even many of them of good quality, that I verily beleive their are more lame women their at Orleans then is in all Scotland or much of France. Enquiring what the reason of this might be, the

general voice was that it proceeded from the nature of the Aurelian wine. . . . Others sayd it was the purity of the air about Orleans but what influence the air can have in this point is hardly explicable. Monsieur Ogilvy more rationally informed me that he took it to be a race and generation of people who transmitted it hæreditary to their posterity, for which I meit after a very strong presumption : I saw a mother lame, not only the daughters lame, but in the very same fashcion that the mother ; and this I saw confirmed several tymes.

MASTERS AND SERVANTS.

During my staying heir I have learned a lesson which may be of use to me in the rest of our travels, to wit, to beware of keiping familiar company wt gentlemens servants, for such a man sal never get respect from the Mrs.¹ ; to beware also of discoursing homly with anie servants. We sould keip both their for at a prudent distance. The Mr. of Ogilvy and I ware very great.² I know not what for a man he'el prove, but I have heard him speak very fat nonsense whiles.

LAUDER TAKES SHELTER.

One day as I was going to my Mr. of Institutes as I was entring in a lane I meit in the teeth the priests carrieng the Sacrament (as they call it) with a crosse to some sick person : my conscience not suffering me to lift my hat to it, I turned back as fast as I could and betook me selfe to another street wher I thought I might

¹Masters.

²Friendly.

be safe : it followed me to that same very street, only fortunately I got a trumpet¹ whair I sheltred myselve til it passed by.

AN ARGUMENT WITH A CURÉ.

Mass being ended I went and fell in discours with the Curé. We was not long together when we fell hot be the ears : first we was on the Jansenists opinion about Prædestination then we fell in one frie wil, then one other things, as Purgatory, etc. ; but I fand him a stubborn fellow, one woluntary blind. We was in dispute above a hower and all in Latin : in the tyme gathered about us neir the half of the parish, gazing on me as a fool and mad man that durst undertake to controlle their curé, every word of whose mouth, tho they understood it no more nor the stone in the wall did, they took for ane oracle, which minds me of the miserableness and ignorantnesse of the peasants of France above all other commonalty of the world ; our beggars leading a better life then the most part of them do.

A TRICK THAT FAILED.

I cannot forget one passage that behappened me heir ; bechance to supper I demanded give he could give me a pullet, he promises me it. My pullet comes up, and wt it instead of its hinder legs the hinder legs of a good fat poddock. I know them weill enough because I had sien and eaten of them at Orleans. I consedering the cheat called up my host and wt the French I had, demanded him, taking up the leg, what part of the pullet that might be, he wt a deal of oaths and

¹A spiral stair.

execrations would have made me believe it was the legs of a pullet, but his face bewrayed his cause; then I eated civilly the rest of my pullet and left the legs to him: such damned cheats be all the French.

THE UNCHANGING TOURIST!

He told me also a expression that the Protestant Minister at Saumur used to him, whereby he taxed the most part of strangers as being ignorant of the end they came abroad for, to wit, that these that came to sie Saumur all they had to writ doune in their book was that they went and saw such a church, that they drank good wines, and got good wictuals at the Hornes, a signe wheir strangers resorts.

IN THE CHURCH OF ST. CROIX.

Having entred the church, standing and looking earnestly about to al the corners of the church, and particularly to the Altar, which was very fine, wt as great gravity as at any tyme, a woman of faschion on hir knees fixing her eyes upon me and observing that I nether had gone to the font for water, nether kneelled, in a great heat of zeal she told me, *ne venez icy pour prophaner ce saint lieu.*¹ I suddenly replied, *Vous estes bien devotieuse, Madame; mais peut estre Vostre ignorance prophane ce saint lieu d'avantage que ma presence.*² This being spoken in the audience of severals, and amongs others

¹Don't come here and prophane this holy place.

²You are very devout, Madame, but perhaps your ignorance prophanes this holy place more than my presence does.

of a preist, I conceived it would not be my worst to retire, which I did.

AN ITINERANT WINE-SELLER IS ANGRY.

To recknon over all the crys of Poictiers (since they are divers according to the diverse seasons of the year) would be difficult. Yet theirs one I cannot forgeet, a poor fellow that goes thorow the toun wt a barrell of wine on his back ; in his on hand a glass full halfe wt win ; in his other a pint stoop ; over his arm hinges a servit ; and thus marched he crieng his delicate wine for 5 souse the pot thats our pint ; or 4 souse or cheaper it may be. He lets any man taste it that desires, giving them their loo.¹ full. I did sy one fellow right angry on a tyme : their came about 7 or 8 about one, every one to taste ; giving every one of them some, to neir a chopin² not one of them bought from him ; wheiron he sayd he sould sie better marchands before he gave to so many the nixt tyme.

A " DEFINITION " OF THE FRENCH.

We discovered a beastly proud principle that we have observed the French from the hiest to the lowest (let him be never so base or so ignorant) to carry about wt them, to wit, that they are born to teach all the rest of the world knowledge and manners. What may be the mater and nutrix of this proud thought is not difficult to ghess ; since wtout doubt its occasioned by the great confluence of strangers of all sorts (excepting only

¹The " loof " is the palm of the hand.

²A chopin in old French measure was half a pint ; in old Scots measure it was about 3 Imperial pints.

the Italian and Spaniard, who think they have to good breeding at home to come and seik it of the French) who are drawen wt the sweitness of the country, and the common civility of the inhabitants. Let this we have sayd of the French pass for a definition of him till we be able to give a better. . . . The French, notwtstanding all their civility, are horridly and furiously addicted to the cheating of strangers. If they know a man to be a stranger or they cause him not pay the double of what they sell it to others for, theyl rather not sell it at all Many instances we could give of it in our oune experience, al whilk we sall bury at this tyme, mentioning only one of Patrick Humes, who the vinter he was at Poictiers, chancing to get the cold, went to buy some sugar candy. Demanding what they sold the unce of it for, they demanded 18 souse, at last came to 15, would not bat a bottle ;¹ wheirupon thinking it over dear he would have none of it, but coming back . . . he sent furth his man, directing him to that same very chop, who brought him in that for 3 souse which they would not give him under 15.

LAUDER FINDS A NEW KIND OF FISH.

Mr. Daillé loves fisch dearly, and generally, I observe, that amongs 10 Frenchmen their sall be 9 that wil præfer fisch to flech, and thinks the one much more delicat to the pallate then the other. The fisch they make greatest cont of are that they call the sardine, which seimes to be our sandell, and which we saw first at Saumur, and that they call *le solle*, which differs not from our fluck² but

¹Bate a bodle.

²Flounder.

seimes to be the same. The French termes it *le perdrix de la mer*, the patridge of the sea, because as the partridge is the most delicious of birds, so it of fishes.

METHODS OF TORTURE IN FRANCE.

Every province almost hath its sundry manner of torturing persones suspected for murder or even great crimes to extort from them a confession of the truth. At Paris the hangman takes a serviet which he thrustes doune the throat of him as far as his very heart, keiping to himselfe a grip of one end of the cloath, then zest wt violence pules furth the cloath al full of blood, which cannot be but accompanied wt paine. Thus does the *burreau* ay til he confesses. In Poictou the manner is wt bords of timber whilk they fasten as close as possibly can be both to the outsyde and insyde of his leg, then in betuixt the leg and the timber they caw in great wedges from the knee doune to the very foot, and that both in the outsyde and insyde, which crusheth the leg. . . . At Bourdeaux they have a boat full of oil, sulfre, pitch, resets, and other like combustibile things, which they cause him draw on and hold it above a fire til his leg is almost all brunt to the bone, the sinews shrunk, his thigh also al streatched wt the flame.

GOOD COMPANY AT THE FIRE-SIDE.

We cannot forget what good company we have had some winter nights at the fire syde, my host in the one noock, Madame in the other, and I in the mides, in the navel of the fire. He was of

Chattelerault, she of Partenay: they would fallen to and miscalled one anothers country, reckning over al that might be said against the place wheir the other was born and what might be sayd for their oune. Whiles we had very great bickering wt good sport. They made me judge to decide according to the relevancy of what I fand ether alledge. I usually held for Madame as the weaker syde.

THE "ELEGANTEST TONGUE."

To returne to our French language, not wtout ground do we estime it the Elegantest tongue. We have bein whiles amazed to sy [hear] whow copiously and richly the poor peasants in their meiting on another would expresse themselves and compliment, their wery language bearing them to it; so that a man might have sein more civility in their expressions (as to their gesture its usually not very seimly) then may be fund in the first compliments on a rencontre betuixt 2 Scotcs Gentlemen tolerably weil breed. Further in these that be ordinar gentlewomen only, theirs more breeding to be sein then in some of our Contesses in Scotland.

FAIRY TALES.

I have caused Madame Daillé some vinter nights sit doune and tell me tales, which I fand of the same very stuffe wt our oune, beginning wt that usually *Il y avoit un Roy et une Reine, etc.*,¹ only instead of our red dracons and giants they have *lougarous* or *warwoophs*.² She told me

¹There was once upon a time a king and a queen, etc.

²Loups-garoux or were-wolves.

on a tyme the tale or conte of daupht Jock wt his sotteries,¹ just as we have it in Scotland. We have laughten no litle at some.

THE NATURAL WEALTH OF FRANCE.

Thorow all Languedoe and Provence the olive tries is as common as the walnuts in Poictou : oranges thorow much of France and in seweral places China oranges. Lentils, the seeds rise and mile² growes abundantly towards Saumer : the Papists finds them wery delicate in caresme or Lent. Its wonderful to sie what some few degries laying neerer the sun fertilizes a country. France is a country that produceth abundantly all that the heart of man can desire, only they are obliged to fetch their spices . . . from Arabia, their sugar from America and the Barbado Islands : yet wtout ether of the tuo they could live wery weill.

THE VANITY OF KNEELING TO THE KING.

The French cryes out against the wanity of our King who most be served by his subjects on their knees, since that the knees sould be kept to God alone ; as also their King more absolute then [he] tho not served so. Yea some have bein so impudent as to impute the murder of our late King³ (which 1000 tymes hath bein casten up to me) as a iust iudgement of God on them for their pride. I cannot forget whow satyrically they have told this, saying that the peaple of great Britain keip their kings at their beck, at their pleasure not only to bereave them of their croune but also

¹Stupid acts.

²Rice and millet.

³Charles I.

of their life. I endewored to show them that they understood not things aright, that the same had bein practicat in France on Henry the 4t . . . This wexed them, they could never answer this sufficiently.

A MAN BROKEN AT THE WHEEL.

Their ware mo then 10,000 spectators at the Marcher Vieux. In the midle of it their was a little *eschaustaut*¹ erected, on which ware nailed 2 iests after the forme of a St. Andrews crosse, upon whilk the poor fellow was bond on his back, wt his 2 armes and his 2 thighs and legs on the 4 nooks of the crosse, haiving bein strip naked to his shirt. After he had prayed a little . . . the *bourreau*² wt a great baton of iron began at the armes and brook them wt tuo strooks, then his knees, then a strook on every thigh, then 2 on the belly, and as many on the stomack ; and after all thir, yea after the 20 strook, he was not fully dead. The tow brak tuice that was ordained to strangle him. In sying what this cattif suffered made us conclud that it was a cruel death to be broken in that sort.

HOW TO MAKE A FRENCHMAN ANGRY.

Any tymes I was angry at the Frenchmen, if so be I was familiar wt them, I fell to and abuse them in Scots, as logerhead, ye are a sheip, etc. Their was no way I could anger them worse then to speak in Scots to them.

THE STORY OF THE FORFAR COW.

In the renouned toune of Forfar, one who had many kyn having caused milk them at his door,

¹Scaffold. ²Executioner.

left the tub wheirin he had milked them by neglect at his door. By comes a neighbours cow, whow being damned thirsty, comes the hy way to the tub and takes a very hearty draught. In the mean tyme comes he that ought the milk, and seing the damage that was done him, to the Toune counsel he goes and makes a very greevous complaint, demandes that he that owes the cow that had drunk his milk pay him it. The counsel was exceedingly troubled wt this demand, never in their remembrance having had the like case thorough their fingers. After much debat on both sydes, a sutor¹ stands up and showes that he had light upon a medium to take up the difference. He asks whether it was a standing drink or not that the cow took. . . . They replying whow could she take it but standing, he replied that it was a most sure thing in that country, knowen to them all, that none ever payed for a standing drink. They following this decision assolzied and cleared cow wt its owner from paying ought, as having taken only a standing drink.

A CAPUCHIN OBEYS THE RULES OF HIS ORDER.

On a tyme as a Capuchin, as he was travelling to a certain village a little about a dayes journey from Poictiers, he rencontred a gentlemen who was going to the same place, whence they went on thegither. On their way they came to a little brook, over which their was no dry passage, and which would take a man mid leg. The Capuchin could easily overcome this difficulty for, being bare legged, he had no more ado but to truce up

¹Cobbler.

his gowen and pass over ; the gentleman could not wt such ease, whence the Capucyn offers to carry him over on his back. When he was in the mides of the burn the Capucyn demanded him if he had any mony on him. The man, thinking to gratify the Capucyn, replied that he had as much as would bear both their charges. Wheiron the Capucyn replied, If so, then, Sir, I can carry you no further, for by the institution of our order I can carry no mony, and wt that he did let him fall wt a plasch in the mides of the burn.

AN INTERLUDE AT RUELL.

Thus we come to Ruell, whair so many gallant sights offered themselves that I know not whair to begin ; first the pleasant ponds abounding wt fishes of divers sorts, as carps, picks, etc., comes to be considred. But the rich waterworks are the main commendation of the place. It is not to be forgotten whow finely the fellow that showed us them, and set them on work by his engines did wet Mr. Dick, and followed him in the litle house (the Grotto) whethersoever he could stir.

RICHELIEU CASTLE.

But I hast to the Castle, which is bueatiously environed wt that same canale on the banks of which are such pleasant arrangements (palissades) and umbrages of tries making allies to the length of halfe a mile ; . . . the tries ranked so æqually that its wonderfull to hear ; tho monstrously hy yet all of them observing such a æquality that ye sould find none arrogating superiority over his neighbour. We entred the castle by a stately draw bridge over the canale. . . . Having past

this gat, we entred into the court or close round about whilk the palace is built. The court is 3 tymes as large as the inner court of the Abbey.¹ Al round the close stand a wast number of Statues infinitely weill done : only I fand they had not provided weill for the curiosity of spectateurs in withholding their names and not causing it to be engraven at their feet. . . . By the wertue of powerful money all the gates of the Castle unlockt themselves.

SOME ITEMS OF EXPENSE IN FRANCE.²

The fellow that carries my valize to Mr Ogilvies gets 10 souse ; at a breakfast wt Patrick Portues I was 30 souse. For books from my coming to Orleans . . . I have payed 8 livres ; for seing a comedy 10 souse ; for to helpe my hand in writting a croune ; for dancing a croune in hand, the other at the moneths end ; . . . I pay 24 souse for one washing of my linnens ; . . . for a pair of stockings 5 livres ; at Tours I was 36 souses ; at Saumur, wheir I was 2 dayes, I was 7 livres 10 souse ; to him who took us throw Richelieu Castle 20 souse ; 20 souse at the tennis ; 5 or 6 for lettres ports ; 20 souse for a horse hire ; 8 souse sundry wayes ; 4 francks lost at carts ; 15 souse for mending my sword ; I bestowed some 13 *ll.* on books ; At Bruxelles, for taking of my beard 9 *f.* ; for seing the Palais 40 *f.* ; for 6 dayes to my hostesse 10 *ll.* ; for my horse to Enguien 3 *ll.*

¹Holyrood.

²Those items are extracted from the notes of expenditure kept by Lauder in the back of his journal.

202 SCOTTISH DIARIES AND MEMOIRS

SOME ITEMS FROM LAUDER'S HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS IN SCOTLAND.¹

Given in drinkmoney to my goodfather's nurse,	a dollar
To the tailzeor for mending my cloaths, ...	a shilling
Then given to my wife for the house, ...	10 dollars
Then for a pair of shoes,	1lb. 19s.
Payed to John Nicoll for a great bible, ...	17 shillings
Given for new wine,	a shilling
A dollar and a halfe given to a man for teaching my wife writing and arithmetick, ...	4 lb. 8s.
Item at Geo. Lauder's penny wedding, ...	a dollar
Item to the fdlers,	a 6 pence
Then given at the kirk door,	halfe a dollar
For Broun's Vulgar errors,	6 shillings 6p.
Then given to my wife to buy linnen to make me shirts with,	2 dollars
Payed for a pair of gloves,	30 shil.
Item, given to my wife to help to buy black lace for hir gown,	2 dollars
Item, for wax and soap,	7 pence
For a quaire of paper,	9 pence
For a book against the commonly received tennents of witchcraft,	8 pence
On coffee and other things,	16 pence
Item, for a timber chair,	18 pence
Item, to the barber,	6 pence
Item, spent upon the race day,	3 shillings
For 4 comoedies, viz., Love in a Nunnery, Marriage a la mode, Epsom Wells, and Mcbeth's tragedie at 16p. the piece, 5 shils. and a groat	
Upon morning drinks for sundry dayes, ...	6 pence
For a black muff to my wife,	1 j shillings
To the contributon for the prisoners amongs the Turks,	a mark
For a sword belt,	22 pence
Item, payd for a cow,	34 lb. Scots.
For seing the lionness and other beasts at Kirk- caldy,	12 pence

¹For Scottish money see p. 125.

Upon sweeties to be tane to my brother George at

Idington,	...	...	...	...	...	a mark
To Samuell Borthwick for letting blood of my wife,	3	mark				
Payed to the coalman,	...	...	...	...	...	10 lb.

SIR JAMES TURNER.

(1615-? 1686)

SIR JAMES TURNER, eldest son of Patrick Turner, minister of Borthwick and Dalkeith, became a Master of Arts of Glasgow University in 1631, and, in spite of his father's desire that he should enter the Church, determined to follow a military career, and in 1632 took service under Sir James Lumsden in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. After serving in Lower Germany, and with the Duke of Brunswick at the sieges of Hameln and Oldendorf, he received news of his father's death and returned to Scotland in 1634. A year later he was in Bremen preparing to accompany a mission which the merchants of that town were sending to Persia, but owing to Russian hostility this had to be abandoned. In 1639 he visited Scotland in a vain effort to find military employment, and next year he was in Stockholm. He determined to cross to England and join Charles I, but at Gothenburg he just missed a ship sailing for Hull (see p. 209), and as another vessel was leaving for Leith he took passage in it and joined the Covenanters. For ten months he was with the Scottish army of occupation in England, being sent thereafter to Ireland to help the Ulster Scots. In 1644 he delivered Newry to the English, and returned to Scotland with the intention of joining Montrose. As that nobleman's invasion failed, however,

he retained his commission in the Covenanting army and marched with it to England in 1645. When Charles I was a prisoner with the Scots in 1646, Turner had several interviews with him. A year later he was made Adjutant-General.

Turner was one of those who, in 1648, supported the proposal to send an army to England to rescue the King, and as the people of Glasgow were against this he was ordered there to suppress opposition. This he did by the simple expedient of billeting soldiers on the ringleaders. After Cromwell defeated the Scots at Preston, Turner surrendered to Lilburne at Uttoxeter, and from September 1648 to November 1649, he was a prisoner at Hull. As his release was conditional on his going abroad for a year, he went to Hamburg and then to Breda. Lack of money prevented him joining Montrose in 1650, but he reached Scotland later in the year, was reconciled to the Covenanters (for explanation of this see p. 219), and was present with Charles II at Worcester. Here he was taken prisoner, but managed to escape to the Continent, where he remained till 1654, when he visited Fifeshire in a futile effort to foster a Royalist rising. From that time till the Restoration he was employed on Royalist missions on the Continent, being in close attendance on Charles II at Breda from 1659-1660. In 1657 he went to Danzig and offered to help the Poles against Gustavus Adolphus, Cromwell's ally.

At the Restoration Turner was knighted, and subsequently he was sent to subdue the Covenanters in the South-West. His capture at Dumfries in 1666 marked the beginning of the

Pentland Rising, and he was a prisoner with the insurgents all through that disastrous episode. He made his escape during the battle of Rullion Green. The rising was supposed to have been caused by Turner's extreme measures in dealing with the Covenanters, though he himself states that, so far from exceeding his orders, he never even carried them out to the full. Charles II, however, ordered a Privy Council enquiry to be held, and as a result of this Turner was, in 1668, deprived of his commission. Thereafter he lived at Glasgow and at Craig in Ayrshire, devoting his time to writing, for he was a man of great learning.

Turner was a typical Scottish military adventurer, and shares with Major-General Robert Monro the honour of being the original of Sir Walter Scott's Dugald Dalgetty. In his youth he loved the game of war for its own sake, and, as he himself admitted, was prepared to serve any master faithfully no matter what the cause might be. It was in this spirit that he joined the Covenanters, and served with them in England and in Ulster. After that, however, a certain latent preference for the Royalist cause asserted itself, and though Turner continued to serve the Covenanters, he now regarded himself as definitely a supporter of Charles I. His readiness to join the expedition to England in 1648 was an expression of that feeling. Only shortage of money prevented him joining Montrose in 1650, and his seeming reconciliation to the Covenanters in 1651 was due partly to the willingness of the leaders of that party to do anything to get supporters, and partly to his own belief that he was doing the best



SIR JAMES TURNER

thing possible to further the interests of his King. He frankly admits (see p. 219) that there was something underhand in this action, but at the same time he makes it clear that each side was not only deceitful, but was also fully aware of the deceit in the other.

The Pentland Rising was in every way an unfortunate affair for Turner, and though it is doubtful whether the charges against him were well-founded, certainly, on the evidence produced, the punishment was harsh.

Turner's *Memoirs* have been compiled from a great mass of papers which he wrote during the period between 1668 and his death. They are of considerable historical value, and are of great interest, as they present the events of the time from a Royalist point of view. Besides his dislike of the Covenanting cause, Turner had no love for the Covenanters themselves, many of whom he regarded as hypocrites and time-servers. Their methods, too, and their parade of their religious exercises, disgusted him. Turner probably despised himself for his deceit in continuing in the Presbyterian army, for from his *Memoirs* he appears to have been a man of honour, eager to serve his King in every way possible, and to get the maximum of enjoyment out of his military career. Another side of his character is detailed by Bishop Burnet on p. 285.

A RESTLESS DESIRE.

I was not seventeene yeares old when I left the schooles, where haveing lightlie passed thorough that course of philosophie which is ordinarlie

taught in the universities of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and grandfather to commence Master of Arts at Glasgow, much against my will, as never intending to make use of that title which undeservedlie was bestowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath beene on too many since. I stayed a yeare after with my father at Dalkeith, applying myselfe to the studie of humane letters and historie, in bothe which I allways tooke delight. . . . Bot before I attaind to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a restless desire enterd my mind, to be, if not an actor, at least a spectator of these warrs which at that time made so much noyse over all the world, and were managd against the Roman Emperour and the Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auspitious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sueden. Sir James Lumsdaine was then levieing a regiment for that service; with him . . . I engaged to go over ensigney to his brother Robert Lumsdaine, eldest captaine.

AN INTERLUDE.

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, our English and Scotch regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at Oldendorpe. . . . I was lodged in a widows house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a rittmaster of the Emperors. She was very handsome, wittie and discreet; of her, thogh my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfitlie enamourd. Heere we stayd sixe weeks, in which time she taught me the Hie

Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne bot very rudlie from sojors.

HOW TURNER BECAME A COVENANTER.

I understood there were two ships lying at Millstrand in Norway, three Suedish miles from Gottemberg, one ane Englishman bound for Hull, ane other a Dane bound for Leith. I had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime . . . which was, that so we serve our master honnestlie, it is no matter what master we serve; so, without examination of the justice of the quarrell,¹ or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I resolved to goe with that ship I first rencounterd. . . . Understanding the wind blew faire for both ships. I was advisd to step out,² and goe a foot straight thorough the toun to the shoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my servant and coffer. I did so, and came just there as the Englishman was hoyseing his sailes. I askd him if he wold give me passage to Hull . . . who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold presentlie step in. I beseeched him to stay till my servant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no intreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable skipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hinderd me to present my endeavors to serve the King against the Covenanters. I calld instantlie for the

¹The time was September, 1640. The quarrel, of course, was the Covenanting wars.

²That is, to step out of the rowing boat which had brought him from Gothenburg.

Dane who was bound for Scotland, resolving to serve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; so deeplie was that base maxime rooted in my heart.

WHY HE DID NOT TAKE THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sueare and signe it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle, haveing not yet studied a better one, that I wrongd not my conscience in doing any thing I was commanded to doe by these whom I served. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me; everie one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England.

SERVING THE KING IN THE COVENANTING ARMY.

I had then¹ lookd a litle more narrowlie in the justice of the cause wherin I servd then formerly I used to doe, and found I had done well enough in my engadgement against the bloodie rebels in Ireland. Bot the new Solemne League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Estates requird an absolute submission) summond all my thoughts to a serious consultation; the result wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treacherous and disloyall combination against lauffull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians and I communicated our thoughts one to another. . . . All of us thought it our duetie to doe the King all the service we could against his ungracious subjects; and therefore resolvd not to take the

¹1644.

Covenant, bot to joyne with the Marques of Montrose, who had the Kings commission. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Estates, till we got one thousand pound, and tuo hundreth sterline money for each regiment, and a sute of cloths for everie sojor. The Committee pressd much the signing of the covenant. . . . We wavd it with many pecious pretences; especialle we desird sixe weeks time to advice with our consciences hoping before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to speake plainer language. . . . By Montrosse his neglect, and Calanders perfidie, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wished to doe the King service.¹

WHY HE TOOK THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

E. Calander requireing an adjutant generall for his new forces from the Committee they were all pleasd to name me to be the man fitting for it; upon which ane act of Committee was made, without acquainting me with it; that I sould have that charge, and continue likewise major as I was. This offer being made to me when I expected Montrosse, and was with good reason dissatisfied with Calander, I refusd it. . . .

¹Turner and his associates invited Montrose to come to Stirling, where he would receive great support. When Montrose entered Scotland in 1644 he was defeated at Dumfries and forced to retire. His supporters claimed that he had advanced into Scotland too soon, and Turner here means that if Montrose had taken more thought he could have reached Stirling, co-operated with Huntly in the north, and subdued the Covenanters without trouble.

Notwithstanding of all this, Calander did not give over to give me all imaginable assureances that he wold act for the King, and that the greater pouer he was invested with, the more vigorouslie and vigilantlie wold he show himselfe active and loyall for his Majestie. This put me in some hopes I might be instrumentall under him to doe the King some service. Withall, I knew I was vehementlie suspected by the Committee of Estates, and if I had denuded myselfe of all imployment, which was my greatest securitie, I had runne the hazard of imprisonment, if not worse ; Upon these grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marchd into England, and I with them, and made a fashion (for indeed it was no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters ; a thing, (thogh too much practisd in a corrupt world) yet in itselfe dishonest, sinfull and disfavoueable ; neither did any good at all come of this, for Calander all along provd true to his own interest and gaine, and false to the Kings

AN INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES I IN PRISON.

In the summer of the yeare 1646, the Kings fate driveing him on to his neere approaching end, he cast himself in the Scots armes at Neuarke. There did E. Lothian, as president of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperiouslie require his Majestie to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Neuarke, . . . to signe the Covenant, to order the establishment of presbyterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Grahame . . . to lay

doune armes ; all which the King stoutlie refused. . . . At Sherburne I spoke with him, and his Majestie haveing got some good caracter of me, bade me tell him the sence of our armie concerning him. I did so, and withall assurd him he was a prisoner, and therefor prayd him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could doe him. . . . Bot our conversation was interrupted very uncivillie by Lieutenant Generall Lesleys command, neither was I ever permitted afterward to speake with him.

A DUEL.

Haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great person, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was some animositie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horse ; drinke prevailing over my reason, I forced him to draw his suord, which was tuo great handfulls longer then mine. This I perceiving, gripd his suord with my left hand, and thrust at him with my right ; bot he stepping backe avoyded it, and drew his suord away, which left so deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formost finger, that I had almost losd the use of both. . . . Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The passengers parted us ; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I sought him farre and neere. . . . This was the first time ever my blood was draune. . . .

DUNAVERTY.

We beseegd Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded tuo

stripes of water. This we did take in the assault. Fortie of them were put to the suord. . . . After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley. I was orderd to speake with them ; neither could the Lieutenant Generall¹ he movd to grant any other conditions, then that they sould yeeld on discretion or mercy At length they did so ; and after they were comd out of the Castle, they were put to the suord, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I begd, to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had smoaked out of a cave, as they doe foxes. . . . Mr Johne Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the kirke to waite on him² as his chaplaine) never ceasd to tempt him to that bloodshed and I verilie beleeve that this prevaild most with David Lesley, who lookd upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. . . . Bot I reallie beleeve, advise him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times since, and even very soone after the doeing it.

GLASGOW RECEIVES A LESSON.

Innumerable allmost were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdome, against the

¹In 1647 Turner became Adjutant-General in the Covenanting army of Lieutenant-General Leslie, and was with the army that subdued the royalist supporters in Kintyre and the Argyllshire islands. Dunaverty was a Macdonald stronghold at the extreme south of Kintyre, eight miles east of the Mull.

²Leslie.

raising of forces for his Majesties releasment.¹ Glasgow being a considerable toune, was most refractorie to this Parliament. . . . For this reason, I am sent to Glasgow to reduce it to obedience. . . . At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill ; for I shortlie learned to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers, and halfe a dozen musketeers, was ane argument strong enough, in two or three nights time, to make the hardest headed Covenanter in the toune to forsake the kirk, and side with the parliament.

A TYPICAL COVENANTING INCIDENT—FROM A ROYALIST POINT OF VIEW.

Meantime a pettie rebellion must be usherd in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredest misteries of it, even the celebration of our Lord's supper ; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Savieours sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated, and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church ; so handsomelie, I say, could these hipocrits make it the simbole of warre, and bloody broyles. Whill I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlin Church, to pertake wherof all good people are permitted to come ; bot because the times were, forsooth, dangerous, it was thought fit all the men sould come armed. Nixt Monday, which was their thanksgiveing day, there were few lesse to be seene about the church

¹In 1648 Turner willingly agreed to serve under the Duke of Hamilton, who, aided by the Scottish Parliament, proposed to send an army to England to rescue the king.

then tuo thousand armed men, horse and foot. I had got some intelligence of the designe before, and had acquainted the Duke with it; who orderd me expreslie not to sturre till Calander and Middletones coming¹

A MUTINY QUELLED.

And heere, indeed, I will say, that my Lord Dukes great fault was in giving E. Calander too much of his pouer all along; for I have often heard him bid him doe what he pleased, promiseing to be therwith well contented. And therfor Calander was double to be blamd, first for his bad conduct, (for that was inexcusable), and nixt for reproching the Duke with that whereof himselfe was guiltie. To fill up the measure of our misfortunes, our troopers mutine against the Duke, Calander, and all their officers. . . . The Duke and Calander are keepd prisoners, with strong guards of the mutineers, all nixt night in the Dukes lodgeing, with many other officers, and among others myselfe. Nixt morning, so soone as I could see, I cald over the window of the Dukes chamber to them, and askd them, if they were not yet ashamd of the base usage they had given their Generall, and of that contempt they had shown of all discipline, and of the ignominie of this action; and requird them, if for no other reason, yet for their oun safetie from the common enemy, to returne to their duetie, and goe home to their lodgings. Immediatlie they removd their guards, and went to their severall quarters, cursing in

¹The communicants, after repulsing Middleton's horse, were themselves defeated by the troops under Callander and Turner.

generall words these who had prompted them to the mutine.

TURNER GIVES HIS PAROLE.

At the governors returne to Hull,¹ he required me to plight my faith to him, by a revers under my hand, to be a faithfull prisoner, and not goe without the walls of Hull without his libertie. He brought me this message himselfe. I told him I was readie to doe it, provided he removd his guards from me; which he refuseing to doe, I shew him that if he tooke my parole or faith, he was obliged to trust me. . . . He acknouledgd all I said to be true, bot withall he told me, I must either doe all he desired of me, or doe worse. I prayd him to tell me what was that? He said he had order from his Lieutenant Generall, meaning Cromwell, to keep me in irons. . . . He promisd to befriend me as much as he could, without his oune prejudice, and so indeed he did; bot assurd me any rough usage I ressavd or might ressave, came out of Scotland. I then gave him what he demanded, with many thanks for not putting his order in execution.

RELEASE.

Overton had promisd, that so soone as Cromwell went out of England, he wold propose some way for my libertie. So soone, then, as he was arrivd in Ireland, I put my Governor in mind of his promise. He adviseth me, in regard Watsone my marshall was going to London about his oune affaires, I sould give him some moneys, for

¹This passage and the next refer to Turner's imprisonment at Hull in 1648-1649.

which he wold oblige him to agent my busines according to his direction, which was this. A friend of his, one Colonell Nidam, was killd in the Parliaments service, and had left his wife very poore. She sould petition the Parliament to give her a prisoner, for whose libertie she might get some money. He said there was no doubt bot the Parliament wold referre the petition to Generall Fairfaxe, and then he wold deale with Mr Clerk, (who was then Fairfaxes secretarie . . .) that I sould be the man, if I wold satisfie the widow. . . . The Governor had cast up a right account ; for a letter is obtained to him from Fairfaxe to set me at libertie, I giving my paroll to goe beyond seas, and not to returne to any of the three kingdomes for a yeare. . . . I am presentlie taken out of my prison house, my guards removed, and I am accommoded in . . . the best inne of the toune. The nixt day I went to Overton¹ He askd me what I wold bestow on each of them ? I told him, fiftie pounds on the widow, and ten on Mr Cleark. He replyd the widow sould have bot fortie, and Mr Cleark five. . . . I resolvd to be gone with the first ship went from Hull, whatever place of Christendome she was bound for, feareing I might be stopd by some new order.

A DOUBLE LOSS.

I went² by land to Holland, accompanied with Colonell Sibbald, who carried letters from Montrose both to Scotland and Ireland. From Roterdame I wrote with him to my wife at Edin-

¹The governor. ²1650.

burgh, to furnish him with a considerable peece of money, (for he was not well stored,) which she did ; and he had his heade chopped of not long after at the Crosse of Edinburgh ; so I losd bath my friend and my money.

DELIBERATE DECEIT ON BOTH SIDES.

The desperate condition of affaires¹ movd some of the best naturd of the Presbiterian cleargie to thinke of some meane, to bring as many hands to fight against the publicke enemy as was possible ; and therfor, notwithstanding all their acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Kirk to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in State or Militia, who would satisfie the Church, by a publike acknowledgment of their repentance for their accession to that sinfull and unlawfull Engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to serve him, to follow the Churches direction in this point. Heerupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Crauford and Lauderdale, with many others, were admitted to Court, and numbers of officers ressaved and put in charge, and entrusted with new levies. . . . At length I am absolved,² and made Adjutant Generall of the Foot. . . . Behold a fearfull sinne ! The Ministers of the Gospell ressavd all our repentances as unfained, though they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit ; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlauffull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing

¹In 1651.

²Turner's work in the west in 1648 had been so offensive to the Covenanters that there was some hesitation about admitting him.

against the dictates of our oune consciences and judgments.

AFTER THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

At or neere Oxford, the Marshall Generall . . . exacted from the Lords, Officers and Gentlemen, who were prisoners, a parole and revese signd with their hands, to be faithfull prisoners, which most of all willinglie did ; bot Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond knouing I intended to endeavour my escape, refused to signe, least I, being the onlie person that wold not subscribe it, might have beene the worse used. The second night of our stay at Oxford, with the helpe of our hoste, a barger, a barbour, and a shoe-maker, I got out of the top of the house, and thorough ane other voyd house, escapeing all our guards both of horse and foot, not without obstructions and some merrie passages, the memorie wherof was afterwards pleasant, thogh then I runne tuice the neere hazard of breakeing my necke. I lay tuo days and nights in the garret of a new house, which had neither doore nor window in it. The search, which was not very strict, being over . . . I creepd out of my retreate, and in a very pitiefull disguise, accompanied with halfe a dozen of watermen, (who had all served the late King as sojors,) tooke my journey straight to London. The first day I walkd afoot to Morley, which was tuentie miles from Oxford ; but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes which I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last tuo miles. Lustie, strong and

loyall fellows they were, bot extreamlie debauchd. They misd not one ale-house in the way, and my paying for all the ale and beere they dranke (for I thanke God they wold drinke no wine,) did not at all trouble me ; but it was a vexation to me to drinke cup for cup with them, els they sould have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was necessitated to reveale myselfe, my honnest barger goeing before us all the way a horsebacke, and so serving us for a scout. . . . On horsebacke I came from Bramford, thretteene miles from Morley, and seven from London, and rode thorough at leaste two hundreth red coates that had convoyd my countrey men to Titlefield ; bot was well seconded in passing them by my trustie comerades, the watermen. At Bramford I tooke oares, and in the night time landed at Westminster staires.

TWO MONTHS IN THE STEWARTRIE.

In the month of March 1665, I was the second time commanded to that steuartrie,¹ with a partie consisting of one hundreth and tuentie foot and threttie horse, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution ; the people haveing beene extreamlie outragieous to their ministers, and disobedient to discipline. I stayd about tuo months in that countrey, and reducd it to ane indifferent good order, by cissing on some, and by both cissing and fineing others, and by faire meanes prevaileing with many ; so that most of the Ministers thought, if I had beene permitted to have stayd longer, they might have had some comfort in their charges, by a tollerablie

¹Kirkcudbright.

good compliance of their parishioners. Some money I exacted, sparinglie, from those of whose obedience I had hopes; bot from such as the ministers and I judged obstinate, I tooke some money, and bonds for all they were found to be dylie oweing, as 20s. scots for everie Lords day they had absented themselves from their parish churches. . . . After tuo months stay there, I was orderd to returne to Glasgow with both horse and foot. . . . Bot the people of Galloways minds being whollie estranged from the present government of the Church, and haveing beene bot terrified to ane exterior obedience, . . . they soone furnishd their ministers with new occasions of complaints.

