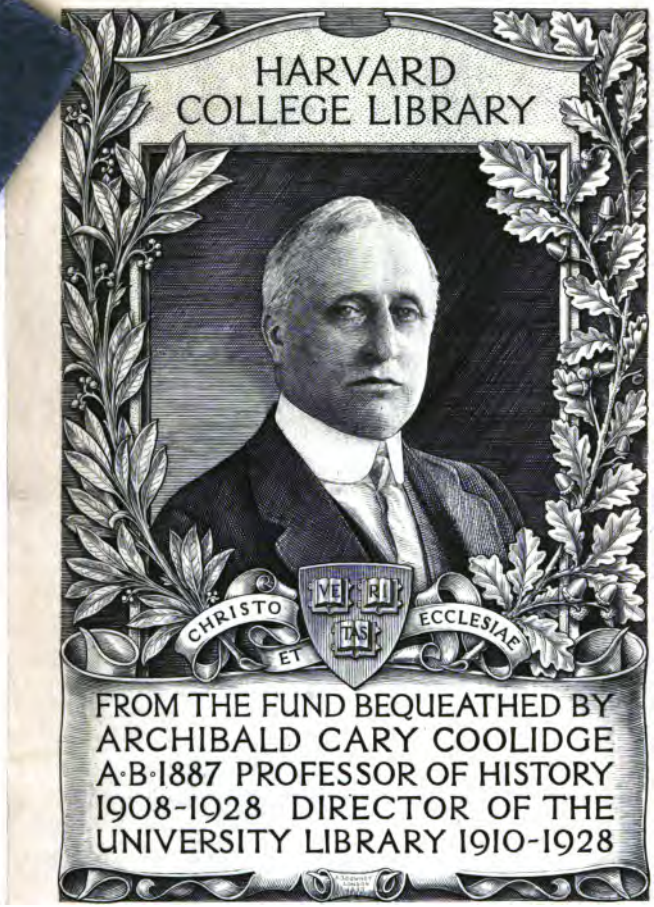
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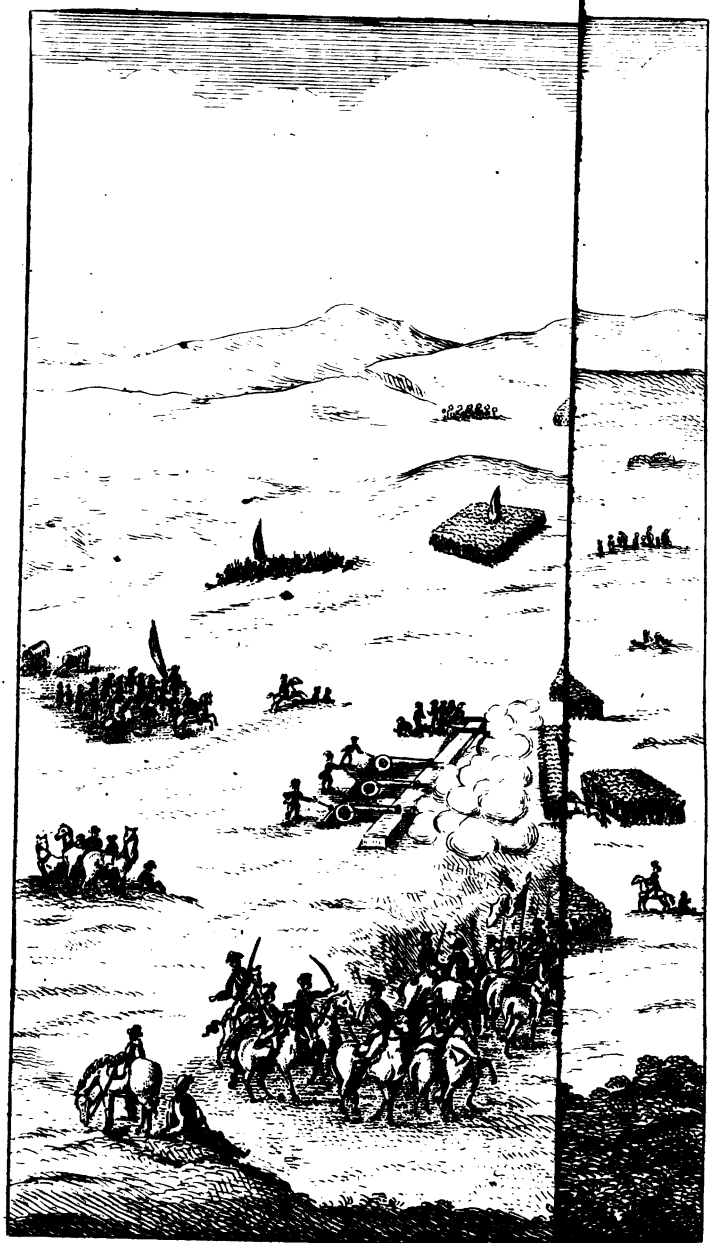

A

HISTORY

OF

THE RENCOUNTER AT DRUMCLOG,

AND

Battle at Bothwell Bridge,

IN THE MONTH OF JUNE,

1679,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS CORRECT, AND WHAT IS FICTITIOUS IN THE "TALES OF MY LANDLORD," RESPECTING THESE ENGAGEMENTS,

AND

REFLECTIONS ON POLITICAL SUBJECTS,

BY

WILLIAM AITON, Esq.

SHERIFF-SUBSTITUTE, HAMILTON.

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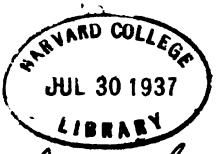

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are few subjects treated of in the page of history, in which the generality of readers feel a more lively interest, or relative to which they are more eager to procure correct information, than those that regard events of importance, in which their ancestors have been particularly engaged, or where the scenes of action lie near to their own residence. And if such events have related to the civil or religious liberties of the nation, they become so much the more interesting. In such cases every minute circumstance is inquired into with avidity; correct information and every discovery, becomes acceptable, and whatever remains uncertain, forms the subject of regret.

FOR all these reasons, the skirmish at Drumclog, between the King's troops and the Covenanters, and the battle or rout at Bothwell Bridge, both of which took place in the month of June, 1679, naturally attract the attention of the inhabitants of the western shires of Scotland. This opposition to the Government was made by the Great Grandfathers of many of the present inhabitants of these Counties. The subject of dispute regarded what they conceived to be their political and religious liberties, and those of the nation. And as the scene of action lay near to the residences of many of them, a correct and impartial account of these engagements cannot fail to be acceptable to the present inhabitants of these districts.

MANY things have no doubt been already published concerning these events, but they were drawn up, either by the parties engaged

in them, who may well be supposed to have entertained strong prejudices in favour of their own opinions and conduct; or by historians who could only give a cursory account of these transactions.

TILL about this time, a fair and impartial view of the conduct of parties could not be expected to be taken. The cruelties then exercised,—the arbitrary measures pursued by the Government and their Agents—the enthusiasm and intemperate zeal of the people—the intolerance of both—and the obstinacy shewn, and severities used by all parties—could not fail to create and nourish in the minds of those who were the principal actors in these turbulent scenes, and of their children, such powerful prejudices, as it was impossible soon to overcome; or to allow them to become so liberal and enlightened, as to do justice to the subject, or give a fair and impartial history of that unhappy period.

BUT from the lapse of 140 years—the happy changes that have taken place in the principles and measures of Government, as well as in the religious opinions and manners of the people,—the liberty we now enjoy, of worshiping God in the manner we think best—and the moderation and tolerance that now generally prevail—we are more likely to take a liberal and impartial view of these proceedings, than could be expected to be taken at an earlier period.

THE engagements at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, may now appear to be too trivial to require to be minutely described at such a distance of time, and after so many events of much greater magnitude have occurred. But beside their local interest, and that which many must feel in the transactions of their forefathers, every thing that regards the civil and religious liberties of the nation, and the reciprocal rights and duties of the Government and lieges, must be at all times interesting. Wherever blood has been shed, between the King's forces and his subjects, it well becomes their offspring, and indeed all good citizens, as well as the Government, to inquire into the circumstances that led to such desperate and unhappy measures. The safety of the State, and the lives of many of the King's lieges, were endangered, and some of them lost by these violent commotions; and it is proper for all future Governments and subjects to inquire into the causes, so as they may avoid such disas-

trous courses. If it shall be found that the *Government* was then so arbitrary and *intolerant* as to drive the lieges to open rebellion, and to spill their blood, when compelled to rise in defence of their liberties; the folly of such conduct, and the events which followed, ought to serve as lessons to future rulers, teaching them to avoid such arbitrary and oppressive measures. And if it shall appear, that the *People* who then took up arms against the Government, were *fanatical, turbulent, intolerant,* and *disloyal;* aiming at the establishment of their own peculiar notions in religion, by force upon the Government, and upon all his Majesty's other subjects—if they were anti-monarchial, and claimed an authority over the Crown, under the name of Christ's Kingdom; or under any pretence or form whatever,—it must be proper for their offspring to avoid their errors, disavow their principles, and adopt opinions, and pursue courses, more congenial to the duty of good subjects, living under a mild and wise Administration of Government.

THESE subjects may at any time afford ground of consideration, both to the Government and to the lieges; but some recent occurrences serve to render reflections on the events of that period still more interesting at the present time. Ever since the lower orders in Scotland gave up the study of religious opinions, and wrangling about abstruse points of divinity, and the purity of religious sects, and began to study politics, too many of them have shewn an inclination to notice and bring into view every occurrence whether recent or ancient, where successful resistance has been opposed to any regular and established Government, or constituted authority. They speak with approbation of the opposition of the Colonists to the Mother Country, and rejoice at the issue of that contest. Not only the Revolution in France in 1789, but the after Revolutions in that distracted country. And the success of that nation in overthrowing, for a time, some other regular Governments, afforded them great satisfaction. Many of them speak with much complacency of the events in our own History, where the Government has been unsuccessful either in the senate or in the field, when opposed by the lieges.

IT could only be from such motives that the skirmish at Drumclog was pompously celebrated on the 13th June, 1815, by an as-

semblage of people, who marched to the field of action, with military ensigns and music, for the purpose, as they said, of *Commemorating the Victory obtained by their Ancestors, the Covenanters, over the King's Troops, Commanded by Captain Graham.*

THE propriety and decency of such a celebration—the time chosen for making it—and the well-known motives of many of the people assembled at Drumclog—may well be suspected, and justly require serious consideration. What can be pointed out in that skirmish, that merits commemoration? It could not be the measures or success of Government, otherwise these people would have commemorated the battle of Bothwell Bridge, where the army prevailed over the Covenanters. It was (they avow) the victory then gained by the lieges, over a part of the King's regular army, that these misled people met to commemorate, and the time they selected for that celebration, was June, 1815, when the people in France were in arms against their lawful Sovereign, and when many foolish people in this country, were so far mistaken as to wish success to these rebellious subjects, and to the noted Tyrant who had so recently returned from Elba, and then headed the French rebels, and who had already occasioned the shedding of more human blood than probably any other man ever caused to be shed, whose avowed object was to destroy this and every other regular Government, and to set himself up a Tyrant over Europe.

THAT commemoration, at such a period, as well as the events celebrated, merit attention. And in order to form a correct opinion on these subjects, it becomes necessary to look back to the measures pursued by Government prior to, and in 1679, the conduct and principles of those who then took up arms against the King, as well as into the motives of the people, who pretended to celebrate these events. These subjects will be noticed in the following sheets.

ANOTHER circumstance that renders a correct history of the rencounter at Drumclog, and the battle or rout at Bothwell Bridge, more desirable at present, is, that a celebrated Novelist, whose name has not hitherto been avowed to the public, has selected these events as the subject of one of the best of his many excellent Novels; and has introduced into it so many of the proper names of the leading

characters in these hostile transactions, and also the true names of many towns and villages, and description of the scenes of action, and places adjacent: all magnified and blended with the creatures of his own lively imagination; that it becomes necessary to separate the true history of these events from the works of fiction.

SOME have complained of that Novelist for blending a portion of history, and especially that of a recent period, and as to which the public opinion has been divided, with so much fiction. The author confesses that he is one of those who wish to see *facts* and *fiction* kept entirely distinct from each other. If a writer of Novels shall find it his interest to introduce a few real names or characters, or some historical facts, into his works, he certainly ought, in the allusions he makes to such persons or period of history, to pay a rigid regard to historical truth. If the work embrace a considerable portion of history, and especially that of an important period, the author is bound, even in an avowed Novel, not only to give a fair representation of the characters and events he so introduces, but likewise to give, even in his fictitious characters, that are blended with historical events, a fair representation of the virtues, vices, motives, and principles, of the persons and parties, who existed at the period to which he refers. Any false or distorted view of the principles of the Covenanters, or of the historical events of the period in which they lived, and struggled with a tyrannical Government, though given under fictitious characters, and in the shape of an avowed Novel, would certainly be reprehensible.

A REVIEWER of the "Tales of my Landlord," in the Christian Instructor, loudly accuses the Author of undue partiality, by representing, in the fictitious parts of his Novel, Colonel Graham of Claverhouse, in too favourable a point of view, and placing the Covenanters in a worse light than they deserved. But after the fullest attention that the Author of these remarks has been capable of bestowing upon these "Tales" he must confess, he has not been able to charge the Writer of that Novel with any material distortion of the true characters of the men or the parties he has brought upon the stage. He seems to have acted fairly with all parties and persons; both when he uses true, and when he introduces fictitious names. The *facts* are by no means correct, as will be shewn in

course; and he has enlivened his Novel with many characters and names that never existed: Speeches that never were made, and actions and occurrences altogether fictitious. He has in some instances overdrawn the picture, as all Novelists do, and he has blended the occurrences of that violent period, with some love scenes, that seem to be out of place, and that are rather extraneous. But the Writer of these Remarks is unable to perceive in these Tales any bias, either towards the Court, the Council, the Army, or the Covenanters. The folly and intolerance of the Government—the brutal cruelty of the Council—the domineering insolence of the Military—the fanatical wild enthusiasm of the Covenanters—their obstinacy and intolerance—hypocritical pretensions to sanctity—perversions of texts of Scripture, to excite to, or paliate the most savage and ferocious actions—their opposition to every one who was more moderate and rational than themselves—are all fairly delineated in their true colours, and with great justice, and uncommon ability, in that excellent Novel. The Author has no doubt overstepped the limits of truth, and mixed up much fiction, with portions of true history. But when it is considered that the Tales are avowedly a Novel, the work of fiction, and that the parties and characters he has introduced, are, generally speaking, fairly and impartially dealt with, both in what is correct, and in what is fictitious, there can be little reason to complain

STILL, however, it seems necessary that the true history of these events should be known and distinguished from every thing that is introduced by the Novelist, to give effect to his work of fiction. It is the most anxious wish of the Author of the following sheets to discharge that trust with fidelity. His attention was early drawn to these subjects, by his Grand-father, who was old enough to remember many things that happened for several years prior to the Revolution in 1688, and who from his having lived all his life, near to the scene of these engagements; and from his father-in-law, and others of his relations, having been in arms with the Covenanters, on these occasions, was well acquainted with the local history and traditions of these unhappy times, and had great pleasure in recounting them to his Grandson. The Author has not only read every thing he could find in print, or in manuscript, on the subject of these engagements, but having himself also lived near the scenes of

actions, he had, a good many years ago, collected for another publication, which is still on the anvil, every thing he could learn relative to these events. And since the celebration of the skirmish at Drumclog, and the publication of the "Tales of my Landlord," he has applied to every person whom he could suppose capable of giving him information on these subjects. He now humbly offers to the Public the result of his inquiries, and his sentiments on these matters, under the following arrangement:—

I. A History of the Rencounter at Drumclog, and Battle of Bothwell Bridge, between the King's Forces and the Covenanters, in June, 1679; with a short account of the events that preceded, and led to these engagements, and reflections thereon,

II. An Account of what is historically correct, and what is fictitious, in the Novel, entitled, the "Tales of my Landlord," so far as relates to these subjects. And

III. An Account of the Commemoration in June, 1815, of the Skirmish at Drumclog, with reflections thereon; and on the folly and danger of the lower orders in society becoming politicians, or attempting to direct the Government.

CHAP. I.

A History of the Skirmish at Drumclog, and Engagement or Rout at Bothwell Bridge, between the Covenanters and the King's Troops, in June, 1679; with a short Account of the Events that preceded, and led to that Engagement, and Reflections thereon.

AS the Engagements at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, were more intimately connected with the Religious, than with the Civil or Military History of Scotland, it will be proper to take a short view of the disputes about religion which so long agitated this Kingdom, and that ultimately led to these Engagements.

The Reformation of the Church, from the errors and superstitions of Popery, has justly been regarded as having laid the foundation of that glorious liberty, now enjoyed by the inhabitants of Britain above all other Nations, or that had ever been enjoyed by our Ancestors before that Reformation. The Christian Religion, if ever it had attained any degree of purity in Britain, had long prior to the Reformation, degenerated into gross superstition. Its functionaries had become cheats and impostors, the Government was tyrannical, the Nobility turbulent and ungovernable; and the people had sunk into ignorance, delusion, and slavery. But the light that was thrown upon the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome, in the progress of the Reformation, has ultimately broken the chains of slavery, by which the people were fettered—restored to them their sacred rights—brought religion to a tolerable degree of purity

—and its Ministers, in some measure, to their proper rank and functions.

Fortunately for England, King Henry VIII. having fallen out with his *Holiness*, discarded the Papal Authority, and easily effected a great reformation in the English Church. The struggle was chiefly between the Crown and the Pope, each of whom claimed the supremacy of the Church; and the great body of the People, were, in some measure, passive, while the Priest-hood were too weak to oppose the Monarch, and many of them disposed to join the strongest party. The King acted more from caprice, and from a wish to increase his wealth and power, than from purer motives. The Pope was deprived of a supremacy he had usurped and abused—the Clergy yielded to a reformation which they had not the power to resist—and the People tamely obeyed the mandate of their powerful Monarch, in adopting the religion he had fixed upon. But from whatever motives parties may have acted, the Reformation in England led to the happiest results; and that without bloodshed, or persecution, in its first stages.

But unfortunately, the Reformation of the Scottish Church, was not effected under such happy auspices; nor attended with such beneficial results. It was not projected by the Crown, but by a few obscure Clergymen, some of them acting from doubtful motives, and who were supported by part of the Nobility, who coveted the overgrown wealth of the Church. And it was unfortunately opposed, not only by the great body of the Clergy, but also by the whole weight and influence of the Court, and principal part of the Nobility. But such is the irresistible force of truth, that it must ultimately prevail over error and delusion, however powerfully supported.

Many circumstances contributed to promote the Reforma-

tion in Scotland, though it commenced under doubtful auspices. The impositions and delusions of the Church of Rome, had attained such a height as could be no longer endured. The Reformation had by that time made some progress in various parts of the Continent of Europe, and having been introduced into England under such favourable circumstances, it could not fail to be attempted, and well received in Scotland. The persecutions in England, under Queen Mary, drove many Reformers to Scotland, and served to propagate the new doctrine there. But the most favourable circumstance was the premature death of King James V. which threw the sceptre into the hands of his daughter, then only a few days old. And when once the Reformation was begun, it might be expected that some of the factions who contended for the Regency, would try to strengthen their party, by espousing its principles.

If the Clergy had not been infatuated, as well as sunk in error and superstition, they would have reformed themselves and the Christian religion, which they had debased. And if the Government had acted wisely, it would have followed the example of the English Monarch, in reforming the Church. But like all other corrupt bodies, the Church continued obstinately bent in their degenerated courses, and the Government supported them in their errors and superstitions.

King Henry VIII. solicited a friendly conference with his Nephew, James V. at York, in order to persuade him, to reform the Scottish Church, as Henry had done that of England. But the Popish Clergy succeeded in persuading that weak Monarch not only to decline the interview, but to declare war against his Uncle, accepting, at the same time of pecuniary aid from the Church, and looking forward to the confiscations of the Estates of those who were tinctured with the new heresy. The consequence was, a defeat of his forces at Solway, which broke his heart.

Had the Scottish King been so wise and fortunate, as to have followed the council and example of the English Monarch, he might not only have avoided the war, and the calamitous results to which it led, but he might have established a moderate and rational reformation in religion, without any of the unhappy consequences that flowed from that necessary reformation being carried into effect by a few illiterate and violent Priests, of inferior rank.

The premature death of the King and the subsequent imbecility of the Government of his infant Daughter, in such a rude and turbulent age and nation, emboldened the Reformers so much, that they not only preached up the doctrines of the Reformation without ceremony; but like other adventurers who happen to be successful against their superiors, they soon became extremely insolent to the Government. The Court, instead of taking the lead in, and guiding the Reformation to moderate and useful results, continued, along with the Clergy, to oppose a feeble and ill-conducted resistance to the new doctrine; which only served to render the Reformers still more zealous, and even audacious, till they not only succeeded in overthrowing the altars of Rome, but in nearly overturning the throne, and in introducing much anarchy and insubordination. The ignorant and infuriated people, stimulated by the leaders of the Reformation, insulted the Sovereign, denied her Majesty the liberty which belongs to every human being, of worshipping God in the way her forefathers had done, and as she had been educated, and conceived most proper; and they most officiously meddled in her Majesty's household affairs.* They usurped autho-

* Upon the 19th Nov. 1563, Messrs. Robert Bruce, Andrew Melville, and John Davidson, were directed by the Council "of the "Brethren to deal with the Queen, concerning her religion, and for "want of religious exercises, and virtuous occupations among the "maids."—*Scots Worthies, p.* 83.

rity over the Sovereign, preached up rebellion,* attacked the persons of the Popish Clergy, and with the fury of savages, pulled down the Churches that had been erected by their fathers for the worship of God; and burned or otherwise destroyed the public records.