TURNER'S ORDERS FROM THE COMMISSIONER.

I was sufficientlie impouerd, with orders and instructions from my Lord Commissioner, for censing, quartering on and fineing persons disobedient to church ordinances; neither had I at all any order to cite or processe formallie the contemnners and disfrequenteres of churches, and these who married and baptised with outed ministers; all which persons could not be dilated to me by the conforme ministers, for they knew lesse than I, which of their parishoners frequented conventicles. They might indeed misse them out of their churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after such, and to bestow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive ministers, (whom I had order to apprehend) and to find out such who harbourd them, and to quarter on them, and fine them.

HE PURSUES A MODERATE POLICY.

And heere I shall take leave, once for all, to write ane undoubted truth, which is, that I was so farre from exceeding or transgressing my commission and instructions, that I never come the full length of them ; sometimes not exceeding the sixth part of the fines, sometimes not the third, and seldome the halfe ; and many fines I never exacted at all, still upon the parties promises of future compliance.¹

CAPTURED BY REBELS.

Betueene eight and nine I arose . . . and haveing onlie my night gounne upon me, the rebells enterd the toune,² and surrounded my lodgeing. I went to a window, from whence I calld to them, and inquired what they intended. Severall of them, especially Neilson of Corsock, told me that, if I pleasd, I sould have faire quarter. My ansuere was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, being there was no warre declared. Bo I was ansuerd, that prisoner I must be, or dyt and therfor they wished me quicklie to come doune staires. . . . I went to the streets in my gounne, where . . . Captaine Gray . . . made me get on horsebacke, and wold have carried me uncloathd out of toune, promiseing therafter to send for my cloathes. Bot at length he was persuaded to goe with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on these clothes I wore the day before.³

¹See p. 228.

²Dumfries.

³This and the extracts following are concerned with the Pentland Rising of 1666.

THE CONVERSATION OF TWO COVENANTERS.

There was one of my guards . . . who entertained me the whole night, with discourses of death, by order, as I imagin'd, from the Captaine. He told me, he beleev'd it was concluded I sould dy, and therfor wish'd me to prepare for it, and to repent of all my haynous sinnes, especiallie of that crying one, of my persecuting Gods people, who made conscience to keepe the Covenant. . . . Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a visite, and thogh he be a Presbiterian, yet in plaine enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves.

"THAT I MIGHT HEARE HIM SAY GRACE."

I call'd for a cup of ale, purposlie that I might heare him¹ say grace. In it, he pray'd for the King, the restoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He pray'd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of Gods servant, who was then in bonds. He pray'd for my conversion, and that repentance and remission of sinnes might be granted to me. . . .

Towards the evening, Mr Robbinsone and Mr Crukshank gave me a visite ; I call'd for some ale, purposlie to heare one of them blesse it. It fell Mr Robbisone to seeke the blessing, who said one of the most bombastick graces that ever I heard in my life. He summon'd God Allmightie very imperiouslie to be their secundarie. . . . "and if," said he, "thou wilt not be our secundarie,

¹This was Mr. Welch. The incident took place in the inn at Dalmellington, and Mr. Welch had just concluded a long address to Turner on the necessity of being prepared to die.

we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause, bot thy cause ; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy oun cause, we are not obliged to fight for it. They say," said he, " that Dukes, Earls, and Lords are comeing with the Kings Generall against us, bot they shall be nothing bot a threshing to us." This grace did more fullie satisfie me of the follie and injustice of their cause, then the ale did quench my thirst.

A PASSAGE WITH THE GUARD;

He who commanded my guards, did most insolentlie revile me ; he told me, I was a greater persecuter of Christians, then any who was ever mentiond in historie. He said, I was the author of all the mischiefes that had befallen either the Covenanters, or the Covenant itselfe. . . . He was so extravagant, that I enterd in some passion with him, which made me tell him . . . I wold take no more notice of his language then of the barking of a dog ; at which the ridiculous fellow requird the rest of the guard to be his witnesses, that thogh there was a great alteration in my condition, yet my heart was not at all changed, bot hardend in wickednes, in so farre, that I had compared him, who was a good Christian, to a dog.

THE COVENANTERS FAIL TO KEEP A VOW.

Once I thought the rebells intended for Sanquor, to pay there some of their relligious vows ; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs castles and lands, because he was active against them . . . Bot the saints were wise in their anger, and delayed their revenge till a more fit opportunitie.

THE COVENANTING ARMY.

I found their horse did consist of foure hundreth and fortie, and the foot of five hundreth and upwards, besides the partie of horse which was at Lainrick;¹ and some other small parties which they had sent abroad to plunder horses; a Sundayes exercise proper onlie for phanaticks. The horse men were armed for most part with suord and pistoll, some onlie with suords. The foot, with musket, pike, sith,² 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 handsomlie, to my great admiration.

. . . . 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. . . .

SUNDAY, AND A ROYALIST CRITICISM OF THE COVENANTERS.

Let now all people of impartiall judgment; determine, whether this armie of pretended saints spent this Lords day, as Christians ought to does 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 gounne at Douglas, and spent the rest of the day, most of them in exerciseing, in a militarie way, and the rest in plundring houses and horses, and did not bestow one houre or minute of it, in

¹Lanark.²Scythes.

the Lords service, either in prayers, praises or preaching? Bot they made a good amends at night; for omitting the dueties of the day, by passing one act for renewing the Covenant, and ane other for murthering me whenever they sould thinke it fitting.¹ 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. . . . Bot I confesse I was more overweariet with the tediousnes and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the scarsnes or badnes of my meate and drinke.

COLONEL WALLACE.

This I shall say of him, (rebell as he is,) he was constantlie civill to me, and I have charitie to beleeve, if he had not beene over ruled by others, the restraint of my libertie wold have beene the greatest hurt I might have expected from him.¹

AN INCIDENT DURING THE SKIRMISH IN THE
PENTLANDS (RULLION GREEN).

Not long after this, we might heare Mr Welch and Mr Semple cry out very loudlie and very often, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob," without adding any more. This was, because they saw our commanded men² give some ground, my . . . guards echoed the same words, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob." I askd them

¹It is interesting to compare those passages and statements with Wallace's account—see pp. 229-236. It must be remembered that Wallace and Turner fought side by side twenty-three years before.

²*i.e.*, the Royalist forces ordered to give some ground.

what they meant. They answered, Could I not see the Lord of Hostes fighting for them? I told them then very passionatlie, that they understood not their oune condition, for they might see that party, which they thought was beaten, rally and stand. . . . It fell out so, that thogh the rebels, for their number, fought desperatlie enough, yet it pleased the Lord that they were beaten¹

AFTER PENTLAND.

Heere was ane end of the Rebellion and my imprisonment, bot not of all my misfortunes. Thogh at my returne to Edenburgh, I found persons of all ranks and qualities professe kindnes to me, and seemd to be glad I had escapd so eminent a danger, yet everie man is not to be taken at his word; The King haveing beene persuaded before, that no insurrection was, or wold be intended against the present established government, was easilie induced to beleieve that my severitie, or at best my indiscreet zeale, had occasioned the commotion.²

¹See p.235.

²See p.223.

JAMES WALLACE.

(d. 1678).

NOTHING is known of James Wallace prior to 1641 when he succeeded to his father's lands at Auchans in the Ayrshire parish of Dundonald. He must have commenced his military career at an early age, and during the civil war he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the parliamentary army. In 1642 he was in Ireland with the Marquis of Argyll's regiment, but three years later he was recalled to help against Montrose, and was taken prisoner at Kilsyth. He was back in Ireland in 1647, and in 1649 was for a few months governor of Belfast. Next year he was again in Scotland, and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of foot guards. He was made prisoner at Dunbar, and appears to have lived in retirement from that time till 1666. In that year he joined the Galloway insurgents who had captured Sir James Turner (see p. 223), and was chosen by them to be their leader. After the defeat at Rullion Green he escaped to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in 1678.

The following passages are taken from Wallace's own narrative of the Pentland Rising. This is a plain, straightforward account, obviously written by one who was an earnest Presbyterian, who was actuated by the most disinterested motives, and who firmly believed that the rising

would secure some redress for the wrongs suffered by the Covenanters. He shows quite clearly that the causes of failure were bad weather, the smallness of the forces at his disposal, and the non-appearance of promised assistance. Certainly no blame attached to Wallace himself, for he conducted the whole rising, and fought the final battle in accordance with the best military principles. Sir James Turner in his *Memoirs* (see p. 226 of this book) pays tribute to the efficiency of such men as he had, and also records his gratitude to Wallace (who had been his comrade in arms twenty-three years before) for his kindness to him during the time he was a prisoner.

THE EDINBURGH COVENANTERS RESOLVE TO JOIN.

Being met to-morrow, without any farther, every man's judgment was asked what should be our carriage in this case,¹ and what every man in particular was clear to do for himself. All was clear that it was our duty to own our brethren in Galloway, yea, and to go to them, and take share with them in what should be their lot, according to their capacity: and this every man spoke freely, to the great encouragement of one another.

DIFFICULTIES, BUT FIRM DETERMINATION TO GO ON.

From Cumnock we marched the same night to the Moorkirk, in a most violent rainy night, and a piece of miserable way, two hours within night, and what accommodation in that condition we could have there, is known to any who knows that place. The poor foot were forced all night, as

¹Wallace deals entirely with what happened after the taking of Turner.

wet as if they had been drenched in water, to lie in the kirk, without victuals or much fire. That night came the goodman (*alias* Mr. Andrew M'Cormack) to me to acquaint me that Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart had come to that place, and had been earnestly dealing with him and Mr. Brysone (*alias* Mr. Gabriel Semple) to follow the business no farther, for there was no ground to expect any help either from Clidesdale or any where else, that might give us any ground to follow it farther; and therefore their advice was, that we would, the fairest way and the handsomest we could, dismiss the people, and let every one see to himself. . . . We met all together, and after most serious incalling of the name of God, the matter as spoken by Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart, both the thing itself and all the arguments they did urge it by, were held forth; Without one contrary voice all resolved on this, that the coming forth to own that people in Galloway, they were clear, was of the Lord, and in that they had done nothing but followed his call. Second, many friends had promised to come forth. "If these now shall leave us, betwixt them and their master be it; but as for me (said every one) while¹ the Lord himself that bade me come, bid me likewise go, I will not go. Our master whom we serve who knows but the service he will have is but of so many whom he has particularly designed? We should follow on till he should do his service by us, and though we should all die at the end of it, we think the giving of a testimony enough for all."

¹Until.

So there was no more of that. Only there was two things proposed : The one was, the renewing of the covenant. . . . The other was, what course should be taken with Sir James Turner. Though there was no quarters given him, yet because of some words by the gentlemen that took him, and because of his being now, after so long a time, spared ;—for these reasons, this motion of pistoling him was slighted, alas ! it is to be feared too much.

THE COVENANT IS RENEWED AT LANARK.

The morrow morning we drew together in the rendezvous-place at the head of the town. While we are together, news comes that the enemy are within two miles. Some were against meddling with the renewing of the covenant, the enemy being so near ; but the devil prevailed not herein. . . . Having sent one with a matter of ten or twelve horse over the water to discover the enemy, and having a settled guard upon the water-side, and upon the boat, we went about it. The foot were drawn up about the tolbooth stairs, where Mr. Guthrie did stand : the horse at the head of the town, where Mr. Brysson and Mr. Crookshanks were actors. It was done with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition.

NEARING EDINBURGH.

While near night-falling, a strong body of the enemy's horse dogged our rear ; but night falling on they fell back. When we came to Bathgate, two hours within night, we can have no accommodation, nay, no cover from an extraordinary rain.

We went into a house, such as it was, and after prayer did consider what we should do next : back we might not go, the enemy being in our rear. After much debate, it was thought fit that we should march to-morrow early on the way towards Edinburgh ; being confident that, before we could come that length, we would hear from our friends at Edinburgh. . . . But within a very little after the meeting is dissolved, we get an alarm from some of our guards ; and though it was a dreadfully dark . . . and foul night, yet after that long wearisome march that day before, we were necessitated to draw forth, and calling in the guards, to march at twelve o'clock at night. . . . Except we had been tied together, it was impossible to keep together ; and every little burn was a river. We came near the new bridge¹ about fair day light ; but O, what a sad sight was it to see the condition we were in, so scattered and utterly undone, what with one thing, and what with another ! Yet within an hour or two, far beyond our expectation, most part were gathered together ; howbeit, many got never up. All this time we never heard less or more from our friends in Edinburgh, which we thought more than wonderful ; neither came there any further help to us from the west, whence we expected it. When we drew up on the east side of the new bridge, except some of the chief officers, there was not a captain present with the horse, save one After, the party was sent away to Colington, for to Edinburgh (not hearing any thing from there) we thought it not safe.

¹Across the Almond, 8 miles from Edinburgh.

ATTEMPTED NEGOTIATIONS.

Upon Wednesday morning, about daylight, Blackwood calls to be gone ; now Barskimming had slipped away very early. . . . Now, because of the condition we were in, being not above 800 or 900 men, and these most part without arms, and now being out of expectation of any supplies and considering the miserable condition of the weather we had gotten all that eight days before, and the sore marches night and day in our seeking to call out and gather together our friends ; and what influence these things had upon our spirits to discourage and break us, besides the influence they had on our bodies—for these reasons we were to have sent one of our number with Blackwood to the general Dalyell, by whom we might represent our grievances and the grounds of our thus appearing in arms ; but because we had none, whom we might spare, fit for the employment we forbore, and resolved . . . to write back to Dalyell with him,¹ though he had not written at all to us. Accordingly the letter is drawn subscribed by Wallace, and sent away by Blackwood.²

THE ROUT AT RULLION GREEN.

Being necessitated at such a place, because

¹Blackwood had come to Wallace from the Duke of Hamilton to see if a peaceable settlement could not be arrived at. He again came to Wallace at Colinton with a conciliatory message from Dalziel.

²Dalziel sent the letter to the Council, but it was not satisfied with the explanation of the rising given therein. Dalziel seems to have been unable to communicate this answer to Wallace.

several both horse and foot were straggling, to draw up, we were not well together when there is a report of a body marching towards us, through a glen that comes from Calder through Pentland Hills towards Pennicuick. Because it was hard by us, we went but two or three paces farther up on the brae, when we discover them within a quarter of a mile of us. . . . After this,¹ we perceive a party of their horses on their right hand advancing towards us. After some mutual communion what was fit to be done, whether to fight them, if put to it, that same night, because, if we delayed that night . . . we might expect, whatever we might be fewer, the enemy would be no fewer; after prayer it was resolved, that, if the Lord in providence did order so as we were put to it, we should put ourselves in his hand, and quit ourselves of our duty. . . . The party that we had seen advancing to us before prayer, came up so near that we found ourselves called to give them a meeting, and so a party of near as many were sent down from our left hand to meet them; and, in respect, there had come a few of their foot upon the flanks of their party, a few of our foot were sent off with ours to rencounter them. The two parties meets, and after fire given on both sides, they fall to it with swords. Whilst the two troops are dealing it thus betwixt them, our foot party makes theirs run. Immediately their horse runs likewise. . . . After . . . two fresh bodies had grasped a while together, the enemy runs, and, in the view of all, this party of ours did so hotly pursue them that they chased them far

¹After a preliminary skirmish.

away by their body.¹ . . . Now we had no more but a matter of fourscore horse to meet with their whole left hand. Always, all marches up towards other, but being oppressed with multitude we were beaten back; and the enemy coming in so full a body, and so fresh a charge, that having us once running, they carried it so strongly home, that they put us in such confusion that there was no rallying, but every man runs for his own safety. If the Lord had not in providence so ordered that we had greatly the advantage of the ground, being at a pretty height above them, and that it was growing dark, and close upon the edge of Pentland-hills whither we fled, in all probability there had been a greater destruction than there was.

¹This is probably the incident referred to by Turner on p.227.

JAMES KIRKTON.

(1620-?1699).

NOTHING is known of the early life of the Rev. James Kirkton. He became a Master of Arts of Glasgow University in 1647, and in 1655 was appointed to the second charge of Lanark, being afterwards translated to Mertoun in Berwickshire. He was removed from his charge in 1662, but under the Indulgence of 1672 he was appointed minister of Carstairs. He refused to accept this position, however, and retired to England, whence he came back in 1674 to preach to crowded congregations in Cramond Kirk, Edinburgh. Though these services were considered to be conventicles, and he himself was put to the horn as a rebel, he continued to stay in Edinburgh, and in 1676 occurred the remarkable incident related on p.254, when he was arrested by Captain Carstairs. He was rescued from this predicament by Baillie of Jerviswood, his brother-in-law, and deemed it advisable to seek refuge in Holland. Though he appears to have been in Scotland in 1679, he and his family were resident in Rotterdam in 1685. Two years later, however, Kirkton, availing himself of the Toleration Act, returned home and was appointed by the Presbyterian ministers to preach in Edinburgh. After the Revolution he was restored to Mertoun, and in 1691 he became minister of Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh. This charge he held till his death.

The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678 by the Rev. Mr. James Kirkton is one of the most valuable contemporary accounts of the Church during those trying years. Kirkton, being a Covenanter, writes, of course, with decided bias, and frequently exhibits an uncharitable spirit which, while not uncommon in his party, appears to have been particularly strong in him. At the same time, however, there is much candour and shrewdness of judgment in the *History*. Like most Covenanters, Kirkton had strong prejudices, but fortunately he had also a ready wit and a spirited style of writing. The *Secret and True History*, which contains many anecdotes of Kirkton's contemporaries, formed the basis of Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY AND THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS.

Scotland slept not all the time of the English warr,¹ something very considerable happened both in church and state. The English parliament a little after the king forsook them, in consideration of the lameness of their reformation, both in doctrine and government, thought fitt to convene ane assembly of divines at Westminster, by whose advice they resolved to reform their church. They called men of all persuasions. Some episcopal, some Erastian, and thither also they invited the General Assembly to send their commissioners for assistance. The assembly, to further so good a work, sent Mr Alexander Henderson, eminent

¹The Civil War.

for his grave prudence, Mr Samuel Rutherford for his heavenly gifts, Mr George Gillespie, that eminent disputant, and Mr Robert Baillie, a man for communications, together with the Lord Maitland, afterwards Earle and Duke of Lauderdale, a man of excellent parts, had they been blessed and improven, but as then his reputation was entire. This assembly sat diverse years, and ended rather by a consumption than a dissolution ; but in the time they were together, they agreed upon an excellent confession of faith, and two catechisms. . . .¹

MONTROSE.

Immediatly after the Scots army had marched into England to the parliament's assistance, did the king commissionate Montrose to raise a warr in Scotland, by which he made account either to oblige the covenanters to recall their army out of England, or at least to make that nation smart for their boldness. And this indeed he did effectually ; for, landing in the West Highlands, with a party of bloody Irish papists he over run the whole countrey, and beat the covenanters' forces in six bloody conflicts. His warr, I believe, was the most cruel in the world. The behaviour of his souldiers was to give no quarter in the field, and ordinarily wherever they came in the countrey, they deflowred the women and butchered the poor men, not contenting themselves with common slaughter, except they barbarously mangled the carcase. And that you may know what Scotland suffered in two of his bloody dayes, he made two hundered widows

¹See p. 165 ff.

in St Andrews and Kirkaldy, and this was much to his hatred and the king's dishonour. At length, after a year's prosperity, he was beat at Philiphaugh by David Lesly, and thereafter shrunk out of the land by the king's order.

THE CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.

They condemned him to die, and struck off his head, to the great astonishment of the world, and the sad regrave of Scotland, excepting these who had lossed their relations by his sword. He was a gentleman, because of his continual misfortunes pitied by most, and admired by many. I will not say but there are great mysteries in king's genealogies and characters: Common historians serving them as popish legendaries doe their latter saints, concealing all their vices, extolling common virtues as heroick. Yet I never heard his enemys blame him for the common vices of princes, except the two bastards in his youth, and his swearing in his old age. People generally think his greatest unhappiness was, he mistook wilfullness for constancy, his condescensiones alwayes coming too late, granting unprofitably to his people to-day that which would have abundantly satisfied yesterday, and the next day that which would have satisfied this day, but all out of time.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH UNDER CROMWELL.

The English did indeed proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters amongst protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course and all the time of their government the work of the gospel prospered not a little, but mightily.

It is also true, that because they knew the generality of the Scottish ministers were for the king upon any termes, therefore they did not permit the General Assembly to sitt, (and in this I believe they did no bad office) for . . . the Assembly seemed to be more sett upon establishing themselves than promoving religion. . . . And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation. . . . Ministers were painfull, people were diligent ; and if a man had seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three dayes at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world.

DREAMS OF A GOLDEN AGE.

He¹ wrote indeed a friendly letter to Mr. Hamilton, the minister in Edinburgh . . . assuring him he was the same in France that he had been in Scotland, by which ambiguous expression he seemed both to defend his own constancy and outreach the minister : yet was that letter looked at by many in Scotland as if it had been a renewing of the covenant. And tho' it be now confidently affirmed he corresponded with the Pope . . . yet it was at that time high læse majesty to doubt he was any other thing than a sincere covenanter. . . . So their affections to his person were equal to their discontent with the republican

¹Charles II.

governors. And to compleat the people's appetite for the king's return, the hopes founded upon his restauration were nothing behind either the discontent under Cromwell, or the affection to his person: for then did every fellow that had caught a scarr in a fray among the tories expect to be a man all of gold. All that had suffered for him in his warr, lossed for him of their estate, or been advocates for him in a tavern dispute, hoped well to be noticed as his friends, or to receive not only a compensation from his justice, but a gratuity from his bounty. I believe there were more gaping after prizes than his sufficiency, had it been ten times greater than it was, could ever have satisfied. All believed it would be the golden age when the king returned in peace.

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND AT THE RESTORATION.

At the king's return every parochie had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures. . . . Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, was obliged to preach thrice a-week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties wherein they abounded. . . . I have lived many years in a paroch where I never heard ane oath, and you might have ridde many miles before you had heard any; Also, you could not for a great part of the countrey have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayer. No body complained more of

our church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people were become so sober.

MR. JAMES SHARP.

The spirit that moved the whole engyne of the Scottish government, in order to the great designed alteration,¹ was Mr James Sharp, a man whose name is better known than his history, of which there is a great deal more true than will be believed, as it uses to be in cases and events extraordinary. His father was sheriff-clerk in the shyre of Banff. . . . He was a man of parts and a schollar, as he shewed himself when a regent in St Andrews, but a schollar rather cautious than able ; rarely would he ever engadge in a dispute, lest he might fall under disadvantage, and never would be the opponent, which he knew was the most difficult part. His great gift was his prudence, dissimulation, and industry, which qualified him well for his terrible undertakings. He was by all that knew him taken to be no better than a flate Atheist ; he used no private prayers, and once in a moneth served his family ; yea, he was known to be a man of a flagitious life, and not only a debauched pailliard, but a cruel murtherer. . . . Many believed him to be a demonaiick and a witch ; it is certain, when he was killed, they found about him beside his dagger, in his pocket, . . . several strange things, such as pairings of nailes and such like, which were judged inchantments. And this I can say of certain knowledge, the chirurgeon who first handled his body, when dead,

¹From Presbyterianism to Episcopalianism.

told me his body was not pierced with any ball shott at him.¹

“SOME FEW DAYES BEFORE THE DEATH OF
THE MARQUESSE OF ARGYLE.”

Att this time also our parliament thought fitt to honour Montrose his carcase with a glorious second burial, to compensate the dishonour of the first; . . . so he was first unburied, and then again buried in the High Church of Edinburgh, with all pomp and honour. . . . There was a scaffold raised for taking down his head with safety, and no small reverence was given to that relict; there's some bowing, some kneeling, some kissing it, and so it was buried with the body. . . . This was done some few dayes before the death of the Marquesse of Argyle.

ARGYLL'S VINDICATION.

He tooke leave of his friends in very gentle manner, distributing his tokens, and so received the stroke with very great lamentation, not only of friends but convinced enemies. His head was fixed on the top of the Tolbooth, to be a monument either of the parliament's justice or of the land's misery. He was a man of singular piety, prudence, authority, and eloquence; and tho' he hade been much both envyed and callumniated, yet his death did abundantly vindicate him²

¹This is, of course, too ludicrous to believe, and, in any case, in spite of Kirkton's confident assertion, several medical men who examined the body found wounds.
See also page 313.

²See Burnet's character sketch of Argyll on p. 271.

A PAGEANT IN LINLITHGOW.

Upon the first 29th of May, 1661,¹ the town of Lithgow after they hade filled their streets with bonfires very throng, and made their crosse run wine, added also their ridiculous pageant. They framed ane arch upon four pillars, and upon one side the picture of ane old hagge with the Covenant in her hand, and this inscription above: A GLORIOUS REFORMATION. On the other side of the arch was a whigge with the Remonstrance in his hand, with this inscription, NO ASSOCIATION WITH MALIGNANTS. On the other side was the Committee of Estates, with this inscription, ANE ACT FOR DELIVERING UP THE KING. On the fourth side was the Commission of the Kirk, with this inscription, THE ACT OF THE WEST KIRK. On the top of the arch stood the Devil, with this inscription, STAND TO THE CAUSE. In the midst of the arch was a litany :

From Covenants with uplifted hands,
From Remonstrators with associate bands,
From such Committees as govern'd this nation,
From Church Commissioners and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.

WHY THE KING WANTED BISHOPS.

The king (even as his fathers) was resolute for bishops, notwithstanding his oath to the contrair. He knew well bishops would never be reprovers of the court, and the first article of their catechism

¹That is, the first of the officially ordered celebrations of the 29th of May, which was the anniversary not only of the king's birthday, but also of his landing in 1660.

was non-resistance. They were men of that discretion as to dissemble great men's faults, and not so severe as the presbyterians. They were the best tools for tyrannie in the world ; for doe a king what he would, their daily instruction was, kings could doe no wrong, and that none might put forth a hand against the Lord's anointed and be innocent. The king knew also he should be sure of their vote in parliament, desire what he would, and that they would plant a sort of ministers which might instill principles of loyalty into the people till they turned them first slaves and then beggars.

MR ROBERT DOUGLAS SHUTS HIS DOOR.

Mr Sharp makes (for the fashion) a visit to Mr Robert Douglass at his own house, where, after his preface, he informed him it was the king's purpose to settle the church under bishops, and that for respect to him his majesty was very desirous Mr Douglass would accept the archbishopric of St Andrews. Mr Douglass answered, he would have nothing to doe with it. . . . Sharp insisted and urged him ; Mr Douglass answered as formerly, whereupon Sharp arose and took leave. Mr Douglass convoyed him to his gallery door ; and after he hade passed the door, Mr Douglass called him back, and told him, James, (said he,) I see you will engadge, I perceive you are clear, you will be bishop of St Andrews : take it, and the curse of God with it. So clapping him upon the shoulder, he shutt his door upon him.

THE HIGHLAND CATTLE GO UNTENDED.

All this winter and spring the churches in the west and a great part of the south lay desolate, the people having no preaching in them, and in this time the poor people had leisure enough to whet their zeal against the bishops and their followers. . . . They¹ were very bussie to leavy a crew of young curats and these they fetched almost wholly out of the north countrey, where they found a sort of young lads, unstudied and unbred and so profane and void of conscience themselves, that they believed there was none in any other. . . . So they went to their churches with the same intention and resolution a shepherd contracts for herding a flock of cattell. A gentleman in the north cursed the presbyterian ministers, because (said he) since they left their churches wee cannot get a lad to keep our cows, they turn all ministers; Now, when these men came to their churches about the end of the spring, in some places they were welcomed with tears and requests to be gone; in some places they were entertained with reasonings and disputes, in other places with threatnings and curses, and in others with strange affronts and indignities; some stole the bell tongue, that the people's absence from sermon might be excuseable; some barricadoed the door, to oblige the curat to enter by the window literally. . . . In many places where the curats entered, the people mett together in multitudes, and not only opposed their establishment but stoned them: People in the west and south found their churches deso-

¹The bishops.

late, and so were constrained to wander for lack of bread, sometimes to the churches where the old forlorn presbyterian ministers continued their ministry, sometimes to share of the family exercises of the younger ministers, who were outted and sojourned among them; and sometimes the multitude that came to partake of the family exercises increased so, that the minister was constrained to preach without, and at length to goe to the open fields, which was the cause and original of field meetings in Scotland.

THE CONDUCT AND DOCTRINE OF THE CURATES.

You shall have then an example of the scandals of these who were sett to be examples to the flocks of poor Scotland: First, for swearing, it was so common I need to say nothing. I take the Lord to witness, I've heard the curats upon Edinburgh streets swear as fast as ever I heard a debauched red-coat. . . . Of drunkenness I need not accuse them; no man will deny they wallowed in our gutters drunk in their canonical gowns. . . . I am weary of their scandals. Wee shall come to their doctrine; . . . if ye would understand a Scotch curat's faith, take Burnet's dialogues, (he was curat of Salton, he is now bishop of Sarum,) and there you see what soundness and zeal was to be found among them.¹ . . . For my part, I never heard of a soul converted by a curat's preaching . .

The curats, with two or three souldiers, fyned whom they would, and even as they thought good. They spared not the gentleman, if his wife, or servants, or tennants, withdrew from the curats,

¹See p. 283.



THE COVENANTERS' COMMUNION
From an Engraving by Sir George Harvey

tho' himself attended most punctually ; nor yet the tennant, if the landlord withdrew, tho' they themselves attended. They spared not the widow and the fatherless, nor the bedrid, or the beggar who was forced to beg his fyne, that he might pay them ; they snatcht the meat from the children, that they might give it to their dogs : they quartered in houses till they destroyed their substance, and burnt the furniture ; they chased the husband from the wife and the wife from the husband ; many a family they scattered, and in one poor paroch (Irongray) no lesse than 16. If the poor people complained to their officers, they were beaten ; if to the state, they were neglected ; and indeed some of our great men cared not how odious the bishops made themselves. In a short time they gathered of a few countrey people the sume of 50,000 lib. Scots, which was thought a great sume at that time.

MR. SMITH MEETS SHARP AND ROTHES.

Mr Alexander Smith, ane outted minister . . . was brought before the commission for preaching privately, or (as they call it) for keeping conventicles. He appeared, and because he called Bishop Sharp only Sir, the commissioner askt him, if he knew to whom he spake ? He answered, he knew he spoke to Mr James Sharp, sometime fellow minister with himself. Rothes replied, he hade not before acted as commissioner, but now he would begin ; and, without more adoe, commanded to put the poor man in irons, and lay him in the dungeon called the Theeves' Hole,¹ in

¹At Kilmarnock.

company with a poor furious distracted man ; and there he lay, till . . . he was relegate to Shetland, and there he lay many a year. I heard him say he was in ane island four years, where he hade neither food nor fire, but to keep in a miserable life, his bread being only barley, his feuel sea-tangle.

A SCOTS WORTHY.

Mr Welsh was a godly, meek, humble man, and a good popular preacher ; but the boldest undertaker that ever I heard a minister in Christ's church, old or late ; for, notwithstanding of all the threats of the state, the great price sett upon his head, the spyte of the bishops, the diligence of all blood-hounds, he maintained his difficult post of preaching upon the mountains of Scotland, many times to many thousands, for near 20 years time, and yet was alwayes kept out of his enemies' hands. It is well known that bloody Clavers, upon intelligence that he was lurking in some secret place, would have ridden 40 miles in a winter night, yet when he came to the place he alwayes missed his prey.

TOM DALZIEL GOES TO THE WEST.

Thomas Dalyell, Laird of Bins, is imployed to command in chief. He was a man both rude and fierce for his natural disposition, and this hade been much confirmed by his breeding and service in Muscovia, where he hade the command of a small army, and saw nothing but tyrranie and slavery. He lived so, and died so strangely, it was commonly believed he was in covenant with the Devil : but he must be the bishop's generall.

. . . . After this,¹ Tom Dalyell (as he was commonly called) marched westward, to improve his victory and destroy his enemies ; and here he carried himself as if he had been in Muscovia. The souldiers take free quarters and doe what they will ; the whole substance of the countrey is consumed. Himself takes up his quarters at Kilmarnock, and there upon private examination of any whom he suspected either to have been in armes, or to harbour any of them, he not only threatned, but cruelly tortured whom he pleased. He thrust so many into the ugly dungeon at Kilmarnock, called the Theeves-hole, that they could not bow their bodies, but were forced to stand upright ; when one of them fell dangerously sick, he would not liberate him till he hade surety he should be returned living or dead ; and accordingly the poor sureties were forced to bring his carcase to the prison-door, where he lay a long time, till att last Dalyell permitted them to bury the dead man.

ONLY A BISHOP !

One Mr James Mitchell, a weak scholar, who hade been in armes with the whiggs, resolves he will kill Bishop Sharp, and for this provides himself with a case of loaden pistols. One day after dinner he waits for the bishop as he was to come from his lodging into his coach. At length down comes Sharp, with Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, at his back. Sharp enters the coach

¹After his victory at Rullion Green in 1666, where he defeated the Covenanters taking part in the Pentland Rising.

first, and takes his place ; then Mitchell drawes near and presents his pistol, while in the instant Honyman steps into the coach boot, and, lifting up his hand that he might enter, receives upon his wrest the ball that was design'd for the bishop. So Sharp scapt at that time. After the shot, Mitchell crosses the street quietly, till he came near Nidrie's Wynd head, stept down the wynd, and, turning up Steven Law's close, enter'd a house, and shifting his cloaths, past confidently to the street. The cry arose, a man was killed. The people's answer was, It's but a bishop ; and so there was no more noise. . . . This happened in June, 1668.

LAUDERDALE SHOWS THE PRICE OF A CONVENTICLE.

Duke Lauderdale came down to Scotland in Aprile, 1672, and conveened his session of parliament wherein he first procured money for the king's warrs ; then made several acts against the presbyterians, such as ane act against their ordinations, ane act against private baptizmes and conventicles, declareing it alwayes ane unlawfull conventicle if more than four persons beside the family were present ; then he adjourned his next session of parliament till June But tho' he hade ane indulgence in his pocket, yet his behaviour shewed no favour either to the interest or party ; for, first, when several gentlemen were brought before him to pay their exorbitant fynes for their accession to conventicles, his answer was, " Now, gentlemen, ye know the price of a conventicle, and shame fall them that tyres first."

THE WOMEN OF EDINBURGH PRESENT A PETITION.

Also this summer, because men durst not, the women of Edinburgh would needs appear in a petition to the councill, wherein they desired a gospell ministry might be provided for the starving congregations of Scotland. Fifteen of them, most part minister's widows, engadged to present so many copies to the principal lords of councill, and upon the 4th of June filled the whole Parliament Closse. When the chancellor came up, Sharp came up with him, and as the chancellor left his coach, Sharp clapt close to his back, fearing, it may be, bodily harm, which he then escapt; only some of them reproached him, calling him Judas and traitor, and one of them laid her hand upon his neck, and told him that neck must pay for it ere all was done, and in that guessed right; Mr John Livingston's widow undertook to present her copie to the chancellor, which she did. He received it, and civilly pul't off his hat. Then she begane to speak, and took hold of his sleeve. He bowed down his head and listened to her (because she spake well,) even till he came to the councill chamber door. She who presented her copy to Stair found no such kind reception, for he threw it upon the ground But when the councill conveened, the petition was turned into a seditious lybell in the vote of the court. The provest and guard were sent for, but none of these were very cruell; only they threatned, and the women dissolved. Thereafter for ane example some of them were cited, and some denounced rebels. Three women they incarcerate also for a time and this was the end of that brush.

A STRANGE THING BEFALLS MR. KIRKTON.

At this time Lauderdale govern'd Scotland at his pleasure. Whatever he desired of the king was granted ; whatever he required of the council was obeyed more readily than a hundred of our old kings ; and truly whatever the man was, he was neither judged a cruel persecutor nor an avaritious exactor . . . all the times of his government ; so after the ministers were inter-communed, things continued pretty quiet till a small spark kindled a great flame, and because much followed upon this particular . . . I shall give it more distinctly : Mr James Kirkton, one of the outed ministers, walking Edinburgh street about noon, was very civilly accosted by a young gentleman, Captain Carstaires, attended by another gentleman and a lackey. Carstaires desired to speak a word with him, to which he answered he would wait upon him, but because he knew not to whom he spake, he quietly asked the other gentleman (James Scot of Tushielaw) who this young gentleman might be, but Scot answered with silence and staring. Then Mr. Kirkton perceived he was prisoner among his enemies, but was very glade they carried him to a private house, and not to the prison . . . but they carried him to Carstaire's chamber, an ugly dark hole in Robert Alexander, messenger, his house. As soon as ever he was brought into the house, Carstaires abused him with his tongue, and pushed him till he got him into his own chamber . . . After he had got him into his ugly chamber, he sent away Scot and Douglass his lackey (Mr Kirkton

supposed) to fetch his companions, but as soon as they were alone Mr Kirkton askt him what he meant? Carstaires answered, Sir, you owe me money. Mr Kirkton askt him whom he took him to be, denying he owed him any thing. Carstaires answered, Are not you John Wardlaw? Mr Kirkton denied, telling him who he was indeed. Then Carstaires answered, if he were Mr Kirkton he had nothing to say to him. Mr Kirkton askt him who he was? He answered, he was Scot of Erkletone Mr Kirkton knew not what to think After they had stayed together about half ane hour Jerriswood, Andrew Stevenson, and Patrick Johnston came to the chamber-door, and called in to Carstaires, asking what he did Mr Kirkton, finding his friends come, took heart; "Now," sayes Mr Kirkton to Carstaires, "there be some honest gentlemen at your door who will testifie what I am, and that I am not John Wardlaw; open the door to them." "That will I not," sayes Carstaires; and with that layes his hand on his pocket-pistoll, which Mr Kirkton perceiving, thought it high time to appear for himself, and so clapt Carstaires closs in his armes; so mastering both his hands and his pistoll, they struggled a while in the floor, but Carstaires being a feeble body, was borne back into a corner. The gentlemen without hearing the noise, and one crying out of murther, burst quickly the door open and so entered and quietly severed the strugglers, tho' without any violence or hurt done to Carstaires. As soon as Mr Kirkton and the gentlemen had left Carstaires alone, Scot his companion

came to him, and they resolved not to let it goe so, but to turn their private violence into state service; and so to Hatton they goe with their complaint . . . and he told the councill, when they were conveened, that their publick officers hade catcht a fanatick minister, and that he was rescued by a numerous tumult of the people of Edinburgh. The councill tryed what they could, and examined all they could find, and after all could discover nothing upon which they could fasten . . . and so some councillors were of opinion the councill might doe best to pass it so altogether. But Bishop Sharp told them, that except Carstaires were encouraged, and Jerriswood made ane example, they needed never think a man would follow the office of hunting fanaticks; and upon this all these who resolved to follow the time and please the bishops, resolved to give Sharp his will. So the next councill day . . . Jerriswood was fyned 9000 merks (3000 of it to be given to Carstaires for a present reward;) Andrew Stewart was fyned 1500 merks, and Patrick Johnston in a 1000, and all three condemned to ly in prison till Mr Kirkton were brought to relieve them. This act bare date Jully 3d, 1676, and occasioned great complaining. . . . Hatton sent up a false information of the affair to his brother, wherein he accused all who hade spoke against the vote, as if they hade agreed to subvert authority; upon which the secret councill of Scotland was changed, and all who hade spoke against the vote were ejected. . . . Now there was nothing to be seen in the cuntry but violence and persecution.

THE HIGHLAND HOST.

And now the Highland Host (as it was called) appear upon the stage. The west countrey men must be tempted by a sharp tentation, to see if possibly their despair in resistance might excuse their much-desired destruction. They rendivouze at Stirling, June 24, 1678, to the number of 8000 men, with the northern lords, collonells, and lairds their captains. . . . They spread themselves through the whole counties of Clidesdale, Renfrew, Cunninghame, Kyle, Carrick; Galloway they did not reach. They execute their commission exactly; they disarmed the whole countrey once more, they unhorsed the gentry, they constitute their committees, and before them they cited the whole heritors; and tho' many took their Highland bond, (as it was called) yet the body of the gentry refused it. . . . As for the oppressions, exactions, injuries and cruelties committed by the Highlanders among the poor people of the west countrey, it is a bussiness above my reach to describe.

ROBERT LAW.

(d. ?1690)

ROBERT LAW, a son of the minister of Inchinnan in Renfrewshire, became a Master of Arts of Glasgow University in 1646, and in 1652 was called to the parish of New Kilpatrick. Dumbarton Presbytery, being displeased with his trial sermon, however, refused to induct him, but the Synod overruled this, and admitted him. Ten years later he was deposed for refusing to conform to Episcopacy, and in 1674 he was arrested on a charge of preaching at conventicles, and taken to Edinburgh, where he was reprimanded. He accepted the indulgence of 1679 and was restored to his parish.

Law's *Memorials, or the Memorable Things that fell out within this Island of Brittain from 1638 to 1684* is a record of events national and local, and is only personal in a very detached way. It gives expression to a very definite point of view, however, for Law, though a Covenanter, had little or no sympathy with the extremists of that party. One notable feature of the work is the abundant proof it affords of the prevalence of superstition and of belief in the supernatural.

CROMWELL AND CONTRADICTIONARY OATHS.

Oliver Cromwell, the generall of the English forces, makes himself Protector over Britain and Ireland, anno 1652; summons parliaments to

sitt, and dissolves them at pleasure ; and, in a word, ruled with more absolute power and authority than ever any king before him did. . . . Oliver Cromwell did propose contradictorie oaths to the oaths of alleadgance and the Solemn League and Covenant. Then the nobles and others, in place of power in the lands, renouncing King and House of Lords, binding alledgance to him as the keeper of the liberties of England during their power, did for themselves ; so that, for a long time during the changes of government in this ileand, there was nothing but oaths taken this year, and contradictorie oaths the next, a practice hateful to the very heathen.

AN ECLIPSE, AND A FIRE IN GLASGOW.

In February 1652, there was a great eclipse of the sun about 9 hours in the forenoon on a Monday ; the earth was much darkened, the lyke, as thought by astrologers, was not since the darkness at our Lord's passion. The country-people teeling loused their plews, and thought it had been the latter day : Some of the starrs were seen, it fell so dark ; the birds clapt to the ground. There followed a great heat that summer, and in July of that yeir was Glasgow brunt, the whole Salt-Mercat, and a great part of the town ; the fire on the one syde of the street fyred the other syde ; I observed myself the wind to have changed the tyme of the burning five or six tymes.

A TROUBLESOME DEVIL.

October, 1670, There was a divill that troubled a house in Keppoch, within a mile of Glasgow, for the matter of eight days tyme, (but disappeared

again) in casting pits, and dropping stones from the roof, yet not hurting any, lyke that which appeared in the west, in a weaver's house, a good man, about 14 years agoe, which did the lyke, and spoke to them audibly.

TRADE MONOPOLY.

Att the same tyme¹ did the company, called the Royal Company, which was a company of some of the nobility, and others joined with them, did monopolize some treading only to themselves, such as that of salt and fish, etc.; so that no others might import or export salt or fish for certain months of the yeir, but they only of that company; which did impoverish many families, which traded that way in Scotland. This did occasion great grumbling amongst the people.

A SEDITIOUS PREACHING IN EDINBURGH.

Nov. 24.² The parliament of Scotland sit doun, and thair was givin in a complaint by Lord Queensbery against Mr John Paterson, the dean of Edinburgh, for a seditious preaching he had Saboth last, reflecting on some members of Parliament, (who gave in some grivances,) telling that the giving in of grivances was the first thing began the first warrs against King Charles the First, and that many now a-days were lyk Absalom siting in the gate, and saying, "O if I were ruler." This was much quarrell'd by some members of parliament, and the commissioner referred it to the Bishops Sharp and Lighton to consider the same; and if they did not satisfy the parliament, they should take it to their own consideration.

¹1671. ²1673.

CHARACTER OF LAUDERDALE.

Aprile 1674, the Duke of Lauderdale, his majesty's commissioner, takes jurnay fra Edinburgh to London, notwithstanding any bill of the English parliament to the contrar, and is graciously welcomed by the king's majesty. Before he went, he told his noble friends he was not affraid of any bogles by the way, it being surmised afore, that some would seek his hurt by the way. He was truly a man of a great spirit, great parts, great witt, a most daring man, and a man of great success, and did more without the sword than Oliver Cromwell, the great usurper, did with it; was a man very national, and truely the honour of our Scots nation for witt and parts.¹

LAUDERDALE MAKES A MISTAKE.

The difference² betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the nobility on his syde, and the Duke of Hammilton and the nobility on that side, begetts great trouble to our nation; . . . Lauderdale, supposing that the presbyterian ministers in Scotland did more favour Duke Hamilton and his way than himself and his way, conceives prejudice against them, and marrs the extent of the indulgence which was intended. That was his great mistake, for nothing can be more certainly affirmed than that the indulged brethren did love the peace of the nation, and the peace of these two noble families, wishing peace to both. Howbeit, it cannot be denied but that there was some not indulged, who sought to fish in muddie waters.

¹See also p. 276.

²The year is 1674.

SOME GLASGOW LAIRDS IN TROUBLE.

Aprile 1676, did a committee of the king's councell sitt at Glasgow, to witt, the Lord Ross, Lord Elphinstoun, and Archbishop Burnet, of Glasgow, and conveened before them Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk; James Hamilton of Akinhead; Alexander Wardrop of Dammarnock, Laird of Westburn; for hearing of outed presbyterian ministers; some whereof were inter-communed by the Stats; and becaus they would not give bond not to hear any outed ministers any more, and to keep the kirk, were imprisoned in Glasgow tolbooth, where they remained till the last of June, on which day they were taken to Edinburgh tolbuith, and July 21st, were fyned for keeping conventicles.

STRANGE SIGNS FROM THE SKIES.

June 1676, at Pasley, betwixt 11 and 12 at night, was seen by one man and four women a great fire from the heavens, and after that a sword in the air over above the tolbooth, moving here and there, which did much amase the beholders. They being examined by the ministers and one of the bailies of that town, did depone upon oath that they saw it.

MORE SUPERNATURAL MANIFESTATIONS.

January, 1677. There was seen at Kilbryd, near to Glasgow, in a plain, an appearance of two armies, shooting of gunns and fighting on both sides; the fyre and smock was seen, but without noise and crack. Sic lyk at Easter Calder; on a moor there the lyke was seen, attested by eye-witnesses. Also about the same time there was

an apparition of a man clothed in rid, on a hill above Eastwood-moor, near Glasgow, crying, "Wo, woe to this land!" In 26th March, 1677, there was seen by some inhabitants of Glasgow, betwixt 11 and 12 at night, great fyres, as if it had been the burning of three corn stacks, on the south side of Clyd, beside Litle Govan. . . . but there was no burning of houses, or stalks, as was found after search, and before that tyme was a dreadful voice heard in Blackfriar Church for severall nights.

"THEM THAT KEPT CONVENTICLES."

June 1677, there was great trouble to them that kept conventicles in and about Glasgow, and throughout the land, by soldiers. The king's councell also caused summond severalls of the merchants and others of the city to compeir before them; they hearing of the hard usage some mett with, do not compeir. One Stobo in Fyfe-shyre compearing was fyned in 3000 merks, and banisht to America. . . . Mr James Drummond, probationer, takin out of his bed in the country on a Sabbath-day, being supposed to have come out of the town to keep a field-meeting that day, and so shutt up in prison, he was tane by the soldiers, some of the country men having informed them of his out coming.

THE DEVIL, THE WARLOCK, AND THE WITCHES.

August 1678, the devill had a great meeting of witches in Loudian, where, among others, was a warlock¹ who formerly had been admitted to the

¹The warlock minister was Gideon Penman, minister of Crichton, who was deposed from the ministry for immorality.

ministrie in the presbyterian tymes, and when the bishops came in, conformed with them. But being found flagitious and wicked, was deposed by them, and now he turnes a preacher under the devill of hellish doctrine. . . . Some of these witches being present at a sermon of an indulged minister, was struck with conviction and horrors of conscience, and made confession of it, and particularly delated this warlock minister, whereupon he was apprehended and cast up in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

THE PRESUMPTION OF MR. CARGILL.

Upon the 15th of September 1680, being the Lord's day, did Mr Donald Cargill (who incited the people to the rebellion at Bodwell,¹) keep a conventicle in the Torrwood, and there at his own hand, pope-lyk, did excommunicat the King, Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, the Chancellor Rothes, the King's Advocat, and Generall Dalzell, and the Lord Rosse. . . . O, whither shall our shame go, at such a hight of folly are some men arrived!

A UNIVERSITY RAG.

December 25th,² being Zooll day, the youths of the Colledge of Edinburgh having caused make the pope's effigies of timber, with a painted face, lyke a man, the head covered with a lyert³ pirowig, on his head a triple crown of timber, in his ryght hand a key and piece of money, in his left hand a cross and a lighted candle, and his body covered with a gown of stamped calligo, the belly bosse,⁴ and filled with powder, mounted on a chaire, was

¹See p. 305. ²1680. ³Grey. ⁴Hollow.

carried by them up Blackfrier-wind, and burnt in the high town. This the Duke of York took ill, as a reflection on him, being then in the Abbay of Halyrudhous. . . . 22d January 1681, there was a proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, commanding all the students of the Colledge to remove off the town fifteen myles. This was done for burning the pope's effigie.

MR CARGILL MEETS HIS FATE.

July 13, 1681, is Mr Donald Cargill, minister, taken by the dragonners, above Lanerk, (whiles they were in seeking of a countryman who had killed one of their number) and brought to Glasgow prison the same day, and the next day carried to Edinburgh prison Mr Donald being carried before the Council, and interrogat, Whether he had excommunicat the king? answered, That that being a church affair, the church, not they, were competent judge. Being interrogat, What he thought of the murder of the late Archbishop of Saint Andrews? replied, That he had no accession to it; but he knew from scripture that some men had done the like; but whether these that did that deed had the same spirit, and were acted by it, he knew not. . . . The said Mr Donald, Mr Smith, and Mr Boike,¹ with other two countrymen, were condemned to die, and accordingly suffered death at Edinburgh by hanging; Mr Donald's last words, going up the ladder, were these: "The world is weary of me, and I am weary of the world."

¹Mr. Smith and Mr. Boike were two of Cargill's followers who were arrested along with him.

THE TEST ACT.

August last, 1681, the parliament of Scotland ordains, by act of parliament then made and touched, that all in publick trust, in state or church, . . . and all soldiers; take the following oath: "I, A. B. solemnly swear, in presence of the eternal God, whom I invocat as judge and witness of my sincere intention of this my oath, That I own and sincerely profess the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first parliament of King James the Sixth, etc., as is to be seen in the Test, 1681."

GILBERT BURNET,
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.
(1643-1715).

GILBERT BURNET was born in Edinburgh in 1643, his father being an advocate, and his mother a sister of Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston. At the age of 14 he became a Master of Arts of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and, after studying law for a short time, he came under the influence of Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, changed over to divinity, and in 1661 became a probationer. In 1663 he visited the English Universities and began his friendship with Sir Robert Moray. Next year he was in France and Holland, and in 1665 he was inducted to the parish of Saltoun where he became a most popular minister. He worked hard, he kept himself well informed of political matters, and he drew up a memorial against the abuses of the bishops, which aroused the ire of Sharp and the Episcopalian party. He was, however, on terms of the greatest friendship with Lauderdale and his supporters, who consulted him freely on affairs of Church and State, and he was also an intimate of Charles II and the Duke of York.

In 1669 Leighton, now Archbishop of Glasgow, drew up a scheme for the limitation of the power of the bishops, and Burnet was employed as agent to treat with the Presbyterians and enlist their support. After visiting the west, where he

fully discussed the matter with the Duchess of Hamilton, he advised the placing of Presbyterian ministers in vacant parishes. Shortly afterwards (in the same year) he became Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, but his previous record, his dislike of Episcopalian oppression and of Presbyterian stubbornness, and his efforts to suppress conventicles and to secure leniency for imprisoned Covenanters, aroused the hatred of extremists in both ecclesiastical camps. During his year in Glasgow he spent much of his time at Hamilton, where he busied himself with the family papers, and wrote his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which was published in 1676.

Burnet visited London in 1671 and exerted great influence over Lauderdale, to whom he advocated further indulgence for Presbyterian ministers.

When Lauderdale came to Scotland in 1672 his moderation was thrown aside, and he became a violent oppressor. This alienated Hamilton, but Burnet, without sacrificing his views, contrived to keep himself in favour. In 1673, however, Burnet was in London, and his great friendship with the King and the Duke of York aroused the enmity of Lauderdale, who attempted to malign him to Charles.

Burnet was again in London in 1674, but he found that Lauderdale's insinuations had been prejudicial to him, and he was struck off the roll of chaplains by the King. James, however, used his influence with Charles and a reconciliation was effected, though Lauderdale, who was supreme in Scotland, was implacable. Because of this, Bur-

net resigned his chair and decided to settle in England. Lauderdale again interfered, however, and he was forbidden the court and ordered to keep away from London. This ban was lifted in the following year, and he became chaplain to the Rolls Chapel and, some time later, lecturer at St. Clements. Burnet was well acquainted with the inner history and intrigues of the time, and he took a prominent part in the impeachment of Lauderdale, this being one of the few occasions on which he showed an uncharitable spirit. Between 1679 and 1681 he published the first two volumes of his *History of the Reformation* (the third was not issued till 1714). He interceded for the life of Stafford, and, when he pled with Halifax for the life of Argyll, the result was a reconciliation with Lauderdale. In 1683, after the Rye House Plot, he attended Russell, who was one of his best friends, during his imprisonment and on the scaffold.

Burnet went to France in 1683 and was accorded a magnificent welcome. The attention shown him by Louis, however, roused the jealousy of the English Court, and Burnet returned to England, where Charles deprived him of his lectureship and deposed him from his chaplaincy. On the accession of James, Burnet again went to the Continent and travelled in France, Italy, Holland, and Germany. At the invitation of the Prince of Orange he then went to the Hague and became a confidant and advisor of both the Prince and the Princess. His position at the Hague made James more jealous than ever, and, on his representations, he was dismissed by William. This

was, however, a mere matter of form, and Burnet was still consulted and kept fully aware of William's preparations.

Burnet came over with the Prince of Orange in 1688, and his advice was freely sought on many matters, particularly regarding the Church of Scotland. In 1689 he became Bishop of Salisbury, and was renowned for his wise episcopal government. He lost favour at court after the death of Mary, and indeed, William, towards the end of his life, treated him with very scant courtesy.

The main traits in Burnet's character were his moderation, his tolerance, and his breadth of mind. From his early youth he was opposed to extremism of every kind, and even in his dealings with his enemies he strove to be charitable and just. He was a broad churchman who could, and did, meet on equal terms the Pope at Rome and the Calvinists in Geneva, and he was a man of strict virtue.

The most important of Burnet's numerous writings is his *History of My Own Time* (published 1724-1734), a vigorous but unpretentious piece of work. He has been accused of misrepresentation, and certainly his judgment is not always sound, but there can be no doubt that he was honest and sincere in what he wrote. The *History* is of course most valuable when dealing with matters in which Burnet was personally concerned, and, from a Scottish point of view, the sections dealing with Scotland while he was still resident there are the most interesting. Burnet never obtrudes himself upon the narrative, and,

indeed, he seems purposely to have refrained from stressing his own affairs. His style is often awkward and harsh, but the whole work is marked by vigour and vividness. The following extracts from the *History of My Own Time* exemplify his characteristic traits as a historian—they show his lucidity in explanation, his ability as a judge of character, and his close observance and understanding of people and events.

THE EARLS OF ROTHES AND ARGYLL.¹

The earl of Rothes had all the arts of making himself popular ; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The earl of Argyll was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety : [but he was a deep dissembler, and great oppressor in all his private dealings, and he was noted for a defect in his courage on all occasions where danger met him. This had one of its usual effects on him, for he was cruel in cold blood :]² he was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of king in the Highlands.

JOHNSTON OF WARRISTON.¹

Warriston was my own uncle : [but I will not be more tender in giving his character, for all that nearness in blood.] He was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four. He had studied the law

¹Covenanting leaders.

²All parts in square brackets in this and subsequent extracts have been struck out in the manuscript.

carefully, and had a great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a day. He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. [He was a deep enthusiast, for] what thought soever struck his fancy during those effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the setting of Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it ; [and he had an unrelenting severity of temper against all that opposed it.] He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children : but presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking, that made him very considerable in public assemblies. . . . And he had a fruitful invention, so that he was at all times furnished with expedients. [And though he was a very honest man in his private dealings, yet he could make great stretches, when the cause seemed to require it.]

THE KING¹ IS TOO WELL CARED FOR.

The king wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could : he heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember on one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there my self, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The

¹Charles II. He was at this time supported by the Covenanters, who, indeed, had been the means of bringing him to Scotland and having him crowned at Scone (see p. 170). This paragraph refers to 1650.

king was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays : and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it. This was managed with so much rigour and so little discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sort of strictness in religion. All that had acted on his father's side were ordered to keep at a great distance from him : and because the common people shewed such affection to the king, the crowds that pressed to see him were also kept off from coming about him.

THE EFFECT OF THE RESTORATION.¹

With the restoration of the king a spirit of extravagant joy being spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety : all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overran the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where : and the pretences to religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the profane mockers at all true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that these brought on them by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going in to the stream, and laughing at all

¹Of Charles II in 1660.

religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous.

CHARACTER OF KING CHARLES II.

The king was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been supposed, past the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleasure. He had a very good understanding: he knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper, that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises, in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them but to get rid of importunity, and to silence all further pressing upon him. He seemed to have no sense of religion: both at prayers and sacrament, he, as it were, took care to satisfy people that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed: so that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, as no doubt it was; but he was sure not to increase that by any the least appearance of devotion. He said once to my self, he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his popery to the last: but when he talked freely, he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of inquiring into matters: for from their inquiring into matters of religion, they carried the humour

further, to inquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit: about which I had once much discourse with him. He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made such observations on the French government, that he thought a king who might be checked, or have his ministers called to an account by a parliament, was but a king in name. He had a great compass of knowledge, though he was never capable of great application or study. He understood the mechanics and physic: and was a good chemist, and much set on several preparations of mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well: but above all he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a prince. His apprehension was quick, and his memory good; and he was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace: but they came in his way too often. He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that nobody served him out of love: and so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated business, and could not be easily brought to mind any: but when it was necessary, and he

was set to it, he would stay as long as his ministers had work for him. The ruin of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure.

LAUDERDALE.¹

I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance : he was very big : his hair was red, hanging oddly about him : his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to : and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal in divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern : so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding, not always clear, but often clouded, as his looks were always. He was haughty beyond expression ; abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious and insolent and brutal to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him : that would rather

¹Lauderdale, at first a Covenanter, was so stricken with remorse at the part he played in the betrayal of Charles I that he became a Royalist. He was captured at the battle of Worcester in 1651 and kept prisoner till the Restoration in 1660. He afterwards became Secretary of State for Scotland.

provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind : he was to be let alone, and then perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew : I felt it too much not to know it. He at first seemed to despise wealth : but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality : and by that means he ran into a vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support that. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind : but he wore these out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the king, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the king, that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against popery and arbitrary government : and yet by a fatal train of passions and interests, he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter. And, whereas some by a smooth deportment make the first beginnings of tyranny less unacceptable and discernable, he, by the fury of his behaviour, heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition than the legality of justice, not to say mercy. With all this he was at first a presbyterian, and retained his aversion to king Charles I and his party to his death.

LAUDERDALE'S ADVICE TO CHARLES II REGARDING
SCOTLAND.

The next thing that fell under consideration was the church, and whether bishops were to be restored or not. The earl of Lauderdale at his first coming to the king stuck firm to presbytery. He told me, the king spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really one, but at the same time resolving to get into the king's confidence, studied to convince the king by a very subtle method to keep up presbytery still in Scotland. He told him, that both king James and his father had ruined their affairs by engaging in the design of setting up episcopacy in that kingdom: and by that means Scotland became discontented, and was of no use to them: whereas the king ought to govern them according to the grain of their own inclinations, and so make them sure to him: he ought, instead of endeavouring an uniformity in both kingdoms, to keep up the opposition between them, and rather to increase than to allay that hatred that was between them: and then the Scots would be ready, and might be easily brought, to serve him upon any occasion of the disputes he might afterwards have with the parliament of England: all things were then smooth, but that was the honey-moon, and it could not last long: nothing would keep England more in awe, than if they saw Scotland firm in their duty and affection to him: whereas nothing gave them so much heart, as when they knew Scotland was disjointed. It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in England by means

of the Irish, who were a despicable people, and had a sea to pass : but Scotland could be brought to engage for the king in a silenter manner, and could serve him more effectually. He therefore laid it down as a maxim from which the king ought never to depart, that Scotland was to be kept quiet and in good humour, that the opposition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up and heightened : and then the king might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in Scotland as a listed soldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the king. I cannot tell whether this was only to cover his zeal for presbytery, or on design to encourage the king to set up arbitrary government in England.

THE LOSS OF THE PUBLIC REGISTERS OF SCOTLAND.

Primrose¹ got an order from the king to put up all the public registers of Scotland, which Cromwell had brought up and lodged in the Tower of London, as a pawn upon that kingdom, and in imitation of what king Edward I was said to have done when he subdued that nation. They were put up in fifty hogsheads, and a ship was ready to carry them down. But it was suggested to Clarendon that the original covenant signed by the king, and some other declarations under his hand, were among them ; and he apprehending that at some time or other an ill use might have been made of these, he would not suffer them to be shipped till they were visited : nor would he take Primrose's promise of searching for these carefully,

¹Sir Archibald Primrose, Clerk Register.

and sending them up to him. So he ordered a search to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But so much time was lost that the summer was spent : so they were sent down in winter : and by some easterly gusts the ship was cast away near Berwick. So we lost all our records ; and we have nothing now but some fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time so great a shipwreck of all¹ our authentic writings.

MIDDLETON IN SCOTLAND.

In the end of the year² Middleton³ came down with great magnificence : his way of living was the greatest the nation had ever seen : but it was likewise the most scandalous ; for vices of all sorts were the open practices of those about him. Drinking was the most notorious of all, which was often continued through the whole night to the next morning : and many disorders happening after those irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time seen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by such a set of lewd and vicious men. This laid in all men's minds a new prejudice against episcopacy.

APPRECIATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.

There was a sort of an invitation sent over the kingdom,⁴ like a hue and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west. The livings were

¹Almost all of importance. The year was 1660.

²1661.

³High Commissioner for Scotland.

⁴In 1662.

generally well endowed, and the parsonage houses were well built, and in good repair : and this drew many very worthless persons thither who had little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion. They came thither with great prejudices upon them, and had many difficulties to wrestle with. The former incumbents, who were for the most part Protesters, were a grave, solemn sort of people ; their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour : but this had an appearance that created respect. They were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage ; and had lived in so decent a manner that the gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their parishes much, and were so full of the Scriptures, and so ready at extempory prayer, that from that they grew to practise exemporary sermons : for the custom in Scotland was after dinner or supper to read a chapter in the Scriptures : and where they happened to come, if it was acceptable, they of the sudden expounded the chapter. They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants could have prayed extempore. I have often overheard them at it : and, though there was a large mixture of odd stuff, yet I was astonished to see how copious and ready they were in it. Their ministers generally brought them about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talked over ; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience : and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where.

THE FAULTS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.¹

Their faults and defects were not so conspicuous. They had a very low measure of learning, and a narrow compass in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excesses of passion and indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn [upon] and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatsoever they heard to their prejudice; and they were supercilious and haughty. In their sermons they were apt to enlarge on the present state of the times, and to preach against the sins of princes and courts: a topic that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage: and the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on in which they perceive they have no share, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other men's sins. But their opinions about the independence of the church and clergy on the civil power, and their readiness to stir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot so ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few who were not deeply engaged with them in these conceits pitied them much, under all the ill usage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ingrateful digression; it is a just and true account of these men and times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences.

¹This paragraph follows closely on the one preceding.

THE CURATES.

All this¹ was out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the ejected preachers ; who were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard : they were ignorant to a reproach : and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to orders, and the sacred functions ; and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of episcopacy in Scotland, of which few of the bishops seemed to have any sense.

EXECUTION OF WARRISTON.²

One of the first things done in this session of parliament³ was the execution of my unfortunate uncle. He was so disordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed against him. His memory was so gone that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the parliament, to hear what he had to say why his execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a broken and disordered strain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. So he was sentenced to die. The presbyterians came about him, and prayed for him in a style like an upbraiding of God with the services he had done him. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his

¹Hatred of episcopacy.

²See p. 271.

³July, 1663.

condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very serene: he was cheerful, and seemed fully satisfied with his death. He read a speech twice on the scaffold, that to my knowledge he composed himself, in which he justified all the proceedings in the covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but condemned his joining with Cromwell and the sectaries, though even in that his intentions had been sincere for the good of his country and the security of religion.¹ Lord Lauderdale had lived in great friendship with him: but he saw the king² was so set against him, that he, who at all times took more care of himself than of his friends, would not in so critical a time seem to favour a man whom the presbyterians had set up as a sort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other then alive.

ROTHES JUSTIFIES HIS CONDUCT.

Sharp³ governed lord Rothes,⁴ who abandoned himself to pleasure: and was more barefaced in some indecent courtships, than that kingdom had ever seen before: and when some censured this, all the answer that was made was a severe piece of raillery, that the king's commissioner ought to represent his person.

¹This is a good summary of the position of the Covenanters in general.

²Charles II.

³Archbishop Sharp.

⁴Successor to Middleton in the office of High Commissioner. He had been at one time a Covenanter. See p. 271.

SIR JAMES TURNER.

Sir James Turner, that commanded them,¹ was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk ; and was often so. He was ordered by the lord Rothes to act according to such directions as Burnet² should send him ; so he went about the country, and received such lists as the ministers brought him of those who came not to church : and, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he set such fines on them as he thought they could pay, and sent soldiers to lie on them till they were paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man ; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me he had no regard to any law, but acted as he was commanded, in a military way. He confessed it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company as the clergy³ generally were, and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders ; for which he was oft chid both by Lord Rothes and Sharp, but was never checked for his illegal and violent proceedings. And though the complaints of him were very high, so that when he was afterwards seized on by the party, they intended to make a sacrifice of him ; yet, when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spared him, as a man that had merited by being so gentle among them.

¹The troops sent to the West in 1665. See notes on Turner on pp. 204-207.

²Archbishop of Glasgow.

³The Episcopalian clergy.

LEIGHTON—A GOOD ARCHBISHOP.

He went round it¹ constantly every year, preaching and catechising from parish to parish. He continued in his private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expense on his own person, to the poor. He studied to raise in his clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls, and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese : even the presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life. The king seemed touched with the state that the country was in : he spoke very severely of Sharp, and assured Leighton he would quickly come to other measures, and put a stop to those violent methods : but he would by no means suffer him to quit his bishopric.²

AFTER PENTLAND.³

The two archbishops⁴ were now delivered out of all their fears : and the common observation, that cruelty and cowardice go together, was too visibly verified on this occasion. Lord Rothes came down full of rage : and that being inflamed by the two archbishops, he resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the prisoners.⁵ Sharp could not be mollified. On the contrary, he encouraged the ministers in the disaffected counties to bring in all the informations they could gather, both against the prisoners and

¹His diocese.

²Leighton was then Bishop of Dunblane. He later became Archbishop of Glasgow.

³In 1666. ⁴Sharp and Burnet. ⁵Taken at Pentland.

against all who had been among them, that they might be sought for and proceeded against. Most of those got over to Ireland. But the ministers acted so ill a part, so unbecoming their character, that the aversion of the country to them was increased to all possible degrees. They looked on them now as wolves, and not as shepherds. It was a moving sight to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh: thirty-five more were sent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their ministers all the while using them hardly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. They might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. They did all at their death give their testimony, according to their phrase, to the covenant, and to all that had been done pursuant to it: and they expressed great joy in their sufferings. Most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects, yet even these were firm and inflexible in their persuasions.

DALZIEL ACTS THE MUSCOVITE.

The forces¹ were ordered to lie in the west, where Dalziel acted the Muscovite too grossly: he threatened to spit men and to roast them, and killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk when he ordered one to be hanged, because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search. When he heard of any that did not go to church, he would not trouble himself to set a fine upon him, but he set as many soldiers upon him as should eat him up in

¹Sent to keep order after the Pentland Rising.

a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terror that they came regularly to church. And the clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people ; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons : they were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses, and, if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them than checked them for them. Dalryel himself and his officers were so disgusted with them, that they increased the complaints, that had now more credit from them than from those of the country, who were looked on as their enemies.

LAUDERDALE IS JEALOUS.

But now I must give an account of a storm raised against myself, the effects of which were very sensible to me for many years. The duke of Lauderdale had kept the Scotch nation in such a dependence on himself, that he was not pleased with any of them that made any acquaintance in England, and least of all in the court : nor could he endure that any of them should apply themselves to the king or the duke¹ but through him. So he looked on the favour I had got into with a very jealous eye ; and his duchess questioned me about it. Those who know what court jealousies are, will easily believe that I must have said somewhat to satisfy them or break with her. I told her, what was very true as to the duke, that

¹James, Duke of York—afterwards James VII.



GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY



my conversation with him was about religion ; and that with the king I had talked of the course of life he led. I observed a deep jealousy of me in them both, especially because I could not go with them to Scotland. I said I would follow as soon as the secretary should despatch me ; and as soon as that was done I took post, and by a great fall of snow I was stopped by the way, but I unhappily got to Edinburgh the night before the parliament met. Duke Hamilton and many others told me how strangely duke Lauderdale talked of my interest at court, as if I was ready to turn papist.

BURNET MAKES HASTE.

King James was so intent upon the pomp of his coronation, that for some weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both Argyle's and Monmouth's people were so true to them, that nothing was discovered by any of them. Yet some days after Argyle had sailed,¹ the king knew of it : for the night before I left London, the earl of Arran came to me, and told me, the king had an advertisement of it that very day. I saw it was fit for me to make haste ;² otherwise I might have been seized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being suspected of holding correspondence with traitors.

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.³

As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could, to the place where the prince was, who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me if I would not

¹On his expedition to Scotland in 1685. See Index.

²To go abroad.

³In 1688.

now believe predestination. I told him I would never forget that providence of God which had appeared so signally on this occasion. He was more cheerful than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity.

NEWS OF THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND.

As soon as the news came to Scotland of the king's desertion,¹ the rabble got together there, as they had done in London. They broke into all popish chapels, and into the church of Holy Rood House, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a royal chapel, particularly for the order of St. Andrew and the Thistle, which the king had resolved to set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the garter in England. They defaced it quite, and seized on some that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the earl of Perth, who had disguised himself, and had got aboard a small vessel: but he was seized on, and put in prison. The whole kingdom, except only the castle of Edinburgh, declared for the prince, and received his declaration for that kingdom with great joy. This was done in the north very unanimously, by the episcopal, as well as by the presbyterian party. But in the western counties, the presbyterians, who had suffered much in a course of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the episcopal clergy with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession:

¹*i.e.*, the flight of James VII.

they tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zealously against popery, with any distinction.

GLENCOE.¹

All were so terrified² that they came in ; and even that Macdonald³ went to the governor of Fort William, on the last day of December, and offered to take the oaths ; but he, being only a military man, could not, or would not, tender them, and Macdonald was forced to seek for some of the legal magistrates to tender them to him. The snows were then fallen, so four or five days passed before he could come to a magistrate : he took the oaths in his presence, on the fourth or fifth of January, when, by the strictness of law, he could claim no benefit by it. The matter was signified to the council, and the person had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was past. This was kept up from the king : and the earl of Bredalbane came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service for which he had it. He informed against this Macdonald

¹Breadalbane formulated a scheme for quieting the Highlands. He got £15,000 from the Government to distribute amongst the clans on condition that they took oaths of allegiance to King William. The chieftains, knowing of the money, made great demands, and at last it was intimated that an indemnity would be paid to all who took the oath by Dec. 31, 1691. Those who did not take the oath were to be dealt with by the military.

²At the threat of military action.

³Of Glencoe.

as the chief person who had defeated that good design : and that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe. An instruction was drawn by the secretary of state, lord Stair, to be both signed and countersigned by the king (that so he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the king), that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited should be shut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this would not authorise what was intended, a second order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the Highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The king signed this without any inquiry about it ; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching business ; for, as he was apt to suffer things to run on till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, so then he signed them a little too precipitately. But all this while the king knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, nor of his having taken them, soon after it was passed, when he came to a proper magistrate. As these orders were sent down, the secretary of state¹ wrote many private letters to Levingston, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution

¹Stair.

of them : and he ordered the passes in the valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave also a positive direction that no prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as terrible as was possible. He pressed this upon Levingston with strains of vehemence that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it : he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the king's service, adding, that such rebels and murderers should be made examples of.

THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN MARY.

The queen continued still to set a great example to the whole nation, which shined in all parts of it. She used all possible methods for reforming whatever was amiss. She took ladies off from that idleness which not only wasted their time but exposed them to many temptations : she engaged many both to read and to work : she wrought many hours a-day herself, with her ladies and her maids of honour working about her, while one read to them all. The female part of the court had been in the former reigns subject to much censure, and there was great cause for it ; but she freed her court so entirely from all suspicion, that there was not so much as a colour for discourses of that sort. She did divide her time so regularly between her closet and business, her work and diversion, that every minute seemed to have its proper employment : she expressed so deep a sense of religion, with so true a regard to it ; she had such right principles and just notions ; and

her deportment was so exact in every part of it ; all being natural and unconstrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulness : she considered every thing that was laid before her so carefully, and gave such due encouragement to a freedom of speech : she remembered every thing so exactly, observing at the same time the closest reservedness, yet with an open air and frankness : she was so candid in all she said, and cautious in every promise she made ; and, notwithstanding her own great capacity, she expressed such a distrust of her own thoughts, and was so entirely resigned to the king's judgment, and so constantly determined by it, that when I laid all these things together, which I had large opportunities to observe, it gave a very pleasant prospect to balance the melancholy view that arose from the ill posture of our affairs in all other respects.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

He had a thin and weak body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate constitution ; he had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a large front,¹ and a countenance composed to gravity and authority : all his senses were critical and exquisite. He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough. His behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few : he spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle, for then he was all fire, though without passion : he was then every where, and looked to

¹Brow.

every thing. . . . He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him ; he was an exact observer of men and things ; his strength lay rather in a true discerning and a sound judgment, than in imagination, or invention : his designs were always great and good ; but it was thought that he trusted too much to that, and that he did not descend enough to the humours of his people to make himself, and his notions, more acceptable to them : this, in a government that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe : his reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him ; but he had observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured, but he loved to employ and favour those who had the arts of complaisance : yet he did not love flatterers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct : great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him : he was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his buildings, and to his favourites, but too sparing in rewarding services, or in encouraging those who brought intelligence : he was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with him, but he never carried them to indecent revenges ; he gave too much way to his own humour almost in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health. . . . He believed the truth of the Christian religion very firmly, and he expressed a horror

at atheism and blasphemy ; and though there was much of both in his court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of sight. He was most exemplarily decent and devout in the public exercises of the worship of God, only on week days he came too seldom to them : he was an attentive hearer of sermons, and was constant in his private prayers, and in reading the scriptures : and when he spoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity.