All these evils were not only prevented in England, by a wise and timeous reform, under the auspices of the King, but from whatever motives he may have acted, the Reformation in that country was not carried to any undue length. In England, a great and radical reform was effected. The authority of the Roman Pontiff was shaken off and the grossest absurdities and abominations of the Church of Rome were reformed. And these great ends were atchieved, without completely altering the form of their Church—hunting down the Clergy—pulling down the Churches—destroying the Records—reducing the functionaries of Religion to penury—insulting the Throne—or preaching disloyalty and rebellion. The mummery of superstition was laid aside, without infringing on what was decorous and becoming in public worship. All connexion with Rome was broken off, and the supremacy of the Church vested in the Monarch, at least to the extent of preserving the proper connexion between the Church and the State, so necessary for their mutual safety. A gradation of ranks or orders among the Priesthood, was preserved, and the use of music in the worship of God was continued.

But in Scotland, where the Reformation was not conducted by the Court, or by the liberal and learned, but by adventurers of inferior rank, and countenanced at first by

* In a set dispute with Lethington, Knox and Row boldly maintained that "it was lawful for subjects to resist the tyrannical Princess, and to refuse her Majesty the use of her idolatrous mass."—*Brown's History of the Church.*

only a few of the Nobility, whose motives appear to have been more than suspicious: a great deal of unhappy struggling took place, and much blood was spilt. The Crown was insulted and domineered over,—the Clergy were murdered, and not only the Images, but the Churches and Public Records, were exposed to indiscriminate destruction. Learned men were hunted down, or banished from the country, and a wild enthusiasm was introduced. Every thing was reversed. All ranks and gradations among the Clergy were abolished, and a republican form of Church Government was set up; and the Church usurped authority over the Crown. Not only the superfluities, or absurdities of the Church of Rome, but some things that were decent and becoming in any religion, were also laid aside. Instrumental music, which has been used by all other people in the worship of God, was then banished from the Scottish Churches; and because the Catholics had built Churches by far too extravagant, for the state of society in which they were reared, the Presbyterians, running into the opposite extreme, reduced their Churches to hovels; many of them unworthy of the name of a Church, or place devoted to the worship of God.

But by far the most extravagant and dangerous of the doctrines in the early stages of Reformation in Scotland, was what regarded the supremacy of the Church. The Catholics vested that supremacy in the Pope: the Church of England gave it to the Monarch: but the Reformed Church of Scotland denied it to both, and claimed it for their own Clergy, under the name of "Christ's Kingship." They did not indeed take it up in their own name and right, but they said it pertained to Christ, as the King and Head of his Church, and the Presbyterian Clergy *exercised* that supremacy in his name; not in concert with the Sovereign, but *over* him and all his subjects.* "King's (say they) are

* When Cromwell dissolved the long Parliament, Harrison, one

" under the co-active power of Christ's Keys of discipline, " and *Pastors*, as Ambassadors of Christ, have the Keys of " the Kingdom of God." (Lex Rex, p. 8.) According to these principles, the Lords of the Congregation, after consulting with John Knox, and other leaders of the Reformation, *suspended the Queen Regent. ! ! !* They officiously interfered with the King, and the supreme Courts of the Nation.

John Knox, the great champion of the Reformation in Scotland, maintained that the Civil Magistrate ought to be subject to the Church, and it is well known that he excited the people to take up arms, whenever he was dissatisfied. He proposed to take off the Queen's head. ! ! It has been already noticed that Knox and Row taught disloyalty, and refused to allow the Queen the exercise of her own religion. Knox acted as a statesman, or rather in some instances, as a dictator, to both Church and State. He took instruments in name of the Estates, at the Coronation of James VI. When Murray became Regent, Knox and some others of his brethren, met to digest what business was to be brought before the Regent's Parliament. He was not only an enemy to Queen Mary, who was a Papist, but he was uncivil to Queen Elizabeth, who was a Protestant; and wrote a severe phillipic against her, expressing his wish that no female should be allowed to reign. He carried his rebellion against his Sovereign so far, as to negotiate with Foreign Courts, to send troops to his aid against the Queen.

Mr. Black, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, soon after

of his canting zealots, told them that the General " sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his Saints" on which Major Streater replied, that " Jesus ought to come quickly, for if he delayed till after Christmas, he would come too late, and would find another in his place."

the Reformation, asserted in one of his sermons, that *all Kings were the Devil's Children:* that Satan had guidance of the Court; that Queen Elizabeth was an Atheist; that the Lords of Session (one of whose Bills of Suspension Black was then discussing in his sermon) were a set of miscreants and bribers. That the Nobility were enemies to Christ, false, goodless, and degenerate. When Black was cited before the King and Council, to answer for such foolish and treasonable discourses, the shield of spiritual jurisdiction was held up by the Church, to protect this insolent Preacher. Backed by the standing Council of the Church, Black disclaimed the jurisdiction of the King and Council.

The King ordered Black to leave Edinburgh, within twenty-four hours. But the Council of the Church resolved "That since they were convened by the warrant of Christ, "they would obey God rather than man." The King next proposed, that the Church should censure Black, but they refused to do so, and said, "Since they saw the faithful "Pastors of the Church reviled and persecuted, they could "not abstain from *opposing* their proceedings, with the spi-"ritual armour given them by God."

They said the King (James VI.) was possessed of a Devil; that one Devil being cast out, seven worse had entered into him; and that the subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hands!!! It was justly observed by the Marquis of Hamilton, that the Covenanters neither wished to be satisfied, nor would admit of satisfaction, for they aimed at engrossing the power of the Nation, and overthrowing the Royal authority.

Intolerance, which forms one of the worst features of any system, and which has polluted, to a great extent, every religion, ancient and modern, may justly be imputed to the Scottish Reformers, in common at least, if not in a superior

degree, with the adherents of other systems. The Church of Rome is intolerant from principle and policy; the King and Government were intolerant; the Episcopal Church was also intolerant; and certainly the Presbyterian Church made at first but little, if any, improvement at all, on that worst of principles connected with religion. They doomed over to the hottest regions of perdition, not only Papists and Prelates, but even those of their own persuasion who could not subscribe to every part of their creed; not merely in what may be held to be the essentials of religion, but in matters of the smallest moment. Intolerance was carried so far among the Reformers that when some of them fled from England to Germany during the persecution of Mary, the Lutherans would not allow them to land, merely because they differed from them in some trifling matter about the Sacrament. From what they had suffered at the hands of Papists, it was not surprising that severe laws should have been enacted to prevent the re-establishment of that system. But the Presbyterians were as intolerant to the Episcopalians and other denominations of Protestants, as they were or could be towards the Catholics. Mr. Cameron, one of the Covenanting Preachers in the time of Charles II. says in one of the sermons published by Mr. Howie "What better are these Ministers who have accepted of the indulgence, (granted by Government) than Curates or even Papists." It was not to prevent the re-establishment of Popery, but merely to extirpate Episcopacy from Scotland, that the Covenanters rose so often in arms against the Government, and suffered so much during the reigns of Charles II. and James VII. The King was partial to Episcopacy, and intolerant to those of every other persuasion. The forefathers of these Covenanters had adopted the Presbyterian form of Church Government at the Reformation, and the Covenanters themselves were so *wedded* to that form, and so averse to all others that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and every comfort

rather than suffer Episcopacy to be established in the room of their favourite system.

All our Sovereigns seem to have entertained an aversion to the Presbyterian form of Church Government: and to have taken every opportunity in their power to subvert it, and to establish the Episcopalian scheme. This occasioned much wrangling, persecution and bloodshed, during the reigns of Charles I., Charles II., and James VII.

James VI. as soon as he was capable of holding the reigns of Government in his own hands, believing that the zeal of the Reformers had carried them too far during the reign of Queen Mary, endeavoured to modify or rather to subvert some part of the Presbyterian scheme, and gradually to introduce Episcopacy. In 1586, the Parliament enacted, that the King had supreme authority in all matters ecclesiastic, as well as civil; and that such as declined the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, or of the Bishops, who formed the third Estate in Parliament, were guilty of treason. This was striking at the root of the favourite plea of the Scottish Presbyterians, who denied all authority to the King in ecclesiastical matters, and vested the supremacy in Christ, but which they themselves exercised in his name. The Assembly, in 1596, continued to cry out about the prevalence of all sorts of iniquity, and to complain not only of some irregularities of which it might be the duty of the Church to take cognizance, but they, at the same time, interfered in matters purely civil, as dancing, and keeping of markets, marriage without the consent of parents, legitimation of bastards, gorgeous and vain apparel, sacrilegious seizings of the Churches property, oppression of tenants with rack rent, usury, forestalling of markets, withholding corn from sale, strolling of pipers, fiddlers, songsters, sorcerers, and sturdy beggars, &c. &c. And they complained that the King neglected family worship, and asking a blessing at meals; that he made no con-

science of attending sermon on *week* days. That Papists and excommunicated persons were countenanced, and the Queen and her Ladies indulged in night-walks and balls, and absented themselves from worship. The King, however, did not much regard their officious interference, but told them that they would never agree till the limits of their respective jurisdictions should be distinctly fixed, and that it should be enacted that no Minister should from the pulpit meddle with the King and Council's affairs.

In 1606, the Kings supremacy was by Parliament appointed to be sworn on the Gospels. In 1609, Bishops were restored, and Episcopacy was fully settled in 1610 and 1612.

All this was accomplished in the course of a few years without any formidable opposition. Some of the most violent of the Presbyterian Clergy grumbled and remonstrated, but Episcopacy was established without a civil war, riots, or any commotion. A good deal of complaint was made about what were termed the five Articles of Perth, viz. 1st, Kneeling at the Lord's Table; 2d, Private Administration of the Sacrament to persons long sick, or apparently dying, along with a few others; 3d, Baptism administered privately to infants in cases of necessity; 4th, Young persons appearing before the Bishop of the *Diocese* to be confirmed; and 5th, That Christmas and some others should be observed as holidays. But no serious opposition was then made to the establishment of Episcopacy.

Episcopacy being thus settled, continued to be the established religion of Scotland, from about 1610 to 1638, when the Presbyterians, taking advantage of the unhappy disputes between the King and the Parliament, not only abolished Episcopacy in a turbulent assembly which met in Glasgow that year, but joined in the great rebellion by march-

ing powerful armies into England to oppose the royal cause, and to establish their favourite system by force of arms in England.

The unfortunate Charles was subdued by his rebellious subjects and ultimately brought to the scaffold. Presbyterianism, which had been established in Scotland in 1638, was also for a short time set up in England, till Cromwell and the sectarians lorded over both the Crown and the Puritans, drove the Scottish Presbyterians who had assisted so much in raising him to power, across the Tweed, entered Scotland with an army, defeated them at Dunbar, and subjected them to great severities.

Presbyterianism continued to be the established religion of Scotland from 1638 till the restoration of Charles II. in 1660. But the Parliament, which met in 1661, declared and enacted the King's supremacy in all things civil and ecclesiastic, and re-established the Hierarchy. This gave great offence to the Presbyterians, many of whom refused to acknowledge the authority of any earthly potentate over the Church, of which they argued Christ was the sole King and head; and that it was a sacrilegeous usurpation of his divine prerogatives, for the Crown to assume any authority in ecclesiastical matters. By Presbyterian principles Church Government is vested in Ministers and Elders met in Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, who act in the name and by the appointment of Christ, independent of any civil authority whatever.

After so large a portion of the Clergy and Laity in Scotland had shewn so much zeal for their favourite scheme of Presbytery, and after it had been re-established for about twenty years, it would certainly have been far more prudent in Charles II. at his restoration, to have allowed the Presbyterian system to have continued, or only to have rescinded

or modified some of its most extravagant or dangerous principles; but that was not an age of moderation and tolerance, but in every respect the reverse. Nothing would then satisfy the Court but the establishment of Episcopacy, and the extirpation of the Presbyterian scheme. And the Presbyterians were on their part equally obstinate and intolerant.

A Reviewer of the Tales of my Landlord, in the Christian Instructor, says "Had not the ancient spirit of Scot-"land been broken, and had they not been basely betrayed "the Nation would have risen at once, bound this mad crew "(the Parliament) and thrown off the degrading yoke (Epis-"copacy) which was imposed upon them." (vol. 14, p. 56.) It is not easy to say what is the "*ancient spirit*" to which the Reviewer refers. It surely cannot be that infuriated frenzy, which induced the people to pull down the Churches and destroy the Public Records, or the ardent zeal which stimulated Margaret Geddes, who had been on the repenting stool the preceding Sabbath, to throw her stool at the Bishop's head, when he began to read the litany in St. Giles' Church. But whatever spirit he may mean, the passage surely contains language that is rather indecorous, and improper to be used at any time towards the Parliament or the Government of the Nation. And such language was peculiarly unbecoming at a time like 1815, when it required the utmost exertions of the Servants of the Crown, and Magistrates of the Country to keep a rabble, such as that which had destroyed the Churches, from rising at once, binding the Parliament and constituted authorities, and taking the reins of Government, as well as public and private property, into their own hands.

But this Reviewer says, the first Parliament after the Restoration "was packed by the Court, and slavishly submissive to its wishes." So say the radical reformers, composed of clubs of tradesmen that met in Glasgow, Kilmar-

nock, Pollokshaws, Manchester, &c. of the late Parliament, against which they probably wished to rise, and at once to bind.

The Reviewer says "There was not then a party in Scot-"land worthy of being named, which desired the restoration "of Episcopacy." He mentions, however, in the next sentence, that the Parliament proceeded to declare the King to be supreme in all causes, ecclesiastic and civil, and they rescinded the whole favourite laws and proceedings of the Presbyterian party; enacted during the reign of Presbytery. The Parliament would not surely have acted as they did, if they had not known that their proceedings would be acceptable, to at least some considerable part of the Nation, as well as to the King and to themselves. And if the Scottish Parliament, which comprehended the whole Nobility of the kingdom, as well as the Representatives of Counties and Burghs, enacted such a law they alone were "a party worth being named."

But it does not appear that any great resistance was then made to the introduction of Episcopacy. Of the Clergy this Reviewer says (p. 57.) only "between three and four hund-"red were constrained to leave their charges," when ordered to receive collation from the Bishop. This was little more than one third of the Clergy of Scotland—the rest complied. But the fact is, that though the greatest number would probably have preferred Presbytery to Episcopacy, and though it would have been much more proper in the Government to have continued Presbytery, still there were many thousands that were of a different opinions. Many more were passive, and many chimed in with the prevailing party. The opposition to Episcopacy was not general, except in a few of the western counties, and in Fife. And even in these parts it was only a part of the Clergy and the lower orders that did so. At any rate, the Reviewer certainly underrates the

Episcopalians, when he says they "were not worthy of being named."

He also mentions, on the authority of an Author whom he does not name, that the Episcopal Clergy were mean and despicable in all respects, bad preachers, ignorant, many of them openly vicious, a disgrace to the Cloth, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts; and then he adds "Who but "hypocrites, infidels, and profligates, and dastardly souls, "would have submitted to the opinion of such men, or have abandoned their *own* Ministers."

It is not improbable that some of the Episcopal Clergy were rather illiterate, and some might be irregular; but so were some of the Presbyterians, and who has not heard accusations every way as railing, delivered from the pulpit, even within the last 50 years, by the Ministers of one sect of Presbyterians, against these of another sect: or probably against all other sects but their own, though these were every way their equals in erudition, piety and regularity of life? And who that has attended preachers of all denominations, for even less than half a century, has not heard the believers in particular points of doctrine, slightly different from what they considered to be sound, not only termed infidels, hypocrites, profligates, &c. but doomed to everlasting torment if they did not frame their belief to the precise opinions of the preacher, and those who thought as he did, however few their numbers, and peculiar their tenets? It is easy with some preachers, as well as some reviewers, to bestow harsh epithets. But when it is considered that all that was attempted by the Government at that period was to establish in Scotland Episcopacy instead of Presbyterianism, one cannot help regretting that the Covenanters should have exposed themselves to such hardships for the one system more than the other. Episcopacy had been then established in England for more than a century, with the excep-

tion of the introduction of Presbyterianism for a year or two, about the time of the martyrdom of King Charles, and the Babel confusion of canting sectarians, that made such a figure under the usurper. It has again been established in that kingdom without interruption, since 1660, and who that has ever read and considered the liturgy, or seen the decent and orderly manner in which the public service is conducted in the English Churches, would be alarmed though Episcopacy were to be established in Scotland during the next Session of Parliament? And who but enthusiasts, or people who were misled, would have exposed themselves to hardships, and throw away their own lives, murdered others, risen up in open rebellion against Government, and enduring such hardships as the Covenanters did to extirpate Episcopacy, and establish Presbyterianism on its ruins, in either Scotland or England? Episcopacy is admitted by all Presbyterians to be every way as sound and pure as Presbyterianism in every thing that relates to the doctrines of grace. The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England are as sound and consonant to Scripture as the Confession of Faith, or other standards of the Presbyterian Church. It is only in the forms of Church Courts and other rituals of minor importance that the two Churches differ. The one was the system of the Court, and the other having been framed by John Knox, on a sort of republican plan, had become the system of the lower orders; and the one would not yield to the other, nor even allow the other to exist.

Every man has a right to worship God in the way he thinks proper, unless his scheme shall be found inimical to society, or to the State. It was certainly worse than folly in the Government to alienate the affections of so many of the Scottish Nation, or of any respectable part of it, by compelling the Presbyterians to relinquish their favourite form of Church Government, and to adopt Episcopacy, to which many of them had such aversion; and it was wicked

and tyrannical to hunt down and execute so many of these misguided people, merely because, believing as they did, that the Covenants they had entered into, were binding on them and the Nation for ever, they could not adopt the Court Religion. The evil proceeded on both sides, from that spirit of intolerance which has been the greatest curse of almost every religion, ancient and modern. Every one adopts the tenets or opinions which he conceives to be most agreeable to the word and will of God, or to his own temper, education, interest, or belief; and having once adjusted his creed to his own satisfaction, he is not willing to allow others the same privilege, but tells them that *his* religion alone is right, and every other that differs from it is wrong; and unless all other men abandon their own opinions, and adopt his, they must be damned. No medium. God Almighty, he conceives, is as intolerant as himself, and will do every thing he says, or wishes to be done, against His and the Churches enemies; and against all unbelievers in the peculiarities of his creed.

We have found no material inconvenience from the establishment of Episcopacy in England, and of Presbytery in Scotland, under the same Government, for 130 years past, and why might not both systems have at any earlier period, been tolerated or established in Scotland, without injuring each other, or hurting the prosperity of the Nation; had it not been for that diabolical spirit of intolerance which so long pervaded all parties, and which, though greatly abated, is not yet altogether eradicated?

But so far from the Government acting at that time on liberal and tolerant principles, the Ministers that would not submit to receive collation from the Bishops, were turned out of their Churches, but continued to preach privately to their former hearers and others. This is what a tolerant Government would have allowed, or winked at, even in the

devotees of a system much worse than that of Presbytery. But at the instigation of the Episcopal Clergy, who were as intolerant as either the Government or the Presbyterians, and partly from that indulgence being abused, as will be noticed in course; such preachings were afterwards declared illegal, and were in a few years more prohibited under severe penalties; and these penalties were multiplied and exacted both by the civil and military power, with great rigour. All subjects were commanded, under severe penalties, to attend worship performed by the Curates in their respective Parish Churches, and military were stationed to enforce obedience to that arbitrary law, and to punish all by whom it was disregarded.

These were no doubt intolerant and tyrannical measures, which no wise and liberal Government would ever have adopted, and of which no sound minded man can approve. But they seem to be more properly the principles of that age, and state of society, than exclusively those of any particular party. For if we consult the history of either Scotland or of England, during the reigns of Charles I. and his two sons, or even during the usurpation of Cromwell, we will find that the Presbyterians were as cruel and as intolerant as the Episcopalians. During the short reign of Presbytery in England, more than one half of the Episcopal Clergy were turned out to beggary and want, because they would not renounce the Liturgy, and subscribe the Covenant. Mr. Hume observes "the sanctified hypocrites, who called their "oppressions *the Spoiling of the Egyptians*, and their rigid "severeties *the Dominion of the Elect*; interlarded all their "iniquities with long and fervent prayers, saved themselves "from blushing by grimmaces, exercised in the name of the "Lord, all their cruelty on men." When the Presbyterians negociated with, or rather prescribed terms, to the King, in 1648, they not only refused to exempt the Queen and her family, from the penalties against the exercise of the Mass;

but when the King offered to renounce the Book of Common Prayer, and only sought liberty to use some other Liturgy in his own Chapel, the Parliament refused his request; and two of their Theologians told the King "that "if he did not consent to the utter abolition of Episcopacy, "*he would be damned.*" It is impossible to determine which party was most intolerant.

A rigorous exaction of the fines imposed by Government in the Western Counties of Scotland, and some cruelties committed by the military, under Sir James Turner, in the year 1666, at Dalry, in Galloway, excited resistance, and the country people, rising *en masse*, made Sir James prisoner, and dispersed his troops. This served as a signal to the Covenanters, some thousands of whom, in the Western Counties, collected on the hill above Galston, Ayrshire, advanced to Lanark, where they swore the Covenant, and published a Declaration. But General Dalziel, who had by that time reached Strathaven, with a military force, followed the Covenanters so hard, that he overtook and defeated them on the skirts of the Pentland hills, the second day after they left Lanark.

An unsuccessful attempt like this could not fail to render a tyrannical Government still more rigorous. Accordingly many who had been in arms at Pentland, were treated as rebels—some of them shot by the military, and others were tried and executed.

In order, however, to reconcile, if possible, the Presbyterians, and to render such of them as could not be reconciled, still less excusable, Acts of *Indulgence* were granted by the Government, allowing first 43 of the ejected Ministers, to preach within their respective Parishes, or in particular districts pointed out to each. And in 1672, another *Indulgence* was granted to 80 more of these Ministers. But on

these indulgences being granted, the penalties for preaching in private houses were greatly multiplied; and that of death, with confiscation of property, was enacted against such as preached in the field's, or at what were termed conventicles. Severe fines were exacted from such as attended or countenanced such field preachings, or who neglected to attend their own Parish Church.

It might have been expected that these indulgences would have been thankfully received by the persecuted Covenanting Ministers; and so they were by the greatest part of them. But Mr. Burnet, Mr. Cargill, and about eight or ten more of the ejected Ministers, *refused to accept of these or any indulgence whatever;* assigning, as reasons, that their Ministerial office flowed from Christ; and that the Civil Magistrate could not interfere. They complained of the Act of Supremacy, and asserted that the relation between them and their Parishoners still subsisted, and could not be dissolved by the Government.