QUEEN ANNE INVENTS A NEW NAME.

One variation in her style was now¹ observed : she had never, in any speech, mentioned the revolution, or those who had been concerned in it ; and many of those who made a considerable figure about her studied, though against all sense and reason, to distinguish her title from the revolution :² it was plainly founded on it, and on nothing else. In the speeches she now made, she named the revolution twice, and she said she would look on those concerned in it as the surest to her interests. She also fixed a new designation on the pretended prince of Wales,³ and called him the Pretender ; and he was so called in a new set of addresses, which, upon this occasion, were made to the queen.

¹1708.

²Anne was a Stewart, a daughter of James II.

³Her brother, James, the " Old Pretender."

WILLIAM VEITCH.

(1640-1722).

WILLIAM VEITCH was a son of the minister of Roberton in Lanarkshire, and was, like all the other members of his family, a zealous Covenanter. He was laureate at Glasgow University in 1659, and in 1664 the Bishop of Moray forced him to resign his position as chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor. For some time he resided at Lanark with his father who had been outed from his charge, but in 1666 he took a prominent part in the Pentland Rising, and, as a result, had to flee to England. After many wanderings Veitch became chaplain to the wife of the mayor of Newcastle, and eventually settled with his family at Stantonhall near Morpeth. Here he was arrested in 1679, and, having been taken to Edinburgh, was brought before Archbishop Sharp. Lauderdale, however, pleaded his cause before the King, and he was allowed to go free on condition that he retired to England. For the next two years Veitch carried on his ministry at Stantonhall, but in 1681 the Earl of Argyll, who had escaped from Edinburgh, applied to him for help. This he readily gave, conveying Argyll safely to London and in 1683 crossing with him to Holland. He was deeply implicated in the Monmouth rebellion, and in 1685 was sent to foment insurrection in Northumberland. On the Revolution in 1688 Veitch returned to Scotland

and subsequently became minister first, of Peebles, and then of Dumfries. His wife, a very pious woman, kept a diary which is still extant, and two of his sons held important positions in New Caledonia, the colony founded under the Darien Scheme. One of these sons, Samuel, eventually became the first British governor of Annapolis (Nova Scotia).

The *Memoirs* of William Veitch provide a valuable account of and commentary on many of the outstanding events of his time, such as the Pentland Rising, the murder of Archbishop Sharp, the Rye House Plot, and the Monmouth Rebellion, but by far their greatest interest lies in their detailed records of the author's own adventures. Veitch's life from 1666-1688 was full of dangers, difficulties, and hair-breadth escapes, and many of his exploits rival and even surpass in daring those of Robin Hood. He was a staunch Covenanter, but his narrative is remarkably free from fanatical outbursts such as mar the writings of so many of his contemporaries.

HOW SIR THOMAS BROKE HIS LEG.

Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkharle, a justice of the peace, being instigated, as is confidently reported, by several of his pot companions, the clergymen, did once and again issue out warrants to the high and petty constables of that ward to apprehend him;¹ which proving ineffectual, he, to gain his point, retrieve his credit, and gratify

¹Veitch. This passage refers to one of the many attempts to capture him after his flight to England. Veitch writes mainly in the third person.

the renewed desires of his forementioned friends, drinking one Saturday afternoon with him in his own house, did solemnly promise that the next Sabbath, which was then very nigh, he would go himself in person and apprehend him, and consequently, once for all, put a stop to that meeting. But not many hours after, if any, he by an unusual mean got his leg broke, so that for many weeks he could not travel : his lady . . . calling him out from the instigators to the stair-head, being in a passion, kicked him down stairs for selling four oxen and spending the price of them in drinking.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP CROSS-EXAMINES VEITCH.

The bishop put many questions to him, to see if he could ensnare him, which were urged by Paterson, the bishop of Edinburgh. One whereof was, "Have you taken the covenant?" He answered, "All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the Covenant, when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it." At which the whole company fell a laughing, which nettled the bishop¹. "But," says he, "did you never take the covenant since?" To which he replied, "I judge myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it." At which Paterson stood up and said, "My lord, you will get no good of this man; he's all for evasion. But," said he, "was not you at Pentland fight?" To which he replied, "If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was *alibi*:" having been all night and that morning

¹The point being, of course, that Sharp was a turncoat.

at Edinburgh ¹ Being put out a considerable time, he was called in, and the bishop said, "Hear your confession read." Many sentences they had interlined to make him a criminal, which, as he heard, he denied he had spoken such words, and refused to subscribe his confession when they desired him. . . . So he was put out again, and it written over. . . . They found nothing in it whereof to accuse him, so they remanded him to prison. The archbishop did little more in public after that, being within a few days cut off at Magus Muir.

MR. VEITCH SHOWS COMMENDABLE PRESENCE OF
MIND

He took Argyle, now called Mr. Hope, in disguise, along with him and bought three horses for him and his two servants, which cost him about £27 Sterling, which Mr. Veitch paid out of his own pocket, finding Mr. Hope scarce of money. On Thursday night they came to Leeds, where Mr. Veitch was well acquainted. The next day they went toward Roderam, thinking to lodge four or five miles beyond it that night ; but the day being very rainy, and he complaining he was wet to the skin, and seeing we must needs take up at Roderam, we resolved to take the post-house, as least suspected, rather than a by-inn. Mr. Veitch, calling for a flagon of ale and a bottle of wine, and some bread, called for the landlord and landlady to drink with them, and talked a little, asking for several gentry in the country, how far they lived from that place,

¹His business in Edinburgh was, of course, directly connected with the Pentland Rising.

telling them that they were relations to some of his neighbour gentry in Northumberland. This he did, that the landlord and landlady might know they were Englishmen, which happened well ; for while we were at supper, the postboy coming in from Doncaster, gave his master a letter from that postmaster ; which after he had read, he at length reached it up to the table-head to Mr. Veitch, who was sitting there as the chief gentleman of the company. . . . After Mr. Veitch had read it at great leisure, he was almost nonplussed what to think or say : for the narrative of the letter was to tell, that Argyle was escaped out of the castle, and that there was £500 Sterling bid for him, whosoever should apprehend him, " If you find him," [said the postmaster in his letter] " and apprehend him in your road, let me go snips with you ; and if I find him, you shall go snips with me." He [Mr. Veitch] broke out by way of laughter, and said, " Mr. Hope, here are admirable good news for you and me. The Earl of Argyle is escaped, by these news ; we that are travelling southward may come to hit upon him ; for if he be come to England, he will readily take byways, and if we hit upon him, £500 reward will do us good service : only I fear he ride much these moonlight mornings. I could find in my heart to give my landlord a bottle of sack, to let his hostler direct us early in the way to Clown, and I promise him, if we find the prize he shall share of the reward." To which the landlord replied, " The hostler is at your honour's service." So Mr. Veitch called for a bottle of sack to drink to their good success.

JAMES URE OF SHARGARTON.

(d. 1716).

THE estate of Shargarton is in the parish of Kippen, Stirlingshire, and James Ure, who owned it in 1679 suffered, along with many people in that district, great oppression because of his adherence to the Covenanting cause. Ure, indeed, had particularly exposed himself to the rage of the persecutors, for he had left the Episcopalian Church and joined the Covenanters. On receiving news that the Covenanters of the South-West had decided to pursue the advantage gained at Drumclog, a large number of men from the North of Stirlingshire, with Ure as leader, marched to join forces with them. Ure found the insurgent army torn by dissension. Many of the ministers, with the fanatical zeal which so often ruined Covenanting ventures, insisted that the object of the rising should be the establishment of Presbyterianism as supreme over all other forms of Church government, and to this school of thought belonged Robert Hamilton, one of the leaders of the army, and one of those responsible for the Rutherglen Declaration. On the other hand, many of the country gentlemen and the more moderate clergy thought that they should aim at something which might be attained—namely, the free exercise of their own form of worship. These moderates, however, pointed out that such questions could be settled later, and that

the first thing to do was to defeat the Duke of Monmouth who had been sent to quell the rising. At this the zealots worked themselves into a frenzy, calling their more sensible brethren the Erastian party, affirming that they were worse than the malignants, and making all sorts of wild threats. Ure had been afraid all along that some such situation as this would arise—indeed, when he first joined the insurgent forces and heard that Richard Cameron (one of the bravest, one of the finest, but one of the most blindly fanatical Covenanters) was in Holland, he “prayed God, that all his faction were with him”—and now he did not hesitate to speak plainly, as the first extract shows. Although a nominal settlement of the differences was reached, internal dissension still continued, so that absolutely no preparations were made for the coming battle, the result of which was a complete and inglorious rout of the Covenanters. Sir Walter Scott deals very fully with the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in *Old Mortality*.

After the battle Ure escaped, and eventually returned to Kippen, where he remained in hiding. The search for him was so diligent, however, that he was forced to flee to Ireland. He only stayed there six months, and from that time till the Revolution he lived the life of a fugitive in Kippen district. In 1688 his forfeited estate was returned to him.

Ure's account of Bothwell Bridge, which was written in order to disprove certain rumours and reports spread abroad after the battle, is a plain, straightforward narrative. Ure was a staunch Covenanter, but he was fully alive to the weak-

nesses of his party, particularly of the leaders. He did all he could at Bothwell, and David Hackston of Rathillet and he were almost the only two officers who left that field with their honour unsmirched. Ure lays much of the blame on Robert Hamilton, who, though a good man, knew nothing whatever about warfare; and strangely enough a copy of Ure's narrative came into Hamilton's possession and was annotated by him. He says that Ure was "stated in prejudice" against him, and this is also the attitude taken up by Howie in his account of Hamilton's life in *The Scots Worthies*. No matter how much Hamilton, Cargill, and others of the more zealous Covenanters may be admired as men, however, there can be no doubt that the only reasonable course of action to have taken at Bothwell Bridge was that suggested by the moderate party; quarrels and debates should have been laid aside till the enemy had been defeated.

DISSENSION AND PLAIN SPEAKING.

On the Tuesday¹ we met all again in the evening at Hamilton moor, and on the morrow we held another council where we were as ill as before, and a little before night we were fully resolved to separate from them.² . . . We intreated them to stand to the declaration, to let us go on against our enemy, and to let all debates alone till a free parliament and a general assembly. They told us, we were for an indulgence, and they would sheathe their swords as soon in them who owned it as they would do in many of the malignants. We wished

¹17th June, 1679.

²From the fanatics.

that we had known that sooner. We said, we told them we were not for an indulgence more nor they, and we would subscribe it if they would not believe us. Robert Hamilton told us, that they owned Cameron, and were of his judgment plainly. I arose and told Robert Hamilton, that I had a wife and five children, and that I had a little bit of an estate, and that I was come to hazard all and my life, to get the yoke of prelacy and supremacy removed; but for ought that I saw, they intended to tyrannize over our consciences, and lead us to a worse snare nor we were into; and for my part, I would fight till the last drop of my blood before I went one step-length with them. And I told Mr. Cargill, he rendered himself odious by his naughty principles. He was very much offended with me. When they saw we were resolved to leave them, they drew by, and when they came to us they condescended to stand to the declaration, and to let all debates alone, and to give it under their hands: so we were all glad and merry.

SHORTAGE OF AMMUNITION.

We were not well settled when there came a post to Mr. Welsh, showing that the enemy was marching towards us. We were not concerned with an enemy, as if there had not been one within 1000 miles of us. There were none went through the army to see if we wanted powder or ball. I do really think there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice. My men were well provided, for we brought upwards of two stone of powder from

home with us, and I put to hand when we went from home first. . . . There were two companies at the bridge, and they came and desired me to go down and assist them ; so I went, and the other company of Stirlingshire men and Glasgow company. I drew up hard upon the water-side against the west end of the bridge.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT BATTLE.

Robert Hamilton and Mr. Hume came to us, and several others. They sent over a drummer with a petition ; so there was a cessation for near one hour.¹ The mean while the enemy came hard to the bridge-end and spoke to us and we to them. They desired us to come over and they would not harm us so Mr. David Hume went over, and another gentleman with him, and spoke with the duke,² and desired his Grace if he would prevent the effusion of blood. He told them, their petition should have been more humbly worded, and said, lay down our arms and come in his mercy, and we should be favourably dealt with : so he returned and told us. When Robert Hamilton heard it, he laughed at it, and said, " and hang next." So we sent over word, we would not lay down our arms. He bade us likewise advise us, but would not grant a cessation ; so they fired over a cannon amongst our men, and killed two horses but no men. We fired our cannon, and muskets played on both sides. When our cannon shot they left their cannon, fled both horse and foot, near five pair of butts. If we had had any person to have commanded us, we might

¹This passage refers to the morning of Sunday, June 22.

²The Duke of Monmouth.

have gained their cannon ; but if I should have gone without command, if they should have turned on me, there would none have relieved me.

COURAGE AND WISDOM ARE THROWN TO THE WINDS.

In all this hot dispute,¹ our commanders never owned us. As for Robert Hamilton, I never saw him from the time he went from the bridge, when the treaty was given up. Immediately the enemy advanced sharply amongst the bridge. Presently I drew up in the moor my men, and attended Lermont's command ; for I saw none but him to give orders. Because he had drawn up the foot he commanded me to draw up upon the left hand, and so I did. . . . I got my horse a little before this. When I placed my men I leaped on my horse to see the enemy's order of battle. What number they were I know not, but I am sure they were three times our number ; After this I rode to my men down the brae side. . . . I lighted to fasten my girth, and knew not that the dragoons was so near at hand, advancing up the brae. In the mean time, Balfour being on the left hand, seeing the cannons presented to them, wheeled about and went through all an open that there was some foot coming to fill up ; but the rear of his horse troubled the foot, and they went back a little. While he was retiring my men fired on the dragoons, and they at them, and their cannons played ; the foot, hearing this, and being troubled a little with

¹The "hot dispute" is the preliminary movements in the battle.

the horse, fled : and so they all fled, and not a man was standing on all the left hand. I cried to my men to make away. The right hand stood a little, but not so long as to put on a pair of gloves ; so they all fled, and I turned with all my speed. Indeed, I was beholden to my horse. We were not at this day past 4000 foot and 2000 horse : if we had agreed we would have been the triple, but when they came the one day they went away the next. The Lord took both courage and wisdom from us. This is what I saw and heard, and is a truth.

JAMES RUSSELL.

(fl. 1679).

THE following passages are taken from an account of the murder of Archbishop Sharp written by James Russell in Kettle, one of the doers of the deed. In the beginning of his narrative Russell makes it clear that certain Covenanters had resolved to kill Sharp at the first opportunity, and, because of this, the murder may be said to have been premeditated. On the other hand, he also shows that the meeting with Sharp on May 2, 1679, was accidental—the band of Covenanters was out after Carmichael, the Sheriff-Depute, and the news of the proximity of the Archbishop's coach was a real surprise.

Sharp was hated by the Covenanters in general, and, in addition, he was despised by those whose tool he was. Even if we allow for the exaggeration aroused by the Covenanters' hatred and the enmity which is one penalty of holding a public position, Sharp appears in no favourable light. His perfidy in Church matters at the time of the Restoration, his support of Middleton and Lauderdale, and his deliberate oppression of his former associates, combined with his undoubted cowardice and moral laxity, amply justified the detestation in which he was held. For this reason many people have maintained that Russell and his companions had every excuse for what they did, and it is certain that those nine men believed that

they were acting from right and just motives, This, however, is no place for an ethical discussion, and, despite the circumstances of the time, the incident on Magus Moor remains what it always was—brutal and, like all murders, entirely without justification.

THE DOING OF THE DEED.

On Friday's night, the 2d of May, upon the muir north-east from Gilston, there met of all 13 of what was expected, one of whom they let go, not being clear to reveal to him what was designed ; the other 12 were the forenamed David Hackstone of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleman in Balbathie, Andrew Henderson, Alexander Henderson in Kilbrachmont, William Danziel in Caddam, James, Alex., and George Balfour in Gilston, Thomas Ness in P, and Andrew Guillon, weaver in Balmerinock. . . . These, after a while advice what to do, and no more coming, and fearing they should be discovered they went all to Robert Black's in Baldinny, himself being absent for fear of being taken, where putting up their horse, and praying, and then lying down in the barn to sleep, having sent one to Coupar to try Carmichel's motion, who returned about 7 hours, told that he with another on horseback, and 3 on foot, were gone south from Coupar toward Tervathill to hunting. Upon which some of them going hastily to horse took the way west toward Tervathill on the north side, and Rathillet being nearest Cupar, came back to the rest, told them, as he supposed, he had seen Carmichael presently

go into Cupar, and that it seemed God had remarkably kept them back, and him out of their hand, A boy came from Baldinny, and said, that the good wife had sent him to know how they had sped; they told they had missed him The boy said, Gentlemen, there is the bishop's coach, our goodwife desired me to tell you; which they seeing betwixt Ceres and Blebohole, said, Truly, this is of God, and it seemeth that God hath delivered him into our hands; let us not draw back, but pursue; for all looked on it as a clear call from God to fall upon him. Whereupon all agreeing to follow, it was mentioned what should be done with him. George Fleman said, Surely we have a clear call to execute God's justice upon him now when in such a capacity. . . . Rathillet answered, that the Lord was his witness he was willing to venture all he had for the interest of Christ, yet he durst not lead them on to that action, there being a known prejudice betwixt the bishop and him, which would mar the glory of the action, for it would be imputed to his particular revenge. . . . but he would not hinder them from what God had called them to, and that he should not leave them; which John Balfour hearing, said, Gentlemen, follow me: whereupon all the 9¹ rode what they could to Magusmuir . . . ; and being come near Magus, George Fleman and James Russel riding into the town, and James asked at the goodman if that was the bishop's coach? He

¹Three of the twelve—James Balfour, Alexander Balfour, and Thomas Ness—became separated from the party during the hunt for Carmichael, and did not rejoin.

fearing, did not tell, but one of his servants, a woman, came running to him and said it was the bishop's coach, and she seemed to be overjoyed ; and James riding towards the coach, to be sure, seeing the bishop looking out at the door, cast away his cloak and cried, Judas be taken ! The bishop cried to the coachman to drive ; he firing at him, crying to the rest to come up, and the rest throwing away their cloaks except Rathillet . . . fired into the coach driving very fast about half a mile. . . . Andrew Henderson outran the coach, and stroke the horse in the face with his sword ; George Fleman riding forward, gripping the horses' bridles in the nearest side and held them still, George Balfour fired likewise, and James Russell got George Fleman's sword and lighted of his horse, and ran to the coach door, and desired the bishop to come forth, Judas. He answered, he never wronged man : and John Balfour on horseback said, Sir, God is our witness that it is not for any wrong thou hast done to me, nor yet for any fear of what thou could do to me, but because thou hast been a murderer of many a poor soul in the kirk of Scotland, and a betrayer of the church, and an open enemy and persecutor of Jesus Christ and his members, and therefore thou shalt die ! . . . and James Russell desired him again to come forth and make him for death, judgement, and eternity ; and the bishop said, Save my life, and I will save all yours. James answered, that he knew that it was not in his power either to save or to kill us, for there was no saving of his life, for the blood that he had shed was crying to

heaven for vengeance on him, and thrust his shabel at him. John Balfour desired him again to come forth, and he answered, I will come to you, for I know you are a gentleman and will save my life; but I am gone already, and what needs more? Whereupon he went forth, and falling upon his knees, said, For God's sake, save my life; his daughter falling on her knees, begging his life also. But they told him that he should die, and desired him to repent and make for death. . . . He rising of his knees went forward, and John Balfour stroke him on the face, and Andrew Henderson stroke him on the hand and cut it, and John Balfour rode him down; whereupon he, lying upon his face as if he had been dead, and James Russell hearing his daughter say to Wallace that there was life in him yet, in the time James was disarming the rest of the bishop's men, went presently to him and cast of his hat, for it would not cut at first, and haked his head in pieces. William Danziel lighted, and went and thrust his sword into his belly turning him over, ript his pocket, and found a whinger and knives conform, with some papers, which he took. James Russell desired his servants to take up their priest now. . . . Rathillet was standing at a distance with his cloak about his mouth all the time on horseback. . . .

“ WITH GREAT COMPOSURE OF SPIRIT.”

They went to prayer, first together, and then each one alone, with great composure of spirit, and enlargement of heart more nor ordinary, blessing the Lord, who had called them out and

carried them so courageously thro' so great a work, and led them by his holy spirit in every step that they stept in that matter, and prayed that, seeing he had been pleased to honour them to act for him, and to execute his justice upon that wretch might let it be known by keeping them out of the enemy's hands and straight in his way. At which exercise, except what they spent in taking meat to themselves and their horse, and looking over some papers, they spent that afternoon till about eight o'clock at night.

LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE.

(1665-1746).

LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE, the daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont, was born at Redbraes Castle in Berwickshire. Her father, of whom an account is given on p. 340, was a staunch Covenanter, and a close friend of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who was executed in 1684. When Jerviswood was in prison, Lady Grizel acted as intermediary between him and her father, who dared not show himself, and who, as related in the following passage, was almost entirely dependent upon his daughter, then a child of twelve.

After Sir Patrick Hume's escape, his family joined him in Holland, and at the Revolution Lady Grizel came over as a maid of honour in attendance upon the Princess of Orange. She soon returned to Scotland, however, and married George Baillie, son of Baillie of Jerviswood, who had fallen in love with her when, as a child, she visited his father in prison. Lady Grizel wrote many poems and songs in Scots dialect, the most famous being the lines beginning "And werena my heart licht I wad dee."

One of Lady Grizel Baillie's daughters married Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, and she it was who wrote the *Memoirs of Lady Grizel Baillie*. If any excuse is needed for the inclusion of those memoirs here, it must be that Lady Murray

received her information from her mother, and in several places obviously used her actual words.

LADY GRIZEL AND HER FATHER.

After persecution began afresh, and my¹ grandfather Baillie again in prison, her father thought it necessary to keep concealed ; and soon found he had too good reason for so doing ; parties being continually sent out in search of him. . . . No soul knew where he was, but my grandmother and my mother, except one man, a carpenter called Jamie Winter. . . . By the assistance of this man, they got a bed and bed-clothes carried in the night to the burying-place, a vault under ground at Polwarth Church, a mile from the house ; where he was concealed a month. . . . She went every night by herself, at midnight, to carry him victuals and drink, and staid with him as long as she could to get home before day.. . . Often did they laugh heartily, in that doleful habitation, at different accidents that happened. She at that time had a terror for a church-yard, especially in the dark but when engaged by concern for her father, she stumbled over the graves every night alone, without fear of any kind entering her thoughts, but for soldiers, and parties in search of him. . . . The minister's house was near the church ; the first night she went, his dogs kept such a barking, as put her in the utmost fear of a discovery ; my grandmother sent for the minister next day, and upon pretence of a mad dog, got him to hang all his dogs. There was also difficulty of getting victuals to carry him, without the

¹The first personal pronoun refers, of course, to Lady Murray (see above).

servants suspecting : the only way it was done was, by stealing it off her plate at dinner into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this. . . . Her father liked sheep's head ; and while the children were eating their broth, she had conveyed most of one into her lap ; when her brother Sandy, the late Lord Marchmont, had done, he looked up with astonishment, and said, " Mother, will ye look at Grisel ; while we have been eating our broth, she has eat up the whole sheep's head." . . . As the gloomy habitation my grandfather was in, was not to be long endured but from necessity, they were contriving other places of safety for him ; amongst others, particularly one under a bed which drew out, in a ground floor, in a room of which my mother kept the key. She and the same man worked in the night, making a hole in the earth, after lifting the boards ; which they did by scratching it up with their hands, not to make any noise, till she left not a nail upon her fingers ; she helping the man to carry the earth, as they dug it, in a sheet on his back, out at the window into the garden. He then made a box at his own house, large enough for her father to lie in, with bed and bed-clothes, and bored holes in the boards for air. . . . When it had stood the trial, for a month, of no water coming into it . . . her father ventured home, having that to trust to. After being at home a week or two . . . one day, in lifting the boards, the bed bounced to the top, the box being full of water. In her life she was never so struck, and had near dropped down, it being at that time their only refuge. Her father, with great composure, said to his wife

and her, he saw they must tempt Providence no longer, and that it was now fit and necessary for him to go off and leave them. . . . They were then obliged to trust John Allan, their grieve, who fainted away when he was told his master was in the house, and that he was to set out with him on horseback before day, and pretend to the rest of the servants, that he had orders to sell some horses at Morpeth Fair. Accordingly, my grandfather getting out at a window to the stables, they set out in the dark. . . . My grandfather, whose thoughts were much employed, and went on as his horse carried him, without thinking of his way, found himself at Tweedside, out of his road, and at a place not fordable, and no servant. . . . He found means to get over, and get into the roads on t' other side, where, after some time, he met his servant, who showed inexpressible joy at meeting him, and told him, as he rode first, he thought he was always following him, till upon a great noise of the galloping of horses after him, he looked about, and missed him. This was a party sent to his house to take him up ; where they searched very narrowly, and possibly, hearing horses were gone from the house, suspected the truth, and followed. They examined this man, who, to his great joy and astonishment, missed his master, and was too cunning for them. . . . He immediately quitted the high road, after a warning by so miraculous an escape ; . . . He got to London through bye-ways, passing for a surgeon ; he could bleed, and always carried lancets. From that he went to France, and travelled from Bourdeaux to Holland on foot ; where he sent for his wife and ten children.

GEORGE BRYSSON.

(? 1649—? 1721).

ALL that is known of the life of George Brysson has been built up from the little information about himself which he gives in his *Memoirs*. His father appears to have been a farmer, and Brysson was apprenticed to an Edinburgh merchant. While in Edinburgh he was greatly influenced by the preaching of Mr. James Kirkton, and caused his master and his family grave concern by attending conventicles. On the death of his father he had to go home and help his mother with the management of the farm. Thereafter Brysson became more deeply implicated in Covenanting affairs, and in a short time he was a marked man, eagerly sought for by the king's forces. He spent much of his time in hiding, he attended conventicles, and he was present at Bothwell Bridge. After this battle he tried to start a business in Edinburgh, but was forced to flee to London, where he became a gentleman's servant. On the discovery of his religious opinions, however, he crossed the North Sea to Holland, and, joining the Argyll expedition, came with it to Scotland. His narrative of this affair is most incomplete up till the time of the final rout (see Sir Patrick Hume's account on pp. 340-347), but he was one of the party under Sir John Cochran and Sir Patrick Hume which crossed the Clyde, and he gives full details of their adventures.

When, after receiving the news of the capture of Argyll, this small force disbanded, Brysson and a few others became fugitives for many months. He at length reached England, and about 1686 he secured a position in Northumberland to "look after the affairs" of one Justice Grieve. He resigned this in 1691, and returned to Scotland, where he married, and became a prosperous merchant in Edinburgh. Brysson subscribed his *Memoirs* in 1714, and his signature on a legal document shows that he was alive in 1721.

The Memoirs of George Brysson, Merchant in Edinburgh are mainly concerned with his adventures between 1679 and 1686, though they also contain some information about his earlier life, and give a very brief account of his doings after his settlement in Northumberland. They are of value because of the passages dealing with the Argyll expedition, and because Brysson's wanderings and sufferings are typical of those of many other Covenanters. It would be unfair to call Brysson a fanatic, for there is no tyrannical Presbyterianism in his *Memoirs*, but, nevertheless, he was obviously a man of sincere religious conviction, showing, and prepared to show in any circumstances, unwavering allegiance to the Covenanting cause.

THE BOND.

There was a proclamation issued out,¹ that all heritors, their tenants, and subtenants, should subscribe a bond, that they should never go to any of the rendezvous of rebellion, (as they termed

¹1674.

the meetings of God's people,) nor entertain any of these vagrant preachers, (as they termed the servants of the Lord,) whereupon our landlord, who was one of the Lords of Session, sent through his officer, and warned all the tenants of the barony to compear at a court holden at his own house. . . . Having read the proclamation, I resolved not only to refuse the subscribing of the bond myself, but to dissuade others from it also, as far as I could. And being come to the place appointed, there were none there that were concerned in any such matters, except only other two . . . We three took all the pains we could upon the rest of the tenants, to dissuade them from taking that bond; and told them the hazard of taking thereof. . . . This seemed to affect the men, and they said, "God forbid that ever they should do such a thing!" But alas! they were soon dung¹ from that; for so soon as the court was fenced, my Lord said, . . . "I hope there is none here who will refuse it:" whereupon one of those honest men (formerly mentioned) . . . cries out, "My Lord, I am a man that will not take it. . . . My name is Alexander Wedderburn, I am a tenant under John Brown." Whereupon my Lord says, "John Brown, does this man live under you?" He says, "Yes!" "Then I charge you, upon your peril, to cast him out as soon as you go home; for I protest, if he be there to-morrow, I shall come myself, and shall cause burn his house and all that he hath." . . . His words to this honest man struck a terror upon them all. . . . He called me, and said, "George,

¹Driven; discouraged.

I know you can write." I said, "Yes, my Lord, I can write." "Then take the pen, and subscribe this bond." But I refusing, said, "My Lord, I cannot do it." . . . My lord seemed to be somewhat concerned about me, and said, "He was sorry for it, for he had always a great respect for my father's family, and could have wished us well ; but seeing I would play the fool, he could not help it." And said, "Seeing you represent your father, I will not put you off the ground immediately, which I might do ; but resolve with yourself to remove, with all that you have, against the term : and see what will become of you, for neither laird nor lord in Scotland dare set you either house or land." I said, "My Lord, I cannot help that ; 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof!'" whereupon my Lord was in a great rage, and went to the other man I mentioned formerly, . . . saying, "Sir, I know you will not take it also!" He said, "No, my lord." Then we three were packed to the door, and so we escaped that snare : all the rest complied.

TWO GOOD LAIRDS AND A HUNTED MAN.

After our defeat,¹ I wist not what to do. However, after some time lurking, I ventured home, where my sister and family were together, who had suffered many wrongs from the enemy : my mother being dead a year before this fell out. And, that which is very remarkable, I dwelt betwixt two lairds² who were both out in arms against us. . . . However, the Lord moved them

¹Bothwell Bridge.

²Dr. McCrie states that one of those men was Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, son of the poet.

to favour me in the day of my distress. For they sent for my sister before I came home, and advised her to put all the goods from off the ground, and every thing but what was of present use for the family. One of the gentlemen was so kind, that he desired my sister to send over her milk kine and let them feed with his The other gentleman was no less kind, for he desired her to send the milk ewes over to his ground, that she might not lose their milk . . . I durst not appear myself, but kept close, and lay sometimes in the wood, sometimes amongst the corn, and sometimes ventured to my bed.

SOLDIERS SEARCH HIS HOUSE.

So the ruffians fell to their work, beating and bruising the servants, because they would not tell them where I was. I had then some very godly servants. There was one that they abused more than the rest, and dragged him by the hair of the head to a pool of water, where they threatened to drown him, if he would not tell them whether or not I was in the house the night before ; for not knowing that I had made my escape, but thinking I was hiding in the house, he would not tell them, lest he should have have been accessary to my taking. And when they had brought him back from the pool, they stood with drawn swords at his breast, swearing they would run him through, if he would not tell. But they prevailed nothing with him. And then they made a diligent search ; and when they could not find me they began their spoil. And, first, they seized a chest, where my clothes and papers lay, which they seized upon.

There were only fifty merks of money, which Inglis¹ put in his pocket ; and then went to the fold and seized upon sheep, oxen, and all that was in the folds ; and after that, packed up sheets and blankets, and all the furniture of the house, as much as loaded several horses.²

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF CLYDE.

After this,³ we resolved to mount ourselves with horses, (being all well armed,) and to ride straight toward England, where we doubted not but Monmouth was prospering. But that troop of horse, which we had put from the water-side, got other two troops of militia, and so came upon us, and disappointed us of our design. They coming within our view, we marched up to a stead⁴ that stood upon the top a brae, where there was a very pretty thorn hedge enclosing a garden, into which we entered—and resolved there to stand for our defence. When we had waited a considerable time, and saw no appearance of their approach, Sir John⁵ says, “ These cowardly rogues dare not come and attack us in this strength. Come, let us go out and fight them in the open fields.”

THE SKIRMISH AT MUIRDYKE.⁶

The enemy approached, and we received their fire, but fired none again till they came very near ; and then Sir John gave the sign to those on his

¹The Lieutenant in command.

²Brysson, having been warned by a friend, had escaped to a wood near at hand.

³After the defeat of Argyll (see p. 345).

⁴Farm steading.

⁵Cochran.

⁶Near Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire.

right hand, who gave a very close fire. The enemy, not knowing but our shot had been done, attempted to come over the dyke, and break in amongst us, but the lads on the right hand defended bravely. Then Sir John gave the sign to those on the left, who fired furiously upon the enemy, so that several of their saddles were emptied so that they were forced to wheel again. . . . They were so affrighted that they durst not give us the fourth onset. . . . After they were weary with shooting they gave over. Then Sir John said, " It becomes us to bless God for our wonderful preservation. He desired we would be all in a watchful posture ; and, in the mean time, to go about the worship of God. And so he took a book and sang the forty-sixth Psalm throughout, and after that prayed pertinently.¹

IN FLIGHT AGAIN.

So we went on,² and marched through a weary long moor, and then came to the plain ground, and had travelled a good way in the plain before it came to be very light. This was on the sabbath morning. When we began to see about us, we could not perceive either wood or moss to shelter in all day. Then we wist not what to do, the whole country being full of the king's forces, so that we were afraid of being apprehended. We resolved to venture on some house. . . . We happened upon a very honest widow-woman's

¹Shortly after this the party broke up on receiving the news of the capture of Argyll. See p. 347. The next extract refers to Brysson's wanderings after the dispersal.

²After the dispersal of the force.

house, who yet, upon no account, would give us quarters, taking us for dissemblers ; for she had some of Mr. Renny's¹ men hiding in her house, who were in as great hazard as we were in. But she let us see a house a little way off, who, she said, would shelter us, if we were such men as we gave ourselves out to be. So we came to that house, and sent one to call at the door, whereupon the goodman came out. Our case was made known to him. He said, " Gentlemen, ye need not think to deceive me,² for ye are not such men as ye say ye are." I stept near and said, " Friend, we truly came alongst with Argyle, and our lives are in hazard, and if ye refuse to shelter us, ye cannot be free of our blood, if we should fall into the enemy's hands." Whereupon the honest man condescends.

¹*i.e.* Renwick.

²The reason for this suspicion was that the enemy frequently sent men disguised as Covenanters to seek refuge in suspected houses.

JOHN ERSKINE OF CARNOCK.

(1662-1743).

JOHN ERSKINE, a younger son of David, second Lord Cardross, was born at Cardross in Perthshire in 1662, his mother being a daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, and a sister of the first and second Earls of Kincardine. The Cardross family was noted for its strict adherence to the Covenanted cause, and all through his life John Erskine lived up to this tradition. Having been educated at home by his mother and by private tutors, he then studied law at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but was denied laureation because he would not take the oath affirming the spiritual supremacy of the King. He therefore became an apprentice in the office of Hew Paterson of Bannockburn, Keeper of the Signet, but the sufferings which certain members of his family had to endure because of their religion, and the daily risk of arrest which he himself ran, forced him to leave Scotland, and ultimately he landed in Holland, intent on continuing his law studies. After attending classes at Leyden University for a fortnight, however, he joined the Argyll Expedition in 1685, sailing with it to Scotland, and on its defeat becoming a fugitive. For four months he wandered in Scotland, mainly in his own native district around Kippen and Cardross, but at last he managed to escape to Holland, where for some

time he studied at Utrecht. His scholastic career was cut short, however, by an introduction to William, Prince of Orange, whose Army he joined, and with whom he came over to England in 1688. After the Revolution John Erskine led a more settled life, being appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Stirling Castle in 1690, and some time later becoming Governor of Dumbarton Castle with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. As a director of the Darien Scheme he was ordered beyond the seas to make arrangements for the founding of that colony, but it does not appear that he ever actually went. The lands of the Earldom of Kincardine passed to him by judicial sale in 1700, and henceforth he was known as Colonel Erskine of Carnock. He represented Stirling in the Scottish Parliament from 1702-1708, and in the first Union Parliament from 1707 to 1708, and he was member for Stirling Burghs from 1708-1710. All through his life his zeal for the Kirk never abated. Much has been written regarding Colonel Erskine's litigious disposition—his fondness for a 'guid-gangin' case in the Court of Session—but an examination of the facts makes it clear that almost all his law suits were connected with his desire to keep certain ancestral estates in the family. He married for the fourth time in 1729, and died in 1743.

John Erskine's *Journal*, from which the following extracts are taken, deals with the period from 5th June, 1683, to 9th January, 1687. At first it is largely taken up with accounts of trials of Covenanters and administrations of the "Test," at which the author as a law apprentice was present, and there are graphic accounts of the sufferings

of his brother Henry and of his mother. The main importance of the *Journal*, indeed, lies in the fact that it gives an excellent idea of the religious conflict in Scotland a few years before the Revolution, and affords an admirable insight into the hardships, zeal, and stubbornness of the Covenanters, particularly of those on the borders of Stirling and Perth. There is much of interest in Erskine's accounts of his sojourns in Holland, and the parts of the *Journal* dealing with the Argyll Expedition have considerable historical value. The author has set down a great deal of rather monotonous and trivial detail about his daily life, and there are numerous passages in which he indulges in introspection and self-reproach for sin. At the same time, however, there are many incidental notes which show that John Erskine was a normal young man with very healthy interests in out-door sport and in his fellow-men.