These few Ministers, who had rejected the indulgence offered by Government, continued (notwithstanding every prohibition and threat, and even in the face of the military sent out to disperse them) to preach in muirs and remote places, chiefly in the Western Counties, and in Fife; and their preachings were attended by the keen adherents of the Covenant. This served still more to provoke and enrage the Government, who issued letters of intercommuning, and imposed heavy fines on such as did not adhere to the established religion. In 1676, a force of about 8000 men, mostly from the Northern Counties, were sent to live at free quarters, on the inhabitants of the Western Shires, chiefly on those of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. This force was in a few weeks after reduced to 500; but it is well known that they carried off much plunder, particularly from the County of Ayr. Nothing could be more cruel or more unworthy of

any Government, than to let loose a large military force to plunder and domineer, in a savage manner, over a large and populous district of the kingdom, merely because the inhabitants would not comply with Episcopacy, and renounce their Covenant. Such an act of base misrule was sufficient alone to alienate the affections of the warmest friends of the House of Stuart. A mild and rational Government would have winked at these conventicles; or, at any rate, would not have hunted down the Covenanters, in the cruel manner then exercised.

The Covenanters, and those who now advocate their cause, and who expatiate on the cruelties of the Government at that period, would have it to be believed, that the Government alone acted improperly, and that the conduct of the Covenanters were every way correct—that their only crime was attending their own preachers instead of those of the Curates—that they were patriots and martyrs for the only true religion—the champions of civil and religious liberty—and that from them we have derived these inestimable blessings. But these averments must be received with caution.

However much the Nation may stand indebted to John Knox, and others who first planted the standard of that Reformation in Caledonia, which has ultimately led to the reduction of arbitrary power in the State, as well as banished mummery and imposition from the Altar; yet it does not appear that even these champions of reform had acquired any thing like correct notions of either civil or religious liberties; and it will be no less difficult to show that the opposers of Prelacy either promoted or understood the civil liberties of this Nation. They do not seem to have entertained, and it is doubtful if their implicit followers do yet understand, the principles of civil liberty. The first Reformers did what in them lay to wrest every species of civil authority from the Crown, and to raise themselves in the name of Christ, over

both King and People. And so far from the Covenanters and Presbyterians entertaining just notions of civil liberty, they were willing to sacrifice these to establish and secure their own peculiar dogmas. Mr. Hume observes, "they "were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests rather "than relinquish the most minute of their Theological conten-"tions." It can scarcely be doubted that our most valuable civil liberties would have been just as free and as ample, if Episcopacy had been allowed to continue, as settled during the reign of James VI. or since, as they have been rendered by the establishment of Presbytery in 1638, and again at the Revolution in 1688. This will appear from the condition of the English Nation, where Episcopacy has been established with only a momentary interruption, since the Reformation from Popery, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and yet the English entertain and enjoy civil liberty in still greater purity than has ever been realized on this side the Tweed. Our best notions of civil liberty have not been derived from either the first Reformers, nor from the Covenanters, but have proceeded from England, where Episcopacy has been established, with little interruption, for almost three centuries; and where nothing of the rudeness of our first Reformers ever appeared, except during the civil wars. And none will pretend that the great Rebellion during the reign of Charles I. was at all favourable to either civil or religious liberty. The King was dethroned and beheaded to make room for an usurper, who exercised greater tyranny than ever the King had done. And when the Nation awakened from their dream and recalled their lawful King, they, in a great measure, resigned their liberties to the Crown.

The great thing contended for by the opposers of the Court Religion in Scotland, was the establishment of the Kingship and Headship of Christ: or, in other words, to render the Ministers and Elders of the Kirk independent in their judicial capacity of the State, and place themselves

above the control of the Crown. It was in support of that Supremacy, or Kingship, in their own favours, and to keep it out of the hands of the Sovereign, that the Covenanters encountered so many hardships during the reigns of Charles II. and James VII.

It will not be disputed that every Church ought to be vested with authority as to doctrine and worship; over which the civil power should not attempt to exercise control; unless where tenets inimical to morality, or the safety of the State are introduced. But this is not the authority that would have satisfied the Reformers, or Covenanters. They aimed at holding the Crown in subjection—preached sedition and rebellion—discussed Bills of Suspension in their sermons—interfered in many civil matters, as keeping of fairs and markets, forestalling of markets, rack-rent, fiddling, &c.—and they meddled in the private and domestic concerns of the Sovereign. In the words of Mr. Hume "Having exalted "the Altar above the Throne, and brought royalty under their "feet, the Clergy were resolved to trample on it, and vilify "it, by every instance of contumely which their present in-"fluence enabled them to impose on their unhappy Prince."

Another great objection to Episcopacy, was the appointment of Bishops, or a gradation of ranks among religious functionaries; and a deversity of salary. But we find that in almost all other religious establishments, ancient or modern, there were, and still are, gradation of ranks and orders among the Priesthood. Without entering on the consideration of the divine right of Presbytery, or wishing in the least to injure the National Church, one cannot help noticing the gradation of ranks mentioned both in the Old and New Testament. Indeed the first Reformers set out on that principle. For in 1560, they disposed of the twelve principal preachers to the best advantage—John Knox to Edinburgh; Goodman to Saint Andrew's; Willocks to Clydesdale and Ayr-

shire, &c. &c. And in 1563, the Assembly appointed Knox and others, to visit districts, plant kirks, *promote the destruction of idolatrous monuments*, suspend, depose, and transplant Ministers, &c. These were not indeed termed *Bishops*, but *Superintendents*. The name, however, is of small moment, while the office is the same. Though they had been denominated *Supervisors*, still they would have been Bishops in effect.

While the intolerance of the Government at that time must be condemned by all who entertain just notions of civil liberty, it cannot be denied by any impartial person that the conduct of the Covenanters was equally reprehensible, and such as no State could tolerate with safety.

They loudly claimed the entire supremacy of the Church, and usurped authority in civil concerns, and even in the private affairs of the Sovereign: in their declarations and manifestoes, and in some of their sermons, they displayed much turbulance and rebellion. In the Lanark declaration they cast off the King's authority, because he had abolished Presbytery, assumed Supremacy, *adjourned* and *dissolved Parliaments*, &c. They termed the King an apostate, bigot, excommunicated person, under the curse of Christ, no Magistrate, and unworthy and incapable of government.

The same sort of violent and treasonable matter is found in the sermons preached by the Covenanting Clergy, at the Conventicles, as the following quotations from Mr. Howie's edition of their sermons, published in 1809, will shew:—

Mr. Richard Cameron, in a sermon preached at Kype Water, in July, 1680, from Psalms XLVII. 10, and published in Howie's Collection, p. 376, says, "Let us take "hold of the standard of Christ, on which it is written, *Let "Christ Reign*. Let us study to have it set up among us.

"It is a standard that shall overthrow the Throne of Bri-
"tain, and all the Thrones of Europe that will not kiss the
"Son, least he be angry, and in his anger they perish by
"the way."

In another sermon preached by him, 28th May, 1680, from Hosea, XIII. 9, 10, he says, "I will tell you where "your help is—it is in Him who delivered your fathers "from Popery, in the days of Queen Mary and her tyranny "—our help is in Him who delivered them from the subtility "and cruelty of that fox, James VI. He delivered us too "from the yoke wreathed on our necks by Charles I. and "O! that he would help us from the tyranny of that Man on "the Throne! Our Lord is saying, if ye would have help "from me, you must take me to be your King—you must "take me to be Head of the Church." "Our Lord is now "dethroned, and that tyrant is set up in his place. After "he had got that civil power into his hands, that would not "satisfy him, but it behoved him to have the Crown and "Sceptre of Christ also."—page 331. "If we had the zeal "of God upon our Spirits, we would not call him or them "superiors, but would do what we could against them.— "You must take Christ to be your King." "If ever you "see good days in Scotland, without disowning the present "Magistrate, then believe me no more." p. 332, he says, "They talk of raising up rebellion, but they are rebels to "our Lord, and we cannot live comfortably in the land with "these traitors. We would rather die than live with them, "and out-live the glory of God, departing altogether from "these Lands."

Mr. Pedan says (Collection, p. 472) "It were better for "us, Sirs, to go to the fields in frost and snow to the knees, "till we were wet to the skin, ere we bow to King, Coun-"cil, or any of them."

These clearly show that the persecuted Ministers disclaimed the authority of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, and contended for what they called Christ's Kingship.

The following may serve as a specimen of the loyalty of these field preachers, Richard Cameron says, in one of his sermons, p. 318, "I will say that the man who pays the "cess, hath little love to Christ." p. 319, "What better "are these Ministers who have accepted of the Indulgence, "than Curates, or even Papists." p. 325, "Alas! what kil-"ling is now in this land, both in fields and on scaffolds."—"They who have paid the cess can scarcely purge themselves "of this killing." "That enemy of God, who sits on the "Throne, is one of the most vile adulterers that lives." p. 327. "I think there was never a generation of more worthy "men about an evil deed, than the bringing home that abo-"minable person from Breda, in Holland, to be again set "up in Scotland. They have set up Kings, but not for me. "The Lord was not with them in an approving way when "they did this."

P. 331, "I know not if this generation will be honoured "to cast off these rulers, but those that the Lord makes in-"struments to bring back Christ, and to recover our liber-"ties, civil and ecclesiastic, shall be such as shall disown the "King, and these inferiors under him." "Are there none to "execute justice and judgment upon these wicked men, who "are both treacherous and tyrannical. The Lord is calling "men of all stations to execute judgment on them, and if "it is done we cannot but justify the deed, and such are to "be commended for it as Jael was blessed above women "—be Jael," &c.

P. 332, "The Lord laughs at the pretended wisdom of "Courts. He laughs at yon wicked wretch that sits on the "Throne, and the General in Kilmarnock." (General Dal-"zeil.")

P. 338, "The Devil rides and drives King Charles II. "and his Council through moss and muir, and over craigs "and rocks. And mark ye this when he will leave them "again; nay he will keep them till he take them to Hell "and keep them in torments to all eternity."

P. 339, "They are hauling the godly to prisons, I pro- "fess it is the very good news that will bring a stroke they "do not think of. He will say to Devils, they are your "own, take them. For that Popery, these Bishops, sup- "porters of Popery, Prelacy, and Indulgences, if they were "once away they shall never return."

P. 348; "Give up with banning, cursing, and swearing; "give up with cess paying; give up with the Indulgence, "and give up with all Ministers that take not up the Cross "of Christ which we are bearing at this day."

P. 349, "That Charles Stewart and our Noblemen, "Councillors, and Persecutors, shall be brought in like goats "on the left hand, and Christ will say, Go away to ever- "lasting burning."

P. 354, "The King hath lost his right to the Crown, "when he caused the Covenants to be burnt, he was no "longer justly King, but a degenerated plant, and hath now "become a Tyrant."

P. 367, "Would you have the Lord to cut off the spirit "of Princes; cut off that base and abominable family that "hath been tyranising over these kingdoms. Would you "have him terrible to King Charles, James, Duke of York, "and the Duke of Monmouth too; then vow and bring "yourselves under engagements to the Most High."*

* Even the followers of Mr. Renwick, after the Revolution in

Many such expressions and sentiments are to be met with in the sermons and other writings of these ill-used and foolish people. And it must be evident to every man of candour, that no Government, ancient or modern, would have suffered with impunity, such treasonable language to be preached up to its subjects. Would our present mild and lenient Government suffer the Throne to be so grossly insulted on any subject or pretence whatever? No. It would not; and no Government ought, or could, with safety, suffer such insult to pass unnoticed. Great allowance must no doubt be made for people driven to extremities as the Covenanters then were; but that was, in some measure at least, their own fault. All that was attempted by the Government was to suppress the Presbyterian form of Church Government, and establish Episcopacy in its stead. And Indulgences were granted to all who would live in peace, to attend the Presbyterian Ministers, under certain limitations and restrictions. But these violent preachers would not accept of such indulgence themselves nor allow others, over whom they had influence to do so, or to live in peace.

When the Government offered Indulgences on the one hand, it multiplied penalties on the other, against such as continued in a state of non-conformity. Letters of intercommuning declaring all who attended Conventicles, or field preachings, by Ministers who had not received Indulgence from the Government, were issued, and military were sent out to suppress Conventicles. A bond, or obligation, to keep the King's peace, was presented to be signed by the lieges, and those who subscribed it and did not attend field preachings, but lived in peace, were protected, and no way molested by the Government. But the field preachers taught their followers that signing such a bond was a sinful compliance

1688. canvassed in the Election of Representatives for Convocation of Estates, and attempted to raise forces to oppose King William.

with Erastianism, and through their persuasion, many refused to sign it.

The Government had acted rigidly for sometime prior to the rising in 1679. The number of field preachers who were either excluded from the King's Indulgence, or had refused to accept of it, did not at first exceed ten or twelve, and some of these had died, some gone abroad, and others of them had been executed prior to 1679. The rest continued obstinate, and their field meetings were attended by considerable numbers of the inhabitants of Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Galloway. This enraged the Government more than it ought to have done, and they employed the military to hunt them down, and the soldiers frequently treated the poor people with great cruelty. This barbarous usage induced the Covenanters to enter into resolutions in the beginning of the year 1679, "To defend themselves and the "Gospel, at all hazards." Those of them who resided between Lanark and Ayr, formed themselves into one Conventicle, or meeting, and carried arms with them to all their field preachings, during the space of twenty successive Sabbaths prior to the skirmish at Drumclog; by which means they sometimes repulsed small parties of the soldiers; and their historian, Mr. Wilson, says "That in doing so, and "in their prayers and consultations, they were much coun-"tenanced by the Lord."

The Government, with a view to suppress these Conventicles, stationed troops chiefly cavalry, in Glasgow, Ayr, Kilmarnock, Lanark, Dumfries, Kirkcubright, and towns adjacent; with orders to search the country for Conventicles, and to disperse them by force. And these orders were frequently executed with great severity, not only against such as were found, or suspected of having been present at field meetings, but against all who had given aid or countenance to preachers, or to those who had attended Conventicles.

One of these which met at Cumberhead, Lesmahagow, being attacked by the military, the country people defended themselves with success, wounded one of the King's officers, and took some soldiers prisoners.

Such was the state of matters in Scotland prior to the rencounter at Drumclog. It was probably unnecessary to have detailed these matters so fully; but one of the complaints brought against the author of the Tales of my Landlord, by the Reviewer already referred to, is, that the Novel did not give some account of the persecutions and sufferings of the Covenanters, prior to their taking arms at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge; and the Author of this account did not wish to offend in that particular. The proceedings prior to these events, are certainly but little calculated to display the wisdom, liberality, tolerance, or sound policy of the Government. Neither can any unprejudiced person venture to justify implicitly the conduct of the Covenanters at that period.

The motives of both appear to have been nearly similar. Episcopacy was the favourite religion of the Court, and the Government wished to force it upon the Scotch people. Presbytery was the favourite scheme in the Western Counties, and with many in other parts of Scotland, and these would not allow any other system of religion but their own to be established, or even tolerated; and they doomed over to perdition all who either rejected Presbytery, or attempted to support Episcopacy. It is not easy to determine which party was most intolerant. If the Presbyterians did not persecute so much, and execute so many as the Government did, their lenity does not seem to have proceeded so much from the superior tolerance of their principles, as from their want of power. The King claimed being Head of the Church, to which the Episcopalians assented. But the Presbyterian Clergy also claimed the supreme power in their Church, under the name of "Christ's Kingship" (but

which they themselves exercised) and both parties were excessively tenacious of that sovereignity; they were equally jealous of each other, and alike impatient of contradiction.

But the more immediate cause of the rising in Summer, 1679, was the murder of Archbishop Sharp, then the Primate of Scotland.

It is evident that many of the Covenanters had adopted an opinion that it was lawful for them to cut off by any means in their power, every person whether Sovereign or subject, who they conceived to be enemies to the Presbyterian Church, and they perverted many texts of scripture, to support these murderous opinions. Mr. Cameron, in the sermon already mentioned, when speaking of the King, and those acting under him, says, "Are there none to execute justice and "judgment upon these wicked men"? "The Lord is cal- "ling men of all stations to execute judgment on them, and "if it is done, we cannot but justify the deed, and such are "to be commended for it, as Jael was. Blessed above wo- "men be Jael," &c. This text is also quoted by Mr. Hamilton and others, to justify their murder of prisoners at Drumclog James Russell, in Kettle, one of those who murdered Bishop Sharp, put up upon the Church door of that Parish, a long paper, protesting against payment of cess, feu duty, Ministers stipend, &c.; and in this paper he styles the King "a Bull of Bashan, and all his associates "Bulls and Kyne of Bashan," and he adds, "would you "not think it your duty, and every man's duty, to kill him "according to that scripture, Exodus XXI. 28 and 29." It was on these principles that Cardinal Beaton was murdered in his own house, and his body afterwards hung over the wall, and treated by one Guthrie with a brutality too shocking to be repeated. John Knox termed this assassination a Godly fact, and made it the subject of jest. The Editor of Kirkton's History, observes p. 450, that the principles

of assassination are taught in Naphtali, Hind-let-loose, &c. The murder of Mr. Pearson, Curate of Corsephairn, is mentioned, and it is added, there were in all thirteen soldiers assassinated. But it would only be waste of time to multiply quotations to show that the Covenanters had adopted these murderous principles, or in arguing against opinions so diabolical, and which in too many instances, they put in practice.

Upon the 8th April, 1679, fifteen of the Covenanters in the County of Fife, met by appointment in the house of Alexander Balfour, in Gilston, to concert measures to cut off William Carmichael, then Sheriff Substitute of Fife, who was a persecutor of their party, and had exercised great cruelties towards the Covenanters. They met next day on the same business, in the house of John Nicholson, where they resolved to fall upon Carmichael, in St. Andrew's, and if the Bishop interposed, they agreed to hang both over the wall; but especially the Bishop.

These people held another meeting in the house of David Walker, in Leslie, upon the 18th of April, when it was agreed to cut down these enemies, and some of the party said, they blessed the Lord tha the had put it into the minds of his people to offer themselves to carry on the Lord's work. They appointed Hackston of Rathillet, their commander, and agreed to meet on Saturday following, "To seek the Lords "mind farther on that matter;" and they agreed to meet again on the 22d of April. They had also another meeting on the 29th, and appointed the 1st of May for "seeking the Lord's "Counisl and assistance," and to call John Henderson, and also John Balfour, who had formerly been factor to the Bishop, but who had run in arrear with his accounts, to assist them in their murderous project. They appointed to meet next Friday to proceed against Carmichael on the Saturday, and

to attend a Conventicle on the Sabbath These frequent meetings as detailed by James Russell one of their number, shew that this murder was not accidental, or precipitate, or, the work of an individual or too, but that it was one of the most mature deliberation among a great body of men.

Upon Friday 2d May, the following persons met according to appointment, in a muir on the east side of Gilston, viz. David Hackston of Rathellet, John Balfour of Kinloch, James Russell in Kettle, George Fleming in Balbathie, Andrew Henderson in Kilrachmount, Alexander Henderson, there, William Dingwell, in Caddam, James Balfour, in Gilston, Alexander Balfour, there, George Balfour, there, Thomas Ness, in ———, and Andrew Guillan, weaver in Balmeranock. Many more were expected, but did not come. The party retired to Robert Black's in Baldenny, where after prayers they sleeped in the barn. Balfour told them next morning, that he had inquired the Lord's mind in the business, and got that word borne on his mind "Go and "prosper." And going again to prayer he got it confirmed by that scripture "Go, have not I sent you." When one of the Covenanters gave Mrs. Black a kiss at parting she prayed that God might bless and prosper them, and requested that if they met with Mr. Leslie, Minister of Ceres, they would also lay him on the green. To this pious request of Mrs Black's, the chivalrous Covenanter answered, "there "is the hand that will do it."

After they had traversed the country about Farvathel, Ceres, &c. in search of Carmichael, without finding him, Mrs. Black sent a boy to apprise them that the Bishop's coach was upon the road between Ceres and Blebo-hole; on which the Covenanters exclaimed "This is of God—God "hath delivered him into our hands; let us not draw back, "but pursue." Russell says all of them considered it a call from God to fall upon the Bishop. George Fleming seem-

ed to hesitate, but others of them said, "We have a clear "call to execute God's justice upon him now." James Russell told them that he had more than ordinary outlettings of the spirit, for about two week's past. and several scriptures had been borne in upon him, that the Lord would soon employ him in some piece of service, and that some great enemy of the Kirk would be cut off—that he had been forced to devote himself to God, and to enter into a covenant with the Lord, and had renewed all his former vows against Papists, Prelates, Indulgences, &c. and that he would not draw back, however great the danger He said he had also conversed with many Godly Ministers in other places, who not only judged it their duty to take that wretch's life, but had twice tried to do so. The Lord, he said, had delivered that wretch into their hands, and he durst not draw back. William Dingwell spoke to the same effect, and the whole party agreed to proceed to cut off that enemy of the Presbyterian Church.

Rathellet made some whimpering about acting as their leader, on account of some dispute he had had with the Bishop. But he said he would not hinder what God had called them to, and that he would not leave them. He accordingly kept by the party, stood near them, and saw the murder committed, but did not himself lay hands on the Bishop.

John Balfour, who took the command, on coming up with the coach, cried out to the Bishop "Judas be taken," and fired his pistol at him, calling at the same time for the rest to come up. The Bishop perceiving their murderous purpose, called repeatedly to his coachman to drive. He did so, for nearly half a mile, during which the Covenanters poured several shots into the coach. Andrew Henderson having got before the coach, struck the horses on the face with his sword; James Russell struck the driver, and seized

the reins, and George Fleming wounded the Bishop with a pistol bullet, and assisted in stopping the coach.

Russell having broken his sword, got one from George Fleming, and repeated Balfour's cry of "Come forth Ju-"das" and added, they were sent to execute God's vengeance on him that day, and that he should die. The Bishop cried "Save my life, and I will save your's." He said he would come forth to Balfour, as he knew him to be a Gentleman, but he was nearly killed already. Andrew Guillan solicited Rathellet, who stood near, to save the Bishop's life, but Rathellet refused to do so, and Balfour ordered Guillan to be quiet. The Bishop begged his life on his knees, and his daughter joined in the supplication, but Balfour struck him in the face and rode over him. Henderson wounded him on the hand, and Russell hearing Miss Sharp say her father was still alive, pulled off the Bishop's hat, and hacked his head in pieces; and on Miss Sharp calling him (as she might well do) a bloody murderer, he answered, they were sent to execute God's judgement on the Bishop.

Dingwell plunged his sword into the Bishop's belly, and took every thing from his pocket. They seized the Bishop's pistols, papers, and every thing valuable—Russell cut one of the Bishop's servants on the face, and rifled his pockets.

Sir William Sharp, son of the Primate, in a letter addressed to Sir James Baird, at Banff, says, the Bishop had left St. Andrew's 2d May, and sleeped at Kenaway that night. Returning next day, he was beset about two miles from St. Andrew's, by nine men, one of three parties, into which the 27 assassins had divided themselves. The coach drove above half a mile till the driver was wounded, and several shots fired. The Primate came out of the coach unhurt, and begged for his life, but was answered "No bloody

"villain, betrayer of the cause of Christ; no mercy." He solicited they would spare his daughter, but when he held out his hand to one of them to get his, the rustic Covenanter cut him on the wrist. He kneeled and prayed that God might forgive them, but they murdered him with sixteen wounds in his back, head, and face, three on his left hand, and a shot in his right breast, which seemed to have been with blank cartridge. They cut Miss Sharp's hand when holding a bridle, and craving mercy to her father.

Russell, from whose narrative this account is chiefly taken, says, that on opening the Bishop's tobacco box, a living humming bee flew out, and which the party understood to be the *devil.* What a pity they should have let him at large again? Russell does not explain how the Bishop had succeeded in getting his suttie highness into that box; nor can any one believe that any species of bee could have existed, for even a few minutes, in such a situation. Neither will it be easy to conjecture for what purpose the Bishop should have made choice of such a travelling companion. The whole story seems to have been a delusion.

Viewing this transaction impartially, it is impossible to pronounce it any thing else than a deliberate and dastardly murder, disgraceful not only to them by whom it was committed, but in some measure to the whole body of Covenanters, and reflecting odium on the age in which it was perpetrated. The murder of Beaton was not nearly so deliberate. That of Rizzio was perpetrated by only a few, while that of Regent Murray was the act of one man. The murders at Swine-alley, Carsfern, Carsterphen, Loudonhill, &c. though all proceeding from similar motives, were executed by only a few persons. But the murder of Bishop Sharp may be viewed as the premeditated and deliberate crime of the Covenanters at large. It was recommended by their preachers, long determined upon by many, repeatedly

attempted, and at last accomplished with savage ferocity, and afterwards approved of and the perpetrators countenanced by their brethren in other parts of Scotland. The deed was not more base and dastardly, than the means used to excite to its preparation, were dangerous and diabolical. It is truly lamentable to see how these men were goaded on to the perpetration of the worst of crimes, by ill treatment on the one hand, and by fanatical delusion on the other; imagining, or pretending, that the Lord had in answer to their prayers, directed them to commit murder, and exciting each other to join in the wicked deed.

Having perpetrated this cruel murder, the party retired to a place called Tewchets, where they went to prayer, first together, and then each alone, blessing the Lord, who had called them out, and carried them courageously through so great a work, and had led them by his spirit in every step. That they had only done what they were commanded of God, by whose spirit they had been led and guided, and made to act valiantly, as soldiers of Jesus Christ.. And William Dingwell, after praying alone, told his brethren that the Lord had said to him "Well done good and faithful servant."

The party set out towards the County of Perth, in different directions; but the greatest part of them remained some days near the Bridge of Earn. From that they went to Depline Mill; afterwards to the Ochills, and then to the vicinity of Drummond Castle. Dingwell, who joined the party at Chingles, told them, he never had so much of the presence of the Lord, and that he had been enraptured during the eight or nine preceding days. The Lord, he said, had confirmed and approved of all they had done.

They went next to Ardoch, from thence to Dumblane, from that to the Bridge of Doun, next to Kippen, then to

Campsie, afterwards to Ardbuckle's, in Monkland, and from that to Moffathill, in Shotts; where they intended to have had the sacrament dispensed. But finding the military were in motion, they set out with about a dozen of their friends from Airdrie and Shotts, and reached Strathaven on the 24th May.

Next day Mr. Douglas preached at Fishaw-burn, in Lambhill Muir, to a great Congregation, where Robert Hamilton, second son of Sir William Hamilton of Preston, and William Clelland, were present Mr. Hamilton, Hackston, and Balfour, met with Mr. Cargill, and Mr. Spreul, at Glasgow, on Monday, 26th May, when they arranged their proceedings for the King's birth-day. Dingwell, Russell, George Balfour, and the rest of the Fife men remained in Avendale till the Thursday.

The deputation, on their return from Glasgow, convened the Covenanters about a mile north west from Strathaven, on the 29th May, which was observed as the birth-day and anniversary of the Restoration of the King, and about 50 or 60 of them, mostly from Avendale and Loudon, marched in a body to Rutherglen, which they reached about an hour before sun-set, and where after prayers and singing of psalms, they published a manifesto against all the offensive laws and proceedings of the Government; affixed a copy of it upon the Cross; burnt some obnoxious Acts of Parliament; extinguished the bonfire and retired. Dingwell and Russell were placed as centinels at Glasgow Bridge, where they saw the military, and on their retiring from that station they fired their pistols by way of contempt. The Fife men and Hamilton went to Eaglesham that night.

Such a wanton act of rebellion and folly, while it could do no good to the Covenanters, could not fail to irritate the Government, and provoke them to exercise still greater

severities. Accordingly the Council gave instructions to the Commanders of the troops to suppress, by force of arms, all field conventicles, destroy as traitors, all who were found at such meetings, or in arms, and particularly to seize upon and kill, every person who had been concerned in these rebellious proceedings at Rutherglen.

The Covenanters no doubt thought, and their followers still argue, that these were severe and cruel proceedings on the part of Government. And certainly so they were; but they were just such proceedings as have been resorted to by every Government against rebels. The same thing was done with still greater severity, and on far less provocation in Glencoe, about the year 1690—in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland in 1746—still more recently in the neighbouring kingdom—and in too many instances by the Covenanters themselves, as will be noticed in course. The proceedings at Rutherglen amounted to an overt act of rebellion, which no Government could suffer to pass unnoticed.

Mr. Douglas having agreed to preach at Hairlaw, or Glaisterlaw, about a mile north-west of Loudon-hill, on Sabbath 1st June, 1679, the Fife men and Mr. Hamilton dreading the conventicle might be attacked by the military, collected a number of their friends on the Saturday evening, in a house near Loudon-hill, where they lay under arms all night They also sent off an express to Lesmahagow to bring forward their brethren from that quarter, and who were up just in time to join in the skirmish. But very few of their friends from Kilmarnock came forward to that conventicle.

A considerable number of people assembled at that field meeting, and as usual in these times, the greatest part of them came armed. Captain Graham of Claverhouse (afterwards Viscount Dundee) was by Lord Ross, who command-

ed the military in Glasgow, sent out with three troops of dragoons, to attack and disperse that conventicle. He had seized about two miles east of Hamilton, John King, a field preacher, and according to Mr. Wilson's account, seventeen other people, whom he bound in pairs, and drove before him towards Loudon-hill.

Captain Graham and his Officers eat their breakfast that day at the principal inn in Strathaven, then kept by James Young, writer, innkeeper, and baron baillie of Avendale, known in that district by the name of "*Scribbie Young.*" The house which he then occupied stood opposite the entry into the church-yard; and from its having an upper room, or second story, in the one end, with an outer stair of a curious construction, was denominated "the Tower." Having been informed at Strathaven that the conventicle was not to meet that day, Capt. Graham set out towards Glasgow with his prisoners. But on obtaining more correct information about a mile north of Strathaven, he turned round towards Loudon-hill by the way of Letham. On being told at Crueburn that the Covenanters were in great force, Captain Graham said he had eleven score of good guns under his command, and would soon disperse the Whigs.

Soon after worship had commenced, the Covenanters were informed by an express from their friends at Hamilton, as well as by the watches they had placed, that the military were approaching them; and they resolved to fight the troops, in order, if possible, to relieve the prisoners, or to use the words of their historian, Mr. Wilson, to "oppose "the hellish fury of their persecutors." Their whole force consisted of about 50 horsemen, ill provided with arms, 50 footmen with muskets, and about 150 more with halberts and forks. Mr. Hamilton took the chief command, and David Hackston, Henry Hall, John Balfour, Robert Fleming, William Clelland, John Loudon, and John Brown,

acted as subalterns under Hamilton. Mr. Wilson says "Mr. Hamilton gave out the word that no quarter should "be given to the enemy." The Covenanters did not wait the arrival of the military, who could not have reached them but by a circuitous rout; neither did they take shelter in the mosses that lay near, and into which the cavalry could not have followed them; but they advanced eastward about two miles to meet the troops, singing Psalms all the way.

When Captain Graham reached the height at Drumclog, and saw the Whigs about half a mile to the north of that place, near to where Stabbyside-house now stands, he placed his prisoners under a guard, in the farm-yard of North Drumclog, and having drawn up his three troops of cavalry, he advanced to attack the Whigs. Mr. Russell says Claverhouse gave orders to his troops to give no quarter to the Covenanters, and that "there was such a spirit given furth "from the Lord, that both men and women who had no arms, "faced the troops." The dragoons had to march down an arable field of a very slight declivity, at the foot of which, a small piece of marshy ground (provincially called misk or boggy land) lay between the hostile parties. As many of the Covenanters resided in that immediate neighbourhood, they could not fail to know that this marshy place, on the north side of which they had taken their stand, was in some places too soft to support the feet of horses. But as this swamp was covered with a sward of green herbage, and was but of a few yards in breadth, and lying between two fields of arable land, the declivity of which was towards the bog on both sides, it is evident that Captain Graham did not perceive that it was a marsh, and to this, above all other circumstances, is his defeat to be attributed.

This ground, so favourable to the Covenanters, appears to have been taken up by them more from accident than design. If it had been their wish to have taken their station

in or behind a bog, they could have found many of these much nearer to where the congregation met, and far more impenetrable to cavalry than that where the rencounter happened. In advancing from Hairlaw-hill to the place of action, they passed several deep flow mosses, some of them of great extent, and into which cavalry could not have entered Even when the hostile parties came in sight of each other, the Covenanters were nearer to a flow moss than they were to the marshy ground behind which they placed themselves. Had Captain Graham known the ground he could easily have avoided the marsh, and passed the end of it by a public road, only about two or three hundred yards to the westward. But the marsh being only narrow, situated in the middle of arable land, and covered with a sward of green herbage, it is evident that that officer did not perceive it was a marsh, till the horses sunk in it when advancing to make the charge. The defeat of the troops was not otherwise probable Upwards of two hundred mounted cavalry, well armed, were not likely to have been defeated by 50 country people on horseback, and 50 more on foot, ill armed, and almost undisciplined, even when aided by 150 more with forks.

The troops fired first, and according to the traditionary accounts, the Covenanters, at the suggestion of Balfour, evaded the fire of the military, by prostrating themselves on the ground, with the exception of John Morton, in Broomhill, who, believing in the doctrine of predestination, refused to stoop, and was shot. The ball entered his mouth, and he fell backward at the feet of the great grandfather of the writer of this account. Captain Graham ordered the troops to charge, but a number of the horses having, in advancing towards the Covenanters, been entangled in the marsh, the ranks were broken, and the squadron was thrown into disorder. The Covenanters, who had no doubt foreseen what would happen, seized the favourable opportunity of pouring

their fire on the disordered cavalry, and following it up with a valourous and spirited attack, soon completed the disorder and defeat of the troops. The Commander of the Whigs cried out "ow'r the bog and to them lads." The order was re-echoed, and obeyed with promptitude, and from the involved situation of the military, the forks and halberts of the Covenanters were extremely favourable for that species of warfare. The rout of the disordered cavalry was instantaneous and complete, and achieved principally by the Covenanters who were on foot, though their cavalry soon passed the bog, and joined in the pursuit. Mr. Wilson says that Balfour and Clelland were the first to step into the bog, but the traditionary accounts say that it was one Woodburn from the Mains of Loudon, who set that example of bravery.

This far the traditionary accounts and that of Mr. Wilson has been followed. But Mr. Russell says that Claverhouse sent two of his men to reconnoitre, and afterwards did so himself, before he made the attack. If he did so, it is surprising that he did not perceive the marsh, as well as the road by which it might have been evaded. Russell also says that Captain Graham sent forward twelve dragoons who fired at the Whigs, and that as many of them turned out and fired at the cavalry. This, he says, was twice repeated, without a person being hurt on either side. On their firing a third time, one dragoon fell from his horse, and seemed to rise with difficulty. Claverhouse, he says, then ordered thirty dragoons to dismount and fire, when William Clelland, with 12 or 16 armed footmen, supported by 20 or 24 with halberts and forks, advanced and fired at the military. But still no one was injured, till Clelland advanced alone, fired his piece, and killed one dragoon, and when the Whigs were wheeling, some of the military fired, and killed one man. Claverhouse next advanced his whole force to the stanck, and fired desperately, "and the honest "party having but few guns, was not able to stand, and

" being very confused at coming off, one of the last party " cried out for the Lord's sake go on ; and immediately they " ran violently forward, and Claverhouse was tooming the " shot all the time on them; but the honest parties' right " hand of the foot being nearest Clelland, went on on Cla- " ver's left flank, and all the body went on together against " Claver's body, and Clelland stood until the honest party " was joined among them both, with pikes and swords, and " William Dingwell and Thomas Weir being upon the " right hand of the honest party, all the forenamed who " fired thrice before, being together, and loupping ower " they gott among the enemies, William Dingwell received " his wound, his horse being dung back by the strength of " the enemy, fell over and dang over James Russell's horse, " James presently rose and mounted and pursued, calling to " a woman to take care of his dear friend William Ding- " well, (for the women ran as fast as the men) and she did " so. Thomas Weir rode in among them, and took a stand- " ard, and he was mortally wounded and knocked on the " head, but pursued as long as he was able, and then fell. " The honest party pursued as long as their horses could " trot, being upwards of two miles. There was of the ene- " my killed 36 dead on the ground, and by the way in the " pursuit, and only 5 or 6 of the honest party."

Lieutenant Robert Graham, Cornet John Arnold, and thirty-four privates of the King's forces were killed on the field, and several more wounded. Five of the military were taken prisoners, and afterwards allowed to escape. Of the Covenanters, John Morton, Thomas Weir in Cumberhead, William Dingwell, one of the murderers of the Bishop, James Thomson, Stonehouse, John Gabbie, in Fioch, and James Dykes, in Loudon, were all mortally wounded, and died either on the field, or soon after the skirmish.

The Covenanters pursued the troops to Calder Water, about three miles from the field of action. A person of the name of Finlay, from Lesmahagow, armed with a pitch-fork, came up with Captain Graham, at a place called Capernaum, near Coldwakening, and would probably have killed that Officer, had not another of the Covenanters called to Finlay to strike at the horse, and thereby secure both it and the rider. The blow intended for the Captain, was spent upon his mare, and the Captain escaped by mounting, with great agility, the horse of his trumpeter, who was killed by the Whigs.

The Covenanters came up with some of the dragoons near Hillhead. The troopers offered to surrender, and sought quarter, which some of the Covenanters were disposed to grant; but when their leaders came up, they actually killed these men in spite of every remonstrance. The men so killed were buried like felons, on the marsh between the farms of Hillhead and Hookhead, and their graves remained visible till the year 1750, when they were sunk in a march dyke, drawn in that direction. The late Mr. Dykes, of Fieldhead, declared to the writer of this narrative, that his grandfather, Thomas Leiper, of Fieldhead, had often told him that he was present when these soldiers were killed, and did what he could to save their lives, but without effect.

It is also well attested that Mr. Hamilton, Commander of the Covenanters, killed some of the prisoners after they had surrendered, and obtained quarter from others of the Covenanters. Traditionary accounts bear, that two at least were so killed by him; but Russell, who was present, says "After the skirmish, Robert Hamilton slaughtered *one* of "the prisoners in cold blood, and seems to have regretted "all his life that five more did not share the same fate. In "his letter of self-vindication to the Ante-Popish, Ante-"Prelatic, Ante-Erastian, Ante-Sectarian, True Presbyte-

"rian Remnant of the Church of Scotland, (1684) he says, "as for that accusation they bring against me, of killing that "poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog, I may easily "guess that my accusers cannot but be some of the house "of Saul, or Shemei, or some such, risen again to espouse "that poor Gentleman (Saul) his quarrel against honest Sa- "muel, by his offering to kill that poor man Agag, after "the King's given him quarter. But I being called to the "command that day, gave out the word, *that no quarter* "*should be given*, and returning from pursuing Claverhouse, "one or two of these fellows were standing in the midst of a "company of our friends, and some were debating for quar- "ter and others against it. None could blame me to decide "the controversy, and I bless God for it to this day." He next mentions that five more got quarter, without his know- ledge, and adds, "which I reckoned among the first step- "pings aside that I feared the Lord would not honour us "to do much for him," and he thanks God that since ever he set his face to his work, he would neither *give* nor *take avour* from his enemies.

Mr. Wilson says "Some without Mr. Hamilton's know- "ledge, and directly contrary to his express command, gave "five of these bloody enemies quarter, and then let them "go. This greatly grieved Mr. Hamilton, when he saw "some of Babel's brats spared after the Lord had delivered "them into their hands, that they might have dashed them "against the stones—Psalms CXXXVII. 9." In support of these principles, he quotes certain texts of scripture, as "Cursed be he who doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully." "Cursed be he who keepeth back his hand from blood."

Murdering of prisoners who had surrendered and craved mercy, was too common in these unhappy times. Sir James urner says, that General Leslie killed 300 prisoners at Dunavertic, in Argyleshire, and 200 more at Jura, after

they had surrendered at discretion. And John Nave, then the General's Chaplin, and who was afterwards Minister at Newmilns, not only advised the General to commit these cruel acts, but threatened him with all the curses that fell upon Saul when he spared the Amalikites. He said, "What "meaneth the bleating of the sheep and lowing of the ox "in my ear." When Leslie went to Mull, M'Lean surrendered, and gave up 14 Irishmen who had defended him; all of whom Leslie put to death. The Covenanters are charged with having in one day thrown 80 persons, mostly women and children, the followers of Montrose' camp, over the Bridge of Linlithgow, and some more were killed by them at Elgin. From the accounts given by themselves of their victory over Montrose, at Philiphaugh, they hanged a good many Officers, and shot at a post, about 100 prisoners. And it is asserted by Chrichton, Guild, and others, that the Covenanters had set up a gallows in their camp at Bothwell, and provided ropes to hang such soldiers as might be taken.

When the discomfited dragoons returned through Strathaven, they were insulted and pursued by the inhabitants, down a lane called the Hole-closs, till one of the soldiers fired upon the crowd, and killed a man, about 50 yards east from where the Relief Meeting-house at Strathaven now stands.

Captain Graham retreated to Glasgow, and he is said to have met at Cathkin some troops sent out to his aid, but he refused to return to the charge, observing to his brother Officer, that he had been at a Whig meeting that day, but that he liked the lecture so ill, that he would not return to the afternoon's service. Another account says, that when Captain Graham rode off the field, Mr. King, the preacher,

then a prisoner, called after him, by way of derision, to stop to the afternoon's preaching.*

The relations of the two Officers that were killed, went to Drumclog next day after the skirmish, to bury them; but the country people had cut and mangled the bodies of the slain, in such a manner, that only one of the Officers could be recognised. The coffin intended for the other was left at High Drumclog, where it remained many years in a cart-shed, till it was used in burying a vagrant beggar that died at Mount, in that neighbourhood. This fact has been well attested to the writer of this account from sources of information on which he can rely. But Chrichton also mentions it. The people, he says, discovering, from a marking on his shirt, that the Officers' name was Graham, they supposed him to be Claverhouse, and treated the body with great indignity, cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing the body in hundreds of places. Guild, in his *Bellum Bothwellranum*, also mentions this piece of barbarity; but Mr. Russell says, it was Mr. Graham's own dog who he and Dingwell saw eating at his thrapple. But it is not credible that any dog would devour his master's body, especially when so many others lay so near; it is not even credible that any dog whatever would devour a human body.

The defeat of Captain Graham created such alarm in Glasgow, that some have imagined that had the Whigs followed up their victory they might easily have overcome the forces then in the city. This, however, seems extremely doubtful. The Covenanters that fought at Drumclog were so few in number, and so poorly armed, that it would have been extreme temerity in them to have made any such attack. Their success at Drumclog was accidental. The

* Chrichton says, "King was a bra muckle carl with a white "hat, and a great bob of ribbons on the back o't."

horses, sinking in the bog, threw the troops into confusion, of which the Whigs availed themselves, by making so vigourous an attack, they prevented the dragoons from rallying. But they could not have expected such success at Glasgow, against a regular force, far better armed than themselves, and double their number. The Whigs, however, judging it unlawful to fight on Sabbath, except in self defence, returned to the field of action, where they offered thanks to the Almighty for the victory they had gained; after which they took some refreshment at Strathaven and marched to Hamilton in the evening.

Next day (June 2) the Covenanters, flushed with their victory, and having been joined by some of their friends, procured such arms as they could, and made an attack upon Glasgow. One division of them commanded by Mr. Hamilton, attempted to penetrate by Gallowgate, and another party entered by the High Street. But Lord Ross had so completely barricaded the streets, and made such a resistance that the Covenanters were soon compelled to retire, with the loss of Walter Paterson of Carbarns, and five more of their party killed, and several wounded. Mr. Hamilton is accused by his friends of having shewn less courage at Glasgow than he had done at Drumclog the day before. After their repulse in Glasgow, the Covenanters collected on Tolcross Muir, and returned to Hamilton in the evening.