THE FATE OF MR. DICK.

4th. March, 1684.—After noon Mr. John Dick¹ was brought before the lords of Justiciary; whenever he came in his sentence was given him, to be taken to-morrow, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, to the Grassmarket, and there to be hanged on the gibbet till he died. Then the guard was commanded to take back the prisoner, but he stopped and said, 'I offered to propose my lawfull defences, but was not permitted.'

¹John Dick was a Covenanter who had been arrested for bearing arms against the king, probably at Bothwell. He escaped from Edinburgh Tolbooth on September 16, 1683, and was retaken on the morning of March 4, 1684.

So, as the guard was hasting him away, he said, 'Well, God will surely judge the judges,' and so he was removed.

5th.—I dined with my brother Cardross, and before two I came to the Laigh Council-house where Mr. Dick was to be. When Mr. Dick came in, Baillie Chancellour, the youngest baillie, spoke, and said, 'Sir, you are condemned by a sentence of the Justice Court to be hanged for your treasonably being in arms, and we are to put the sentence in execution. It is now time for you to consider what you have been doing, for your time is but short . . . Will you hear the minister pray for you?' Mr. Dick, 'I see no minister here; but as for that man, pointing to Ramsay,¹ he has the mark of the beast; he is perjured and mansworn: I will not hear him, so trouble me not.' B. Chancellour, 'Will you pray for yourself?' Mr. Dick said, 'Yes, if ye permitt me.' Some were for suffering him to pray, and stopping him if he pleased them not, but that was not thought fit, so he prayed none there. Before he came out of the Council-house, I went to him and shook hands with him. He said, 'Pull off my glove, and take me by the bare hand, for I am tied and cannot;' so I did so, and then he said, 'The Lord's blessing be with you . . . ' When he was upon the scaffold, he sung first the second Psalm, and read the 9th chapter of Ezekiel, and after read another Psalm. He got not liberty to speak much, being several times stopped by the beating of a drum He had an excellent and distinct voice without

¹Ramsay, of course, was a curate.

alteration to the last. When he was on the ladder, he looked to me (I being within the guards, and near the scaffold) and smiling, said, 'Farewell, the Lord's blessing be with you;' and nodding to me again, he said with a smile, 'Ye know whom I mean,'—he not naming my name least I should be brought to trouble for it. A little before he was cast over he said, 'I remember a story how Abraham, when he was to offer up his son, said "here is the altar and the fire, but where is the sacrifice?"' 'Now,' said he, pointing to the gallows, 'here is the altar,' and to the tow, 'here is the fire, and I give myself a willing and a chearfull sacrifice.' . . . I helped to carry his corps to the grave.

THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING VALIANT FOR THE TRUTH.

4th. February, 1684.—I was a while at night with Robert Preston, now of that ilk, and his brother Alexander, whom they called Doctor, who was frequently with them. They spoke somewhat reflectingly of my brother's¹ ruining himself with his religion. There was much debauched talk amongst them; I was somewhat vexed that I did not sharply challenge them for the one and reprove them for the other.

* * * * *

6th. February, 1684.— . . . I went up to one Captain Middleton's chamber with George Preston and my brother William, but he, being somewhat drunk, curst and swore, so that I

¹Henry, Lord Cardross, who suffered such persecution for his Covenanting faith, that he had to emigrate to Carolina.

presently left them. I was sorry that it happened to me to be in company where I took not freedom to reprove sin ; but, alas ! few have courage in a good cause, and are valiant for the truth.

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS !

4th. May, 1684.—I heard no sermon ;¹ being invited I supped at night in the Lady Preston's with Sir William Preston, and my brother William. When reading on a gazette I was challenged as doing that which was a breach of the Lord's day. The person mockingly alledged (that) I scrupled at other things but cared not to do the like of that. I could not altogether justifie this in myself, or the too great curiosity some have in seeking after and reading of news on the Lord's day : tho in some cases, as when the design of the person is good who inquireth for them, it is allowable

LADY CARDROSS IN TROUBLE

16th November, 1684.—I had a letter this day from my dear mother, whereby I understood that the Shirreff of Fife had fined her in 4000 merks for not going to church, and that she was threattned, if she went not now her going afterward would not free her, without she gave bond and paying her fine, etc , tho I think its probable if once they had people that length, and altho all persons should condescend to go to church, yet they would require them to go one step further,

¹This phrase is constantly repeated in those parts of the *Journal* dealing with the author's life in Scotland. Being a Covenanter, he would not go to church to hear a curate or an indulged minister.

as by giving bond to keep all the ordinances, and go forenoon and afternoon, which they did exact at the last circuits in several parts of the country.

* * * * *

29th July, 1685.— My Mother's trouble was now greater than ever, there being both poynding and caption out against her for not paying a fine, imposed by the Sherriff of Fife, for her not going to church, some messengers having searched Torrie house for her. That which I desire is that the Lord would give her grace to be honest for Him, not regarding worldly losses, and walk stedfastly in his way, not yeilding in any thing which is but an appearance of evil to those who are enemies to the cross of Christ, and wait for the halting of his people.

ARGYLL'S HIGHLAND FOLLOWERS DO NOT HELP MATTERS.¹

31st May, 1685.—The Highlanders, in going through the Isle of Bute committed many abuses, by plundering people's houses, killing and hocking² of kine sheep and lambs, only at Mr. Charles's³ command, who did himself go through Rosay and caused people depone upon oath what money they had, and then give it him, which many did much regret, reflecting upon the Highlanders as being the occasion of all, and bringing on us the calumny of oppression and robbery which we were now fighting against.

¹This extract and the next refer to the invasion of 1685.

See pp. 342-347.

²Cutting the sinews of the limbs.

³Argyll's son.

THE TRIALS OF THE INVADERS.¹

4th June, 1685.—This morning when we came near Bute we understood that my Lord² had left Rosay, and carried his men to the point of Cowall opposite to it I went to see him ashore, to know of him what orders he had for our ship, seeing the men were wearied and not able to cruize upon the shore any longer. Sir John Cochran told me he² was again resolved to stay in the Highlands himself, and send some hundreds into the Lowlands, with these gentlemen who came from Holland; which motion was much desired by many, tho Sir John, considering how slow people were at Greenock, and that Monmouth's being in England was not generally believed, was content to stay a while where he was. . . . I heard my Lord say that one hundred Highlanders had run away with their arms, selling their guns for a shilling³

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

14th. June, 1683.—James Hamilton of Parkhead, Robert Russel, portioner of Windyedge, were forfeit in absence as being at Bothwell⁴

¹Any chances of success which the Argyll invasion had were ruined, as Erskine shows elsewhere, by ill organisation, and by Argyll's inability to make up his mind and to move quickly. Owing to delays, many of his Highland supporters left him. See extracts from the narrative of Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, beginning on p.342.

²Argyll.

³Erskine was not with Argyll when the expedition broke up. He had been sent to his own native district to try to raise supporters.

⁴The Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679. See p. 302 ff.

according to their lybels. It was said for some of them that they had no arms; but the King's advocate said that was debate before, and found that a man without arms was as guilty as one with them, because it imported greater forwardness.

15th.—The gentlemen of Clidsdale being called upon, they all, except one or two, refusing the Test, found caution to appear at Edinburgh the 24th. July.

16th.—A great number of country people were called this day, and many about Hamilton and Glasgow refused the Test, of whom about forty were committed to prison; yet some took the Test.

* * * * *

12th. July.—. . . . Andrew Goulen was condemned to be taken to the cross of Edinburgh, and first both his hands (he being alive) to be cut off at the gallows foot, and then to be hanged, his head and one hand to be affixed on the Netherbow port, his other hand on the Tolbooth of Coupar, and his body hung on Magus Moor, for being present at the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, but was not active, and, as was said, he held their horses.

13th.—Goulen was executed this day; he spoke distinctly and suffered patiently. He was not suffered to sing Psalms on the scaffold, which he regreted, having, as he said, found great delight in that part of worship. He was a webster.

9th. *September*.—I heard Mr. R. A.,¹ Isa. 22. v. 12, 13, 14; and Mr. Jo. Yle, Psalm 119, 165. This was the day appointed by the King, to be kept in all his dominions as a fast day, for his delivery from the late conspiracy² designed by the presbyterians, as the printed paper says; it was indeed a day of insulting and triumphing over poor presbyterian people.

* * * * *

28th. *November*.—Three west country men . . . this day (upon their confessing they had been at Bothwell, and refusing to own the King, and saying all the three kingdoms were bound to the Covenant, and refused to say the Bishop's³ death was murther, and when they were desired to pray for the King, they said it was no place for prayer, they wished his soul well, and would pray for all within the election, which did show their ignorance), were condemned to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, Friday next, the 30th instant.

20th. *December*.—This day, or at least some day this week, a proclamation emitted by the magistrates of Edinburgh with tuck of Drum through the city, offering every person who would discover a conventicle, and set the guards upon them so as they might be apprehended, should have £5

¹Any preaching Erskine did hear in Scotland at this time was probably at conventicles (see note on p.332). He is very careful not to give the full names of ministers—a very necessary precaution, as it was quite possible that if he himself were arrested, his *Journal* might come into the hands of the Government.

²The Rye-House Plot. ³Sharp.

Sterling, and as much for every private baptism or marriage, and 12 lib. Scots for discovering any person who had fled from the country and now lurking in Edinburgh, and went not to church.

* * * * *

31st. *January*, 1684.—This [day] were called to compear before the Council Mr. Baird and Mr. Eccles, indulged ministers, and Mr. Black and Elliot, other two indulged men, for not reading the King's declaration anent the late plot,¹ for not preaching every 29th. day of May,² for going without their respective charges,³ Only Mr. Eccles and Elliot compeared. Mr. Eccles of himself before sentence demitted his indulgence; Mr. Elliot said that he had indeed declared that he thought there was no true Protestant guilty of so terrible a plot, and that it could be by none but people of Jesuitical and Sectarian principles. Their sentence was that their places were now declared to be vacant, and the indulgence granted to them at an end, and they ordained to find caution under the penalty of 5000 merks⁴ to either not to exercise the functions of ministers in Scotland, or go off the kingdom and not return.

* * * * *

18th. *February*, 1684.—This day George Martin, John Kerr, and James Muir were panned before the Justiciary Court, and their indictment read, which insisted much on their treasonable principles and assertions, but no actual crime committed

¹The Rye-House Plot.

²The King's birthday.

³Indulged ministers were confined to their parishes.

⁴The mark had a value of 1s. 1½d. sterling.

was layed to the charge of any them. They all adhered positively to the Covenant, and owned Bothwell as lawfull, tho George Martin did not answer so positively as to that, but said, if it was a rebellion against God, that it was a rebellion indeed, but if it was not a rebellion against God, it was no rebellion. When the judge inquired if it was a rebellion against God, he bade them judge of that. George said, I have read the Bible, but never found that a man was put to death for sins of omission. When they were desired to pray for, and say, God save the King; they said (they all holding one opinion, and answering much after one way), we will pray for all the election, and not exclude the King. They would not directly own the King to be lawfull King of Scotland, nor yet did they deny it. We own all lawful authority, and will own the King in as far as he judges according to the word of God. The King's Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, desired them to instance him one text of Scripture that made for them; and finding them not answer him, he said, I am glad they have gotten word about, and we have examined them publickly, that all may know what sort of people they are. The verdict of the jury was, that they all in one voice find George Martin, etc., guilty of their treasonable positions, principles, and expressions. The Lords, after the Assize was come back, and given in their verdict sealed, to the lords or judges they caused the clerk of the assize alter one word in the verdict, which was the putting in of that word principles. I saw the verdict scored; for Mr Thomas Gordon, the clerk, refused to put any

other thing in the sentence but what was in the verdict, which made them alter it. Their sentence was, to be hanged in the Grassmarket on Friday next; they were carried to prison, and ordained to be put in irons. . . .

22 February, 1684.—After dinner I went to the Laigh Council house, where the three condemned men were brought before Baillie Chancellour, who inquired if they had any more to say for themselves, and if they would bid God save the King? They said, they were not now come to answer, neither would they answer questions, and they refused not to obey all the King's lawful commands. They refused to hear one of the town curates pray; but he beginning, not desired, George Martin offered to interrupt him the time of his prayer, by saying, 'Let us be gone, what have we to do here?' but he ended his prayer without stopping. They were hanged in the Grassmarket, but I went not to the place of execution.

* * * * *

29th. July, 1685.—My good-sister had now got letters out of Carolina from my brother,¹ giving account that 27 of those who went in the ship with him were dead, occasioned chiefly (as was thought, and that rationally) by their ill usage at sea, getting little meat or drink, and what they got being for most part rotten herrings and corrupt water. My brother had a long fever and was recovered, and that they were now building a town in Portroyal called Stuarts Town. He expected his lady over, but I hope he may or shall see her in Scotland first.

¹Henry, Lord Cardross. See p.331.

SIR PATRICK HUME.

FIRST EARL OF MARCHMONT.

(1641-1724).

PATRICK HUME was the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth in Berwickshire. After studying law in Paris he became member of parliament for Berwick in 1665, but, because of his opposition to extreme measures being taken against Covenanters (his mother brought him up as a strict Presbyterian), he fell foul of Lauderdale in 1673, and two years later was arrested for drawing up a strongly worded petition to the King. Except for one short period, he was a prisoner till 1679, when, on his release, he went to England and became friendly with Monmouth. Because of this association he was, not unnaturally, though probably erroneously, suspected of complicity in the Rye House Plot, and he was forced to return to Scotland and take refuge in the family vault under Polwarth Church. Here he was looked after by his daughter Grizel (see the account of her life, etc., on pp. 315-318). He eventually escaped through London to Holland, where, in 1685, he became a leader in the Argyll expedition in aid of Monmouth's rebellion. When the invasion ended in disaster Hume fled to Holland, and did not return to Britain till 1688. He landed with William of Orange of whom he was a prominent supporter, and who in 1689 showed his gratitude

by creating him a peer of Scotland with the title of Lord Polwarth. After periods of service as Sheriff-principal of Berwickshire and as an extraordinary Lord of Session, he became Lord Chancellor in 1696. A year later he was created Earl of Marchmont. In 1702 he was High Commissioner to the General Assembly, and later in the year he had to resign his Chancellorship because of a rather tactless bill which he introduced to Parliament. From that time till his death in 1724 he took little part in politics. Marchmont was a staunch Presbyterian, though by no means an extremist, and his sincere loyalty to William of Orange was accompanied by a determination to safeguard the rights of Parliament. He did all in his power to prevent the possibility of the Stewarts ever returning to the throne. Marchmont's zeal for the Union is said to have been purchased by bribes.

The following passages are extracted from an account of the Argyll expedition which Marchmont (then Sir Patrick Hume) wrote to his wife. This record, which is very fair in its judgments, shows clearly why the expedition met with failure. Argyll was difficult to deal with from the very first; he was jealous of Monmouth, impatient of advice, and unable to settle on any definite course of action. When the expedition did reach Scotland and it was found that Argyll had greatly exaggerated the amount of support promised him, such slender chances of success as still remained were ruined by unnecessary delays and the consequent desertion of most of the Highland troops. Argyll's inability to stick to one line of

action for more than a few hours made the final disaster certain. Hume, though he supported Cochran in his protests against Argyle's incompetence, was himself of very little use to the expedition. It is interesting to compare the narrative of Sir Patrick Hume with the accounts of other two members of the expedition—Erskine of Carnock (see p. 333), and George Brysson (see p. 319)—and to note how closely they agree.

THE SEED PLANTED.

The first step resolved was to try the opinions of the Duke of Monmouth, and Earl of Argyle, and others beyond sea, sufferers for the same intrests, or any pairt thereof; . . . Pursuant to our purpose wee invited the Duke of Monmouth, then gone to Brussells, to Rotterdam, . . . who without delay came to us; having discoursed at large wee found him of our opinion, and according to our wishes. . . . The Erle of Argyle . . . hearing of us in Rotterdam, haisted thither; but Monmouth was parted before. The Erle was very forward without delay to take shiping for Scotland, and asked us, who of us would take our hazard and goe? . . . It was answered, that all of us were determind and clear. . . . The Erle said to this purpose, that he had good correspondence in Scotland and much, and by it considerable encouragement and invitation for coming to Scotland, and assurance of concurrence.

EARLY TROUBLES.

Shortly after the Erle came to Rotterdam, with Sir John Cochran and others, wee told him how frank and ready the Duke was, yea, even if

wee thought wee should be able to do the bussiness in Scotland without England's help, at leest in the begginning, he should be ready to goe along with us. The Erle started exceedingly at this, and expressed great dislike of the Duke goeing to Scotland, saying, that he could signifie nothing, wher he had so litle acquaintance. . . . Then wee told him, that whatever wer the Duke's or his Lordship's opinion, wee wer firmly determined not to have any attempt made on Scotland, except it wer at the same time, or about it, made in England. . . . At this meeting the Erle was high, peremptory, and passionate, . . . ; wee wer much stumbled, and found the first difficultie was how to prevent mistakes rising betwixt the Duke of Monmouth and the Erle, when they should meet ; especially having clearly discovered from his cariage and discourses all along, that the point of leading and comand stuck very deep with the Erle.

MONMOUTH FINDS OUT FOR HIMSELF.

As for the 6000 men, the Erle promised of his owne, wee would try if he wer certaine of them ; wee wer exceedingly straitened betwixt the Duke and the Erle ; the last asserting great things to him which wee knew wold not hold, and wer loath to contradict, and discover the weakness, lest the Duke and Lord Gray should be discouraged But the Duke meeting frequently with the Erle found out of himselfe what wee would gladly have covered, and began to set light by the Erle's calculations, except in so far as wee joined with him and asserted.

DISAPPOINTMENTS AND DELAYS.

Wee landed at Cambeltoone; ther wee printed our declaration, and the Erle did what he could to get men; but, as in Eyla,¹ they came also here very slowly, and as it wer by constraint. . . . Here we found some Lowlanders, honest, intelligent people, who joind heartily and for the cause sake (which, to say truth, was no motive to the Highland comons, for they neither understood nor valued that; but kindness to the Erle prevailed with a few, others came, as it seemed, to get our new armes, and steall away;) these advised us to make haist to the Lowlands, as indeed we inclined much to doe, and earnestly pressed the Erle to think of it, and to hold a counsell; he said, since [we] wer to get men here, and had hope of a good number, wee could not goe, but might send some to prepare the countrey; as for a counsell, there was no present need We . . . came to Tarbot, and found our friends at a rendevous here. We made, of horse and foot, 1800 men. Here the Erle, in printing a declaration concerning himselfe, and in modelling the men, spent more time than needed (as indeed he did likewise at Cambleton) for all wee could doe to haste him on. Here also he got account of the oppressions that Athole's men did about Inverary, and tooke the fancie, the unluckie fancie, of beating Athole and his men from that place, before wee should goe to the Lowlands. . . . Next day he made a new motion, that he thought wee wer so many men as might serve both to goe to the Lowlands with us, and stay with him in that

¹Islay.

countrey, as he inclined. . . . We condescended heartilie to the motion, sate with him, agreed what men, armes, and amunities should go, and what ship. He made a step out from us, and in half an houre after called out Sir John,¹ and retreated from all condescended to ; which so madded Sir John, and the rest of us, that every one discerned great dissatisfaction amongst us ; but provisiones falling scarce, wee wer almost forced from thence ; putt all aboard ships and boats, and sailed towards Boot.² . . . After³ much discourse, the Erle remained obstinately impersuadable, and as opinitive and wilful as ever.

THE INGLORIOUS ENDING

Wee⁴ stood to our armes till evening ; the enemie encamped and kindled fires on thar ground ; and so did wee. But when our fires wer kindled, the Erle told us, wee should march off quickly through the mosses at the nearest to Glasgow. So wee marched with as much silence as wee could ; at first in order ; but that was suddenly quit, and our retreat became very fowle : for the

¹Sir John Cochran. ²Bute.

³This refers to a later occasion, but is inserted here because it is an admirable summing-up of Argyll's conduct throughout.

⁴After persistently refusing to march to the Lowlands, Argyll crossed from Bute to Cowal, and resolved to march against Glasgow and risk all in a battle with the royalist forces there. It was pointed out to him that, with so small and ill-equipped an army, such a course was madness. He refused to change his plans, however, and when this extract begins his forces were encamped in the moors above Dum-barton.

Highlanders run, and crowded on the Lowland companies, broke their order, that every one was apt to tread downe another; so ther was no safety but being off them behind or at a side; wee marched hard the whole night throw very bad, almost impassable ground. Next morning, being Thursday, June 18, wee came to Kilpatrick, not above 500 men in all, sadly wearied; soone as I got downe the hill very faint and weary, I tooke the first alehouse, and quickly ate a bit of bread, and took a drink, and imediately went to search out the Erle; but I met Sir John with others accompanieing him, who, takeing mee by the hand, turned mee, saying, 'My heart, goe you with mee?' 'Whither goe you,' said I? 'Over Clide, by boat,' said he. I, 'Wher is Argyle? I must see him.' He, 'He is gone away to his owne countrey; you cannot see him.' I, 'How comes this change of resolution, and that wee went not together to Glasgow?' He, 'It is not time to answer questions; but I shall satisfy you afterward.' An honest gentleman, who was present, told mee the manner of his¹ parting with the Erle. Argyle being in the roome with Sir John, the gentleman coming in found confusion in the Erle's countenance and speach; in end he said, 'Sir John, I pray advise mee what I shall doe; shall I goe over Clide with you, or shall I goe to my owne countrey?' Sir John answered, 'My Lord, I have told you my opinion; you have some Highlanders here about you; it is best you goe to your owne countrey with them, for it is to no purpose for you to go over Clide.

¹Sir John Cochran's.

My Lord, faire you well.' The next night¹ we marched againe, and came to another lurking place ; stay'd till night ; engaged among us never to part but by consent. And late, Sir John got notice Argyle was taken, and his party quite broke ; wherupon he came and told us, that now it was impossible to stay together, but we must pairt, and shift each for himself ; so wee condescended, and pairted.

¹That is, the night after the skirmish at Muirdyke, at which the few men who had crossed the Clyde with Cochran and Hume drove off a royalist force with great bravery. See Brysson's account on p. 324.

THE DARIEN SCHEME.

(1695-1700.)

IN 1695 the Scottish Parliament passed an "Act for a Company trading to Africa and the Indies." This Company was founded at the instigation of William Paterson (1658-1719) and was to have a monopoly of trade with Asia and Africa for all time, and with America for thirty-one years. Paterson, who was a native of Dumfries, had travelled widely (he is said to have been a buccanneer at one time), and in 1694 he had been instrumental in founding the Bank of England. His main idea in setting this company going was, that it should establish a colony on the isthmus of Darien (now Panama) which should be the centre of commercial exchange between America, Asia, and Europe. At first there was no attempt to make the company an exclusively Scottish concern, and, indeed, not only were many of the original promoters Englishmen, but fully half of the total capital of £600,000 was subscribed in England. The flotation of a company with such progressive plans, however, caused the gravest concern to English merchants, and, mainly because of their representations that their trade would be ruined, both Houses of Parliament refused to give it any recognition or help. The King supported Parliament and dismissed Tweeddale, his commissioner in Scotland, because he had assented to the initiatory act of

the Scottish Parliament. The result of this was that almost all the English subscriptions were withdrawn, and Hamburg, which had also subscribed largely, was prevailed on to withhold its support.

In Scotland, however, there was no talk of abandoning the project—on the contrary, the attitude of the English aroused the deepest hatred, and made the nation determined to carry on the company as a purely Scottish concern. Thus, when £400,000 (half the money in the country) was called for, people of all ranks and conditions hastened to subscribe. Very fortunately only £200,000 was paid up.

The company now determined to concentrate on the Darien scheme, and, after two years of preparation, the first expedition sailed from Leith in July, 1698. It consisted of the armed vessels *Caledonia*, *St. Andrew*, and *Unicorn*, and the tenders *Dolphin* and *Endeavour*, and there were about 1200 emigrants.

There was trouble almost from the beginning, for, when only a few days out, it was discovered that the ships were not fully provisioned, and that much of the food was bad. As a result the colonists had to be put on short rations.

In November, Darien, or as it had been renamed, Caledonia, was reached, a magnificent harbour was found, and sites for the settlements were chosen. Unfortunately the supreme authority was vested, not in one man, but in a council which was hopelessly divided. There was disgraceful mismanagement everywhere, the officers were in an almost continuous state of drunkenness,

and lack of provisions and water, and pestilence wore down the strength of the colonists. The trade goods, too, were found to be unsuitable, and then, in January, 1699, the governors of the English West Indian settlements and colonies, received a circular letter from the home government prohibiting them from supplying provisions or giving any aid whatsoever to Caledonia. The native Indians were friendly, but the Spaniards, asserting a prior claim to the land, prepared for hostilities. At last disease, starvation, and anarchy overcame all else, and in June 1699, in spite of the protests of Paterson who was ill with fever, the settlement was abandoned. The *Caledonia* was the only ship to reach Scotland again, and of the 1200 men who had arrived at the colony only 900 were alive when it was abandoned.

No news of Caledonia had come to Scotland when, in May 1699, two relief ships, the *Olive Branch* and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness*, sailed from Leith with 300 emigrants and full cargoes of provisions. They reached the deserted settlement in safety, and, while they were considering what to do, the *Olive Branch* caught fire and sank. The *Hopeful Binning* sailed to Jamaica where most of the 300 men died.

In September 1699, when a third expedition was preparing to sail from Rothesay Bay, news reached Scotland of the disasters that had happened to the first. Orders to postpone departure were hastily issued, but, as no explanation was given, the Council of the expedition thought it was to be superceded, and so disregarded them. The four ships, the *Rising Sun*, the *Hope*, the

Duke of Hamilton, and the *Hope of Bo'ness*, had a good passage, and the colony was refounded. Dissatisfaction and distress were rife, however, many of the leaders were against remaining, and the two fanatical Presbyterian ministers who were with the expedition were the cause of endless trouble. In February 1700 Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonab arrived with a sloop full of much needed provisions. The Spaniards were preparing to attack the colony, and Captain Campbell, with a small force, marched against them and defeated them. This victory was of little consequence, however, for Spanish reinforcements arrived, and Caledonia was attacked from sea and land. The Scots held out till the end of March, when they capitulated on most honourable terms, almost the only condition being that they should abandon the colony at once. On April 11 the ships sailed, but the *Rising Sun* was wrecked off Jamaica, the *Duke of Hamilton* sank off that same island, the *Hope* was wrecked off Cuba, and the *Hope of Bo'ness*, developing a leak, put into Carthagená where she was sold to Spain. Very few of the colonists ever reached home, and on the *Rising Sun* alone 350 men perished on the voyage from Darien to Jamaica, and the 112 that remained went down with the ship.

In March, 1700, the relief ship *Margaret* sailed from Dundee, and on reaching Darien found the Spanish flag flying on the fort (see the extracts from the journal of Captain Thomas Macdowell on p. 364).

The Darien scheme had awakened the liveliest interest throughout the whole of Scotland, and its

utter failure was in every sense a national disaster. Scotland was impoverished, and in bitter hatred the Scots blamed King William and his English subjects for the calamity. Certainly the withdrawal of English support, and the refusal of the English colonies to give assistance were contributory causes. At the same time (as Paterson and Captain Campbell admitted) there was gross mismanagement both in Scotland and in Caledonia. There were grave mistakes in almost everything that the Company did, but the initial error was in not placing the colony under a responsible governor.

Paterson's scheme has been called impracticable, and he himself has been dubbed a dreamer, but this is unfair; he was too much a man of business to indulge in vague fancies. The scheme was practicable, and he had worked it out to the very minutest detail. It is not at all improbable that had English support been given, the Company would have been better managed and would have succeeded. The success of such a scheme would have meant much to British trade, both then and now.

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL WRITTEN BY ONE OF
THOSE WHO SAILED ON THE FIRST EXPEDITION
ON BOARD THE *Endeavour*.

Crossing the Line.

Sept. 2nd, 1698.—We weighed¹ and were under the sign of Cancer by the 10th of the month at which time the usual ceremony of ducking from the Yards arm was performed on those that could

¹From Madeira.

not pay their tropick bottle. All this time we had a bright and constant trade wind which lasted three days more but afterwards we had it more variable than is usual in that place of the sea.

Arrival at Darien.

November 3d, 1698.—We anchored before Golden Island,¹ and sent in our Pinnace to the Bay. The natives had hoised a White Flag in sign of Peace. . . . At last they asked us our Business : we told them we design'd to settle amongst them and to be their Friends. They told us we were very welcome, and that by prediction they had expected us these two years ; for they say that two years ago it was foretold them that a people should come and live amongst them, that would treat them civilly and teach them good manners. We conversed some time with them, and after viewing the Harbour came aboard.

The Promised Land and the Native Indians.

November 4th, 1698.—We came into the great Harbour of Caledonia. It is a most excellent one, for it is about a league in length from N.W. to S.E. It is about half a mile broad at the mouth, and in some places a mile and more farther in. It is large enough to contain 500 sail of ships. The greatest part of it is land-lock'd, so that it is safe, and cannot be touch't by any Wind that can blow. The Harbour and the Sea makes the Land that lyes betwixt them a Peninsula. There is a point of the Peninsula at the mouth of the Harbour, that may be fortify'd against a Navy. This Point secures the Harbour, so that no Ship can enter

¹At the mouth of the harbour.

but must be within Reach of their Guns. It likewise defends half of the Peninsula ; for no Guns from the other side of the Harbour can touch it, and no Ship carrying Guns dare enter for the Breastwork at the Point. The other side of the Peninsula is either a Precipice, or defended against Ships by Shoals and Beaches, so that there remains only the narrow neck that is not naturally fortified ; and if 30 leagues of a wilderness will not do that, it may be artificially fortified 20 ways. In short it may be made impregnable, and there is bounds enough within it, if it were all cultivated, to afford 10,000 Hogsheads of Sugar every year. The Soil is rich, the Air good and temperate, the Water is Sweet, and everything contributes to make it healthful and convenient. . . . Some of these Captains¹ wear the Scots flag in their Canoas. There is no such thing as a King or Emperor of Darien, nor, so far as we can gather from all the chief men hereabout, has been these 40 or 50 years. The old men remember such a man ; they say he was a tyrant, would take as many wives as he pleased and allow them but one, and therefore they cut him off. . . . This Country certainly affords Gold enough, for besides that the Natives constantly assure us that they knew several Gold mines on this side ; besides that, I say, the Plates they wear in their Noses, and the quantity of Gold that is amongst them, is enough to persuade any man of the truth of it. There was one night aboard here some Indians that had a hundred ounces of gold about them. We are certainly much bound to Providence in this affair ; for as

¹The captains are the native Indian leaders.

we were searching for the place we were directed to, we found this, and though the Privateers had been so often at Golden Island, and though English, Dutch, and French had been all over this Coast, from Portobelo to Cartagena, yet never one of them made the discovery ;¹ even the Spaniards themselves never knew of this place. Besides, for as great a secret as we thought the project, it was known all the West Indies over, and yet it was not in their power to crush it. At Madera they seemed to know it ; at St. Thomas I'm sure they knew it ; at Portobelo their intelligence was so good that they knew the names of all our Councillors and Captains of Ships before we landed, and had that particular observation that there were four Roberts among them I have seen already Dutch, French, and English all at the same time in our Harbour, and all of them wonder what the rest of the world have been thinking on, when we came hither to the best Harbour of America, in the best place of it.

Captain Richard Long.

Capt. Long² came in eight days after, and I believe we were a great eyesore to him, tho he said nothing. He commanded the *Rupert Prize*, a small English Man of War, fitted out by the King, upon what Design we know not, but he pretends it was to search for a Silver Wrack ; he was on the coast a month before, sounding it ; and conversing with the Natives, he put ashore men in some places, to take possession for the King

¹That is, of the harbour.

²This paragraph comes immediately after the last.

of Great Britain, but none of them within fifteen leagues of us. Hearing by the Natives that we were here, he came in with his Long-boat, as he said to see us, but I believe it was only to know the certainty of what he feared was too true. He had told all the Indian Captains that he came only to try their inclinations, and that there was a great fleet coming with a great many people to settle amongst them, and defend them against their enemies ; he meant the English that were to come by his direction ; but our Fleet coming within a month after, they all look't upon us to be the people he spoke of ; so that whatever presents he made them before that time, was as much for our advantage as if ourselves had given them. He pretends to be a Conjuror and to foretell things ; but that was the truest Prophecy ever he spoke, though he knew not whom he spoke of.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN PENNY-COOK, COMMANDER OF THE *St. Andrew*,
AND COMMODORE OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION.

A Pirate.

Oct. 5, 1698.—This day the *Unicorn* arrived¹ with the *Snow*, and brought one Allitson along with them, who freely offer'd to goe along with us to Golden Island. This man is one of the Eldest Privateers now alive. He commanded a small ship with Capt'n Sharp when they went into the South Sea. He had likewise been at the taking of Panama, Portobello, Chagra, and Cartagena. All

¹At Crab Island near St. Thomas in the West Indies. This refers to the outward voyage of the first expedition.

the while we stay'd here I had a Tent ashore with the Company's Colours flying on it, and 60 men for a Guard where we fill'd our Water.

An Interview with Captain Andreas.

Nov. 2, 1698.—This morning came aboard one Captain Andreas¹ with 10 or 12 men with him. He inquir'd the reason of our coming hither, and what we design'd. We answer'd our Designe was to settle among them, if they pleas'd to receive us as Friends: that our Businesse was chiefly Trade, and that wee would supply them from time to time with such Commodities as they wanted, at much more reasonable Rates than either Spaniards or any others can doe. He enquired if we were freinds to the Spaniards. We answer'd that we had noe Warr with any Nation: that if the Spaniards did offer us noe affront or Injury, we had nothing to say to them; but if otherwise, would make open Warr. They seem'd pleas'd withall, still beleiving us to be Privateers, and our Designe on the South Seas. He began to run out in the praise of Captain Swan and Captain Davies, two English Privateers, who he said were his particular Freinds, and whom he knew in the South Sea. We receiv'd it coldly and told him we were on noe Such designe—beleiving he did it only to pump us. We gave him a hatt ty'd with Gold with some other toys; soe wee parted for the time. He (as generally those People are) is of a small Stature. In his Garb affects the Spaniard as alsoe in the Gravity of his carriage. He had a red loose Stuff coat on with an old hatt and a pair of Drawers, but noe Shoes or Stockins.

¹One of the Indian leaders at Darien.

Deserters, and news of the Spaniards.

Decr. 16, 1698.—Seven Planters runn away at 8 this morning. Captain Fraser with 8 men in my pinnace were sent to Carret Bay to look for them as alsoe a Party by Land, and one was sent to Captn Pedro and Andreas to make them send out their men in search of them. The last whereof sent us word that the Spaniard was marching from Panama to Portobello with a great number of men to attack us by Land, while they muster'd up all their naval force from Portobello and Cartagena by Sea. . . . This day our Lookout was finished, soe that noe Ship or Vessel can come within 10 Leagues but we can descry them.

Captain Long does a little propaganda work.

Decr. 19, 1698.—In the morning one of the men whom Captn Long left towards the Gulf with a boy and two Indians came and told us that Captain Long had gone a day's journey from his Shipp in the Gulf amongst the Spanish Indians on purpose to tell them we were a pack of Theives and robbers, being only a Parcell of Disbanded officers and souldiers, and that noe body would protect us. This day the battery was finished, sixteen twelve pounders being mounted on it, and we are now in such a condition that we wish nothing more than that the Spaniard would attack us.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT¹ PRESENTED BY
WILLIAM PATERSON TO THE DIRECTORS OF
THE COMPANY.

A Bad Beginning.

Two or three dayes after we sailed, the Councell

¹The report refers of course, to the first expedition.

was called on board the St. Andrew, where they found the provisions and necessarys for the voyage fall exceedingly short of what was given out or expected ; whereupon the people were reduced to a much shorter allowance.

The shoe-makers don't stick to their lasts.

Dureing the voyage, our Marine Chancellors did not only take all upon them, but lykewayes browbeat and discouraged every body els, yet we hade patience, hoping things would mend when we came ashore ; but we found ourselves mistaken ; for though our Masters at sea hade sufficiently taught us that we fresh-water men knew nothing of their salt-water business,—yet when at land they were so farr from leting us turne the chase, that they took upon them to know every thing better than we. I must confess it troubled me exceedingly to see our affairs thus turmoyled and disordered, by tempers and dispositions as boisterous and turbulent as the elements they are used to struggle with The first thing fallen upon was a place of landing ; but the Sea Councillors were for a meer Morass, neither fitt to be fortified nor planted, not indeed for the men to ly upon. But this was carried by main force and a great struggle. . . . We were upon clearing and making Hutts upon this improper place neare two moneths, in which tyme experience—the schoollmaster of foolls—convinced our masters that the point now called Fort Saint Andrew was more proper for us.

Further proof of bad management.

About the begining of March, Captain Pil-

kington returned from the coast of Carthagera, having had little or no trade by reason of the badness and unsuteableness of the cargo.

Captain Pennycook does his worst.

About this tyme Captain Pennicook begane to be very uneasie, and to publish that there was not a moneth's provisions in the Collony, no not neare enough to carry us off the coast, and this he publisht industriously upon all occasions; but, in order to putt a stope to these clamours, att the first and second meetting of the Parliament, some of the members were appointed to take a narrow scrutiny of the provisions on boord the severall ships and ashore. This scrutiny lasted severall weeks, and at last could never be very exactly taken, of which Pennicook himself (with whom concealed provisions were found) was non of the least occasions.