June 3d.—Lord Ross removed the troops from Glasgow to Kilsyth. The Whigs formed a sort of camp near Hamilton, where they held a council of war, composed of their Officers, Clergy, and Chiefs. Mr. Wilson says, it was agreed upon at this council, that none who were disaffected at the cause of God, or scandalous; none who had sworn false oaths, paid cess, joined with abjured Prelacy, accepted of the indulgence given by Government, or that were guilty of any public sin, should be received into the army, till they

repented and made public acknowledgment of their sins.—They next inquired into the cause of the Lord's displeasure, in their want of success at Glasgow, and found (as they thought) that it was owing to "an Achan in their camp," and this Achan was discovered to be Thomas Weir of Greenrig, who had served in the King's army at the battle of Pentland. Ministers and Elders were ordered to *deal* with him; and on finding he was not willing to profess public repentance, he was dismissed; but he seems to have returned afterwards. Some others left them that day, and there was much confusion in the camp. Some small party of military appeared near Bothwell Bridge; but on the Whigs sending out Rathellet and Burley with thirty-six horsemen, the military retired. The Covenanters lodged in Strathaven that night.

June 4th.—They exercised on Kypes-rigg, south of Strathaven, and quartered between Strathaven and Kilbride. June 5th.—They randesvouzed in Commissary Fleming's Park, at Kilbride, where they were joined by Capt. Paton, with a body of horsemen from Fenwick, Newmills, Galston, &c. June 6th.—They searched for arms in Glasgow, and put up a manifesto, declaring their adherence to the True Reformed Religion, and the Covenants, and protesting against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, Supremacy, the Indulgence, &c. They encamped four miles south of Glasgow that night.

June 7th.—A Council was held near Glasgow, where they agreed to adhere to their former principles; and being now upwards of five thousand strong, they resolved to pursue their enemies. Mr Hamilton was still their leader; Hackston, Hall, Paton, Balfour, Walter Smith, William Carmichael, William Clelland. James Henderson, and Robert Fleming, were Officers;* Cargill, Douglas, King, and Kid,

* David Williamson, a Preacher, and who is the Hero of the

were then their only Clergymen. But in the course of that day the Rev. Mr. Welch, from Ayr, Mr. Hume, and 10 or 12 other Ministers, and many armed men, some on horseback, and others on foot, joined the Whig army. The Ministers and Officers who had conducted matters thus far, were agreed not only in opposing Episcopacy, and the King's Supremacy in Church Affairs; but also in condemning the Indulgences granted by the Government, and all who had accepted or approved thereof. But Mr. Welch, and the other Ministers and Officers, who joined that day, and had themselves accepted of the Indulgence, wished not to touch on that point, or to complain either of paying cess or signing the bond of peace; and much wrangling took place between these two parties on these points. Hamilton and Balfour, with Cargill, and the other three Clergymen, called themselves the honest party; and termed Mr. Welch and his friends the Erastian party, because they owned the King's authority, and allegiance to him, and accepted of the Indulgence. The army quartered about Rutherglen that night.

June 8th.—Was spent in keen debates between the parties in the Whig Camp June 9th.—A Council of War was held at Glasgow, and the heat of the debate between the two parties still seemed to increase. The foot remained in Glasgow, and the cavalry went to the country round. June 10th. —Was spent in the warmest debates between the moderate and violent parties, not about Prelacy, which they all condemned, but about owning the King's Supremacy, Erastianism, Indulgences, &c. The army lay at Tolcross that evening. June 11th.—Debates continued; and some being

Song of *Dainty Davie*, was also one of the Officers among the Covenanters. When a search was made for this Gentleman he concealed himself in the bed of a young Lady, but she could not long after conceal something else, and became the first of his seven wives.—*Kirkton's History, p.* 349.

thereby discouraged, left the camp. The army marched to Hamilton that evening. June 12th.—The debate became louder and still more violent. June 13th.—Was spent in wrangling about a declaration of principles, in which the two parties differed widely from each other. The army moved to Bredisholm and other parts near Old Monkland, that evening. June 14th.—Was spent in debate and mutual recrimination.

June 15th.—The two parties disputed warmly which of them should preach, and against, or for what, they should *testify*. The Ministers struggled personally with each other, and came nearly to blows about which of them should hold forth, and they preached and prayed directly contrary to one another, and protested against each other, the one owning the King's lawful authority, and accepting the Indulgence offered by Government to the Presbyterian Ministers; and the other crying out against both. Mr. Wilson says, "they were in great confusion; the Lord's day was grievously dishonoured, and his people sadly discouraged" by their violent debates.

June 16th.—A Council of War was called at Shawhead Muir, Monkland, but delayed on account of the absence of the Ministers. June 17th.—Major Learmont, William Carmichael, John Paton, Robert Fleming, James Henderson, and William Clelland were appointed Field Officers, or Colonels. June 18th.—The debates became warmer than ever. The Cameronians, or honest party, as they called themselves, insisted on keeping next day as a fast, on account of the rejoicing at the Restoration and anniversary thereof; complying with Prelacy; not protesting against the Heirarchy; taking the bond of peace contrary to the Covenant; paying cess and taxations; complying with abjured Erastianism, in accepting Indulgences, &c. Mr. Welch, with the rational and moderate party, disapproved of these reasons for fasting, and

threatened to leave the army. The fast was not kept. The army marched to Airdrie; but not finding accommodation there they went to Hamilton.

June 19th.—The Covenanters had some skirmishing with a small party of military. Debates among the Whigs still continued. Mr. Hamilton was accused by some of an intention of setting himself up as another Cromwell.

June 20th.—The Covenanters received a great accession of force from Galloway. The moderate party drew up a declaration, bearing that they had no intention to overturn the Government, civil or ecclesiastic; whereunto they were bound by the solemn League and Covenant. And that all matters of controversy should be foreborn and referred to the proper judicatories, a free Parliament, and a lawful General Assembly. This moderate paper got afterwards the name of the "Hamilton Declaration," and was much complained of by the Cameronians. But the *(soi-disant)* honest party rejected this paper, because, according to Mr. Wilson, they said it owned the malignant interest of that *perjured Tyrant* Charles II.; condemned preaching, praying and witnessing against the Indulgence, and sacraligious Supremacy, and owned the upholding of the *bloody Tyrant on the Throne*, till Parliament and an Assembly should declare these to be sinful!! The guard at the ford above Hamilton was attacked in the night time, and one of the Whigs, James Clelland, killed.

June 21st.—Was spent in violent debates among the Covenanters. The moderate party proposed to supplicate the Duke of Monmouth; but Mr. Hamilton and the violent party, opposed that measure, and proposed to send the Duke an account of his father's and his own rebellions against God, and usurpations in the Church; and protested against any application to the Duke, whom they termed one of Christ's

open and avowed enemies. One of the moderate party said, Mr. Hamilton should be thrust out of the Council of War, as one that would set fire to a nation. The Council divided, and separated in great wrath: met again, and separated a second time, and afterwards a third time. The King's army being now at hand, a strong guard, commanded by Rathellet and Turnbull, was placed at Bothwell Bridge. The rest of the Whig army were still keenly engaged in angry disputes about declarations and testimonies against the King's Supremacy, Indulgence, &c.

The Government had collected an army of about 5000 men, to oppose the Covenanters. That force, commanded by the Earl of Linlithgow, had reached Kirkhill, about the 15th June. The Duke of Monmouth having been appointed to the command, left London on the 15th, arrived in Edinburgh on the 18th, and joined the army and took the command at Blackburn on 19th June. Upon the 20th, he wrote from Muirhead to the Council, complaining of the want of provisions; and proceeded westward slowly, in hopes that the Covenanters would offer terms. Many of them were disposed to do so; but Hamilton, their commander, and the violent party who adhered to his opinions, refused to enter into any terms with the Duke; and those who had been concerned in the murder of the Bishop, knowing they could not expect a pardon, did every thing in their power to prevent an accommodation. The King's army reached Bothwellmuir, within two miles of the Covenanter's camp, upon Saturday, 21st June. But the sight of that army had no effect whatever in moderating the angry wranglings of the Covenanters; or even in inducing them either to offer terms, or to prepare for their own defence. Their "faithful contendings" against Episcopacy, Erastianism, Supremacy and the Indulgence, were paramount to all other concerns; and even to self defence!! They seemed to think that strong angry declarations against the Government and the defections

of the Church would protect them from powder and ball, or the point of the sword.

June 22d.—The moderate party having drawn up a supplication to the Duke of Monmouth, and one of them having made Mr. Hamilton believe that it had been framed by Mr. Cargill, the General subscribed it. and a parley being beat, it was carried to the Duke, by Laird Murdoch, from Galloway, and Mr. Hume, one of the moderate Clergymen.—The Duke refused to treat with them, unless they laid down their arms, and came in his mercy; and he allowed them half an hour to give him an answer. No answer was returned. The Whig General was not in a temper to come to any terms with the enemies of God, and the usurpers of Christ's Headship of the Church, unless the Duke and the army would lay down their arms: and the Duke would not likely do so, least it had exposed him and the troops to "Drumclog quarter."

It will scarcely now be believed, were it not attested by the Covenanters themselves, and their friends, that so many rational beings, placed in their situation, in a state of open war against the Government,—a powerful army fast approaching them, and actually come within their view; should have neglected every precaution for their own defence, and spent their time in wrangling with each other about manifestoes, soundness of principles, the propriety of accepting the Indulgence, and censures to be inflicted on those who did so, or otherwise acknowledged the Supremacy of the King. Archimedes is said to have been eagerly engaged in solving mathematical problems when the Roman army stormed the town where he sat. Like him, the Covenanters were inattentive to their own safety or defence, at a critical moment; wrangling, and like to come to blows among themselves, about grounds for fasting, and inflicting censure, and other abstract or trifling quibbles, adapted to discussion in a Pu-

ritanical Kirk-court in times of profound peace and safety; while the Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army of regular troops, was forming his lines, and planting his cannon in front of their camp! !— Had the Duke protracted his attack for a few days longer, the Covenanters, if they had not come to blows among themselves, would at any rate have divided into two parties, and probably many of them gone home. The situation in which these misguided people were placed, was truly pitiable.— They had been by the Government most improperly deprived of the system of religion which their fathers had adopted at the Reformation, and to which they were strongly inclined to adhere; and a system which they disliked, and which they had been taught was contrary to scripture, and their Covenants had been, in an arbitrary way, forced upon them; and when they refused to comply with the Court Religion, they were persecuted and hunted down, with unrelenting cruelty, and driven at last to appear in arms, to assert what they conceived to be their rights and privileges. By far the greatest number, and the whole rational and moderate part of them, were ready to acknowledge the King's authority, and only wanted redress of some grievances, and relaxation of the severeties under which they had suffered. But a few of their Preachers, Mr. Hamilton, their military leader, Mackston, Balfour, aud others who had assisted at the murder of Archbishop Sharp, and some more who had adopted their furious principle, would listen to nothing but the complete overthrow of the Government, dethroning the King, vesting the Supremacy of the Church in the hands of the Clergy, under the name of Christ's Sovereignty, and bringing under severe discipline, all who had accepted of the Indulgence, or otherwise countenanced the King's Supremacy. They would listen to no modification of their extravagant and intolerant principles—no supplication to the King's Ge-

neral—no terms short of actual subjection to them;* a thing that was equally senseless and arrogant for them to propose. Had the folly of these wrongheaded people only affected themselves, it would have been of less serious consequence; but as it involved the interest not only of five or six thousand people, who had joined their standard, but in some measure the whole Presbyterian interest in Scotland, as well as the fate of those who had incurred the displeasure of the Court, by opposing Episcopacy, the misguided zeal of these hot-heads became the more dangerous. Had a proper loyal and dutiful application been made to the Duke of Monmouth in due time, asking merely a reasonable redress of grievances, there is every reason to believe that he would have listened to the request; and the disastrous issue, which any rational man might have foreseen, and which soon followed, namely the slaughter of some hundreds, captivity of many hundreds more, and execution of others, might all have been prevented.

But while these violent leaders and Clergy refused to join in supplicating the Duke, they, at same time, neglected the necessary precautions for their own defence.

Rathellet, Hall, and Turnbull, who had, with three troops under their command, and one piece of brass ordnance,

* Mr. Wilson says, p. 101, That Mr. Hamilton not only refused to supplicate the Duke, but said to his Brethren "if they were willing to have the Duke of Monmouth informed of his father's, his own, and his associates' rebellion against God, by their blasphemy, persecution, and usurpation of Church and State, &c. and to desire him to lay down the weapons that he had taken up against the Lord and his people; to that he would consent, but to no other thing." Nothing could be more foolish, arrogant, and unseasonable than such language from people in the situation in which the Covenanters were then placed.

guarded Bothwell Bridge during the preceding night, continued to defend it, killed some of the military; and, if Mr. Wilson's account may be credited, caused them to abandon, for a short time, some of their cannon. But a fresh regiment having been sent to the aid of the military, the cannon were re-occupied, and some of the Covenanters killed. These three Officers, however, continued to dispute the passage of the Bridge, till their ammunition was entirely spent. And when they sent to their General (who was still wrangling with his opponent about the sinfulness of the Indulgence, &c.) for a supply of ammunition and reinforcement, he neither sent them the one nor the other. The defence of the Bridge was therefore abandoned, and the party stationed there retreated to the army, then posted between the Bridge and the town of Hamilton, on the brow of the brae near the Bridge.

Abandoning the defence of the Bridge is admitted by all, to have been such a piece of misconduct as could not be excused. Hamilton's friends say, that he had no ammunition to send to his men This must have been owing to gross mismanagement. Why was not ammunition provided? Did Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Cargill, his Chief-priest, expect that the King's army was to be blown off the field by paper Declarations, and personal invective? If their senseless enthusiasm carried them such lengths, we cannot doubt what would be the result The most afflicting consideration is, that the lives and liberties of so many simple fanatical, but otherwise honest and good men, should have been placed at the mercy of such fools as those by whom that army or collection of people was led, or rather misled. How absurd must it not appear to every rational man, for these preachers and leaders to collect so many thousands of simple country people together, like sheep to the slaughter, and to embroil them with a numerous and well appointed army; place them in the face of a powerful and well-served train of artillery; refuse to enter into any compromise; but, on the

contrary, insult and provoke the Duke, by roaring out about his own and his father's sins, and to desire him to lay down his arms; and yet when the battle which they had sought, and wantonly provoked, had come to their gate, they had not the ordinary means of defence, even for this out-post!! It is scarcely possible for the most celebrated novelist to figure a case more absurd, and, on the part of Hamilton, their leader, and these infuriated preachers, more criminal, than to collect so many simple zealots together, to be cut up without the possibility of their being able to defend themselves! Why in the name of wonder should almost three weeks have been lost, in the most absurd wranglings about the lawfulness or sinfulness of the Indulgence, or of accepting or rejecting it, or any such doubtful or trivial matter, compared with the lives of so many thousands of people; and yet no ammunition be provided to defend themselves? And if it was impossible to procure ammunition (which could not be the case) why remain to be cut to pieces by an enraged and insulted enemy? Every part of the conduct of that leader, and the red-hot preachers that misled that army, bear evident marks of folly and madness almost beyond parallel or credibility.

Mr. Wilson admits that a single gun was not fired by the Covenanters, after they abandoned the defence of the Bridge, and with the violence of an enthusiast and partizan, he imputes all the blame to the moderate, or as he calls them, the Erastian party; who, he says, either took to their heels, or entered into terms with the Duke. The truth of that charge may be doubted; but if it was just, these people acted properly in either seeking safety in flight, or in making terms with the King's General. Wilson repeats his charge against Weir of Greenrig, as "an Achan in the camp," and for having changed his position in the ranks, believing he had been placed so as to be killed.

The Duke of Monmouth acted with humanity and moderation in this expedition. Though his army was on the opposite banks of the Clyde, on the evening of the 21st June, and he was advised by his Officers to pass the river at the ford near the foot of the Aven, where no guard had been placed by the Covenanters, though within a mile of their camp, and to take the Whigs in their rear; yet he waited till the twenty-second June, and approached them in front, and where he could not pass the river but by the Bridge of which the Whigs were in possession. And after they had abandoned the Bridge the Duke spent some time (one account says five hours) in cleaning off some rubbish, and passing over his army, before he fired a gun, still expecting the Covenanters would come to terms, or disperse. But the grossest infatuation seems to have seized on them, and they could do nothing but snarl at each other about the merest triffles.

The Duke of Monmouth at last discharged the artillery, which he had placed in the centre of his army, and its first fire threw the cavalry of the Covenanters into disorder, and they broke the ranks of the infantry, so that their whole forces were instantly thrown into the utmost confusion, and a complete rout followed, without resistance on the part of the Covenanters, or a gun being fired by them after they abandoned the Bridge. Thomas Weir of Greenrig, who was one of their Captains, and a person of the name of M'Culloch, commanding a troop of Galloway men, attempted to attack the military, when only a few of the troops had passed the Bridge; but Mr. Hamilton, who had the chief command, ordered Weir and M'Culloch to retreat.

The Covenanters, who had spent that morning as they had done many of the preceding days, wrangling with their Clergy and with each other, about Erastianism, Indulgences, and sinful compliances with God's enemies, &c. were totally unprepared to offer the least resistance when attacked by the

army. Hamilton, their General, and his principal Officers and cavalry, left the field on the first charge, and never stopped till they reached Newmills, nearly twenty miles from Bothwell Bridge. Hamilton, Balfour, Rathellet, and twenty-four others of the leaders of the Covenanters, lodged that night in Loudon Castle. But the Earl of Loudon, though there at the time, refused to admit them into his company. The pursuit was continued to Strathaven; near to which, on the south, a part of the Covenanters collected together, but soon after took the road towards Cumnock. Mr. Wilson says, the Covenanters "were so far left of the Lord, "that they had no power or courage to resist, or in the least "to withstand their enemies; but were in the holy and over-"ruling providence of God, discouraged of God, deprived "of all courage and conduct, divested of all protection, and "laid open to the raging sword, and to fly shamefully before "their enemies, the just punishment of owning the malig-"nant interest of that bloody tyrant Charles Stewart, in the "Hamilton Declaration. The neglecting to purge the army "of scandalous persons, and to humble themselves by fast-"ing and prayers; and the supplication to the Duke of Mon-"mouth." So says Mr. Wilson: but any rational man would rather impute that defeat to their folly in spending their time in quibbling about Erastianism, and neglecting to provide ammunition and other judicious means of defence.

The flight was so sudden, that Mr. Wilson says, only 15 were killed on the field of action. But from four to five hundred were killed in the pursuit, which was continued several miles in the direction of Glassford, and to Strathaven, eight miles from Bothwell Bridge. Gordon of Earleston, had reached the parish of Hamilton with a party of Galloway men, when they met their discomfited brethren at Allowshill, near Quarter, where Mr. Gordon was come up with and killed. His body was allowed to remain several days where he fell, but was afterwards buried in the church-yard of Glas-

lord, where a tomb has been erected with a long inscription to his memory.†

Twelve hundred of the Covenanters that surrendered prisoners, were compelled to lie prostrate on the ground, having a strong guard placed over them, with instructions to fire upon such as attempted to rise up. They were marched to Edinburgh, by way of Linlithgow, and were met at Carsterphon, and other parts of the road, by crowds of people, who mocked and insulted them greatly. When the Duke of Monmouth reached Edinburgh, he set at liberty such of them as would only subscribe a bond, binding themselves to live peaceably in future. About 300, or more, who refused to sign such bond, were kept prisoners in the Grayfriar's church-yard for five months; and 250 of these were ordered to be transported to Barbadoes; and the vessel being stranded on some part of the Orkneys, many of them perished. Mr. King and Mr. Kid, two of the Whig preachers, taken prisoners at Bothwell, were tried before the Justiciary, condemned and executed at Edinburgh, 18th August, 1679.

A great number of the Covenanters took refuge in the Hamilton woods; and the amiable Duchess Ann Hamilton

† The inscription on the tomb represents Mr. Gordon as a saint and a martyr, suffering for the true religion. But Robert Smith, in his information subjoined to Spratt's account of the Ryehouse Plot, says, that when passing the ruinous Castle of Thrieve, Dumfriesshire, on his way to join the Covenanters, at Bothwell, Mr. Gordon informed his Officers that he had been commander of the party that took that Castle when garrisoned for King Charles I. by 200 of the Maxwell's, in the time of the civil wars; and the men taken *being Papists, he caused them to be all put to the sword.* Mr. Gordon added, that though then an old man, he had taken up arms against Charles II. who, he hoped would meet with the fate of his father, "For (said he) we can never "put our trust in a Covenant breaker. So Gentlemen, your cause "is good, you need not fear to fight against a forsworn King."

requested of Monmouth that he would not permit the army to enter these woods, and her Grace's request was readily granted.

The King's army encamped the night after the battle at Hungryhill, near Strathaven; and removed next day to a field called Awalls, near Rawshouse, in Avondale. The Duke of Monmouth is said to have slept in the barn at Raws. But as he remained at Hamilton Palace the night after the rout, was two nights in Glasgow, where he was kindly entertained by the Magistrates of that city; and as he reached Edinburgh on the 26th June, he could not be more than one night with the army at Kype. On the 25th June his Grace wrote to the Council that he had sent parties beyond Newmills and Douglas, but the Covenanters had seperated, and were in a great measure dispersed. His Grace set out for London on 6th July.

It is allowed by all parties, that every part of the conduct of the Duke of Monmouth on this expedition, was dignified and humane. He offered pardon to all tenants and subtenants that had been concerned in the rebellion, who would render themselves, their horses, and arms, at the King's standard, or to the Chief Magistrate of the shire within which they resided At the request of some of the Presbyterians, he procured considerable mitigation of their sufferings. Upon the 27th July, indemnity was offered by the King to all who had been in arms at Pentland, or at Bothwell, or who had attended conventicles, or spoken or published traitorous speeches, or done any thing contrary to the law (excepting only a few) provided they appeared by 30th November then next, and enacted themselves never to carry arms against the King, attend conventicles, or do violence to the orthodox Clergy. This, which was all that could be expected of any Government in similar circumstances, must have proceeded from the influence of the Duke of Monmouth.