Conditions in the Colony.

Our men did not only continue dayly to grow more weakly and sickly, but more, without hopes of recovery; because, about the latter end of the moneth of Aprile, we found severall species of the litle provisions we had left in a mainer utterly spoylled and rotten; but under these, our very unsupportable difficultyes, it was no small ease and satisfaction to the Collony to find their Sea-Commanders reduced to reasone, and their Councillors become . . . unanimous, patient, and prudent.

English Enmity.

Upon the eighteenth day of May, a Periagua

of ours returned from the coast of Carthagenæ, which had mett with a Jamaica sloop, by whom she had the surprizing newes, that proclamations were publisht against us in Jamaica, wherein it was declared, that by our settlement at Darien, we had broken the peace entered into with his Majesties allies, and therefore prohibited all his Majesties subjects from supplying or holding any sort of correspondence with us, upon the severest penalties ; and it seems the Governour of Jamaica had been soe hasty and precipitant in this matter, that these proclamations were published upon the Sabbath day (the lyke whereof had not been formerly knowen). But it was to prevent the going out of two sloops bound out next morning, and fraughted with provisions for Caledonia.

The Colonists resolve to leave.

When I saw there was no talking against our leaving the place, I perswaded them what I could, that first rumours of things of this nature¹ was alwayes most terriefieing, and that happily our native countrey knew nothing of all this ; and if they did not, but remained firme to the designe, there was non of us but would afterward be ashamed of our precipitant forwardness in going away upon this occasion ; therefore desired them not to designe, or so much as talk of going away ; but, only since our landmen were so ill, that they were no more in condition to defend the fort, that

¹See paragraph immediately preceding. Illness, shortage of provisions, and lack of news from Scotland had made the colonists eager to leave, and the report of the Jamaican boycott made them resolve to go at once.

they might embark some or all of the best things on board the severall ships . . . and if we must leave the harbour, nay, the coast, that we should think of it only by precaution, and even returne when we should be at sea, if we mett with any newes or supplies from Scotland. . . . This they seemed to agree to, but not by any meanes to loss tyme in going out ; but although they had agreed the contrary, yet it was immediately¹ among the people and strangers with us that we hade resolved to desert the place.

They reach New York.

When we were come to New York, we were much concerned to find so universall an inclination in all sorts of people who seemed to regrete our leaving the place more then we ; and by our friends we then understood that some sloop and vessels were gone to Caledonia, and a great many more, notwithstanding all prohibitions, were following after if the unhappy account of our misfortunat leaving the place had not stopt them. In our voyage from the Collony to New York we lost neare 150 of about 250 persons putt on board.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN THOMAS
MACDOWALL, SUPERCARGO OF THE SHIP
*Margaret.*²

In the West Indies.

I went ashore³ . . . and went to the Lievt.-General for to demand wood and water. He used us with all the civility imaginable ; and seemed to

¹The word " evident " has been omitted by Paterson.

²Which sailed from Dundee in March, 1700.

³At the British island of Nevis.

regret mightily his being obliged to deny us what we wanted by reason of his particular instructions from the King to the contrair ; but withall told us he would wink at it if we could find a way to procure it within his government without his orders. He expected likewise, he said, dayly a countermand from England were to march with all the force in his government in our aid against the Spaniards. However we took leave of him, after returning his complement, and I came and lay that night with Coll. Hamilton at his house ; the next morning with Lievt. Stewart and Miliekine¹ Came to an anchore there. . . . We immediately went ashore to wait on the Governour² who received us with all imaginable kindness and civility, giving us freedom to purchass whatever we wanted that his government could afford us, and made us offer of wine and brandy at very easy rates.

Rumours at St. Christophers.

I was likewise informed of two engadgments had been betwixt our people in Caledonia and the Spainyards, but with advantage on our side : but withall, that we were blocked up by sea by fourteen men of war. Some said that our fort was taken by them ; and that a Dutch sloop should have seen the Spanish standard flying on it, and all our

¹As only a transcription of this MS. exists, there are many errors obviously due to carelessness on the transcriber's part. Probably a phrase has here been missed out—at any rate, what the diarist meant to say was that the ship sailed to Bastar on the French Island of St. Christophers.

²He was, of course, a Frenchman.

garison in fire. . . . That the Pope had a design of paunding all his Church plate to hire troops to drive us out of our Settlement ; and some of the English said that Monsiur Arnew, the great marine French engeiner who had been at St. Christophers lately, his settleing the Isle of Ash was only a pretence, his business being really to assist the Spaniards. This last I am not apt to believe upon severall considerations ; the others¹ came here by the way of Barbados, Querisade, Jamaica, and St. Thomas, and by the Speedwel friggot, who had been cruiseing on the coast of Carthagena, and who says the Spaniards would gladly have engaged him to go against us.

" Spanish ensigns on our fort."

We made Golden Island of a truth, and all its marks were known plainly to me. We then sent away our boat, and I write two letters along with it—one to the Council of the Colony, showing them where we were and from whence, and desireing a pillot to conduct us in. . . . By the time we judged our men had got in, we heard two cannons from the Fort. We fired one, and they another, as we supposed, in return. We then no longer doubted but our countreymen were there, and so set out our boat to tow us in. . . . But before we could come near the Black Rock, or in sight of the Garrison, we saw our boat returning, yet dreaded nothing of the fatal news they brought us. On the contrair, we were bigg with the fancy of seeing our countreymen in general in quiet possession of the place, and in particular some of us were full

¹The other items of news.

of the expectation of seing our dear friends, commerrades, and acquaintances ; in shorte, there was nothing but a general mirth and jolity amongst us ; but alas ! it was soone dampt when our boat came aboard, giving us the lamentable, sad, dismal account of the Spanish ensigns on our fort, with that nation in possession thereof ; and that the guns we had imagined fired by our countrey-men in token of gladeness at our arrival, were by the Spaniard shot at our boat, when she was making her escape from them, after having discovered who they were both by their ensigns and speech, having answered them in Spanish to what they demanded of them. . . . They had no sooner given this account but Captain Robertson ordered his helme a-weather, and went away off to sea. I told him that we could not go so ; for my part I would not ; and therefore imediately required this boat, and four men to row me ashore. . . . We left the ship, and towards the fort we rowed. As soon as I thought they could well decerne our colours, and hoist our Scots flag of truce at the stern of the boat, and the flag of truce at the head thereof expecting when they should show us their flag in token of acceptance. . . . But at last seing neither one flag nor another hoisted ashore, we rowed off without musquet-shote, as we judged, and so hoised down our flag of truce, and fired two musquet bullets and all at them, and so pulled aboard. . . . And therefore seing we had no probable way by staying here, either to serve our countrey any manner of way, or get intelligence what was become of our friends and ships we judged it properest to leave this

place, which we did with a very sorrowful heart, (I believe one and all of us,) and go where we judged we could get most certaine advice, and with least hazard.¹

News at Portmorant.

We stood away large amongst the shore till we made Portmorant harbour; and then sent our boat with our gunner ashore to Dr. Stewart, to whom I wrote a letter. . . . It was two or three afternoon before our boat returned, who brought me a letter from Dr. Stewart, which told that our people in Caledonia wanted for no manner of provisions, but that dissention among themselves had been the great cause of their leaving that place.

Captain Macdowall comes to a conclusion.

The 5th of Julie I came to Bleufields where I mett Capt. Veitch. I endeavoured to learn the circumstances from him as much as possible, though really it was but little I could gather from him, being altogether influenced by other people, and that with so much resolution that I found him varie in minutes.² I only understood their base, dishonourable capitulation proceeded from cowardish, ill management, temerity, and dissention.

¹This decision was not arrived at without much discussion.

Macdowall even went ashore near Carret Bay, but saw no human beings and made no discovery.

²In details.

*Trouble on the "Margaret."*¹

Our carts² were not indeed very good, but really, to tell the plain truth, we were as much wanting in skill how to use them. It shall alwise be my prayer to be delivered from a self-conceited ignorant skipper as much as any one thing I know. I had given several cautions to him about his courses, though to no purpose, his own freck³ going beyond all reason with him, though he would have contradicted himself in some few minutes' time, but with fresh impudence, as if he had never been wrong. . . . I told him what his strange, vastly different, uncertaine courses would come to. He said he did it for the best, and still thought he was right, for it was always good for one to be sure. . . . He told me, at least he mean'd to me, speaking to one of his mates, that he believed much of the miscarriage of the Rising Sun proceeded from the too many skippers which was aboard of her, which was so plain a chalenge to me, that I could not let it slip, though I only asked how he came to know, never having been aboard of her, nor yet had occasion to have discoursed any concerned on that head; and withall told him, that a great many skippers could have done no more ill than an ill-conceited, ignorant, self-willed one.

¹On the voyage home from Jamaica.

²Charts.

³Fixed opinion.

SIR JOHN CLERK OF PENICUIK.

(1676-1755).

SIR JOHN CLERK was the second baron of Penicuik, and a great-grandson of William Drummond of Hawthornden. After attending the parish school at Penicuik, and Glasgow University, he went in 1694 to study at Leyden in Holland, and for five years travelled in the Continent, making lengthy visits to Vienna, Florence, and Rome. In 1700, the year after his return, he was admitted a member of the Scottish Bar, and married his first wife, a cousin of the Duke of Queensberry. To this nobleman Clerk's rapid advance in public life was mainly due. From 1702 till 1707 Clerk represented Whithorn in the Scottish Parliament, and, after serving on several important commissions (principally concerned with national finance), he was nominated a commissioner for the Union of the Kingdoms. He was an invaluable member of this commission, and his services were rewarded when, in 1708, he became one of the five barons or judges of the newly constituted Scottish Court of Exchequer. This position he held till his death in 1755, but he did not again take much active part in political life.

Sir John Clerk was a conscientious diarist, but unfortunately most of his manuscript books have been lost. In his later years, however, he compiled an autobiography from those diaries, and

it is from this manuscript that the following extracts are taken. Clerk's own title for his autobiography is 'MEMOIRS OF MY LIFE, extracted from Journals I kept since I was 26 years of age.' The volume is of absorbing interest: in it we see Clerk as the perfect public servant, the painstaking Commissioner for the Union, and the zealous, disinterested Baron of Exchequer; we find him a shrewd observer of current events such as the Jacobite rebellions, the collapse of the South Sea Company, and the War of the Austrian Succession; we learn to appreciate him as the cultured country gentleman with his passion for planting trees, his interest in his coal-mine at Loanhead, his delight in books, and his love of fishing and shooting; and we see him as an affectionate father (he had 16 children by his second marriage) zealous for his children's well-being.

Towards the end of the *Memoirs* the extracts become short and stilted as if written by one who was physically and mentally tired. This was indeed the case. Clerk tells us that he feels the hand of Death upon him—'a langour and a kind of *satietas vitæ*'—and though he has much pain, and his memory begins to go, he endeavours 'to keep a good heart,' and to 'wait God's time with patience and submission.' The last paragraph (written in December 1754), read in the light of what goes before, and of his death ten months later, illustrates the proximity of the ludicrous and the tragic. It records an attack of illness, and concludes: "My distress was occasioned by eating too much cabbage broth.

N.B.—All greens affect me in the same way, and for the future must be avoided."

CHOOSING A WIFE.

I was about 24 years of age when I was admitted an Advocat, and a little after my Father tried all the ways he could think of to have me marry with some prospect of real advantage with regard to my Fortune. He had projected a Wife for me, the Daughter of——, but the Lady was not to my taste, and indeed it was happy for me to have stopt short in this Amour, for she proved the most disagreeable woman I ever knew, 'tho otherways a nise enough conceity woman. The next attempt my Father made was for the Daughter of a certain Lord, afterwards an Earle, but before I made any advances that way, I found that she was engaged to a neighbouring Gentleman, Mr. C. of O., to whom she was afterwards married, and proved a very good Woman for the short time she lived. The third attempt of this kind was indeed a choise of my own, Lady Margaret Stuart, the eldest sister of the Earl of Galloway. This young lady was a very handsome woman, and for the most part bred up in Galloway, a stranger to the follies of Edin., and one with whom I thought I cou'd be very happy. . . . We contracted a friendship and familiarity with one another in the space of 5 or 6 months. . . . My Father was exceedingly pleased with the match, but wou'd contract very small things for a Lady of Quality to live on, viz., about 4000 ms. Scots yearly for our support during his life, and 4000 ms. for a joynture in case I hapned to

die before her. The Earl her Brother scrupled much at this. . . . However she was resolved to take her hazard, and we were married with the consent of all parties, on the 6th. of March, 1701.

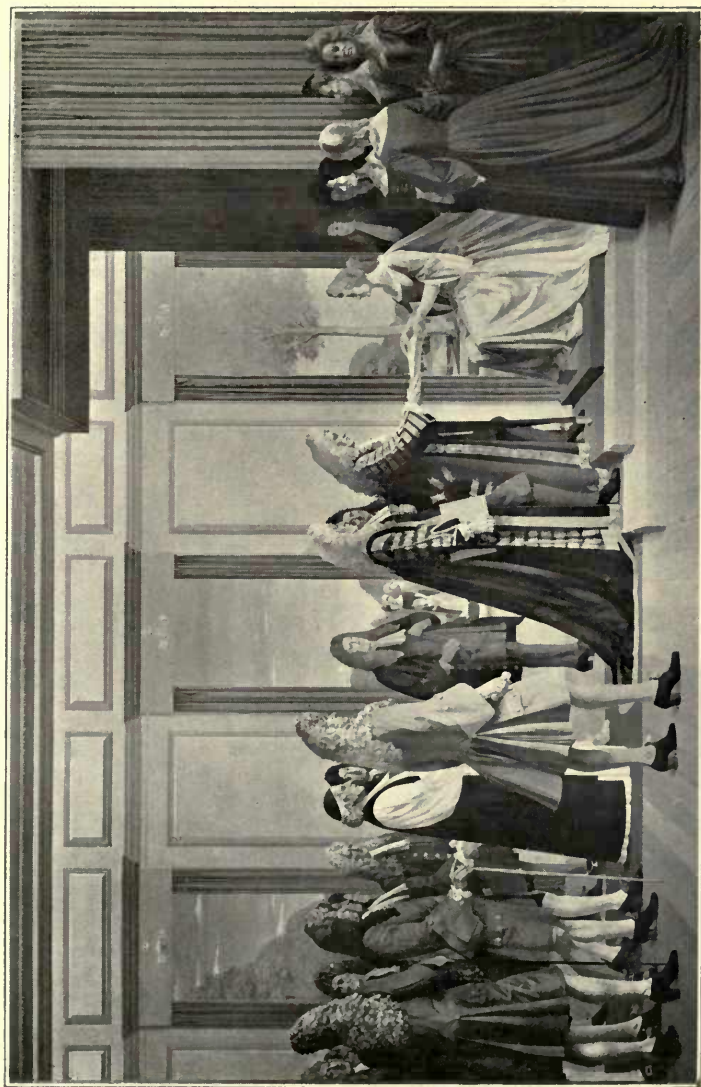
THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS.

This choise,¹ however honourable to me, was very far from giving me the least pleasure or satisfaction, for I had observed a great backwardness in the Parliament of Scotland for an union with England of any kind whatsoever, and therefor doubted not but, after a great deal of expense in attending a Treaty in England, I should be oblided to return with the uneasy reflexion of having either done nothing, or nothing to the purpose, as had been the case of former Commissioners appointed for this end. . . . However, . . . I suffered myself to be prevailed upon, and to take journey for London with other Commissioners, and arrived there on the 13 of Aprile 1706. . . . The Commissioners of both nations met in different apartments in the Royal palace of Westminster, which commonly goes under the name of the Cockpit. There was one great Room where they all met when they were called upon to attend the Queen, or were to exchange papers, but they never met to hold conferences together except once. . . . The first grand point debated by the Commissioners for Scotland amongst themselves was whether they should propose to the English a Federal union between the two nations, or an Incorporating union The first was most favoured by the people of Scotland,

¹As a Commissioner for the Union.

but all the Scots Commissioners, to a Man, considered it ridiculous and impracticable, in a word, the Scots Commissioners saw that no Union cou'd subsist between the two nations but an incorporating perpetual one The Articles were at last agreed to, sign'd, and sealed, by all the Commissioners, the 22 of July 1706. . . . The Commissioners. on their return to Scotland, fancied to themselves that as they had been doing great service to their Country in the matter of the Union, so they wou'd be acceptable to all ranks and degrees of people, but after the Articles of the Union were published by order of Parliament, such comments were made upon them, by those of the adverse party, that the Mob was almost universally set against them. Under these hardships and misrepresentations the Articles of the Union were introduced into the Parliament of Scotland. . . . Yet after much debate and opposition these articles were approv'd of that seem'd to be best understood, others suffered some alterations, particularly that which related to the Excise, but in my opinion few or no alterations were made to the better. . . .

On the 1 of May 1707 the Union of the two Nations, as had been agreed to, took place. That day was solemnized by her Majesty and those who had been members of both Houses of Parliament with the greatest splendour. A very numerous procession accompanied the Queen to the Cathedral church of St. Paul, at least 3 or 400 coaches. The Bishops and Peers sat in Galleries on her Majesty's right hand, and the late members of the House of Commons of England, with such as



THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS PRESENT THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT
FOR THE UNION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES
(From the *Painting* by W. T. Monnington)

had been chosen to represent the Commons of Scotland in the first British Parliament, were on her left hand. I think there were not above half a dussan of the Scots commoners then in London, and amongst these I had the happiness to be present at this solemn piece of Devotion. . . . On this occasion I observed a real joy and satisfaction in the Citizens of London, for they were terribly apprehensive of confusions from Scotland in case the Union had not taken place. That whole day was spent in feastings, ringing of Bells, and illuminations, and I have reasone to believe that at no time Scotsmen were more acceptable to the English than on that day.

QUEEN ANNE.

I was frequently at Kensington with him,¹ where the Queen kept her Court, and I twice saw her in her closet, to which the Duke was always admitted, being nominated Commissioner by her Majesty for representing her in the inseuing parliament of Scotland. One day I had occasion to observe the Calamities which attend humane nature even in the greatest dignities of Life. Her majesty was labouring under a fit of the Gout, and in extream pain and agony, and on this occasion every thing about her was much in the same disorder as about the meanest of her subjects. Her face, which was red and spotted, was rendered something frightful by her negligent dress, and the foot affected was tied up with a pultis and some nasty bandages. I was much affected at this sight, and the more *when she had occasion to*

¹The Duke of Queensberry.

mention her people of Scotland, which she did frequently to the Duke. What are you, poor mean like Mortal, thought I, who talks in the style of a Sovereign ?

* * * * *

The poor Lady¹ as I saw her twice before, was again under a severe fit of the Gout, ill dressed, blotted in her countenance, and surrounded with plaisters, cataplasims, and dirty-like rags. The extremity of her pain was not then upon her, and it diverted her a little to see company with whom she was not to use ceremonies, otherways I had not been allowed access to her. However, I believe she was not displeased to see any body, for no Court Attenders ever came near her. All the Incence and adoration offered at Courts were to her Ministers, particularly the Earl of Godolphin, her chief Minister, and the two Secretaries of State, her palace of Kensington, where she commonly resided, was a perfect solitude, as I had occasion to observe several times. I never saw any body attending there but some of her Guards in the outer Rooms, with one at most of the Gentlemen of her Bedchamber. Her frequent fits of sickness, and the distance of the place from London, did not admit of what are commonly called Drawing-Room nights, so that I had many occasions to think that few Houses in England belonging to persons of Quality were kept in a more privat way than the Queen's Royal Palace of Kensington.

¹This refers to a later occasion.

HIS BROTHER HUGH.

On the 7 of feb. this year, 1750, died my dear Brother Hugh, merchant in Edin. He was in many respects a very desirable persone, and beloved by every body. He left 5 children behind him, 2 Boys and 3 Girls. Amongst other Qualifications which my sd Brother was possessed of, he play'd on the violincello with all the perfection of the greatest Master, and rather too well for a Gentleman.

SUBMARINE COAL WORKINGS AT WHITEHAVEN.

At Whitehaven I took notice that Sir Ja. Louder, by the meer force of money, was working a field of Coal under the sea, which neither he nor any man else had ever attempted but from ignorance and a vast stock of Richess, for no man but he who is reckoned the Richest Commoner in England cou'd ever have imagined that a field of 2 or 3 miles square of coal cou'd be wrought under the sea, where the least crevice, sit, or break in the strata above wou'd drown all his men and his coal in a few minutes. . . . I found that he made of these coal works 5000 lb. clear money yearly.

ROBERT WODROW.

(1679-1734).

ROBERT WODROW was the second son of James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. He entered Glasgow University in 1691, took his degree in Arts, and in 1697, while attending theological classes, was appointed university librarian. Four years later he resigned this post and went to live with a relative, Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, a Lord of Session. In 1703 Wodrow was licensed by the Presbytery of Paisley, and in 1704 Sir John Maxwell presented him to the parish of Eastwood. In spite of several tempting calls he remained there till his death.

Wodrow was one of the most famous of the historians of the Scottish Church, his chief work being *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*. This is an extremely careful and detailed historical account, and, though it exhibits a certain amount of partisanship, it is nevertheless of immense value. Wodrow also wrote *Memoirs of Reformers and Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, and *Analecta : or Materials for a History of remarkable Providences mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, from which the following extracts are taken. *Analecta*, though arranged under chronological headings, is mainly a collection of anecdotes (some at third or fourth hand) relating

to the author's own time, and to the years of the Covenanting era. It also contains very full accounts of presbytery, synod, and assembly meetings, and occasional comments on national happenings, but unfortunately much of it is not trustworthy.

It must not be supposed that Wodrow was merely an antiquarian and a historian. He kept himself well informed of all that was happening at home and abroad, and his *Analecta* shows that he took the liveliest interest in Church affairs. At the Union of the Kingdoms in 1707 he was a member of a committee which was concerned with safeguarding the rights of the Presbyterian Church, and in 1714 he took a prominent part in an attempt to secure the abolition of the law of patronage.

BISHOP BURNET.

Mr Nicolson told me, that Bishop Burnet was looked on as very huffy; In this current Parliament,¹ in the House of Lords, there came some affair before them, wherein it seems Burnet thought the Archbishop of York went too far against the King's mind; wheron he rose up and sayed, "My Lord York you have nou served a turn, and gote your bussiness done, and enjoy the Archbishoprick of York; and since that is over, you care neither for King nor Country. I beseech you, my Lord, be queit, and speak no more." The Archbishop of York said noe more. When they wer coming out, Burnet came to the Archbishop, and said, "My Lord, I was a litle rash to-day in the House, and nou I come to begg

¹1701.

pardon." "If you will begg it as openly as you gave the offence," sayes the Archbishop, "I'll freely pardon it." And there it yet stayes.

MR. JAMES BOWES.

Aprile 13.¹—This day I hear Mr Ja. Boues, Minister of Lohead² in Kintire, is dead. He was the most popular preacher I ever heard ; and used to run out in a strain of exortation for more then ane hour, sometimes with denunciation of threats, and invitation to come to Christ, without any formall motives or directions ; but took up all in expostulations and threatnings. He had a peculiar tone, and a smile that seemed to some not to be soe suitable. . . . The country talk was, that his text was the whole Bible ; but without ground. . . . I hear since that Mr. Boues was very ill, but is recovered.

AN APPROPRIATE TEXT.

Archbishop Fairfoull used to go out to a gentleman's house near St. Andrews, and ther, all the Sabbath, play at cards, and drink. . . . One day, one of the servants came into the room, "Have you been at sermon ?" sayes the Archbishop. "Yes," sayes he. "Wher was the text ?" "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," sayes the servant !

A "SOMEWHAT EXTRAORDINARY" DREAM.

August 22.³—This day Robert Dunlop, one of my parishioners, came to me, and tells me, yesternight, when in his bed in a loft, after he had read

¹1702.

²Now Campbeltown.

³1704.

and prayed as usual, and being betwixt sleeping and waking, and sensible he was in bed, he thought ther was a considerable company of people in the loft ; and, knoues not hou, he was pressed to give out the xxiii. Psalm, which he did, and they sang the most melodiously and sweetly, far above any thing that ever he heard, and that he himself sang, too, far better then he used to doe. That afterwards, one of them came near to him, and (as he thought) said, " Whom are you for ? Are you for God ? " Upon which he answered, " I am for God ! If thou be Satan, and a delusion, avoid thee, in God's name ! " but the appearance did not remove. . . . All I said was, that it might be a natural dream, and he was to lay noe weight on it. Houever, ther seems to be somewhat extraordinary in it.

THE SOUND OF THE THIRD BELL.

My father tells me that, when a student, he went and visited Mr Blair of St Andreuse, and was compleaning of his slavish fear, that he feared might hinder him from speaking in publick, and preaching. " Be not discouraged, Jacobe," says Mr Blair, " for nou I have been fifty-three years in the ministry, and to this day, when I am to preach, the sound of the third bell gives a knell to my heart, and sets me almost a trembling ! " " A GALE IN HIS SERMONS."

Mr D. B.¹ was certainly a great man of God, mighty in prayer, and ordinarily had a gale in his sermons, and was never out of frame in preaching, almost. He was more valuable for his spirituality

¹David Brown.

in frame and seriousness then for the matter of his sermons, though that was very sweet and scripturall.

THE THREE R.'s.

The Jacobits are mighty uppish, and plainly say that this 1710 is just another 1660 ; and they talk of nothing but Resignation, Restauration, and Rescission, their three Rs. ; and they talk their King will be over, either by act of Parliament or invasion, by Agust nixt. They boast mighty, which I hope shall ruin their cause.

THE GLASS THAT WOULD NOT BREAK.

June, 1711.—Mr William Vetch gives me this account, as beyond all question. When King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed King and Queen at Geddart,¹ the Magistrates mett at the crosse, and wer drinking the King's health ; and one of them, seing a great Malignant going by, called on him, and asked him, If he would drink the King's health ? " Noe," sayes he, " but I will take a glasse of the wine," (or ale). It was a litle round plucked glasse ; and when he had gote it and drunk it off, he sayes, aloud, " As surely as that glasse will break, I wish confusion to him, and the Restoration of our Soveraing and the heir ! " and threu the glasse a great way off. The glasse lighted upon the Tolbooth stair, and came rolling doun severall steps, and was not at all broken !

THE DEVIL AT WORK.

My wife tells me she had a certain accompt

¹Jedburgh.

of a woman in Air, a very good woman, whoes husband went to sea and was lost ; and shee had the very same expression frequently, " O ! that I might but once see him ! " And the Devil did appear to her in his shape, and since that time shee never can be in a room her alone. Shee is yet alive, and is really piouse, and of her acquaintance.

A FLYING WOMAN.

I am weel assured that the Countess of Dumfreice, Stairs's daughter, was under a very odd kind of distemper, and did frequently fly from the one end of the room to the other, and from the one side of the garden to the other ; whither by the effects of witchcraft upon her, or some other way, is a secret. The matter of fact is certain.

A CENTENARIAN.

The end of this moneth,¹ ane old man, John Bankier, comes to me, pretends he is a hundred year old, and that he was twenty year bald, and lost all his teeth, and his sight, throu age ; and nou, he hath a beutiful white head of hair, and a long beard to his girdle, and that he is recovering his sight, and that his teeth are all grouen in again, and his foreteeth double. What truth is in his relation, I knou not, but I looked at his teeth, and they are all double, and very firm. The like I have not seen ; and it makes me incline to believe the other things he sayes, especially since he hath some testimonialls of his good conversation and piety.

¹March, 1712.

THE PRETENDER'S BIRTHDAY.

On the 10th of this moneth,¹ the birth-day of the Pretender, I hear ther has been great outrages at Edinburgh by his freinds. His health was drunk early in the morning in the Parliament Closse; and at night, when the magistrates wer going throu the streets to keep the peace, severalls wer taken up in disguise, and the King's health was drunk out at severall windoues, and the glasses throuen over the windou when the magistrates passed by, and many windous wer illuminated. At Leith ther was a standart set up upon the peer, with a thistle, and "*Nemo me impune lacessit*," and J. R. viii.; and beneath, "Noe Abjuration."

THE GOVERNMENT HELPS THE JACOBITES.

We hear this moneth,² that a neu pension of five thousand pound sterline is come down from the Treasurer to the Highland Clans, and a precept is granted for it upon the Excise. It's to be distributed by Bradalbine, and other Jacobites; and it's another moety of the twenty thousand said to be granted them to keep the peace: But many say they improve it, to arm themselves weel; and it's certain they are all Jacobites who doe receive it.

THE JACOBITES ARE DISAPPOINTED.

Agust, 1714.—This moneth makes a vast change by the Queen's death, and the peacable proclamation of King George. The joy soe great and universall, that I have seen nothing like it since the Revolution, when I was but young.

¹June, 1712.

²October, 1713.

This is a wonderfull dash to the Jacobites ; and had the Queen lived a litle longer, they think their schemes would have taken effect ; and it's not improbable that the Pretender¹ was lately in London, and at Saint James's. Houever, " the Lord hath broken the snare, and we are escaped."

GLASGOW IN 1724.

January, 1724.—Matters continou in a very undesireable state in Glasgow. . . . A considerable party, in that degenerat place, appear against every thing that is seriouse, and some are open mockers at the Ministry and Gospell. The younger sett of people are too much neglected in their education, and many never come to be examined, and continou grosly ignorant in the first points of Religion. When they go abroad to the Plantations, and elsewhere, they drink in vice like watter, and all the abominations in the age. . . . So that place, wher, some years ago, I kneu near seventy-two meetings for prayer, and these nou, I am told, are sunk to four or five, looks as if some desolating stroak wer coming on it, if mercy prevent not. Indeed, this last winter they have touched a litle in their substance in the tobacco affair, which, they say, will be twenty thousand pound loss to that place. I wish it may be sanctified to them. There seems to be a grouing opposition to discipline, and bearing doun of profaneness.

THE KIRK IN NEW YORK MAKES AN APPEAL.

There was an application made² by a Scotsman,

¹James, Chevalier de St. George.

²Before the Commission of the Church in March, 1724.

one Dr Niccol, from Neu-uork,¹ for a contribution in favour of a Church there, in a moving strain. The Commission did not find themselves impoured to give a recommendation, but referred it to the Assembly, as what was proper to be done.

BISHOP BURNET'S "HISTORY."

The generall conversation nou runns, almost in every company, on Bishop Burnet's History. It's certainly Memoirs rather than a direct History. I don't observe the Whiggs speak much against it, save in the matter of King William. But the Tories are most bitter.

THE STATE OF SCOTLAND IN 1724.

August, 1724.—Ther is a profound peace at present, and nothing stirring of any publick nature almost. Things are in suspense abroad, and, though our partys are warm enough in privat, and the humor great, yet there is litle appearing in publick. Under this peace we are grouing much worse. The gentry and nobility are generally either discontent, or Jacobite, or profane; and the people are turning loose, worldly, and very disaffected. The poverty and debts of many are increasing, and I can not see hou it can be otherwise. Ther are no ways to bring in specie into this country. Trade is much failed, and any trade we have is of that kind that takes money from amongst us, and brings in French brandy, Irish meal, tea, etc. which are all consumed; and unles it be a feu coals from the West, and some black cattell from the South, and many of these are not our breed, but Irish, I see no branch of our busi-

¹New York.

ness that brings in any money. Our tobacco trade, and other branches to the West Indies, are much sinking; and the prodigious run of our nobility and gentry to England, their wintering there, and educating their children there takes away a vast deal of monney every year. Besides, it's plain that we are overstocked with people, considering their idlnes, and that makes the consumpt very great. . . . To say nothing of the vast losses many have susteained by the South Sea and York Building, our oun Fishing Company, which, wer people faithfull, might bring in a great deal, and other bubles.

A FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

Another thing¹ was a petition from Matheu Rodgers' wife, for whose husband a collection had been made to deliver him from slavery, Turkish. Befor it could be sent he dyed. She puts in for a share. The Synod could not allow her any, it being to be disposed by the Commission and Assembly.

BURGH ELECTIONS.

This moneth,² and the end of the former, our Elections for Burghs come on. There are great factions and partys in most of them, and all feous³ from the partys in State, and the vieus particular persons have as to future elections in Parliament. In a particular manner, our elections at Glasgou have been caryed on with no litle strugle.

¹Before the Synod in October, 1724. ²October, 1724.

³Feus. Wodrow simply means that the parties in burgh elections were the same as the political parties in parliamentary elections.

THE THEATRE IS TOO MUCH ENCOURAGED.

February, 1728.—I forgote, on the three last moneths, to take nottice of the affair of the English Players, Comedians, and Strollers, come down to fill up our cup of sin. . . . Ashton and his company had been down before some winters, but had only some private companys, and did not set up openly. It's said they had too much encouragement, that heartned them to bring down twenty-four of their fellows from London, and set up this winter openly. They had three or four Noblemen, some of them Ruling Elders, favouring them. . . . They had a plurality of the Lords of Session favourable to them, and yet no direct interloquitor was given impouring them to sett up. . . . The Presbytery published a Warning. The matter lyes over till June, but they continou their playes, and have numerous meetings, especially their Tragedys, and one called "The Mourning Bride," which had a great run for three nights. A vast deal of money, in this time of scarcity, is spent this way most sinfully.

UNORTHODOX DIVINITY STUDENTS.

December, 1724.—When in Glasgow, I hear no good accounts of the Students of Divinity in that place. Mr Gray tells me, that very openly they oppose the Confession of Faith; and this spreads extremely through the young merchants and others, and the haranguing way of preaching is the only method that is nou in vogue with them. Another tells me, that in open companys, the grace of God is openly mocked and ridiculed.

THE " BEGGAR'S OPERA " IN GLASGOW.

Towards the close of this moneth¹ a company of Strollers and Comedians came to Glasgou, part of A. Ashton's people at Edinburgh, to act the Beggar's Opera. The Magistrates wer applied to for a room, and Bailay Murdoch, who is too easy, as is said, by a mistake gave a kind of allowance of the Weighhouse to act in. They acted two or three dayes, and had very fea except the first day. After that they got not so much as to pay their musick.

AN EPIDEMIC OF INFLUENZA.

December, 1729.—In the last moneth, and the beginning of this, ther was the most generall cold and cough, with a feaver, seized almost every body that I ever kneu. Not one of fifty escaped. In Glasgou, they say ther was no hearing sermon, almost, for some time. It proved deadly to severalls, and yet very fea hereabout dyed of it. People wer seized with it in an instant, and somtimes they raved when on their feet. . . . It began first in England, in the country, and it fell very heavily on London. . . . It came down here in a fourteenth-night, and went over to Ireland. In short, it run throu France, Germany, and Italy, like a plague.

" A WORK-HOUSE FOR THE POOR."

The designe of a Work-house for the poor was set on foot this moneth.² . . . I took occasion to give a hint commending the designe, and encouraging to it in my sermon, Sabbath night,

¹August, 1728.

²December, 1730.

Laigh Kirk. . . . I had thanks for it by the Ministers and people concerned. . . . I was pressed afterwards to come in and preach on a week-day before the subscriptions; but that I declined, as very improper, and what was the work of the Ministers of Glasgow.

* * * * *

This moneth¹ the subscriptions for the work-house at Glasgow, for imploying the poor, begun. The richer persons signed twenty and twenty-five pounds; the ordinary merchants and shopkeepers ten and five pound. In short, in Scotland, I never heard of any thing so much charity and chearfulness appeared in. In a week or two twelve hundred pounds sterling was signed for, besides two hundred pounds Mr Orr gives; and the Toun, Merchant's-house, and Trades, are to give largely to it. The toun, indeed, has susteained great losses, impositions, and hardships, in their trade, and yet in this matter have done in some messure beyond pouer, and most liberally.

TROUBLE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

There was a very shamefull squable betwixt the Moderator and Mr Gordon of Ardoch in the Committy of Overtures, May 15.² Ardoch alledged the Moderator had given a wrong state of a thing. . . . Ardoch is a man of great passion, and still interposing; but when he contradicted the Moderator, and said he had mistated it, the Moderator being pushed to it by Professor Hamilton and Mr Crawford, would leave the chair and come to the barr. No body in the Committy was

¹February, 1731. ²1731:

for it save these two. He would be to the barr, and Mr Gordon was unwilling ; the members of the Committy opposed. They wer so loud, I heard them at the distance of the street and Kirk ! When I came in they were not done. I heard the Moderator call Mr Gordon " a madman ! " The Solicitor interposed, and Mr Gordon made some kind of acknouledgment, and Mr Smith¹ closed with prayer, where he lamented weaknes and passion very much.

THE FINANCES OF SCOTLAND IN 1731.

I find it observed, that, very soon, Scotland must be drained of money, in specie ; and really it's a wonder any almost is left with us. Indeed, except it be coals, and that is a trifle, linning cloath and black cattell, which may bring in a litle, we have scarce any other branch of trade that brings in money to us in specie. Add to this. that there is twenty-four thousand pound yearly in the Civil List and Croun Rents which is carryed away, after all pensions, posts, garrisons, and officers are payed, and what a prodigiouse quantity of money is every year expended by every family of any rank, for body cloaths of English or Forraigne produce ! and to this may be added, that the greatest estates in Scotland, in land-rent, are all taken out to England in specie ; Buccleugh, Roxburgh, Argyle, Montrose, Queensberry, etc. etc., besides Members of Parliament, who spend at least more then they get.

¹The Moderator.

MARSHAL KEITH.

(1696-1758.)

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD KEITH, usually known as Marshal Keith, was born in the castle of Inverugie near Peterhead, his father being the ninth Earl Marischal. He received a good education, and for a time studied law at Edinburgh. He was, however, determined to follow a military career, and with his elder brother, the tenth Earl Marischal, he took a prominent part in the rising of 1715, and in the Alberoni expedition in 1719, which ended in the battle of Glenshiel. After both affairs the brothers escaped to the continent.

For nine years James Keith served as a Colonel in the Spanish army, and in 1726-27 he took part in the siege of Gibraltar. The fact that he was an Episcopalian, however, militated against his chances of promotion, so in 1728 he entered the service of Russia, and in 1730 became lieutenant-colonel of the bodyguard of the Empress Anna. He fought with great distinction in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), and in 1737, during the war against Turkey, he was severely wounded. While recovering, he visited Berlin, Paris, and London, where, though still a Jacobite, he had several friendly interviews with George II.

On his return to Russia, Keith became governor of the Ukraine, and subsequently gained fresh distinction in the war with Sweden (1741-43).

The Empress Elizabeth loaded him with honours, but the jealousy and animosity of leading Russians made him fear that he might be sent to Siberia, so he left the country in 1747. Almost at once Frederick the Great made him a Field-Marshal in the Prussian army, and from then onwards he was Frederick's right-hand man. When the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756, Keith's association with the King was closer than ever, and he fought beside and advised him during the early part of the campaign. He was killed at Hochkirch in 1758 while trying valiantly to retrieve a position which would never have arisen had Frederick followed his advice.

Keith was one of the most distinguished soldiers of the eighteenth century, and the most notable of the many wandering Scots who served in European armies. He left some fragments of *Memoirs* relating to different periods of his life. These are written without bias, but the simplicity and honesty of his statements of fact make them, in themselves, valuable criticisms. The extracts here given deal with the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1719, in which Keith took a prominent part, and though they are little more than plain narratives they make it perfectly clear why those attempts met with failure.

Except for those two episodes, the *Memoirs* are entirely concerned with continental history and with Keith's adventures abroad.

THE JACOBITE LEADERS IN THE FIFTEEN.

The Duke of Ormonde had been bred from his youth to arms, and had served under King William in quality of L. General during the war which

began betwixt England and France after the Revolution, with the reputation of a very brave officer, tho' he never had that of a very able one. He was a man of a very easy temper, and of an ordinary understanding, so diffident of himself that he often follow'd the advice of those who had a smaller share of sence than himself; he was as irresolute and timorous in affairs as he was brave in his person, and was apt to lose good oportunities by waiting to remove difficulties which naturally attend great designs, and of which a part must always be left to fortune in the execution; he was a man of entire honour The Duke of Marr was of a quite different character. He was bred up to the pen, and was early brought in to bussiness; had good natural parts but few acquired, and knew so little of some of the commonest parts of sciences, that a gentleman of good credit assured me he saw him look for the Dutchy of Deux Pont in a Map of Hungary.

THE JACOBITES TALK TOO MUCH.

This encouragement which the Jacobites received abroad¹ gave great life to their party at home, and they now began to talk publickly that very soon an invasion was intended, and that the Highlanders in Scotland were preparing for an insurrection, which gave King George time to put himself in a condition to oppose them and had the secret been better kept it's very probable the event might have been different from what it was.

¹That is, promises of help from France, and of a large sum of money from Spain.

THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD.

The Earl of Mar, under pretence of a great hunting, had already assembled about 800 men, and with these he set up the Royal standart on the 3d of September 1715, proclaimed King James, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and published a declaration in which he deduced all the misfortunes the Revolution had brought on the Kingdome of Scotland, and particularly the hardships it groan'd under since the fatal union, and concluded that he had taken arms by the orders of their lawfull Souveraign, to free them from a burthen they were no longer able to bear. . . . Every thing being now ready for beginning the enterprize, the Earl of Marr order'd the Highland chiefs of the clans to assemble their men with all possible hast, and fixed the rendez-vous at Perth. . . . The common people flocked in from all quarters, but their being no arms yet arrived, no use cou'd be made of their zeal, and therefor they were dismissed. . . . In the midst of these preparations arrived the unlucky news of the King of France's death, which mightily discouraged many of our party, and raised the hopes of our enemies,—the succours we expected from him being one of the principal motives which made us engage in the attempt. . . . In the mean time, our troops advanced from all parts of the North of Scotland towards Perth, which was the general rendezvous, and by the beginning of October we had assembled about five thousand foot and twelve hundred horse.

SHERIFFMUIR.¹

The Earl of Marr sent immediatly² an officer to reconnoitre them, and at the same time assembled the General officers and heads of Clans, to consult whither he shou'd attack them again ; but the officer having reported that their numbers were equall to ours, and the Highlanders, who were extreemly fatigued, and had eat nothing in two days, being averse to it, it was resolved to let the enemy retire unmolested. The enemy had about seven hundred men killed or wounded and we about 150 killed or wounded, and eighty-two taken ; The loss of colours was almost equal on both sides ; but the enemy got five piece of our canon. . . . Thus ended the affair of Dumblain, in which neither side gained much honour, but which was the entire ruin of our party.

A DIVIDED PARTY.

News was brought us that the same day we fought the Duke of Argile's army, our troops in England had surrendered. . . . This gave the enemy oportunity to draw down forces from England against us. . . . A second bad effect was the disuniting us amongst ourselves, for several of our party, seing that the English, which we always looked on as our principal strength, were quelled began to think of making terms for themselves.

¹This indecisive battle was fought in November 1715, between 12,000 Jacobites under Mar, and 4000 Royalists under Argyll.

²After part of the enemy had fled. Mar's own left wing had also run away.

JAMES ARRIVES.

The King arrived safely in the end of December 1715, after a great many dangers, but came in a very small fishing barck with only two servants, and without any of those things which we had so much depended on, so that what shou'd have given our affairs the greatest life was rather a discouragement to them.

THE DIMINISHING ARMY.

In the beginning of January 1716, his Majesty came to Perth, whence he issued out orders to all those who had gone home, to return with all possible hast ; but the deepness of the snow in the Highlands, the want of money amongst the gentlemen in the low country . . . and the particular treaties which some of the chief nobility, (such as the Marquesses of Seafort and Huntly) had already so far advanced, made these orders so ill executed, that the army rather diminish'd than augmented while his Majesty remained at Perth. On the contrary, the enemy hastned their preparations to prevent the effect of these orders.

THE JACOBITE OBJECTIVE.

His Majesties design was to gain the toun of Inverness, which, tho' then in the enemy's possession, must have surrender'd to us on our coming before it, being a place of no strength. and there to have expected¹ the Duke of Argile and have put the affair to the decision of a battle ; but his Grace gave us no time for such junction,² and without giving his troops more

¹Waited for.

²With such forces as might join him in the march.

than one day's time to refresh themselves at Perth, marched in pursuit of us.

DEPARTURE OF "THE KING."

The King, considering the ill state of his affairs, and having examined the strength of his army, found that he had not above 3000 foot well armed, and about 1000 very indifferently, and seven or eight hundred horse, and for these not ammunition enough for one day's action,—this made him consult the Duke of Marr what he ought to do, who positively advised him to return to France, telling him that the succours he expected in the North were not very sure The Earl Marischall told him¹ that tho' we were in a bad situation he did not think the case so desperate as he represented ; that as for the King's person, he did not apprehend it cou'd be in danger and that to conclude all, he did not think it for the King's honour, nor for that of the nation, to give up the game without putting it to a tryall. Lord Marr seemed to be convinced of the truth of this, and said he wou'd advise the King not to go ; however, a ship was already provided, and in the beginning of the night, fourth of February O.S., his Majesty embarked with the Dukes of Marr and Melfort and sailed about the middle of the night for France. . . . Next morning, when we arrived at Stonhyve, where the other division of our army met us, it became publick that he was gone for France. The consternation was general, and the wholle body so dispirited, that had the Duke of Argile followed us close, and come up with

¹Mar.

only two thousand men, I'm perswaded he might have taken us all prisoners ; but he hearing at Montrose that the King was gone, halted there a wholle day, and so gave us time to get to Aberdeen¹

¹This was really the end. They marched to Keith to see if Huntly would join, but he gave them no encouragement. At Ruthven in Badenoch the army was dismissed, each man looking after himself. Keith went to the Western Islands and eventually crossed to France.

“ TWO FACTIONS AMONST US.”²

²In 1718 the dominating figure in Spanish and European politics was Cardinal Alberoni, an Italian by birth. His designs to utilise Spain in the interests of his native country having been thwarted by England, he conceived the idea of gaining revenge by fostering an invasion in the Jacobite interest. With the help of the Duke of Ormonde he made his plans, and on March 7, 1719, a fleet carrying 5000 men, and arms for 30,000 more, sailed from Cadiz for England, and next day two ships with 307 Spaniards sailed from San Sebastian for Scotland. This second expedition, which was commanded by the Earl Marischal, with whom was his brother, Marshal Keith, was intended to create a diversion in the Highlands and so facilitate the landing of the larger force in England. The main force encountered a great storm which completely ruined it, but the other expedition reached the island of Lewis in the beginning of April. At Lewis the Earl Marischal was joined by the Marquis of Tullibardine and the Earl of Seaforth. Dissension at once broke out, and when Tullibardine claimed the chief command, the Earl Marischal yielded to him, though still retaining command of the ships. The Earl Marischal urged prompt action, but Tullibardine delayed, even after the mainland was reached. By this time the fate of the main expedition was known, so that only about 1000 clansmen joined them. The Earl Marischal had previously sent the ships back to Spain in case they should be taken by English men of war, and thus the only way of retreat was cut off. On June 10 the invaders met an English force of 1100 men at Glenshiel, and after a short fight were completely routed. What happened then is related here by Keith.

Howsoon I got there,¹ I advertised the Marquess of Seafort, who immediatly came to the house where I was, and brought along with him a brother of Lord Duffus's, and some while after came in Campbell of Glenderuel. I told them the reason of my coming,² and showed them the short credentials I had brought from the Duke of Ormonde. Glenderuel smiled at reading them, and told me that that billet wou'd have been of little weight with them, had they not been already advertised by the Duke of Marr to obey what orders the Duke of Ormonde shou'd send. This plainly let me see that we had two factions amongst us, and which proved the occasion of our speedy ruin when we landed in Scotland.

THE BATTLE OF GLENSHIEL.

The tenth of June³ the enemy appear'd at the foot of the mountain, and after having reconnoitred the ground he attacked at detachment we had posted on our right on the other side of the rivulet commanded by Lord George Murray, who not being succour'd as he ought, was obliged to retire, but without any loss. At the same time our center was attacked and forced with very little loss on either side; and after a skirmish of about three hours . . . our troops were forced to retire to the top of the mountain, whose height hinder'd the enemies pursuit. By this time it was night, which gave the chiefs of our party time to consult what was to be done in this urgency, and

¹Paris. Keith was a messenger from Alberoni.

²To bring money and orders from Alberoni.

³1719.

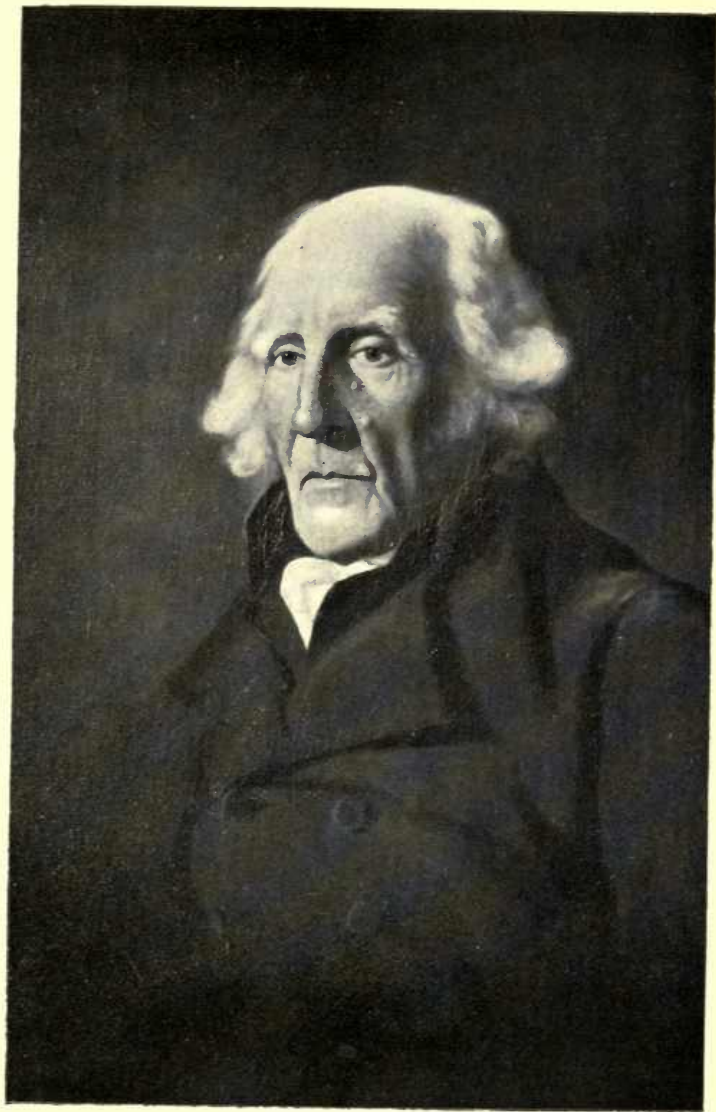
on considering that they had neither provisions nor ammunition, that the few troops they had had behaved in a manner not to give great encouragement to try a second action, it was resolved, that the Spaniards shou'd surrender, and the Highlanders disperse. Don Nicolas Bolano, who commanded the detachment of the regiment of Galicia, offer'd to attack the enemy once more ; but the general officers judging the attempt in vain, the first resolution was followed, and accordingly next morning the Spaniards surrender'd on condition their baggage shou'd not be plunder'd, and every body else took the road he liked best.

ALEXANDER CARLYLE OF INVERESK

(1722-1805.)

ALEXANDER ("JUPITER") CARLYLE was born in the Manse of Cummertrees, Dumfriesshire, but when he was very young his father became minister of Prestonpans, and the family removed thither. He was educated at the universities of Edinburgh, where he gained his degree in Arts in 1743, Glasgow, and Leyden, and while at Edinburgh he was an eye-witness of the Porteous Riots (see p. 404). In 1745 he was a member of the volunteer corps raised for the defence of Edinburgh, and was a spectator of the Battle of Prestonpans. He was licensed in 1746, and in 1748 he became minister of Inveresk, a charge which he held till his death. In 1758 he visited London, and four years later he was appointed almoner to the King. He was again in London in 1769 on a mission to secure exemption from the window-tax for clergymen, the next year he was Moderator of the General Assembly, and in 1789 he became Dean of the Chapel Royal.

Carlyle was one of the leaders of the moderate party in the Church of Scotland—a broad-minded, cultured, and very human churchman, who, while sincerely devoted to his sacred calling, abhorred and despised the narrowness and fanaticism of so many of his brother ministers. He numbered amongst his friends many of the leading men of the time such as John Home, Robertson the



REV. ALEXANDER CARLYLE OF INVERESK

historian, David Hume, Adam Smith, Garrick, and Smollett, and he loved good fellowship and the many innocent pleasures which the fanatics would have denied him. In 1756 he went to an Edinburgh theatre to see John Home's tragedy of *Douglas* (with the writing of which he had helped), and immediately a storm arose in the Church. The sin of attending a theatre was so great that Carlyle was taken to task by presbytery, synod, and general assembly, but in the end he was so mildly censured that he rightly considered the verdict to be a blow to the fanatics and a victory for the moderate party. All his life he strove to eliminate cant and narrow-mindedness from the ministry of the Church of Scotland, and by his own example he showed that a man could keep his humanity and his joy in life, and at the same time be a good Christian and a worthy minister of the Gospel.

His nickname of "Jupiter" referred, of course, to his handsome and imposing appearance.

Carlyle was the author of many satirical pamphlets dealing with the affairs of the time, but his only work of lasting merit is his *Autobiography*. This is one of the most delightful books of memoirs ever written—it is suffused with the author's genial personality and humane outlook, and contains numerous anecdotes of his contemporaries, and sidelights on affairs. The descriptions, too, of Scottish society in the eighteenth century are charmingly vivid and abounding in interest.

The following extracts from the *Autobiography* are taken from that part of the book which ends at 1746.

A SCENE FROM EARLY LIFE.

I had been taught to read by an old woman, who kept a school, so perfectly, that at six years of age I had read a large portion of the Bible to a dozen of old women, who had been excluded the church by a crowd which had made me leave it also, and whom I observed sitting on the outside of a door, where they could not hear. Upon this I proposed to read a portion of Scripture to them, to which they agreed, and set me on a tombstone, whence I read very audibly to a congregation, which increased to about a score, the whole of the Song of Solomon.

A VIRAGO.

I had never seen such a virago as Lady Bridekirk, not even among the oyster-women of Prestons. She was like a sergeant of foot in women's clothes; or rather like an overgrown coachman of a Quaker persuasion. On our peremptory refusal to alight,¹ she darted into the house like a hogshead down a slope, and returned instantly with a pint bottle of brandy—a Scots pint,² I mean—and a stray beer-glass, into which she filled almost a bumper. After a long grace said by Mr Jardine—for it was his turn now, being the third brandy-bottle we had seen since we left Lochmaben—she emptied it to our healths, and made the gentlemen follow her example: she said she would spare me as I was so young, but ordered a maid to bring a gingerbread cake from the cup-

¹This was in 1733, when Carlyle was on a tour on the Borders with his father and Mr. Jardine, minister of Lochmaben.

²Three Imperial pints.

board, a luncheon of which she put in my pocket. This lady was famous, even in the Annandale border, both at the bowl and in battle : she could drink a Scots pint of brandy with ease ; and when the men grew obstreperous in their cups, she could either put them out of doors, or to bed ,as she found most convenient.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

I was entered in Mr Kerr's class,¹ who was at that time Professor of Humanity, and was very much master of his business. Like other schoolmasters, he was very partial to his scholars of rank, and having two lords at his class—viz., Lord Balgonie and Lord Dalziel—he took great pains to make them (especially the first, for the second was hardly ostensible) appear among the best scholars, which would not do, and only served to make him ridiculous, as well as his young lord. . . . I was sent next year to the first class of mathematics, taught by Mr M'Laurin, which cost me little trouble, as my father had carried me through the first book of Euclid in the summer. . . . Mr M'Laurin² was at this time a favourite professor, and no wonder, as he was the clearest and most agreeable lecturer on that abstract science that ever I heard. He made mathematics a fashionable study, which was felt afterwards in the war that followed in 1743, when nine-tenths of the engineers of the army were Scottish officers. The Academy at Woolwich was not then established.

¹In 1735.

²Maclaurin was one of the most famous of Scottish mathematicians.

THE PORTEOUS RIOTS.

I was witness to a very extraordinary scene that happened in the month of February or March 1736, which was the escape of Robertson, a condemned criminal, from the Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh. In those days it was usual to bring the criminals who were condemned to death into that church, to attend public worship every Sunday after their condemnation. . . . Robertson and Wilson were smugglers, and had been condemned for robbing a custom-house. . . . I was carried by an acquaintance to church to see the prisoners on the Sunday before the day of execution. . . . The bells were ringing and the doors were open, while the people were coming into the church. Robertson watched his opportunity, and, suddenly springing up, got over the pew into the passage that led in to the door in the Parliament Close, and, no person offering to lay hands on him, made his escape in a moment—so much the more easily, perhaps, as everybody's attention was drawn to Wilson, who was a stronger man, and who, attempting to follow Robertson, was seized by the soldiers, and struggled so long with them that the two who at last followed Robertson were too late. It was reported that he had maintained his struggle that he might let his companion have time. That might be his second thought, but his first certainly was to escape himself, for I saw him set his foot on the seat to leap over, when the soldiers pulled him back. . . . This was an interesting scene, and by filling the public mind with compassion for the unhappy person who did not escape. . . . had probably

some influence in producing what followed : for when the sentence against Wilson came to be executed a few weeks thereafter, a very strong opinion prevailed that there was a plot to force the Town Guard, whose duty it is to attend executions under the order of a civil magistrate. There was a Captain Porteous, who by his good behaviour in the army had obtained a subaltern's commission, and had afterwards, when on half-pay, been preferred to the command of the City Guard. This man, by his skill in manly exercises, particularly the golf, and by gentlemanly behaviour, was admitted into the company of his superiors, which elated his mind, and added insolence to his native roughness, so that he was much hated and feared by the mob of Edinburgh. When the day of execution came, the rumour of a deforcement at the gallows prevailed strongly ; and the Provost and Magistrates (not in their own minds very strong) thought it a good measure to apply for three or four companies of a marching regiment that lay in the Canongate, to be drawn up in the Lawnmarket, a street leading from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, the place of execution, in order to overawe the mob by their being at hand. Porteous, who, it is said, had his natural courage increased to rage by any suspicion that he and his Guard could not execute the law, and being heated likewise with wine—for he had dined, as the custom then was, between one and two—became perfectly furious when he passed by the three companies drawn up in the street as he marched along with his prisoner. Mr Baillie¹

¹Carlyle's tutor.

had taken windows in a house on the north side of the Grassmarket, for his pupils and me, where we went in due time to see the show. . . . The street is long and wide, and there was a very great crowd assembled. The execution went on with the usual forms, and Wilson behaved in a manner very becoming his situation. There was not the least appearance of an attempt to rescue ; but soon after the executioner had done his duty, there was an attack made upon him, as usual on such occasions, by the boys and blackguards throwing stones and dirt in testimony of their abhorrence of the hangman. But there was no attempt to break through the guard and cut down the prisoner. It was generally said that there was very little, if any, more violence than had usually happened on such occasions. Porteous, however, inflamed with wine and jealousy, thought proper to order his Guard to fire, their muskets being loaded with slugs ; and when the soldiers showed reluctance, I saw him turn to them with threatening gesture and an inflamed countenance. They obeyed, and fired ; but wishing to do as little harm as possible, many of them elevated their pieces, the effect of which was that some people were wounded in the windows ; and one unfortunate lad, whom we had displaced, was killed in the stair window by a slug entering his head. . . . We had seen many people, women and men, fall on the street, and at first thought it was only through fear, and by their crowding on one another to escape. But when the crowd dispersed, we saw them lying dead or wounded, and had no longer any doubt of what had happened. The numbers

were said to be eight or nine killed, and double the number wounded ; but this was never exactly known. This unprovoked slaughter irritated the common people to the last ; and the state of grief and rage into which their minds were thrown, was visible in the high commotion that appeared in the multitude. . . . The sequel of this affair was, that Porteous was tried and condemned to be hanged ; but by the intercession of some of the Judges themselves, who thought his case hard, he was reprieved by the Queen-Regent. The Magistrates, who on this occasion, as on the former, acted weakly, designed to have removed him to the Castle for greater security. But a plot was laid and conducted by some persons unknown with the greatest secrecy, policy, and vigour, to prevent that design, by forcing the prison the night before, and executing the sentence upon him themselves, which to effectuate cost them from eight at night till two in the morning ; and yet this plot was managed so dexterously that they met with no interruption, though there were five companies of a marching regiment lying in the Canongate.

DANCING AND BILLIARDS.

I was very fond of dancing, in which I was a great proficient, having been taught at two different periods in the country, though the manners were then so strict that I was not allowed to exercise my talent at penny-weddings, or any balls but those of the dancing-school. . . . But I had not the means of using this talent, of which I was not a little vain, till luckily I was introduced

to Madame Violante, an Italian stage-dancer, who kept a much-frequented school for young ladies, but admitted of no boys above seven or eight years of age, so that she wished very much for senior lads to dance with her grown-up misses weekly at her practisings. I became a favourite of this dancing-mistress, and attended her very faithfully with two or three of my companions, and had my choice of partners on all occasions, insomuch that I became a great proficient in this branch at little or no expense. It must be confessed, however, that, having nothing to do at Stewart's¹ class, through the incapacity of the master, and M'Laurin's giving me no trouble, as I had a great promptitude in learning mathematics, I had a good deal of spare time this session, which I spent, as well as all the money I got, at a billiard-table, which unluckily was within fifty yards of the College.

A FOUR-PENNY DINNER.

Living at Edinburgh continued still² to be wonderfully cheap, as there were ordinaries for young gentlemen, at fourpence a-head for a very good dinner of broth and beef, and a roast and potatoes every day, with fish three or four times a-week, and all the small-beer that was called for till the cloth was removed.

TABLE APPOINTMENTS IN TAVERNS.

By this time even the second tavern in Haddington (where the presbytery dined, having quarrelled

¹Sir Robert Stewart, Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University.

²1742.

with the first) had knives and forks for their table. But ten or twelve years before that time, my father used to carry a shagreen case, with a knife and fork and spoon, as they perhaps do still on many parts of the Continent. When I attended, in 1742 and 1743, they had still but one glass on the table, which went round with the bottle.

UNIVERSITIES COMPARED.

One difference I remarked between this University and that of Edinburgh, where I had been bred, which was, that although at that time there appeared to be a marked superiority in the best scholars and most diligent students of Edinburgh, yet in Glasgow, learning seemed to be an object of more importance, and the habit of application was much more general.

GLASGOW TRADE AND GLASGOW SOCIETY IN 1743.

The city of Glasgow at this time, though very industrious, wealthy, and commercial, was far inferior to what it afterwards became, both before and after the failure of the Virginia trade. The modes of life, too, and manners, were different from what they are at present. Their chief branches were the tobacco trade with the American colonies, and sugar and rum with the West India. There were not manufacturers sufficient, either there or at Paisley, to supply an outward-bound cargo for Virginia. For this purpose they were obliged to have recourse to Manchester. Manufactures were in their infancy. About this time the inkle manufactory¹ was first begun by Ingram & Glasford, and was shown to strangers as

¹The manufacture of linen thread, or tape.

a great curiosity. But the merchants had industry and stock, and the habits of business, and were ready to seize with eagerness, and prosecute with vigour, every new object in commerce or manufactures that promised success. Few of them could be called learned merchants ; yet there was a weekly club, of which a Provost Cochrane was the founder and a leading member, in which their express design was to inquire into the nature and principles of trade in all its branches, and to communicate their knowledge and views on that subject to each other.

* * * * *

It must be confessed that at this time they were far behind in Glasgow, not only in their manner of living, but in those accomplishments and that taste that belong to people of opulence, much more to persons of education. There were only a few families of ancient citizens who pretended to be gentlemen ; and a few others, who were recent settlers there, who had obtained wealth and consideration in trade. The rest were shopkeepers and mechanics, or successful pedlars, who occupied large warerooms full of manufactures of all sorts, to furnish a cargo to Virginia. It was usual for the sons of merchants to attend the College for one or two years, and a few of them completed their academical education. In this respect the females were still worse off, for at that period there was neither a teacher of French nor of music in the town. The consequence of this was twofold ; first, the young ladies were entirely without accomplishments, and in general had nothing to recommend them but good looks and

fine clothes, for their manners were ungainly. Secondly, the few who were distinguished drew all the young men of sense and taste about them ; for, being void of frivolous accomplishments, which in some respects make all women equal, they trusted only to superior understanding and wit, to natural elegance and unaffected manners.

CLUBS IN GLASGOW.

I was admitted a member of two clubs, one entirely literary, which was held in the porter's lodge at the College, and where we criticised books and wrote abridgements of them, with critical essays ; and to this society we submitted the discourses which we were to deliver in the Divinity Hall in our turns, when we were appointed by the professor. The other club met in Mr Dugald's tavern near the Cross, weekly, and admitted a mixture of young gentlemen, who were not intended for the study of theology. . . . Here we drank a little punch after our beefsteaks and pancakes, and the expense never exceeded 1s. 6d., seldom 1s. Our conversation was almost entirely literary ; and we were of such good fame, that some ministers of the neighbourhood, when occasionally in Glasgow, frequented our club.

A "REMARKABLE DISCOURSE."

I lived this winter in the same house with Dr Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy, an ingenious and well-bred man ; but with him I had little intercourse, except at breakfast now and then, for he always dined abroad. He had a younger brother, a student of divinity, afterwards

his father's successor at Bothwell, who was vain and showy, but who exposed himself very much through a desire of distinction. He was a relation of Mrs Leechman's, and it had been hinted to him that the Professor expected a remarkable discourse from him. He accordingly delivered one which gave universal satisfaction, and was much extolled by the Professor. But, very unfortunately for Hamilton, half-a-dozen students, in going down a street, resorted to a bookseller's shop, where one of them, taking a volume from a shelf, was struck, on opening the book, to find the first sermon from the text he had just heard preached upon. He read on, and found it was verbatim from beginning to end what he had heard in the hall. He showed it to his companions, who laughed heartily, and spread the story all over the town before night—not soon enough to prevent the vainglorious orator from circulating two fine copies of it, one among the ladies in the College, and another in the town.

PEDEN'S Prophecies.

In the month of March or April this year, having gone down with a merchant to visit New Port-Glasgow, as our dinner was preparing at the inn, we were alarmed with the howling and weeping of half-a-dozen of women in the kitchen, which was so loud and lasting that I went to see what was the matter, when, after some time, I learnt from the calmest among them that a pedlar had left a copy of Peden's *Prophecies* that morning, which having read part of, they found that he had predicted woes of every kind to the people of Scotland ; and in particular that Clyde would run

with blood in the year 1744, which now being some months advanced, they believed that their destruction was at hand. I was puzzled how to pacify them, but calling for the book, I found that the passage which had terrified them was contained in the forty-fourth paragraph, without any allusion whatever to the year; and by this means I quieted their lamentations. Had the intended expedition of Mareschal Saxe been carried into execution in that year, as was intended, their fears might have been realised.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN EDINBURGH IN 1745.

The city was in great ferment and bustle at this time; for besides the two parties of Whigs and Jacobites—of which a well-informed citizen told me there were two-thirds of the men in the city of the first description, or friends to Government; and of the second, or enemies to Government, two-thirds of the ladies,—besides this division, there was another between those who were keen for preparing with zeal and activity to defend the city, and those who were averse to that measure, which were Provost Stuart and all his friends; and this appeared so plainly from the Provost's conduct and manner at the time, that there was not a Whig in town who did not suspect that he favoured the Pretender's cause; and however cautiously he acted in his capacity of chief magistrate, there were not a few who suspected that his backwardness and coldness in the measure of arming the people, was part of a plan to admit the Pretender into the city.

GARDINER AND HIS SOLDIERS.

As soon as I arrived at the town,¹ I inquired for Colonel Gardiner,² and went and visited him at Mr Pyot's the minister of the town, where he lodged. He received me with kindness, and invited me to dine with him at two o'clock, and to come to him a little before the hour. I went to him at half-past one, and he took me to walk in the garden. He looked pale and dejected, which I attributed to his bad health and the fatigue he had lately undergone. I began to ask him if he was not now quite satisfied with the junction of the foot with the dragoons, and confident that they would give account of the rebels. He answered dejectedly that he hoped it might be so, but—and then made a long pause. I said, that to be sure they had made a very hasty retreat ; “ a foul flight,” said he, “ Sandie, and they have not recovered from their panic ; and I'll tell you in confidence that I have not above ten men in my regiment whom I am certain will follow me. But we must give them battle now, and God's will be done ! ”

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.

Even at that time, which could hardly be more than ten or fifteen minutes after firing the first cannon, the whole prospect was filled with runaways, and Highlanders pursuing them. Many had their coats turned as prisoners, but were still trying to reach the town in hopes of escaping. The pursuing Highlanders, when they could not

¹Dunbar.

²Whom he knew well, as he was a native of Prestonpans.

overtake, fired at them, and I¹ saw two fall in the glebe. By-and-by a Highland officer whom I knew to be Lord Elcho passed with his train, and had an air of savage ferocity that disgusted and alarmed. He inquired fiercely of me where a public-house was to be found; I answered him very meekly, not doubting but that, if I had displeased him with my tone, his reply would have been with a pistol bullet.

THE JACOBITE ARMY AND THE GENTLE LOCHEIL.

It was not long before we arrived at Cockenzie, where, under the protection of my guard,² I had an opportunity of seeing this victorious army. In general they were of low stature and dirty, and of a contemptible appearance. The officers with whom I mixed were gentleman-like, and very civil to me, as I was on an errand of humanity. I was conducted to Locheil, who was polished and gentle, and who ordered a soldier to make all the inquiry he could about the medicine-chests of the dragoons. After an hour's search, we returned without finding any of them, nor were they ever afterwards recovered. This view I had of the rebel army confirmed me in the prepossession that nothing but the weakest and most unaccountable bad conduct on our part could have possibly given them the victory.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF PRINCE CHARLES.

I went twice down to the Abbey Court with my friend about twelve o'clock, to wait till the

¹Carlyle was only a spectator of this battle.

²Carlyle offered his services to the Jacobites in order to tend the wounded. At this time he was looking for some medicine chests which had gone astray.

Prince should come out of the Palace and mount his horse to ride to the east side of Arthur Seat to visit his army. I had the good fortune to see him both days, one of which I was close by him when he walked through the guard. He was a good-looking man, of about five feet ten inches; his hair was dark red, and his eyes black. His features were regular, his visage long, much sunburnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy. He mounted his horse and rode off through St Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk to his army.

NEWS OF CULLODEN REACHES LONDON.

I was in the coffeehouse with Smollett¹ when the news of the battle of Culloden arrived, and when London all over was in a perfect uproar of joy. . . . About 9 o'clock I wished to go home to Lyon's, in New Bond Street, as I had promised to sup with him that night, it being the anniversary of his marriage night, or the birthday of one of his children. I asked Smollett if he was ready to go, as he lived at Mayfair; he said he was, and would conduct me. The mob were so riotous, and the squibs so numerous and incessant that we were glad to go into a narrow entry to put our wigs in our pockets, and to take our swords from our belts and walk with them in our hands, as everybody then wore swords; and, after cautioning me against speaking a word, lest the mob should discover my country and become insolent, "for John Bull," says he, "is as haughty and valiant to-night as he was abject and cowardly

¹Tobias Smollett the novelist.

on the Black Wednesday when the Highlanders were at Derby." . . . Smollett, though a Tory, was not a Jacobite, but he had the feelings of a Scotch gentleman on the reported cruelties that were said to be exercised after the battle of Culloden.

A CRITICISM OF CUMBERLAND.

My cousin Lyon was an Englishman born, though of Scottish parents, and an officer in the Guards, and perfectly loyal, and yet even he did not seem to rejoice so cordially at the victory as I expected. "What's the matter?" says I; "has your Strathmore blood got up, that you are not pleased with the quelling of the Rebellion?" "God knows," said he, "I heartily rejoice that it is quelled; but I'm sorry that it has been accomplished by the Duke of C——,¹ for if he was before the most insolent of all commanders, what will he be now?" I afterwards found that this sentiment prevailed more than I had imagined; and yet, though no general, he had certainly more parts and talents than any of the family.

¹Cumberland.

DAVID, LORD ELCHO.

(1721-1787).

DAVID, Lord Elcho, eldest son of the fourth Earl of Wemyss, was a Jacobite by birth, up-bringing, and conviction. On completing his education in England he set out for France with his tutor in 1738, and two years later reached Rome, where he paid court to James, the Old Pretender, and became a companion of his two sons, Charles Edward, 'Prince of Wales' (his senior by one year), and the Duke of York. He returned to Scotland in 1741, but in 1743 he was back in France, and a year later he was, with Murray of Broughton, conducting negotiations on the Jacobite behalf in Scotland. Elcho joined Prince Charles Edward in September 1745 just before the triumphal march into Edinburgh, and was almost immediately made a member of the Prince's council. After Prestonpans he raised a troop of Lifeguards consisting of 100 gentlemen of good family, and this he commanded till Culloden. As Elcho was a supporter of Lord George Murray, relations between him and the Prince were, towards the end of the campaign, very strained, and he records in his *Journal* that he sped Charles from the field of Culloden with the words, "There you go for a damned cowardly Italian." Elcho was attainted for his part in the rebellion, and for the rest of his life he lived abroad, unable to obtain Government permission to return to

Scotland. He died in Paris in 1787. Writing of him in the introduction to his edition of the *Short Account*, the Hon. Evan Charteris says, "He had the bitterness of knowing that the supreme sacrifice of his life had been made on behalf of a lost cause and a worthless Prince ; but to his credit he never repined, The sense of banishment from the land to which his strongly marked nationality was always drawing him was never absent from his mind. . . . Of those Jacobites who were saved from the scaffold few lived a more unhappy existence than Elcho."

He left two manuscripts, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, from which the following extracts are taken ; and a personal *Journal* which has never been published. The *Account of the Affairs, etc.*, is an accurate and, on the whole, impartial account of the Forty-Five. Elcho seems to have reserved his partisanship for his *Journal*. His narrative shows him to have been a shrewd judge of character, a very practical man, and a good soldier, and makes it clear that his Jacobitism, while sincere, did not swamp his common sense.

Elcho's *Account of the Affairs, etc.*, has been edited by the Hon. Evan Charteris, by the kind permission of whom the following extracts are quoted.

MR. MURRAY SOWS THE SEED.