But that indemnity was accepted of by very few of the Covenanters; and the Court, influenced by other Councillors, soon after this exercised the greatest and most cruel severities.‡

The foregoing narrative exposes to view a melancholy picture of the religious tenets and moral and political principles, and of the Government in Scotland, prior to the Revolution in 1688. The radical evil rested with the Government, first in not taking the Reformation from Popery under its own charge; and afterwards in persecuting the Presbyterians with so much cruelty. Next to these we have to lament the intemperate zeal and enthusiasm of those by whom the Reformation was achieved, and the inroads they made or attempted upon the prerogatives of the Crown. Having succeeded in establishing the Reformation of Religion in spite of the Government, they became so much elated with their success, that they treated the Sovereign with the rudest indignity. Having annihilated the Supremacy of the Pope in this country, they attempted to place themselves upon the Throne, or to reduce the Sovereign to a cypher under their own direction. They said the Supremacy of the Church did

‡ The people of Scotland seem to have been at that period not only enthusiastically and obstinately religious, but some of them were seized with the most rediculous frenzies. John Gibb, in Borroustonness, and a party who followed him, wishing to Reform on the opinions of Cargill, and the most rigid of the Covenanters, assumed the name of *sweet-singers*, and began to spend all their time in prayers, fastings, and devotional exercises. They rejected the Psalms in metre, the English version of the Scriptures, and names of the days of the week; and framed a new Covenant of their own, much more refined, as they thought, than that of the Presbyterians. And, like those who killed Archbishop Sharp, they travelled west to Strathaven. The Council examined them, but very properly dismissed them as mad people. One Borwith renounced about this time the Christian religion, and adopted Judaizem.

not pertain to the Pope, nor to the King, but belonged to Christ, and that Supremacy the Clergy exercised in his name. That doctrine was taken up so keenly by the Reformers, and infused so strongly into their posterity, that many good people thought it was sacrilege, and an invasion of the divine prerogatives, for the King, or any one else, except the Clergy, to claim any authority over the Church.

As the Clergy themselves exercised what they termed Christ's Kingship; and as the King also claimed the Supremacy of the Church, both parties maintained the contest with the greatest obstinacy. The first Reformers had treated the Sovereign indecorously, and their successors seem to have thought they had a right to imitate the example of the founders of their system. Hence that fiery zeal, intemperance and rudeness, toward the Sovereign, that we meet with in the sermons, writings, and whole proceedings, of the stormy advocates of Presbytery and the Covenant, prior to the Revolution in 1688; and with too many even since that period.

Intolerance was another of the great evils of that period; and it is not easy to determine whether the Court, the Clergy, or the Laity; the Prelates, the Presbyterians, or the Sectaries, were most intolerant. It was an intolerant age: every one was right in his own eyes, and disposed to condemn and persecute, even unto death, all who were not of their own persuasion. No indulgence or forbearance. Nothing but persecution in this world, and perdition in the next, to those that differed in opinion.

When the Court set up Episcopacy, it hunted down the Presbyterians. When the Clergy succeeded in *extirpating* the Heirarchy, in 1638, they gave no tolerance to its functionaries, nor even to the Court. They turned out all that did not subscribe the Covenant; and though the Crown had

not till then persecuted the Presbyterians, they no sooner overturned the Heirarchy than they raised armies, invaded England, and joined in the great rebellion against the King, not merely to defend their own system, which had not been attacked, but in order to *extirpate* Prelacy from England also. The Sectarians, who soon reduced the Presbyterians to subjection, were intolerant to Prelates and Presbyterians, and even to each other.*

The intolerant spirit of that period led to many acts of cruelty and murder. The Papists burnt heretics, and the Government persecuted all who opposed the Court religion, The Covenanters did not put so many to death as did the Government. It is not clear, however, that their greater forbearance proceeded from more refined principles, but rather from the want of power. The Papists executed Walter Miln and others. But the Reformers murdered Cardinal Beaton in his own house; and John Knox approved of that murder, which he turned into a subject of merriment: and he also approved of the murder of David Rizzio. The Government sent the Highland host to live at free quarters in the western shires; and so did the Covenanters in their turn The Laird of Ardkindless sent 1200 men to live at free quarters in Monteith, on the adherents of Montrose, after his defeat at Philiphaugh. The Government executed the Earl of Argyle; and the Covenanters hung the brave Montrose on a gallows 30 feet high, after exercising on him every cruelty and indignity they could invent. They also executed many of his Officers, and shot 100 of his army at a stake, after they had surrendered prisoners; and if Sir George M'Kenzie, and the historians of that period, can be

* Mr. Pedan, one of the Covenanting Ministers, says, in one of his sermons, that going to hear the Curates preach, would take the people to hell as soon as idolatary, adultries, witchcraft, or any sin named. Gal. v. 19, 20.

credited, they threw 80 women and children, the followers of Montrose's camp, over the bridge of Linlithgow. The Government sent out the military to hunt down and kill those they found in arms, or attending conventicles. But the Covenanters way-laid and murdered Archbishop Sharp, entered a house at Swine-Abbey, Livingstone, and another at Loudon-hill, and murdered two soldiers in each; and they murdered many Curates, soldiers, &c. as well as some of the prisoners who had surrendered at Drumclog. In fine, the same cruel and unrelenting intolerance pervaded all parties at that period.*

It was certainly proper in King James VI. to correct some of the errors and absurdities of the Reformation, and to curb the insolence of its arrogant devotees, who aimed at Sovereign rule. It was proper that the Crown should maintain its authority over the turbulent Reformers; and be paramount, even in ecclesiastic affairs. But all these might have been done without abolishing Presbytery or setting up Episcopacy. Or, if it had been proper to make so great a change, it was cruel to proscribe and persecute the believers in the repudiated system.

* The histories of that period abound with the mutual calumnies invented by the rival parties against each other. The enemies of John Knox accused him of sorceries, and of incest with his mother-in-law, in a kilogie in Haddington. General Dalziel and Bishop Sharp, it was said, had proof of shot from the devil. Montrose had eaten a toad in his infancy. And Gedion Penman, Curate of Crighton, was accused of being a *witch*. Divers eye-witnesses deponed that they had many times seen him at the witch meetings, and that the devil called him his chaplain. That he sat next the devil when he dispensed his sacrament; and the devil gave him two wafers. That he was placed in the rear at the witch dances, and beat up them that were too slow. Many such stories were then told—all equally repugnant to truth and to common sense, and which only serve to mark the ignorance, credulity, and illiberality of that period.

On the other hand, the Presbyterians might have held by their own opinions, and heard their own preachers, without raising the war-whoop of treason and rebellion against the King. But no. Their Covenant bound them to *extirpate* Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism. Their Preachers told them their salvation depended on their firm adherence to their principles, and on the rigid discharge of the oaths and Covenants come under by their fathers or themselves, with uplifted hands, and binding on them and all succeeding generations, to the end of time; and believing such doctrines, these illiterate people became highly intolerant.

The violent party among the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell, not only spurned at the idea of supplicating the Duke of Monmouth, or owning the King's authority, but they refused the aid of those who had accepted of the Indulgence offered by Government, or to act in concert with them. Their General was as violent against King William and the Revolution settlement, as he had formerly been against King James, or King Charles and Episcopacy. By the death of his brother, Sir William Hamilton, about the time of the Revolution, he succeeded to the family honours and estate. But Mr. Wilson says, "because he could not "enter into possession, and enjoy the estate, unless he had "owned the unjust title of the Prince and Princess of Orange, "as King and Queen of these three Covenanted Nations, "and of consequence owned the Prelatic Government." He "never entered into, nor intromitted with his brother's estate, "in any manner of way." Mr. Hamilton also protested against some of his friends for "owning of the Prince and Princess "of Orange, as King and Queen of these Covenanted Na-"tions." He had likewise a chief hand in framing a sedi-"tious or treasonable Declaration, published at Sanquhar, in 1692, for which he was apprehended, and kept several months in Edinburgh jail; and when brought before the Council, he declined their authority and that of the Govern-

ment, because they were not qualified according to the word of God and the Covenants. The Government, either believing him to be insane, or considering him below notice, set him at liberty, without trial or punishment. From these circumstances, it is evident, that this General of the Covenanters, was as intolerant as any Pope or Cardinal, and as disloyal to a mild and lenient Government, as he had been to one that was more rigid. He was not contented with getting Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, he must also have it *extirpated* from England and Ireland, and his own system set up in its stead; and he refused obedience to the Government of William and Mary, because they allowed the people of England and Ireland to enjoy their favourite Episcopacy, and did not cram, by main force, Presbytery and the Covenants, down the throats of all the people in the three kingdoms. A man of such principles, and persisting in these with such obstinacy after the Revolution, must have been a dangerous pest in society.

Too much of that obstinate and intolerant spirit prevailed long after the Revolution, among those who considered themselves the true Presbyterians. Hence the various secessions from the Church, and repeated secessions from secessions, all of them condemning, and some of them excommunicating each other.

Fortunately that stubborn intolerance, has begun to be softened into something of the mild spirit of Christianity.—The warmest partizan of any sect, or the greatest enthusiast to any system, would not now insult the Sovereign, as the rough champions of the Reformation did, in the instances that have been mentioned, and in many others that might have been pointed out.* Many Sectarians are still disposed

* The crowning of the Queen Dowager, when she was appointed Regent, in 1554, gave great offence to John Knox, who says, it was

to preach up the purity of their own principles, especially in what regards their peculiarities of opinion, and to expose the errors or misconduct of the National Church, or of other parties. But none of them would now take up arms, or endure such hardships, as the Covenanters suffered; in order either to force Presbytery upon the English nation, or to extirpate the Heirarchy from Scotland. Some females may still be found that will praise their own Minister and party above all other, or that will prattle at a tea party, on the errors and faults in rival Churches, and of their neighbouring Clergymen. But none of them would suffer martyrdom as several did in former times; nor fight in the ranks as others did, at Drumclog; nor stimulate their nearest connexions to suffer death, rather as say, "God save the King."† Neither would any now be found to commit murders in support of their own system. Religion is now, in a great measure, divested of that fierce and fiery zeal which prompted men to such improprieties of conduct When Sectarians calumniate the Ministers or Members of the National Church, or those of some rival scheme, they do not act so much from an over attachment to any peculiar tenets, or conviction of their superior excellence, as from having acquired a patrimonial or pecuniary interest in their own particular meeting; or frequently from some offence they have taken at the Ministers or Members of other Churches. But the generality of Dissenters

"as seimlie a sicht, gif men had eyes, as to put a saidel upoun the "back of an unrewlie cow." None but the lowest of the radicals would now speak of the Sovereign in terms so rude and indiscreet.

† When Skene, Potter, and Stewart, were executed in 1680, they were offered pardon if they would only say "God save the King." Potter seemed to hesitate on the scaffold, and to show an inclination to comply with the terms offered. But his wife, laying hold of him by the arm, and nearly pushing off the ladder, said, "Go die for the "good old cause, my dear—see Mr. Skene, (who was by that time "executed) will sup this night with Jesus Christ."

are now greatly softened in their asperity towards the National Church, and towards each other. The Ministers of all parties now meet and join in acts of devotion, as friends and as Christians; and two great and respectable bodies who separated from each other upwards of 70 years ago, about the merest quibbles, have recently buried their animosities in oblivion, and joined into one society. And the Government, acting now on more liberal and enlightened principles, is tolerant and indulgent to all. While the Government continued intolerant, the people followed their example; and now they begin to imitate its forbearance and moderation.

CHAP. II.

An Inquiry into what is Historically Correct, and what is Fictitious, in the Novel entitled "THE TALES OF MY LANDLORD," or "OLD MORTALITY," so far as relate to the Rencounters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.

IT has been shewn in the preceding Chapter, that the Skirmish fought at Drumclog, and the Engagement at Bothwell Bridge, both happened in the County of Lanark; and the author of the "Tales of my Landlord," has laid the scenes of his celebrated Novel of "Old Mortality," in the central part of that County. Several places in the interior of Lanarkshire are mentioned in that Novel, under their proper names; and the occurrences that happened in these places, are pointed out, in some instances, nearly as they took place; but more frequently with fictitious descriptions of the scenery, and surrounding objects, as well as of the events, and of the persons concerned. From these it appears, either that the Novelist was a stranger to the ground and the facts he seems to describe, and has supplied the defect from mere fancy; or that if he ever saw these parts of the country, he has embellished his "Tales" with descriptions partly fanciful, to give greater effect to his Novel; a privilege that all Novel writers claim and exercise.

As these Tales are not given as a correct history of the events they seem to detail, but merely as a Novel and work of fancy, the author was at liberty to introduce into the work whatever could amuse or instruct, and that whether true or false. Still, however, on a subject so interesting, as

that which he has chosen for his Novel, it would have been desirable that he had either used fewer of the proper names of places, and of persons actually concerned in these transactions, or that he had stuck more closely to the facts as they occurred. But since the author has written a sort of medley between the true History and a Novel, there is danger of the Tales being received by many as the correct account of these transactions; which renders it necessary to have a line drawn between fact and fiction, so much blended in the Novel. If such distinction was not made, many who read the Novel might believe it to be the correct history of these events, and of the scenes of action—every one would have difficulty in tracing out what was correct, and what was fictitious, and posterity might come to believe, that this Novel was the true history of the events it seems to describe.

Every person in the western counties of Scotland must have heard that the Covenanters encountered and defeated at Drumclog, a party of the King's troops, commanded by Captain Graham, and that a still greater party of these Covenanters were routed, dispersed, many of them killed, and many more taken prisoners at Bothwell Bridge, by an army under the command of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth. Both these events are detailed in the Novel, and the general result in both cases is given pretty correctly; but the whole of the transactions are considerably exaggerated, and the greater part of the details, speeches, and local description as given in the Novel, are mere fiction.

Many of the actors in some of these turbulent scenes, are mentioned in the Novel under their proper names and designations, while the part they are represented to have acted, is either altogether imaginary, or very much embellished.—William Dingwell, for instance, one of the unhappy men who assisted at the murder of Archbishop Sharp, was killed in the skirmish at Drumclog, yet the Novelist brings him

again on the stage (vol. 3, p. 396) as a sort of aid-de-camp to Balfour, at the siege of Tillietudlem, about a week after the rencounter at Drumclog. Captain Paton of Meadowhead, is also mentioned (vol. 3, p. 41) as being with the Covenanters at the skirmish at Drumclog, whereas he only joined them at Kilbride, on the 5th June, four days after that skirmish. General Dalzeil is brought forward at Bothwell, but he was not with the army till after the battle.

Many fictitious names are also introduced into the Tales, merely to give greater effect to the Novel. Henry Morton of Milnwood, whom the Novelist represents as a rational officer on the side of the Whigs; his Squire Cuddy Headrig; the Laird of Langkail, also a Captain on that side, are all creatures of fancy. Lord Avendale, an officer under Claverhouse, Sergeant Bothwell, and Tam Hallowday, are all men of fiction. Lord Avendale, who makes so conspicuous a figure as an officer, and as a lover, is mentioned (vol. 3, p. 243) under the name of William *Maxwell*. And in (vol. 4, p. 183) his Lordship's sister is brought on the stage, under the name of Lady Emelia *Hamilton*. How the brother and sister came to have different sur-names, or how the daughter or sister of a Lord (not an Earl) came to the title of *Lady* is not explained But the truth is, there was no such person as Lord Avendale then, nor for a century before that period, in existence * Lady Margaret Ballandine, her fair grand-

* Andrew Stewart, grandson of Murdoch Duke of Albany, (who was the grandson of King Robert II.) was created Lord Avendale, anno 1456, and was Chancellor of Scotland for 19 years. Having died without issue in 1488, he was succeeded by his nephew, Alexder Stewart, second Lord Avendale; who dying about the year 1506, was succeeded by his son Andrew, third Lord Avendale; who exchanged the estate of Avendale for that of Ochletree, in Ayrshire, then the property of Sir James Hamilton, ancestor of the ancient family of Hamilton's of Gilkerscleugh. And by consent of Parliament, Lord Avendale became Lord Ochletree. In 1600, Andrew, fourth Lord Ochletree, made over that estate and title to his cousin,

child, Miss Edith Ballandine, Miles Ballandine, her Ladyship's Factor and Butler, Jenny Dennison, and Goose Gebby, existed only in the imagination of the author of the Novel. The preachers, viz. Kettledrumlie, Macbrair, Poundtext, Mucklewrath, Rummelbery, and Mause Headrig, whom the author makes nearly as eloquent and gifted as any of the Clergymen, are all of them either creatures of fancy, or fictitious names conferred on the preachers who attended the conventicle.

Mr. Douglas and Mr. King were present at the skirmish at Drumclog. The former was the preacher at the conventicle that day, and the latter was carried a prisoner from Hamilton to Drumclog, by Captain Graham. These two seem to answer—King to Kettledrumlie, and Douglas to Macbrair; and as Mr. Donald Cargill had been with the Covenanters on their expedition to Rutherglen, and might either be at the skirmish at Drumclog, or with the party soon after it, it is probable that he may be the person meant under the name of Mucklewrath. Indeed his excommunication of the King at Torwood, and some other of his violent proceedings on record, bear but too much resemblance to that furious, though fictitious, character.

The names and descriptions of places mentioned in these

James Stewart, son of the Earl of Arran; and Andrew, fourth Lord Ochletree, was, in 1619, created Lord Castlestewart, in the kingdom of Ireland. The titles of Ochletree became extinct by the death of William, eighth Lord Ochletree, without issue, in 1675. And the family of Castlestewart having likewise failed of male issue, that title is also extinct; and the Earl of Murray is now understood to be the representative of the ancient family of Stewart's, Lord Avendale.—Sir James Hamilton's family were not raised to the Peerage. But the title of Lord Avendale forms one of the numerous honours of the Duke of Hamilton, to whom the estate of Avendale now belongs.

Tales, are not more correct than those of the *dramatis personæ*. Some of these deviations from the truth as to local scenery, seem to have proceeded from the author's having been a stranger to the places he names, and attempts to describe. And other places are evidently introduced to enhance the Novel.

The muster or wappenschaw, detailed (vol. 2, p. 35) is said to have been that of "The Upper Ward of Clydesdale," and it is represented to have been made "on a haugh or "level plain near to a Royal Burgh." This is generally supposed to be Lanark, the only Burgh in that Ward of the County, or within twenty miles of any part of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire. But there is neither haugh nor level plain near Lanark. The common muir of the Burgh would have been the place where such a muster would have been made; but that muir is neither a haugh nor level plain.—If the author had acquired local knowledge, or wished to keep as near to the truth in that, as he has done in some other matters, the muir of the Burgh might have been mentioned with as good effect as any haugh or plain that does not exist.

The most extensive haugh on the Clyde is that near Hamilton Palace. But it is not likely that the inhabitants of the Upper Ward would be mustered so far from home as Hamilton; and that town is not now a Royal Burgh. The Noble Family who are Lords of the Manor, having, for reasons not easily perceptible to other people, deprived that Burgh of its Royal Charter which had been granted by Queen Mary, and reduced Hamilton to the rank of a Burgh of Regality, subject to them.

The town of Tillietudlem, and house of Milnwood, seem, from the description given of them in the Novel, to have been situated within a few miles of Lanark. Hence Cuddie

Headrig says, (vol. 2, p. 164) "I'll tak my chance o't stir, "rather than gang down about Hamilton, or ony sic far-a-"wa country." Some have accordingly conjectured that Craignethan Castle must have been the place meant by the author, under the name of Tillietudlem. But if the description given of that Castle of fancy in these Tales, is attended to, it will not be found to correspond to Craignethan, nor to any house or castle in Lanarkshire, either ancient or modern.

In (vol. 2, p. 275) it is stated that "the Tower of Tillie-"tudlem stood, or perhaps, yet stands, upon the angle of "a very precipitous bank, formed by the conjunction of a "very considerable brook with the Clyde. There was a "narrow bridge of one steep arch across the brook, near its "mouth, over which, and along the foot of the high and "broken bank, winded the public road, and the fortalice "thus commanding both bridge and pass, had been in time "of war a post of considerable importance; the possession of "which was necessary to secure the communication of the "upper and wilder districts of the country, with those be-"neath, where the valley expanded, and is more capable of "cultivation. The view downwards is of a grand woodland "character." With orchards round the cottages. And in p. 207, he says, the view of the river is varied for the worse. "A hilly, waste, and uncultivated country, approaching close "to the banks; the trees few, and limited to the neighbour-"hood of the stream, and the rude muirs swelling at a dis-"tance into shapeless and heavy hills, which are surmounted "in their turn by a range of lofty mountains, dimly seen on "the horizon. This Tower commands two prospects, the "one richly cultivated and highly adorned, and the other "exhibiting the monotonus and dreary character of a wild "and inhospitable moorland."

In p. 212, Tillietudlem is described as "rising high on "the steep banks, out of the woods that surround it on every "side." In p. 301, Loudon-hill is said to be about ten miles from Tillietudlem. In vol. 3, p. 305, a hamlet is mentioned as at or near Tillietudlem; and in vol. 4, p. 166, Cuddie Headrig mentions the *holms* of Tillietudlem that he had often ploughed.

The description thus given cannot apply to Craignethan. That Castle stands indeed on a steep bank, with woods on every side. But it is not on the Clyde, nor near the foot of a brook, with holms, or rich cultivated land on the one side, and muirs, hills, and mountains, on the other. Craignethan stands on the banks of the river Nethan, the largest stream in Lanarkshire, except the Clyde and the Avon. That Castle is about a mile and a half or two miles from the Clyde, and altogether out of view of that river. The prospects from Craignethan are equal on all sides, being confined to the bold banks of the Nethan, having no bridge in view, or holms, or hamlet near; and it is about eighteen miles from Loudon-hill.

The house or Castle of Orbiston, seems to answer better in several respects to the description given in the Novel, of Tillietudlem, than any other house or Castle in Clydesdale. Orbiston Castle stood, and part of it yet stands, on a precipitous and well wooded bank near to where the Calder, a considerable stream, falls into the Clyde. There is a steep narrow stone bridge, said to have been built by the Romans, and a road by it in front of the Castle, and near the Clyde. The prospect downward from the Castle is as rich as any on the Clyde, with woodlands and fine holms on the sides of the river. While the view from behind the Castle, is towards the shapeless and heavy hills about Shotts: to the right hand of which, Tinto, and the mountains round it, are dimly seen on the horizon. Orbiston, too, is just about ten *Scots* miles

from Loudon-hill. Castlehill on the banks of the Mouse, and Stonebyres upon the opposite side of the Clyde, both answer in part to the description given, though neither of them so completely as Orbiston. The families to whom these Castles then belonged, and who still hold them, were of the rank that is attached to Lady Margaret Ballandine; but these Castles are not within less than eighteen or twenty miles of Loudon hill; and none of them, nor indeed any other on the Clyde, answer in every respect to the description given of Tillietudlem.