In the Month of August 1744 Mr Murray of

Broughton¹ (who was the Chevaliers agent in Scotland) went to Paris, where he Saw the Prince, and informed him that if he could prevail upon the French to give him 6000 men and 30000 lewis d'ors and ten thousand Stand of arms, that he was charged to tell him he would be join'd upon his landing by a great number of his friends, but if he Could not obtain these Succours it was impossible for them to do anything for him. Mr Murray returned from France in October 1744, and gave out, in all the meetings he had with the Princes friends, that the Prince told him he would certainly be in Scotland next Summer whither the King of France assisted him or not. Most of the Gentlemen of that party look'd upon it as a mad project and were utterly against it. Mr Murray & some others who were in desperate circumstances certainly encouradged the Prince underhand; others such as the Duke of Perth, out of Zeal. There were likewise some gentlemen, who were against his Coming, used in their Conversations to Say that they would do all they could to prevent his Coming, but if he did come and persisted in Staying, they believed they could not hinder themselves from joining in his fortune. Mr Murray in the beginning of the year 1745 sent over Young Glengary to the Prince

¹John Murray of Broughton, agent for James in Scotland, and subsequently secretary to Charles Edward, was, not without reason, accused of encouraging the Prince to come to Scotland simply because a Jacobite rising seemed to offer an opportunity for personal gain. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London after the Forty-Five, and on turning King's evidence received a pardon, and a pension of £200 per annum.

with a State of his Affairs in Scotland, in which it is believed he represented every body that had ever spoke warmly of the Stuart family as people that would certainly join him if he came.

THE PRINCE LANDS—A DISCOURAGING POSITION.

Every body was vastly alarm'd at this news,¹ & were determined when he came to endeavour all in their power to prevail upon him to go back; and the Gentlemen of the party then at Edinburgh sent Mr Murray to the Highlands to lett the Prince know their sentiments, but upon his not Coming all the month of June, Mr Murray return'd to the Lowlands. . . . The frigate in which the Prince was . . . about the middle of July made the isles of Barra. Mr Macdonald was sent ashoar upon South Uist, where he mett Mr Macdonald of Buisdale, Brother to Clanronald who told him he Came from Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod² to beg that if the Prince was in that Ship he might go back to France, for that it was a bad project he came upon, and Could never be Attended with Success. The Prince came and lay ashoar that night upon south Uist and held a Council with the Gentlemen that came along with him what was to be done; they were all for Going back again to France, except Sir Thomas Sheridan. Even the Prince himself seemed for it, but Sir Thomas, as he had always a great deal to say with the Prince, persuaded him to remain. So they embark'd aboard ye Ship and Steer'd for

¹The news of the Prince's determination to sail for Scotland.

²Both Macdonald and Macleod subsequently supported the Government.

the main Land, and made the bay of Lochnanuagh in Arisaig, and they landed at a place call'd Borodale.

THE TWO MURRAYS.

There happen'd a Circumstance here at Perth that was ever after very detrimental to the Princes affairs and was the chief means of breeding any jealousies that happen'd afterwards in that army, Mr Murray of Broughton, who the Prince had made his Secretary, had gott a Great deal of his masters Ear, and it was Supposed he aim'd at having the chief direction of all that concerned Military affairs as well, as he had already the administration of all moneys belonging to the Prince and every thing that concerned private Correspondence. To Effectuate this Scheme it was necessary to remove a great obstacle, which was to deprive Lord George Murray of the Princes favour, which would in Consequence lessen his Command, as he knew Lord George would not be directed by him and in the main had no regard for him To bring this about he told the Prince that Lord George had taken the oaths to the Government, and that he had been looked upon for some time past as no friend to the Cause, and in Short his Opinion was, that he had join'd only out of an intent to Betray the Affair. What Mr Murray said to the Prince upon this Subject had such weight that he ever afterwards suspected Lord George which did his Affairs great harm, as Lord George by his behaviour gained the Esteem and Confidence of the whole Army.

THE ENTRY INTO EDINBURGH.

The Prince Gott the news of Ednrs being taken the next morning 17 of Sept. When the Army Came near town it was mett by vast Multitudes of people, who by their repeated Shouts & huzzas express'd a great deal of joy to See the Prince. When they Came into the Suburbs the Croud was prodigious and all wishing the Prince prosperity ; in Short, nobody doubted but that he would be joined by 10,000 men at Edinburgh if he Could Arm them. The Prince Continued on horseback always followed by the Croud, who were happy if they could touch his boots or his horse furniture. In the Steepest part of the park Going down to the Abey he was oblided to Alight and walk, but the Mob out of Curiosity, and some out of fondness to touch him or kiss his hand, were like to throw him down, so, as soon as he was down the hill, he mounted his horse and road through St Anes yards into Holyroodhouse Amidst the Cries of 60000¹ people who fill'd the Air with their Acclamations of joy. The Croud Continued all that night in the outward Court of the Abbey and huzza'd Every time the Prince Appeared at the Window. Not one of the Mob who were so fond of seeing him Ever ask'd to Enlist in his Service, and when he marched to fight Cope he had not one of them in his Army. At night their came a Great many Ladies of Fashion, to Kiss his hand, but his behaviour to them was very Cool : he had not been much used to Women's Company, and was always embarrassed while he was with them.

¹In 1752 the population of Edinburgh was estimated at 50,000.

A SELF-WILLED PRINCE AND A DIVIDED COUNCIL

The Prince in this Council used Always first to declare what he was for, and then he Ask'd Every bodys opinion in their turn. Their was one third of the Council who's principals were that Kings and Princes Can never either act or think wrong, so in Consequence they always Confirmed whatever the Prince Said. The other two thirds, who thought that Kings and Princes thought sometimes like other men and were not altogether infallable and that this Prince was no more so than others, beg'd leave to differ from him, when they Could give Sufficient reasons for their difference of Opinion. . . . The Prince Could not bear to hear any body differ in Sentiment from him, and took a dislike to Every body that did.

CHARLES IS CONFIDENT.

A day or two after the review¹ he proposed to his Council to March the Army into England, where he Said he was sure all the Country would join him. His reasons for Thinking so were that in his Youth his Governors and Flatterers amongst his Fathers Courtiers had always talk'd of the Hanover Family as Cruel Tyrants hated by every body The way he had been received upon his Enttring Ednr, and the success he had had against Gen: Cope, not only Confirm'd him in all the ideas he had when he came into the country, but he likewise now believed the regular troops would not fight against him, because of his being their natural Prince. As

¹This review took place at Duddingston a few days after Prestonpens.

these were the arguments he Generaly used in his discourse, it was no wonder his Councils sometimes differ'd from him in Opinion, and upon his now proposing Going to England they differ'd from him The Prince finish'd this days Councill by Saying he was sure a great body of English would join him upon his Enttring their Country, that the French would be Landed before he could join them, and that in Short every body in London was for him and would receive him as they had already done at Ednr. The Answer to that was that Every body wish'd it might be so, and wish'd that he might soon have Authority for saying so. The Common people¹ were quite averse to Going to England, & only carried on by the Princes assuring them every day that the English would join them & the French would Land.

HOW THE PRINCE SPENT HIS TIME IN EDINBURGH.

The Prince lived in Ednr from the 22 of Sept to the 31 of Octr, with Great Splendour and Magnificence, had Every morning a numerous Court of his Officers. After he had held a Councill, he dinn'd with his principall officers in publick, where their was always a Crowd of all sorts of people to See him dine. After dinner he rode out Attended by his life guards and review'd his Army, where their was always a great number of Spectators in Coaches and on horseback. After the review, he Came to the Abey, where he received the ladies of fashion that came to his drawing-room. Then he Sup'd in publick, and Generaly their was musick at Supper, and a Ball afterwards.

¹This sentence refers to the army on the march into England.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ARE "MIGHTILY AFRAID."

The people in England seemed mightily afraid of the army and had abandon'd all the villages upon its approach. When any of them was gott & ask'd why they run away so, they said they had been told that the army murder'd all the men & children & ravish'd the women, and when they found themselves well used, they seemed mightily surprised. Their was an old woman remained in a house that night where some officers were quarter'd. After they had sup'd, she said to them, Gentlemen, I Suppose You have done with Your murdering to day, I should be Glad to know when the ravishing begins.

THE JACOBITES RECEIVE "NOT THE LEAST ENCOURAGEMENT."

The road betwixt Preston and Wigan was crouded with people standing at their doors to see the army go by, and they generally all that days march profes'd to wish the Princes army Success, but if arms was offer'd to them and they were desir'd to Go along with the army they all declined, and Said they did not Understand fighting. The 29 when the Prince arrived with his army at Manchester the Mob huzza'd him to his Lodgings, the town was mostly illuminated, and the Bells rung After all these proceedings it was natural enough to imagine that their would be a great joining, but every body was astonish'd to find that all that was to join was about 200 Common fellows who it seems had no subsistance, for they used to Say by way of showing their military inclination, that they

had for sometime been resolved to inlist with whichever of the two armies came first to town. . . . The Prince was so far deceived with these proceedings at Manchester . . . that he thought himself sure of Success, and his Conversation that night at Table was, in what manner he should enter London, on horseback or a foot, and in what dress. . . . The Principal officers of the army who thought otherwise upon these topicks, mett at Manchester and were of Opinion that now they had marched far enough into England, and as they had received not the least Encouragement from any person of distinction, the French not landed, and only joined by 200 vagabonds, they had done their part ; and as they did not pretend to put a King upon the throne of England without their consent, that it was time to represent to the Prince to go back to Scotland. But after talking a great deal about it, it was determin'd to March to Derby, that so neither the French nor the English might have it to Say, the army had not marched far Enough into England to give the one Encouragement to Land and the other to join.

DERBY : LORD GEORGE MURRAY SPEAKS OUT.

Lord George concluded by Saying that the Scots army had done their part, that they Came into England at the Princes request, to join his English friends, and to give them Courage by their appearance to take arms and declare for him publickly as they had done, or to join the French if they had Landed ; but as none of these things had happened, that certainly 4500 Scots had never thought of putting a King upon the

English Throne by themselves. So he Said his Opinion was they Should go back and join their friends in Scotland, and live and die with them After Lord George had spoke he desired all the rest of the Gentlemen present to Speak their sentiments, and they all agreed with Lord George except two,* who were for going to Wales to see if the Welch would join. . . . The Prince heard all these arguments with the greatest impatience, fell into a passion and gave most of the Gentlemen that had Spoke very Abusive Language, and said that they had a mind to betray him. The Case was he knew nothing about the country nor had not the Smallest Idea of the force that was against him, nor where they were Situated. His Irish favourites to pay court to him had always represented the whole nation as his friends. . . . He Continued all that day positive he would march to London; the Irish in the Army were always for what he was for . . . The Scots were all against it; so at Night the Prince Sent for them and told them he consented to go to Scotland, And at the same time he told them that for the future he would have no more Councils, for he would neither ask nor take their Advice, that he was Accountable to nobody for his Actions but to his Father; and he was as good as his word, for he never after advised with any body but the Irish Officers, Mrs Murray & Hay, and never more summons'd a Council.

*Elcho's note—" Duke of Perth Sir Will: Gordon."

MR. MORGAN IS PROPHETIC.

Upon the Armies marching out of Darby Mr Morgan an English Gentleman came up to Mr Vaughan who was riding in the life Guards, and after saluting him said Damn me, Vaughan, they are going to Scotland. Mr Vaughan replied, Wherever they go I am determined now I have joined them to go along with them.* Upon which Mr. Morgan Said, By God I had rather be hanged than go to Scotland to Starve.

THE PRINCE TAXES GLASGOW.

The Prince sometime after his arrival at Glasgow road through the town dress'd in the French dress attended by his Guards and made a General review of all his army that had been in England, and the loss the army had sustained by its march into England was very inconsiderable, As this town had been very active in raising men and had made great rejoicings upon the news of the pretended defeat at Lancaster the Prince taxed it in 12000 Shirts, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pr of Shoes, 6000 pr of Stockings, & 6000 waistcoats amounting to near the value of 10'000 pds, and took hostages for the payment of it ; the Prince Supp'd every night in publick and their was always a great deal of Company came to See him.

THE RETURN FROM FALKIRK.

They¹ halted at Linlithgow all the 17th, and next day they went into Ednr, where the people

*Elcho's note is—" Mr Morgan was hanged in 1746 and Mr Vaughan is an officer in Spain."

¹General Hawley's army, which was defeated by the Jacobites at Falkirk.

were very much astonish'd to see them return beat, as General Hawley had made so sure of the victory as to Erect Gibbets in Ednr in order to hang his prisoners upon, and some of the hangmen he had assembled for that purpose were taken prisoners at Falkirk, and dissmiss'd upon their parolles of honour as it was Supposed they would keep them as well as the officers did, for the Prince gott news that the Officers taken at Preston pans had broke their parolles.

THE PRINCE GOES NORTH.

Upon intelligence from Edinburgh That the Duke of Cumberland was to march west at the head of his army and be at Linlithgow on the 31, Lord George Murray & all the Chiefs of the Clans mett and held a Councill at Falkirk and drew up a paper which they all signed and sent to the Prince, the purport of which was that they were no way in a Condition to face The Dukes army. They Concluded by advising the Prince to march his army north to Inverness, to destroy Lord Loudouns army and all his Enemies in that Country and they Assured him all that Effected, they would by next Spring putt him at the head of Eight or ten Thousand highlandmen to follow him wherever he pleased. The Prince at first was Against it, but afterwards Consented to it, and he and Lord George Murray concerted that on the first of Febrewary all the army should be order'd very early in the morning to cross the Forth and that Ld George Should have 1200 Chosen foot and Ld Elcho's troop, with which he undertook to wait a great while after the army and to make the arriere guard and

prevent the Dukes horse from following. All this Scheme was so far from being putt in Execution, that on the first of Febrewary, when the troops at Sterling who knew nothing of the Concert gott orders to march by the Frews to Dumblain, every body was Struck with amazement, for Every body that did not know of the Clans representation Expected a battle, and it appeared very Strange to run away from the very army that had been beat only a fortnight before. Never was their a retreat resembled so much a flight. . . . Their was no Arriere Guard, & Ld Elcho's troop who was order'd to wait at the Bridge of Carron untill further orders was forgott, so that at two o clock when they left it, they had near been intercepted by a Sally from the town and Castle of Sterling. . . . Lord George blamed the Prince for this retreat, and he was so far blamable, that very often orders that had been Agree'd upon betwixt him & Ld George were changed afterwards by him & his favourites, Sir Thomas,¹ Mrs Murray & Hay, for Since the resolution he took at Derby to call no Councils he never advised with or consulted any body but these Gentlemen.

GROWING DISCONTENT.

The Prince Since his return from Elgin had remain'd close at Inverness . . . ; he very often went a Shooting, and sometimes gave bals at night where he danced himself, and Endeavour'd to keep up the peoples Spirits that aproach'd him by despising his Enemy, and Assuring that the Duke of Cumberlands soldiers would be so

¹Sir Thomas Sheridan.

conscious of the highness of the crime of fighting against their true & Lawfull Prince, that whenever he appear'd they would certainly run away. . . . Their was great discontent in his Army at this time both amongst the Officers and Soldiers. As money was very Scarce with him, he paid his troops mostly in meal, which they did not like, and very often mutiny'd, refused to obey orders, and Sometimes threw down their arms and went home What displeased the people of fashion was that he did not Seem to have the least Sense of what they had done for him, but on the contrary would often Say that they had done nothing but their duty as his fathers Subjects were bound to do. . . . Mr Murray, who knew very well that the Prince was always to be in the hands of Somebody, and who had govern'd him a long time himself, introduced Mr Hay about the Prince in order to keep out other people who he was more Afraid of, so that the Prince had either the one or the other constantly with him, but Mr Murray happening to fall Sick, Mr Hay Gott the Prince intirely to himself, which Mr Murray Complained much of Afterwards. Another thing the Officers took much amiss was the preference the Prince gave the Irish to the Scots, which he did upon all occasions.

THE NIGHT BEFORE CULLODEN.¹

¹Culloden was fought on April 16. On the night April 15-16 the Prince attempted a night march on Nairn, so as to attack Cumberland from the rear. Dawn broke before the objective was reached, however, and the Prince consulted his officers as to the next move. They advised retreat, and the Prince wanted to go on, but the army, as this extract shows, settled the matter.

During the time of this Conversation the army, by what means I know not, began to move back ; and in much Shorter time than they had march'd return'd to the parks of Culloden, where Every body seemed to think of nothing but Sleep. The men were prodigiously tired with hunger and fatigue, and vast numbers of them went into Inverness, and the Villages about, both to Sleep and to pick up what little nourishment they Could gett. The principal officers went all to the house of Culloden and were so much tired that they never thought of Calling a Councill what was to be done, but Every one lay'd himself down where he Could. . . . About two hours after the Princes Arrival at Culloden a party of horse that had been left to Observe the Duke of Cumberlands motions, brought word that their was a party of his horse within two miles, and that his whole army was not above four miles off.

THE DEBACLE.

They Endeavoured to gett the men together as fast as possible, but as they were dispersed all over the Country as far as Inverness, their was near two thousand of them that was not at the Battle, so all The Prince Assembled was about five thousand men, which he march'd up the hill from Culloden. . . . It was a dark, misty, rainy day, & the wind blew in the face of the Princes army. Their was no manner of Councill held upon the Field. . . . On Wednesday, the 16 of April 1746, about half an hour after Eleven, the Duke of Cumberlands army appeared two miles off, Straight in front of the Princes. . . . The Dukes army

Continued always advancing and keeping a Continued fire both of Cannon and musketry, which killed a vast number of the Princes people. At last when they were very near, the word of Command to Advance was given, and all the line moved forward, but in the advancing the whole left wing of the Princes army gave way, and run away without firing their musketts; the Centre join'd the right, and in a Sort of a mob, without any order or distinction of Corps, mixt together, rush'd in and attack'd the Dukes left wing, and broke the regiments opposite to them in the first line, but the Second line marching up beat them off, and oblidged them to turn their backs, and, run away. . . . The Prince who at the beginning of the Action was behind the Irish piquetts guarded by Sixteen of Fitzjames's horse, turn'd about his horse¹ and went off as soon as the left wing gave way, and never offer'd to rally any of the broken Corps; but indeed it would have been to no purpose, for none of the highlanders who Escaped ever Stop'd untill they gott home to their own houses.

THE PRINCE DISMISSES HIS SCOTTISH OFFICERS.

He appeared very Uneasy as long as the Scots were about him, and in a Short time order'd them all to go to Ruthven of Badenoch, where he would Send them orders, but before they had rode a mile, he Sent Mr. Sheridan after them, to tell them that they might disperse and every body Shift for himself the best way he Could; . . . he

¹It was at this point that Lord Elcho spoke the words quoted on page 418. See also p. 439.

was so prepossess'd against the Scots, that he was Affraid they would give him up to make their peace with the Government; for some of the Irish were at pains to relate to him in very Strong terms, whow the Scots had already Sold his Great Grand Father to the English; and as he was naturaly of a Suspicious temper it was no difficult matter to persuade him of it; and he always believed it, Untill the fidelity the Highlanders Show'd him during the long time he was hid in their Country Convinced him and every body else of the Contrary.

THE FORGED LETTER.

The principal people were surprised he had not Acquainted any of them of it,¹ or so much as ever wrote to thank them, for any of the services they had render'd him; and the Commonalty were enraged because he Used always to tell them he would never Abandon them while two of them would Stand by him. His friends Mr Murray and Sir Thomas Sheridan to appease these murmures forged a letter wherin they made the Prince Say that he Was Gone to France to Ask money and men and that he Would be back Again to Scotland with Every thing necessary to Carry on the War, but all that was only to Endeavour to Apease the glammers of the people, who were very much Exasperated against him for Abandoning them.

¹Of his intention to leave Scotland.

“THE LYON IN MOURNING.”

(1745-1746.)

ROBERT FORBES (1708-1775), Bishop of Ross and Caithness, was the compiler of the *Lyon in Mourning*,¹ a remarkable collection of journals, narratives, and other documents written, or communicated orally, by men and women who participated in the Jacobite rising of 1745. The *Lyon in Mourning* is not in any sense a connected history, but in spite of this, and in spite of its intense Jacobitism, it has considerable historical value. The collection, too, is of the most absorbing interest, more particularly in the journals and narratives of those who were the Prince's companions after Culloden. Most of the documents refer to this period of the 'Forty-Five, and every movement of Charles', his many hairbreadth escapes, and some of his actual words during those trying months between April and September, 1746, are faithfully chronicled by men and women whose loyalty could not be purchased for £30,000.

PRINCE CHARLES LANDS IN SCOTLAND.²

Two or three hours before landing, an eagle

¹This is Forbes' own title—the “lion” is, of course, the heraldic symbol of Scotland, and the title may be paraphrased into “Scotland in mourning for the Stewarts.”

²This passage is taken from the narrative of Duncan Cameron, “some time servant to old Lochiel at Boulogne,” who, because of his knowledge of the Long Isle, accompanied the Prince to Scotland.

came hovering over the frigate,¹ and continued so to do till they were all safe on shore. . . . The Duke of Athol turning to the Prince said, ' Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland.' When they landed in Eriska, they could not find a grain of meal or one inch of bread. But they caught some flounders, which they roasted upon the bare coals in a mean low hut they had gone into near the shore, and Duncan Cameron stood cook. The Prince sat at the cheek of the little ingle, upon a fail sunk,² and laughed heartily at Duncan's cookery.

THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD.³

Next day⁴ the Prince sent for young Clanronald's uncle (Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale), who lived in South Uist, and discovered himself to him. This gentleman spoke in a very discouraging manner to the Prince, and advised him to return home. To which it is said the Prince replied, ' I am come home, sir, and I will entertain no notion at all of returning to that place from whence I came; for that I am persuaded my faithful Highlanders will stand by me.' Mr. MacDonald told him he was afraid he would find the contrary. The royal standard was set up at Glenfinnan (August 19th), the property of Clanronald, at the head of Lochshiel.

¹The *La Doutelle* on which the Prince sailed on June 22.

²Turf seat at the back of the fire.

³Also from the narrative of Duncan Cameron.

⁴22nd July, the day after landing.

THE ATTEMPT AT MOY.¹

When he² came to McKintosh's house, within a few miles of them,³ the whole force marched out of Inverness very secretly in the night ; and had it not been for the care of his female friends, 'tis very probable they might have succeeded in their attempt. Some of these at Inverness dispatch'd a messenger to inform him of his danger ; and at the same time, his landlady, without knowing anything of the design, had order'd one Fraser, a blacksmith, a trusty stout fellow, who liv'd hard by, and knew all the roads, to keep a sharp look-out the whole night. . . . Accordingly it happen'd that Fraser discover'd the enemy, upon whom he immediately fir'd his piece, and had the presence of mind to cry out, as if he had had a party near, to advance, for the dogs were coming up, which so allarm'd them that immediately they turned tail, and made the best of their way to Inverness.

CHARLES AT CULLODEN.⁴

The Prince was in the heat of the action, had one of his grooms killed close by him, the horse

¹From a narrative communicated to Bishop Forbes by the Rev. George Innes of Forres.

²The Prince.

³This affair took place on 16th Feb. 1746. The Prince was spending the night in Moy Hall (the seat of the MacIntosh), and Lord Loudon, who was then at Inverness, got word of this, and determined to capture him.

⁴From the Journal of Mr. John Cameron, Presbyterian Preacher and Chaplain at Fort William.

he rode on killed by a musket bullet¹ which struck him within an inch of the Prince's leg. Some of the Camerons on the right gave way, being flanked, as they expected, from the park wall, which the Argyleshire men had broke down. Lochiel endeavoured to rally them, but could not. . . . Major Kennedy after the Highlanders were broke and the French engaged, went to the Prince and told him they could not hold it long and begged he would retire. In this request he was joined by others. The Prince complied with great reluctance, retired in good order and in no hurry.²

THE BARBARITIES AFTER CULLODEN.³

That there was a vast number of the Highlanders killed in cold blood the next morning after Culloden battle is a fact that can't be denied, and that can be likewise attested by Mr. Ranald MacDonald of Belfinlay (a cadet of Clanranald's family) who was an eye-witness to that tragedy. This gentleman lay in a field after he received his wounds, and remained likewise in the field all that night after he was stript of all his cloaths, his very shirt and breeches being taken from him. But as he was young and of a robust constitution he lived till next morning, when he saw that cruell command coming to execute their bloody orders, and saw many of his unhappy companions putt to death in cold blood.

¹This was flatly contradicted by James Gib, Master of the Prince's Household.

²Cf. Elcho's account on p. 434.

³Taken from a narrative in Belfinlay's own handwriting.

THE PRINCE IN ADVERSITY.¹

The Prince submitted with patience to his adverse fortune, was chearful, and frequently desired those that were with him to be so. He was cautious when in the greatest danger, never at a loss in resolving what to do, with uncommon fortitude. He regretted more the distress of those who suffered for adhering to his interest than the hardships and dangers he was hourly exposed to.

ON THE DESERT ISLE OF EUIRN.²

Here I³ asked if the boatmen did eat in common with the Prince and the gentlemen? 'Na, good faith, they!' said Donald, 'set them up wi' that indeed, the fallows! to eat wi' the Prince and the shentlemen! We even kept up the port of the Prince upon the desert island⁴ itself and kept twa tables, one for the Prince and the shentlemen, and the other for the boatmen'

GENERAL CAMPBELL EXAMINES DONALD MACLEOD.⁵

The General asked if he had been along with the young Pretender?⁶ 'Yes,' said Donald, 'I was along with that young gentleman, and I winna deny it.' 'Do you know,' said the General, 'what money was upon that man's head? no less a sum than *thirty thousand pounds sterling*, which would have made you and all your children after you happy for ever.' 'What then?

¹Also from the Journal of Mr. John Cameron.

²Taken from the narrative of Donald MacLeod.

³Bishop Forbes.

⁴Euirn is an uninhabited island near Stornoway. The Prince came there on May 6.

⁵Also from Donald MacLeod's narrative.

⁶Donald was, of course, a prisoner.

thirty thousand pounds! Though I had gotten 't I could not have enjoyed it eight and forty hours. Conscience would have gotten up upon me. That money could not have kept it down. And tho' I could have gotten all England and Scotland for my pains I would not allowed a hair of his body to be touched if I could help it.'

THE RELIGION OF PRINCES.¹

At last I starts the question if his highness wou'd take it amiss if I shou'd tell him the greatest objections against him in Great Britain. He said, Not. I told him that Popery and arbitrary government were the two chiefest. He said it was only bad constructions his enemys pat on't. 'Do you 'no, Mr M'Donald,' he says, 'what religion are all the princes in Europe of?' I told him I imagin'd they were of the same establish'd religion of the nation they liv'd in. He told me then they had little or no religion at all.

FLORA MACDONALD.²

Miss MacDonald had gone from Sky to Milton in South Uist in order to visit her brother-german, who had about that time taken up house. . . . When the Prince was surrounded with difficulties on all hands, and knew not well what to do for his future safety, Captain O'Neil brought Miss MacDonald to the place where the Prince was, and there they concerted the plan. At that time Miss

¹From the narrative of Hugh MacDonald of Balshar in North Uist. MacDonald met the Prince in South Uist in June 1746.

²This narrative was taken from the mouth of Miss Flora MacDonald by Dr. Burton of York, and communicated by him to Bishop Forbes.

returned to Milton. After Miss MacDonald had (with some difficulty) agreed to undertake the dangerous enterprize, she set out for Clanranald's house, Saturday, June 21st, and at one of the fords was taken prisoner by a party of militia, she not having a passport. She demanded to whom they belonged? And finding . . . that her stepfather¹ was then commander, she refused to give any answers till she should see their captain. . . . Her stepfather, coming next day, being Sunday, she told him what she was about, upon which he granted a passport for herself, a man-servant . . . and another woman Bettie Burk, a good spinster, and whom he recommended as such in a letter to his wife at Armadale in Sky, as she had much lint to spin. . . . Lady Clanranald . . . supplied the Prince with apparel sufficient for his disguise, viz., a flower'd linen gown, a white apron, etc., and sent some provisions along with him. . . . At eight o'clock, June 28th, Saturday, 1746, the Prince, Miss Flora MacDonald, Neil MacKechan, etc., set sail in a very clear evening from Benbecula to the Isle of Sky. . . . In the passage Miss MacDonald fell asleep, and then the Prince carefully guarded her, lest in the darkness any of the men should chance to step upon her.

THE PASSPORT.²

'I have sent your daughter from this country lest she should be in any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Bettie Burk, an Irish girl, who as she tells me is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till

¹Hugh MacDonald of Armadale.

²Quoted in Captain Roy MacDonald's narrative.

she spin all your lint ; or if you have any wool to spin you may employ her.—I am, your dutiful husband,

Hugh MacDonald.'

BETTY BURKE.¹

The maid . . . said she had never seen such an impudent looked woman, and durst say she was either an Irish woman or else a man in woman's dress. Miss MacDonald replied she was an Irish woman. . . . The maid also took notice of the Prince's awkward way of managing the petticoats, and what long strides he took in walking along.

"AN ODD MUCKLE TRALLUP OF A CARLIN."²

When the Prince came to Kingsburgh's house (Sunday June 29th) it was between ten and eleven at night ; and Mrs. MacDonald, not expecting to see her husband that night, was making ready to go to bed. One of her servant maids came and told her that Kingsburgh was come home and had brought some company with him. 'What company?' says Mrs. MacDonald. 'Milton's daughter, I believe,' says the maid, 'and some company with her.' 'Milton's daughter,' replies Mrs. MacDonald, 'is very welcome to come here with any company she pleases to bring. But you'll give my service to her, and tell her to make free with anything in the house ; for I am very sleepy and cannot see her this night.' In a little her own daughter came and told her in a surprize, 'O mother, my father has brought in a

¹Also from Flora MacDonald's narrative.

²From MacDonald of Kingsburgh's own account.

very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up wife as ever I saw ! I never saw the like of her, and he has gone into the hall with her ! She had scarce done with telling her tale when Kingsburgh came and desired his lady to fasten on her bucklings again, and to get some supper for him and the company he had brought with him. ' Pray, goodman,' says she, ' what company is this you have brought with you ? ' ' Why, goodwife,' said he, ' you shall know that in due time ; only make haste and get some supper in the meantime.' Mrs. MacDonald desired her daughter to go and fetch her the keys she had left in the hall. When the daughter came to the door of the hall, she started back, ran to her mother, and told her she could not go in for the keys, for the muckle woman was walking up and down in the hall, and she was so frightened at seeing her that she could not have the courage to enter. Mrs. MacDonald went herself to get the keys, and I heard her more than once declare that upon looking in at the door she had not the courage to go forward. ' For,' said she, ' I saw such an odd muckle trallup of a carlin, making lang wide steps through the hall that I could not like her appearance at all.' . . . When she entered the hall, the Prince happen'd to be sitting ; but immediately he arose, went forward and saluted Mrs. MacDonald, who, feeling a long stiff beard, trembled to think that this behoved to be some distressed nobleman or gentleman in disguise, for she never dream'd it to be the Prince. . . . She very soon made out of the hall with her keys, never saying one word. Immediately she importun'd Kingsburgh to tell her who the person was, for that she

was sure by the salute that it was some distressed gentleman. Kingsburgh smiled at the mention of the bearded kiss, and said : ‘ Why, my dear, it is the Prince. You have the honour to have him in your house.’ ‘ The Prince,’ cried she. ‘ O Lord, we are a’ ruin’d and undone for ever ! We will a’ be hang’d now ! ’ ‘ Hout, goodwife,’ says the honest stout soul, ‘ we will die but ance ; and if we are hanged for this, I am sure we die in a good cause. Pray, make no delay ; go, get some supper. Fetch what is readiest. You have eggs and butter and cheese in the house, get them as quickly as possible.’ ‘ Eggs and butter and cheese ! ’ says Mrs. MacDonald, ‘ what a supper is that for a Prince ? ’ ‘ O goodwife,’ said he, ‘ little do you know how this good Prince has been living for some time past. These, I can assure you, will be a feast to him. . . . The Prince ate of our roasted eggs, some collops, plenty of bread and butter, etc., and (to use the words of Mrs. MacDonald) ‘ the deel a drap did he want in’s weam of twa bottles of sma’ beer. God do him good o’t ; for, well I wot, he had my blessing to gae down wi’t ! After he had made a plentiful supper, he called for a dram ; and when the bottle of brandy was brought, he said he would fill the glass for himself ; ‘ for,’ said he, ‘ I have learn’d in my skulking to take a hearty dram.’ He filled up a bumper and drank it off to the happiness and prosperity of his landlord and landlady. Then taking a crack’d and broken pipe out of his poutch, wrapt about with thread he asked Kingsburgh if he could furnish him with some tobacco ; for that he had learn’d likewise to smoke in his wanderings.

Kingsburgh took from him the broken pipe and laid it carefully up with the brogs, and gave him a new clean pipe and plenty of tobacco.

THE LOCK OF HAIR.¹

After Miss Flora had got up,² Mrs. MacDonald told her that she wanted much to have a lock of the Prince's hair, and that she behoved to go into his room and get it for her. Miss Flora refused to do as she desired, because the Prince was not yet out of bed. 'What then,' said Mrs. MacDonald, 'no harm will happen to you. He is too good to harm you or any person. You must instantly go in and get me the lock.' Mrs. MacDonald, taking hold of Miss with one hand, knocked at the door of the room with the other. The Prince called, 'Who is there?' Mrs. MacDonald, opening the door, said, 'Sir, it is I, and I am importuneing Miss Flora to come in and get a lock of your hair to me, and she refuses to do it.' 'Pray,' said the Prince, 'desire Miss MacDonald to come in. What should make her afraid to come where I am?' When Miss came in he begged her to sit down on a chair at the bedside, then laying his arms about her waist, and his head upon her lap, he desired her to cut out the lock with her own hands in token of future and more substantial favours. The one half of the lock Miss gave to Mrs. MacDonald and the other she kept to herself.

¹Also from MacDonald of Kingsburgh's narrative.

²That is, the morning after the arrival of Kingsburgh.

CHARLES COMES TO BENALDER.¹

Locheil² tho' lame made the best of his way to meet his Royal Highness without, who it may be believed received him very graciously. . . . However, such was his Royal Highness circumspection that when the other would have kneeled at his coming up to him he said, ' Oh ! no, my dear Locheil,' claping him on the shoulder, ' you don't know who may be looking from the tops of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they'll immediately conclude that I am here, which may prove of bad consequence.' Locheil then ushered him into his habitation which was indeed but a very poor one. . . . Upon his entry he took a hearty dram, which he pretty often called for thereafter to drink his friends healths ; and when there were some minch'd collops dress'd with butter for him in a large sawce pan that Locheil and Cluny³ carried always about with 'em, which was all the fire vessels they had, he eat heartily, and said with a very chearful and lively countenance, ' Now, gentlemen, I leive like a Prince,' tho' at the same time he was no otherwise served than by eating his collops out of the sawce pan, only that he had a silver spoon.

CLUNY'S CAGE.⁴

It was really a curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. 'Twas situate in the face of a very rough high rockie mountain called

¹Taken from the account written by Donald MacPherson, younger brother of Cluny.

²Cameron of Locheil—" The Gentle Locheil."

³Cluny MacPherson.

⁴Also from Donald MacPherson's account.

Letternilichk, which is still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the *Cage* in the face of that mountain was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down in order to level a floor for the habitation. . . . There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which with the trees were interwoven with ropes made of heath and birch twigs all to the top of the *Cage*, it being of a round or rather oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered over with fage.¹ This whole fabrick hung as it were by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the *Cage*; and by chance there happen'd to be two stones at a small distance from other in the side next the precipice resembling the pillars of a bosom chimney, and here was the fire placed. The smock had its vent out these, all along a very stonny flat² of the rock, which and the smock were all together so much of a colour that any one could make no difference in the clearest day, the smock and stones . . . being of such true and real resemblance. The *Cage* was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of which number were frequently employed in playing at cards, one idle looking on, one becking,³ and another firing bread and cooking. Here his Royal Highness remained till he was acquainted that the shiping for receiving and transporting him to France was arrived.

¹Moss. ²Level piece. ³Baking.

THE END OF THE SONG.¹

I heard Mrs. MacDonald of Kingsburgh say that she had the following particular from Malcolm MacLeod's own mouth. . . . Malcolm went with the Prince and MacKinnon to the shore to see them fairly boated for the Continent. When he was about to take leave of the Prince he spied some ships coming in sight and hovering about the coast. He intreated the Prince not to go on board for some time, but to wait till he should see how these ships steer'd their course ; ' For just now,' said he, ' the wind blows so as to fetch them this way and to hinder your passing to the continent.' The Prince replied, ' Never fear, MacLeod, I'll go on board directly. The wind will change immediately and make these ships steer a contrary course. Providence will take care of me, and it will not be in the power of these ships to look near me at this time. . . . The Prince and his retinue had not rowed many yards from the shore till the wind changed to a point directly opposite to what it had been.

THE LAST MOMENTS OF DR. ARCHIE CAMERON.²

¹Also from MacDonald of Kingsburgh's narrative.

²Taken from the account written by the Rev. James Falconar, a Scots Episcopal clergyman, resident in London, who attended Dr. Cameron during the last few days of his life. Dr. Archibald Cameron was " The Gentle Lochiel's " brother, and was a brave, lovable, and upright man. He was foully betrayed to the Government, and hanged in London in 1752. Strictly speaking, therefore, this passage is outside the scope of this book. His death, however, is, in everything but time, an incident in the 'Forty-Five, and the account of it seems to provide a fitting conclusion to the extracts from *The Lyon in Mourning*.

The clergyman asked him how he did. He said, 'Thank God, I am very well; but a little fatigued with my journey. But, blessed be God, I am now come to the end of it.' On hearing one of the gentlemen who presided at the execution ask the clergyman whether he would be long about his office, Dr. Cameron immediately took the word and said, He required but very little time, for it was but disagreeable being there, and he was as impatient to be gone as they were.' . . . The Doctor . . . spoke to this purpose: 'Sir, you see a fellow-subject just going to pay his last debt to his king and country. I the more chearfully resign my life, as it is taken from me for doing my duty according to my conscience. I freely forgive all my enemies, and those who are instrumental in taking away my life. I thank God I die in charity with all mankind.' . . . As the clergyman was going down from the cart he had like to have missed the steps, which the Doctor observing, called out to him with a chearful tone of voice, saying, 'Take care how you go. I think you don't know the way as well as I do.'

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