But the Castle or Tower of Tilletudlem, and all the occurrences mentioned to have happened in and about that place, are the mere creatures of the author's fertile imagination No such place ever existed—and no such occurrences as those detailed in the Novel, to have happened at Tillietudlem, ever took place.

The breakfast, so well described in these Tales, was not given to Captain Graham and his Officers, by Lady Margaret Ballandine, in the Castle of Tillietudlem, on the morning of the day of the skirmish at Drumclog. But that breakfast was furnished to them by Mr. James Young, vulgarly termed "*Scribbie Young*," then a writer and innkeeper in Strathaven, and Baron Bailie of Avendale, and who was ancestor and founder of the family of the Young's of Netherfield. The house in which Mr. Young entertained these Officers was only a house of one story in the one end, with one apartment in a second story upon the other, and from its height and peculiar construction, or from the wish of its owner, was denominated "the Tower." and was roofed with thatch. Mr. Young, like several others that did business for the Noble Family of Hamilton, soon became wealthy. He acquired by his professions of writer, bailie, and changekeeper, the Lands of Linbank; and having married the daughter of Mr. Hamilton, then Curate, at Glassford, he acquired by her

the Lands of Netherfield. All these Lands were retained by his family till the year 1785.

This homely changehouse, kept by Mr. Young, was the place where Captain Graham and his Officers were provided with breakfast, when on their way to Drumclog. But it is not likely that King Charles ever honoured the owner with a visit. Neither did this paltry inn bear any resemblance, except in the name, to the lofty Tower of Tillietudlem, so fancifully described in the Novel. Mr. Young's inn seems to have rather resembled, or probably was inferior, to the "Houff" kept by Neil Bane, the town piper of the Burgh where the wappenschaw was held. And if we are to judge from the prices drawn by Mr. Young from Government, for the horses, oats, &c. furnished to the army (App. No. 1.) under the Duke of Monmouth, we cannot suppose him to have been inferior to Neil Bane in professional sagacity.

The author is not less fanciful in the account he gives of the road from Tillietudlem towards Drumclog, and of the ground on which the rencounter happened, than in that of the Tower, or its inhabitants. In vol. 3, p. 2, the road is described as rough and stony. But as the troops went by the way of Letham, they could not meet with any hard or rough and stony road in that course.

Vol. 3, p. 28, the author of the Tales says, "They had "now far more than a mile got free of the woodlands, whose "broken glades had for some time accompanied them, after "they had left the woods of Tillietudlem. A few birches "and oaks still feathered the narrow ravines, or occupied "in dwarfish clusters, the hollow plain of the muir." But all this is mere fancy. There were not then any such thing as woods or woodlands, nor clusters of birch or oak, any where to be seen, within a dozen of miles to the north, east, or south of Drumclog. The whole road, after leaving Ha-

milton a mile or so, was then open and bare, without hedge or trees, except within the yards at the farm-houses. There was within the view of the troops on that rout, hills partly or rather chiefly covered with heath; but the deep gullies which the Novelist mentions in p. 29, are the creatures of his own invention.

The "steep and winding path which ascended from the "level muir to the hills," mentioned p. 30, is mere fancy.—Though Drumclog is an elevated situation, it is not a hill, but merely a swell or height, as the word "Drum" imports; and in the direction in which the troops marched no part of the road rose more than about a foot in thirty. The road was no where steep, as described p. 31; and though there were some patches of marshy ground here and there, and mosses at a short distance, still the road was through extensive fields of arable land, of moderate declivity, and without gullies or broken ground. The term mountain in that page is equally incorrect and inapplicable.

The scenes of the skirmish, as given in the Novel, is as fictitious and fanciful, as the speeches put into the mouths of Kettledrumlie and Mause Headrig. The high ground at which the troops came first in sight of the Covenanters, is far from being so lofty and precipitous as it is represented in the Novel. Neither is there any thing like broken ground there, or where the conflict took place. There was neither "a na-"tural gullie" nor "deep artificial drain, the sides of which "was broken by springs, trenches filled with water, out of "which peats and turf had been dug," nor "here and there "some straggling thickets of alders," as mentioned in the description of the field of action, vol. 3, p. 35.

The ground on the north side of the bog where the Covenanters made their stand, was rather steeper than that

occupied by the military, but was also fair lying arable land, with a declivity of about a foot in twenty.

The marshy ground between these arable fields, was only a few yards broad. It was not cut up or broken by the digging of peats, nor was any ditch cut in it; but the whole marsh was smooth, and covered with a sward of green herbage, usually termed in that part of the country, a piece of "misk ground." And owing to some springs rising under it, and for which no outlet had then been cut, some part of the misk was of the nature of a bog, too soft and deep to support the feet of horses. A march dyke, since formed through the middle of the marsh, has rendered the whole arable, and there is now no vestige of a bog in that place. The straggling trees, the ditch, the bush of broom, where Cuddie is said to have found Lord Avendale's portmanteau, (p. 201) the whins burnt in the hut; the cairn where he says Claverhouse held his council of war, and behind which he makes Kettledrumlie to skulk during the skirmish, are all matters of fancy, as none of these existed. Neither is there any huge rock, or rock of any kind, near Drumclog, like that from which Kettledrumlie and Macbrair are represented to have delivered their appropriate harangues, so ably, though fancifully, detailed in the Novel. The Novelist seems to have been led into the error as to the ditch and the cairn, by the account given of the commemoration of that skirmish, in June, 1815. There are neither broom nor whins in that part of Avendale, and there is not a cairn, such as that mentioned in p. 76, nearer than the head of Windy-wizzan, or at Hairlaw-hill, where the conventicle had met for sermon, both about two miles distant from the field of action.

The author is not more correct in his account of what happened on that occasion, than in his local descriptions.—The Covenanters were not one thousand strong, as mentioned

in the Novel. They did not exceed in whole 250 men; about 50 of them on horseback, poorly armed; 50 on foot, with muskets, and about 150 with forks, or such messile weapons as they could procure.

There was not any flag of truce sent by Captain Graham to the Covenanters; of course the shooting of the Officer by Balfour is altogether fanciful. There was no attempt made to pass the bog by a detached party of the military, nor did the skirmish last nearly so long as is described in the Novel. Claverhouse did not perceive that the ground between the hostile parties was marshy, until some of the horses sunk in the bog, which threw the squadron into confusion. The attack of the Covenanters was made with spirit at the proper juncture of time, and was well supported. The Whigs first poured their fire upon the dragoons in the bog, and the footmen rushing in upon the military, with their forks and halberts, while a number of the horses were entangled in the mire, killed and wounded many of the troops, and so much increased the confusion of the military that the rout was sudden and complete.

The history of the pursuit, and the after procedure of the victors, have been detailed in the preceding Chapter, and need not be repeated. The Covenanters certainly collected together after the skirmish, and had sermon or some sort of harangue delivered to them, with prayers and psalms; after which they went to Strathaven, where they had some refreshment, and afterwards marched to Hamilton. If their leaders met at all in a sheep-cot, they did not remain in it all night; neither was that the only house then near, as the Novelist asserts. Except the Stabbie-side house, and one recently built at East Drumclog, there were then as many farm-houses, round or near to the place of action, as there are at present. It was then, as it is now, a well peopled country district; there being about a dozen of farm-houses within a mile or so of the field of action.

The siege of Tillietudlem, as well as the existence of that Castle, is altogether a fiction. No seige was any where attempted by the Covenahters, and almost the whole *dramatis personæ* at that seige are the creatures of fancy.

The description of the ground, and of the events that took place at Bothwell Bridge, are much more correctly given in the Novel, than those that respect the skirmish at Drumclog. Whether this proceeds from the author having seen the latter ground, and not the former, or if he judged it necessary to introduce a larger portion of fiction into the one more than the other, are matters known to himself only. He represents the Clyde as a deep and rapid river; but in the month of June, and indeed at any time, except when swelled with heavy rains, that river is fordable at several places within a mile of where the Covenanters were encamped.

Drumshennel, and all the transactions at that place, as detailed in the Novel, are altogether fanciful. No such place existed in that part of Lanarkshire. The description given of Ferryknow seems to answer to the house of Sweethope, or to that of Earnock; or it may answer to the former house at Bothwell Castle But like the other places described, it seems to be fanciful.

The speeches put into the mouths of Captain Graham, his Officers, and the troopers he commanded, and the conduct imputed to them before and after the engagement, though they are all fictitious, yet they give a pretty just idea of the temper and conduct of that Officer, and of the military at that period. Neil Bane is a just representative of a sly, cunning landlord in a country town. Lady Margaret Ballandine; the fair Edith; her Servants; her Ladyship's Factor, Butler, and Ploughman, though fanciful, are all in character; drawn with a masterly hand, and giving a fair representation of such parties at that period. There does not appear the

slightest ground for accusing the author of that excellent Novel of any partiality or unfair dealing, either in what is historically correct or fictitious. He represents the Court, the Council, the Army, and the Covenanters, all in their true and just, though exaggerated, characters.

CHAP. III.

An Account of the Commemoration, in June, 1815, of the Skirmish at Drumclog, with Reflections thereon; and on the Folly and Danger of the Lower Orders in Society becoming Politicians, or attempting to Direct the Government.

IN the month of May, 1815, one of the inhabitants of Strathaven proposed to some of his neighbours, that a Commemoration of the Skirmish at Drumclog should be held at that place, upon the day of the month on which it happened; and he advertised, by beat of drum, a meeting of the inhabitants in a dancing-hall, to consider of that measure. The advertisement, as might have been expected, brought together a crowd of the idlest of the inhabitants, and of boys, who approved of the Commemoration, and named Gavin Hamilton, Esq. an army surgeon on half-pay, to act as preses at the celebration of that skirmish, with a committee to assist him. The preses and committee anxiously discharged the trust reposed in them by their rabble constituents; and to make it known, circulated advertisements in different counties, intimating the intended parade. They also applied to several Clergymen, Justices of the Peace, &c. to attend, and give respectability to the meeting, but none of them could be prevailed upon to do so. They were more successful, however, with the Mason Societies, and with some Weavers, Tailors, and other benefit institutions in the neighbourhood, who having the poor's funds of the Societies at their command, readily agreed to attend, and display their flags, sashes, and insignia, at that commemoration. And the

proposal was no sooner known than it was highly approved of by all the democratic people in that and neighbouring towns, whose hopes were then much elevated by the return of Buonaparte from Elba to France. These people, with the schoolboys, idlers, and fools, turned out in a body, to "celebrate the victory gained by the Covenanters over the "King's troops at Drumclog, 1st June, 1679."

The morning of 13th June, 1815, being fair and pleasant, and some bands of martial music having been provided, a good many hundreds of people of all descriptions followed the preses, the committee, and societies, with their ornaments, from Strathaven towards Drumclog, where they were met by some hundreds more of both sexes, and of various ages, of weavers, pirn-winders, tambourers, &c. from Newmilns, Derval, and places adjacent.

The preses in his account of the commemoration, says, the people assembled amounted to 10,000—but the elevation of his spirits, from the honour conferred on him—the din of the music—display of flags—and view of so many people under his direction, seem to have magnified his powers of vision; for the whole company assembled, of every age and description, did not exceed one third part of the number he imagines he saw.

They went first to the place where the Covenanters defeated Claverhouse, and from thence to a cairn of stones or tumulus, on the farm of Allanton, Ayrshire, about two miles from the field of Drumclog, and where they imagined Sir William Wallace had fought his first battle with the English; and there the preses delivered a speech suitable (as he thought) to the occasion, some part of which will be noticed in course. Just as the preses began his eloquent harangue, the heaviest rain that had been observed in that quarter for many years before, began to fall, accompanied with much lightning and

thunder. This soon dispersed the motley rabble, and prevented any of them that might have been disposed to act disorderly, from disturbing the public peace. They returned home in the evening, much drenched, and many of them cooled of their frolic.

The preses and committee went to a changehouse where they drank some toasts, and the Tailors, Masons, and other Benefit Societies, spent the evening in alehouses, talking over the feats of the day—the event to the celebration of which it was devoted, and the progress of the usurper in France, from the time of his return from Elba; but no act of insult or outrage was committed.

A pompous account of this foolish assemblage, was drawn up by the preses and committee. One edition of it was published in the newspapers, and another still longer and more exaggerated, was printed and circulated in the shape of a pamphlet. The account was such as might have been expected from a motley meeting, acting from different motives, or from a person greatly elated by being made the chief man of this vanity-fair collection, and talking about things he did not understand.

The harangue of the preses is a rhapsody, in which history and religion are jumbled together, without connexion or dependence, and so much blended with nonsence, as to shew that the person who composed it, was not much conversant with either. It was but a poor compliment paid to the Rev. Mr. Rodgers, to say that he was expected to preside at, or harangue, that assemblage. No Clergyman in that part of the country, nor any Justice of the Peace whatever, could be prevailed upon to attend that rabble.

The preses says, " The intention of our meeting is to " commemorate a rencounter which some of our forefathers,

"commonly called the Covenanters, had in defence of their "religious principles, on the 1st June, 1679." But he does not say with whom the Covenanters had that rencounter. What can be shewn in that unhappy skirmish that can merit commemoration, or being kept in remembrance? Was it the folly of the Government, in forcing Episcopacy on the devotees of Presbytery? or the obstinacy of the Presbyterians, that wished to extirpate every religion or system except their own, and to compel the Court and all others, to give up with their own opinions and join in the covenant? Was it the intolerance of that age, in which every party attempted to force their own peculiar religious opinions down the throats of their neighbours; or their misguided zeal and barbarity, that induced them to murder their opponents in cold blood, that these people met to commemorate? Ought such folly, intolerance, and criminality of conduct, to be celebrated, approved of, and kept in remembrance? Surely not. It can only be remembered with disapprobation, and the deepest regret. But then they say a victory was gained by our forefathers, over the King's forces, commanded by Captain Graham of Claverhouse, and it was thought proper by these wiseheads, to convene a rabble to commemorate that victory, at a time when the inhabitants of France were in open rebellion against their lawful Sovereign. That some people went there for amusement, and from no improper motive, may be true; but that many expressed their satisfaction, at the King's forces being defeated there or any other time or place, when opposed to the lieges in rebellion, and that they took into account the state of politics in France at that time, is too well known to be denied.

The preses made up a list of toasts to be given, and afterwards repeated in the newspapers and printed narrative. They were framed to meet the public eye; but when he gave the Allied Sovereigns, and success to their efforts, a great number of the Committee refused to drink the toast,

bauled out opposite sentiments, and called to the band to play "we'll up and war them a." The preses put this off with a laugh, knowing that any opposition by him to the committee would have deprived him of the chair, which he so proudly filled.

The glorious achievements of the Duke of Wellington and General Blucher, on the ever-memorable field of Waterloo, have, it may be hoped, for ever blasted the prospects of the admirers of Buonaparte, in this happy country, as well as put an end to such absurd and ill-timed commemorations as that now under consideration.

Instead of giving a history of the rencounter, or of the events that led to, or followed it, the preses entertained his motely followers with a story about the Marquis of Montrose, which is far from being correct, and which if it had been so, had no more connexion with the skirmish they had met to celebrate, than it had with the battle of Chivy-chase. As the conduct, of that brave Nobleman has been grossly misrepresented, it is but doing justice to his memory, and to the history of the period in which he lived, to give a short sketch of his public life and valorous actions, in order to refute the calumny then vended.

At the time the brave Montrose raised the royal standard in Scotland, the Government was not persecuting the Presbyterians, but on the contrary, the Presbyterians, taking advantage of the unhappy disputes between the King and his English Parliament, extirpated Episcopacy, then the established religion of Scotland, set up their favourite scheme on its ruins; and rising in arms joined the grand rebellion in England, to establish Presbytery there also, and to reduce the King to a state of complete subjection to the Church. It was to oppose that faction, and to support the King against his rebellious subjects, that the brave Montrose took the field.

About the commencement of the civil wars, the Earl of Montrose, a Nobleman of a distinguished family, and of an ardent genius, on returning from his travels, offered his services to the King; but from the insinuations of the Marquis of Hamilton, who was cautious, temporising, and deletory, even to the suspicion of his loyalty; and who, like Huntly, seems to have been jealous of such a rival as Montrose in the royal favour, his generous offer was rejected. Indignant at this, Montrose joined, for a short time, the standard of the Covenanters. But having been commissioned by the *Tables* to wait on the King at Newcastle, Montrose was so much pleased with the civilities shewn him, that he abandoned the Covenanters—devoted himself to the royal cause, and opened a correspondence with the King. Copies of some of his letters, however, having been sent (by the Marquis of Hamilton, as was suspected) to the Covenanters, they laid him under arrest, and accused him of treachery. Montrose avowed the letters he had written, and boldly asked the Presbyterian Generals, if they dared to call the Sovereign an enemy; and they were so much struck with his magnanimous behaviour, that though he was some short time in prison, they set him at liberty.

Montrose soon joined the royal standard; and having informed the King, that the Scottish Covenanters were secretly forming an union with the English Parliament, then in open rebellion, he proposed prompt and energetic measures; but the temporising council of the Marquis of Hamilton, which some have denominated treachery, was listened to, and the Covenanters were permitted to mature their rebellion. Had the salutary measures of Montrose been then adopted, there is every reason to believe that the rebellion might have been crushed, and the awful disasters to which it led, been avoided. The King saw his error after the nation had been subjected by the Covenanters; and he sent Hamilton and his brother Laneric to prison, and granted a commission to Montrose to raise the royal standard in Scotland.

He did so under every possible disadvantage. Yet with a force far inferior in numbers, raised chiefly on his own credit, and very imperfectly armed, he defeated the Covenanters in five or six severe engagements, in which he displayed bravery and generalship far beyond all his competitors. By his victory at Kilsyth, in 1648, he left the Covenanters no remains of an army in Scotland. The city of Edinburgh opened its gates, and delivered up all the royal prisoners to Montrose, and many Noblemen joined the royal standard. But General Leslie having been sent from England with a strong force, Montrose was, by the negligence of his scouts, surprised and defeated, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk.

The Covenanters used this victory with a degree of rigorous barbarity that reflect disgrace on the spirit of these unhappy times Of the prisoners that fell into their hands, they executed Sir Robert Spotiswood, Secretary of State, Sir Philip Neilson, Sir William Rollo, Colonel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie, son of Bishop Murray, William Murray, son of the Earl of Tulibardin, and others. And they shot 100 prisoners at a stake; and threw 80 persons, most of them women and children, the followers of Montrose's camp, over the Bridge of Linlithgow. The Covenanting Clergy not satisfied with this cruel and barbarous sacrifice, solicited Parliament to execute a still greater number of the royalists.

Montrose having received a commission from King Charles II. raised some forces in 1650. He was soon defeated, and after having suffered hunger to such a degree that he eat his own gloves, he was betrayed by M'Leod of Assint, and like his royal master, sold to his enemies for 400 bolls of meal. Leslie used him cruely, and the Covenanting Clergy exercised their ingenuity in inventing cruelties, both for the body and mind of this "signal malignant" who, they said, had eaten a toad in his infancy. He was guarded in prison by the noted Major Weir, who they afterwards executed for

sorcery, and many abominable crimes. Mr. Hume observes that "all the insolence which success can produce in unge- "nerous minds, was exercised by the Covenanters against "Montrose, whom they so much hated, and so much dreaded." Theological antipathy increased their indignities on account of his having been excommunicated by them. At Edinburgh, the most elaborate rage and insult was, by order of Parliament, put in practise against this brave Nobleman: and the Magistrates of the city, who had a short time before delivered to him their keys, with the most abject submission, on their bended knees, acting in concert with their hangman, were the instruments of these indignities. The populous bewailed his fate, but the preachers roared out violently next Sabbath, against this movement of rebel nature, and profane tenderness towards an arch enemy of the covenant.

When brought before Parliament, the Chancellor (Loudoun) in a vehement declamation, reproached him with breach of covenant, &c. But Montrose maintained that dignity and superiority which his fame, his great actions, and a conviction of the justness of his cause, so well entitled him to assume. He regretted with remorse, the errors of his youth, in being drawn with them into rebellion; and appealed to his after services as the best proofs of his sincere repentance. No blood, he averred, had ever been shed by him, except in the field of battle; and he said he had saved the lives of many then in his eye, and was ready to submit, like his late Sovereign, to their unjust sentence, which he hoped would place him in the same blissful mansion with him.

He was sentenced to be hung three hours, on a gibbet 30 feet high, at the Cross of Edinburgh, his head to be placed on the prison, his legs and arms to be stuck up in the four chief towns of the kingdom, and his body to be buried in the ground appropriated to the interment of malefactors.—

All this was done. Mr. Hume observes, "thus was led "forth, amidst the insult of his enemies, and the tears of "the people, this man of illustrious birth, and of the "greatest renown in the nation, to suffer for adhering to "the laws of his country, and the rights of his Sovereign, "the ignominious death destined to the meanest malefactor."

When every attempt of his enemies had failed to subdue his noble spirit, they caused the executioner tie round his neck, with a cord, a copy of a book that had been written in elegant Latin, describing his great military actions. At this Montrose smiled, and asked them if they had any more indignities to offer.

Mr. Hume, after mentioning these proceedings at greater length, adds, "Thus perished, in the 38th year of his age, "the gallant Marquis of Montrose; the man whose military "genius, both by valour and conduct, had shone forth beyond "any which, during the civil disorders, had appeared in the "three kingdoms. The finer arts, too, he had in his youth "successfully cultivated; and whatever was sublime, ele- "gant, or noble, touched his great soul. Nor was he in- "sensible to the pleasures either of society or of love. Some- "thing of the *vast* and *unbounded* characterised his actions "and deportment."

To compliments so just, and so handsome and from authority so high, it would be absurd to attempt to add one word. Surely enough has been said, to shew that Montrose was not, as the preses of that rabble meeting termed him, a persecutor of "the well-disposed adherents of the Protestant "faith." He was a loyal and a brave man, who fought ably, though unsuccessfully, for his Sovereign, against fanatics and rebels; and whose fame is above the reach of calumny.

The preses says, "the incorporated trades and respectable "inhabitants of the town and parish of Strathaven assem- "bled," &c. But there are not any incorporated trades in Strathaven; and, with a few exceptions, it was the idlest and least respectable of the inhabitants of that town, that went to Drumclog on that occasion. Neither is it true that "they proceeded in orderly procession." For they marched as every such rabble will do, men, women, boys, girls, &c. all in a confused multitude.

"They proceeded to Allanton Cairn, the place where the "Scottish Patriot fought his first battle." It betrays great ignorance of antiquity, and of the history of sepulchral Tumuli to connect a Druidical Cairn, or Burial Tumulus, raised by our Pagan ancestors, with the achievments of Sir William Wallace. That brave man did not fight his first battle at the Allanton Cairn, but on the south side of the water of Irvine, a little way below Ricarton. He defeated, near Loudon-hill, one Finwick, an English Officer, and seized on the provisions which he was carrying to Ayr. But Allanton Cairn has no more connexion with that achievment than it has with the battle of the Boyne, or Bunkershill. There is the vestige of a camp, however, not far from the Cairn, and it would have been more consistent to have connected the adventures of the Scottish hero with that camp, then with a Burial Cairn. The truth is, that when the leaders of the rabble were told that their commemorating a defeat of the King's forces, by subjects in rebellion, would look ill at that period, and might occasion them trouble, they contrived to connect the name of Sir William Wallace with their proceedings, as a sort of sconce, in case they had been called to account. And not knowing whether a Cairn referred to a battle, or if it was an Altar or Sepulchre; and not being able to distinguish between a Camp and a Tumulus, they happened to take up their stand at the Cairn. But when they had reached it, they made no mention whatever of Sir Wil-

liam Wallace, or of his achievments, but proceeded to commemorate the defeat of the King's troops, by the Covenanters—the sole purpose for which they were convened.

In the newspaper account, the office-bearers were said to be "each dressed in his badge of office, and their standard "or flag." But the flags were not worn as an article of dress, but were, as usual, raised on staffs. The preses goes on to say

"There were also in the field four original standards of "the Covenanters, one of which was the identical flag dis-"played at the rencounter at Drumclog." But as two of these standards, bear dates subsequent to the Revolution in 1688, they cannot be the standards of the Covenanters.—The preses and committee can shew no authority for what they assert, as to any one of these flags having been displayed at Drumclog, in 1679, and it is not probable that that or any flag whatever was there on that occasion. The people about that time carried arms to their field preachings; but there is no account of their carrying any standards, or flags, to their Sabbath meetings. The Avendale flag alluded to, had, like many others, been procured when the Covenanters marched to England, to oppose King Charles I. about the year 1640—1644. Or when the Duke of Hamilton made his ill-fated expedition to Worchester. Flags of the same description, and with similar motos, were known to have belonged to many other parishes in the western counties; and the writer of this account could point out many of them that are still preserved. They belonged to the militia, or parochial forces that were raised at different periods from the commencement of the English Rebellion till after the Revolution in 1688. These flags, generally remained with the Officer who had carried them, and it depended upon him whether or not they were given out. That flag may probably have been raised by the Covenanters, at Bothwell

Bridge, where they met, not to attend Sermon, but to fight against the King's forces. But there is no evidence, or traditionary account, or the smallest probability, that the whigs raised any flag whatever, at Drumclog, or at any of their meetings on Sunday.

The preses says, the Covenanters took the field, two days before the rencounter at Drumclog, and encamped on Loudonhill. This is altogether incorrect. A few of the Covenanters collected on the preceding evening, at a farm house, near Loudonhill, and sent off some expresses to bring up their friends; but they did not encamp on Loudonhill, nor on any other place; and by far the greatest part of them collected there on the Sabbath morning, as they usually did on similar occasions.

He says, the Covenanters were "skilfully posted on a "boggy strait, having a broad ditch in front." This is incorrect. It has been shown that the Covenanters, on hearing that the troops were approaching them, left the place of worship, and advanced about two miles; not to get into any of the fastnesses that lay near at hand, or to get to that bog, which was not the hundred part of the extent of others that lay much nearer them; but that they marched eastward to meet the King's troops on the arable fields; and there to engage them and rescue the prisoners. By the time, however, that the troops advanced to attack them, the Covenanters had reached (apparently more by accident than design) the northern verge of the green marsh, which proved so injurious to the King's troops. There was then no ditch whatever, at or near the place of the rencounter. The Covenanters had neither implements with them nor time to form "a broad ditch, or any ditch whatever, in front." If they had done so, it would have been easy for the military to have passed it, at either end, and to have attacked them in flank or in rear.

The preses tells his audience some fine stories about the simplicity of the manners, and purity of the faith of their ancestors. They were "content to live under their own fig "or their vine tree, and few were never farther from home "than a parish church."

The Scripture phrase is far from being aptly applied here, for from the commencement of the Reformation from Popery in Scotland, till the Revolution in 1688, the people never enjoyed the peace and safety, pointed out under that similitude, neither were they contented to have lived in that happy tranquillity. The Government, and the Presbyterians, were struggling, each to force their own favourite scheme upon the other, at the point of the sword. At the time of the rencounter at Drumclog, the whigs displayed the same hostile intolerance and rebellious spirit, by which they had always been characterised. And as the Government was at that time intolerant and cruel, nothing can be more absurd than to say they lived under their vine or fig tree.

The preses repeats texts of Scripture, with scraps of Sermons, and aims at entering into some of the high flights of extacy of the people whose deeds he was commemorating. But these are so much misapplied, and put down in such a hotch-potch way, as to shew that that Gentleman was not at home when on these subjects. True devotion may be expressed in language that it is not grammatically accurate. But when any person, who has not before attended to religion, (except to turn it into ridicule, in order to excite laughter among profligate people), attempts to become religious all at once, in order to gain the applause of a promiscuous rabble; but immediately after returns to his former habits, there is too much reason to doubt the sincerity of his religious flights. Some of the crowd having trod off one of the preses's shoes, he dropt his religious extacies, and turning like the dog to his vomit, roared out curses. Religion seems to have been much out of place on that occasion.

The preses was mistaken, when he said "the rain was "over and gone and the voice of the turtle was heard," for the rain instantly fell in torrents, and it was not the turtle, but the *gouk* that made so much noise that day. But enough has been said of that foolish assemblage, and of the rhapsody of nonsense published on that occasion. This pamphlet will therefore terminate with a few reflections.

Reflections.

The period referred to, and the events that have been detailed, afford ground of serious reflection to the Government, and to all ranks of the lieges at the present period. Errors, superstitions, and gross delusion had crept into the church, and debased the christian religion. These, it was the duty of the Government, as well as the priesthood to have reformed. But neither the one nor the other had the virtue or good sense to do so, even when they might have seen from the progress of Reformation in neighbouring states, that it could not be much longer retarded in Scotland. Such infatuation in the Clergy, and in the Sovereign at that period, was most lamentable, and productive of much evil to them and to the nation.

Wherever a church, a government, or any public body, becomes corrupt, and their abuses have become obvious to the public, and created discontent, it would be wise and proper in that state, church, or society, spontaneously to reform its abuses, and to remedy the evils complained of. Indeed it is the greatest folly and criminality for any state or church to do otherwise. By such voluntary and seasonable reform, they would not only evidence their patriotism and sound sense, but by carrying the necessary ameliorations into effect, they would be enabled to model them far more to their wish, than when these reforms are forced upon them by the sheer compulsion of inferior agents, who, when they succeed in their opposition to their superiors, seldom know where to stop.

This was exemplified in the Reformation of the Scottish

Church, compared with the Reformation of that of England, as has been already noticed. If we attend to the Revolutions in so many of the States of Europe, in our own times, the propriety and necessity of all Governments reforming glaring abuses, in order to prevent worse consequences, must appear obvious and imperative. Had the French court begun half a century ago, to reform some of the greatest abuses in its Government, and to extend gradually some glimmerings of liberty and reform to its subjects, and enlarged these as the people could bear them, the awful convulsions that we have witnessed, might probably have been avoided. And instead of the extravagant reforms, brought forward by philosophical adventurers, and false or foolish patriots; a constitution less speculative, but more judicious, and far better adapted to the state of society in that unfortunate country, might have been gradually introduced, without convulsion and bloodshed. If the present King of Spain had, when he was restored to his Throne a few years ago, instead of totally abolishing the Constitution framed by the Cortes, in 1812, persecuting these patriots, and restoring the former despotism, inquisition, &c.; contented himself with merely looping off some of the most exceptionable parts of that constitution, and of which there are a great many, he might have framed it far better to existing circumstances, than he can now expect to do; and he might have prevented the recurrence to another revolution, and all the anarchy that has already attended it, and much more to which it is likely to lead. The constitution of 1812, is far too refined, philosophical, and speculative, for even an enlightened and liberal nation; and it must be still worse suited to the ignorant and bigotted condition of the Spanish people.

But we need not travel beyond Britain for proof of the remark; for it is fully instructed from our own history; not only in the manner the church was reformed, so often referred to in this pamphlet, but also in what regards the state;

and the injurious consequences resulting from Rebellion of the lieges, even when they ask only what is right, and are successful. King Charles I. instead of abridging and moderating, as he ought to have done, the Royal prerogatives, stretched them in several instances beyond their former bounds, and with the aid of part of the Nobility and the Clergy, he made some strides towards arbitrary power. The parliament found it necessary to oppose (and it was their duty to do so) his high pretentions; and the Presbyterians, out of an over degree of zeal for their own system, and to pull down Episcopacy, as well as to abridge the Royal prerogative, excited by cant and hypocrisy, the populace first to tumult, and afterwards to war, against the Sovereign, the Peers, and the Episcopal Church. After a long and bloody civil war, they succeeded for a time in their levelling projects; but they had scarcely reached the summit of their assumed power, when the independents, a new religious faction, who laid claim to still greater sanctity, and empty dreams of dominion, under the abused name of liberty; seduced the army, and reduced the Presbyterians to subjection to their own servants. One General supplanted another, till a military despotism was established, in the person of a barbarian and a hypocrite.

France ran a similar gauntlet in our own time. The French court had not the virtue and good sense to reform its own abuses, and those of the state in due time; till speculative men acting, some of them from improper motives, roused the people, and forced upon the King and the nation, not merely a reform suited to the state of society in that country, but led astray by false philosophers and hollow sounding patriots, they framed a constitution too refined and speculative for any nation; and still worse suited to a people that had so long bended under arbitrary sway, and been debased by religious mumery. But this refined constitution, so much admired by speculative and visionary people in that and other countries, soon passed away "like a tale that had been

"told;" and the philosophers and patriots, as they called themselves, who had framed it, were in their turn overpowered, insulted, and trodden in the mire, by Reformers much less respectable, far more fierce and savage; yet calling themselves still greater Patriots than those who preceded them.

The constitutional assembly was succeeded by one far less respectable; that by a convention of violent men, who murdered their Sovereign. One faction trode down another, till the Government fell into the hands of the vilest of wretches, that ever disgraced human nature. The constitution was changed every few months, and sometimes in a few days; and those who exercised sovereign authority to-day, fell under the axe of the gullotine, or were hung to a lanthorn to-morrow; till, as in England, one of their Generals succeeded, in establishing over France and some other countries, a military despotism, of no ordinary magnitude. But there, as in our own country, the supreme ruler of the world "overturned, overturned, till he came whose right it was to reign, "and gave it to him."

It might have been expected that King Charles II. and James VII. perceiving what had befallen their Royal Father, would, when they were restored to the throne, have acted with moderation, and avoided the errors that had embroiled their worthy parent with his parliament, who ultimately brought him to the scaffold. But neither of the sons seem to have profited, as might have been expected, by the family errors and misfortunes. For Charles II. whenever he ascended the throne, not only extirpated presbytery from Scotland, (which he ought not to have done); but by the advise of evil consellors, he persecuted the Presbyterians with great cruelty, imposed severe fines, and ruled the nation in the most arbitrary manner. The conduct of Lauderdale and others, his Ministers in Scotland, was disgraceful to themselves, injurious to the nation, and subversive of

the true interests of the crown. James VII. acted still worse than his Brother had done, till the nation could bear with him no longer. The consequences are well known; and all Sovereigns ought to learn, from the fate of the ancient and illustrious House of Stewart, to reign with justice and moderation; and to reform in due time, every abuse they see to be injurious to the State, or calculated to alienate the affections of the lieges from the Government. But though a Revolution became necessary, during the reign of James VII.; and though it succeeded, and has been productive of much good to the nation; it does not follow, that Reforms and Revolutions are to be attempted every time that knaves or fools or false philosophers have the audacity or folly to propose them; or even when disappointed men wish to make these a pretext to force themselves into offices, for which they are not qualified, or contrary to the inclination of the Sovereign to whom it belongs to appoint his own servants, and the general wish of the nation. When people acting from such motives, endeavour to set the lower orders in society agog on these subjects, it becomes the duty of all good men to oppose them, and to expose their audacity. And all who chime in with their measures, whether it proceed from personal attachment to some of their leaders, or from pecuniary interest, or if they should be cajolled and deceived to do so, act a part unworthy of good subjects. It is no difficult matter for declaimers to make the lower orders believe, that the King's Ministers are a band of legal oppressors, living and fattening upon the wealth of the nation. This deception has recently been attempted by some, of whom better things might have been expected; but if good subjects act with firmness, the criminal conduct of these declaimers will recoil upon themselves.

It was by such means that the enemies of King Charles I. induced the Scotch Covenanters to join in their rebellious projects. The King was not then persecuting the Presby-

terians; but they, taking advantage of his being embroiled with his rebellious parliament, not only extirpated Episcopacy from Scotland, though it had been established during the preceding reign, and submitted to without much opposition; but raised an army, and invaded England, in order to force Presbytery and their Covenant, on that nation, and to reduce the King to a cypher, under the management of their Clergy. However it may suit the taste or interest of either the religious or political whigs of the present day, to justify these proceedings, every honest hearted Scotsman, must blush at the conduct of our ancestors at that unhappy period.

When the Government re-established Episcopacy, and extirpated Presbytery at the restoration, it only acted agreeable to the example which the Covenanters had set. Both acted improperly, however, in attempting to force their favourite scheme upon other people. No Government ought ever to force any system of religion on its subjects; and far less should any party of the lieges, ever attempt to cram their own peculiar opinions down the throats of the state, or of other subjects, however correct their scheme may appear in their own eyes.

The Presbyterian system is no doubt tolerably pure and correct. But so is that of Episcopacy. The Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, which embraces all that is most essential in religion—all that regards the scheme of redemption through the merits of the Redeemer,—are admitted by all Presbyterians, to be as sound, and every way as agreeable to Divine Revelation, as the confession of Faith, Catechisms or other standards of the Presbyterian church. The only difference between the two systems then, must be what relates to the ritual of the church; the form of Church Government, or other external and least important matters. Why then should the adherents of the one scheme, have abused and persecuted the other, with such cruelty?

It might have been expected, that the Scottish Parliament would have interfered, to prevent the nation from joining in the great rebellion against Charles I. and in forcing the Covenant over the Tweed. And that it would also have exerted itself, to prevent the Presbyterian church from being run down, and its Devotees persecuted at the restoration. But Parliament does not appear to have interfered as it ought to have done in either case. And many of the people seem to have followed the example of the Parliament, in not only adopting the religion of the Court, but in persecuting, or exposing to derision, every system except their own. Of this a remarkable instance occurs in the conduct of the Magistrates and Town Council of Linlithgow. They had become reformers in the days of John Knox—concurred in Episcopacy when established by King James VI—adhered to the Presbyterians from 1638 to 1660, and they had like others sworn and subscribed the Covenants. But whenever King Charles II. set up the Heirarchy, these Magistrates took the first opportunity in their power, to insult the Presbyterians, by burning the Covenant, with every mark of contempt.

Upon the 29th May 1661, which was observed as the Anniversary of the birth and restoration of the King, an arch upon four pillars, was erected at the Cross of Linlithgow. Upon one square of the pile, they set up the picture of an old hag, holding the Covenant in her hand, with an inscription "*A glorious Reformation.*" On another side stood the effigy of a Whig holding in his hand, "the Remonstrance" with this inscription "*No association with Malignants.*" On another side was placed the figures of the Committee of Estates, with an inscription "*An Act for delivering up the King.*" And upon the fourth square, stood the effigy of the Commission of the Kirk, with this inscription "*The Act of the West Kirk.*" On the top was a figure of the Devil, with this inscription "*Stand to the cause.*" They had also the picture of Rebellion in religious habit, with Lex

Rex in one hand, and the causes of God's wrath in the other. The centre of the arch was filled with Rokes, Reels, Kirk-stools, Wood, Covenants, Acts of Assembly, Protestations, &c. with an inscription "*Rebellion is the Mother of Witch-craft.*" In the middle of the arch, was inscribed the following lines.

"From Covenants, with uplifted hands,
"From Remonstrators, with associated bands,
"From such Committees, as govern this nation
"From church commissions, and their protestation
——————"Good Lord deliver us."

After the Minister, (Mr Ramsay afterwards Bishop of Dumblain) had prayed, and while the Magistrates and others were drinking the King's health, the whole pile was set on fire, and reduced to ashes. This was certainly a most indecorous and improper mode of procedure, towards any respectable system of religion, or party of Christians. But moderation and propriety of conduct, seem to have been then banished from Scotland.

Some of our modern politicians, have of late, extolled John Knox, and the Covenanters, as the champions of civil, as well as religious freedom. That the first reformers did much good, by battering a breach on the Bullworks of Popery, overturning the Alters of Rome, and introduced the doctrines of Calvinism and the Presbyterian form of Church Government, as they had been previously adopted in Geneva; and which even in their imperfect state, were great improvements on the former system, is what none will deny But it is not easy to perceive that these first reformers either understood or taught any thing like liberal and enlightened principles in religious or civil polity. They were as bigotted, illiberal and intolerant, as the Devotees of any system whatever. They aimed at pulling down the throne, and raising

themselves in the name of Christ, as tyrants over the civil and religious rights of mankind.

The Covenanters were no doubt most cruelly used by the Government, from the restoration in 1660, till the revolution in 1688; and praise is due to them for their firmness, and the opposition they made to a cruel and tyrannical Government. But it does not appear, that they either entertained liberal and correct notions of civil liberty, or that we are much indebted to them, for the portion of it which we now enjoy. They did not try to introduce liberal reforms into the Government, but did what they could to place all authority whatever in the hands of their own priesthood. The cruelties exercised towards the Covenanters, served no doubt to increase the general discontent, and to facilitate that necessary revolution in 1688, which has secured to us our liberties sacred and civil, to a greater extent than we had formerly enjoyed, or than any other nation has ever attained, and to all the extent that we are yet capable of enjoying. But they must be but ill acquainted with the history of that period, who imagine that the persecuted remnant (as they called themselves) had any hand in bringing about that revolution, or that they so much as knew of it, till the Prince of Orange was in London; and they did not approve of it when it was established. That great event, was not brought about by the Covenanters, but by the English Nation, who were then, and still are, Episcopalians, and whose system the Covenanters were endeavouring to extirpate.

It must be obvious to all who have paid attention to their principles, that if the Covenanters had been as victorious at Bothwell-bridge, and any engagements that might have followed, as they were at Drumclog, instead of their establishing any thing like either civil or religious freedom, or rational liberty, they would have outraged all these, and set up the worst of tyranny, both in Church and State. It is not ne-

cessary to shock the feelings of the reader, with a repetition of the illiberal and cruel principles manifested by Robert Hamilton their General, his principal Officers and Clergymen that adhered to that ruling party. The Papists are accused of teaching their Devotees "to keep no faith with heretics." And Mr Hamilton and his party certainly avowed the same diabolical principles against "malignants" which with him was a term of the same import with heretics, and comprhended all but themselves. The principles avowed by these people, and upon which they acted, as far as was in their power, are sufficiently dangerous and detestable, to induce every right hearted man to rejoice, that the Government of the nation did not fall into such hands.

They must therefore either be ill informed, or acting from suspicious motives, who give unqualified approbation to the principles of these people; or who would hold up their conduct for imitation. Where that approbation proceeds from a sincere belief in the purity of the principles of the Covenanters, and of the binding obligation of the Covenants upon the nation, and on posterity to the end of time; it ought to be treated with lenity; till those who conscientiously think so, can be brought to adopt opinions more liberal. But where our modern politicians bestow praise either on the first Reformers, or on the Covenanters, merely because they set themselves up against the Government and constituted authorities of their time, and were sometimes successful in their opposition; or where they celebrate their successes, with a view to excite the disaffected to imitate their example, in resisting the lawful authorities of the present day; their conduct cannot be too much reprobated.

It was not only natural, but consistent, in a Clergyman who had been educated in, and adopted the tenets of the Covenanters, and who avows his belief, that these Covenants are binding on the nation, and on posterity to the end of

time, to endeavour to vindicate the character of the arch reformer, which he may have thought had been calumniated. People of that persuasion who consider the reformation as the model for all Churches, and the reformers as paragons of perfection; and who pique themselves on their adherence to their opinions, may be expected to defend the principles and conduct of the reformers. The prejudices of early education and attachment to their religious principles, which experience has shown to be generally strong in proportion to their absurdity, may serve as excuses for the vindication referred to, and to exempt the author, who acts conscientiously from complaint. But when that vindication, and the conduct of that rough Apostle of Presbytery, and of the Covenant are lauded beyond their merits, or his deserts, by Reviewers or others, who care as much about the Covenant as they do about the Alcoran, and who would join equally with Papists, Prelates, Presbyterians, Covenanters, Unitarians, or any other sect old or new, that could give them and their political party a hoist towards the treasury bench; the same excuse does not operate in their behalf. The cloven foot cannot in these cases be concealed; and wherever it is seen, it falls to be exposed in its proper light.

It has long been but too common for politicians to use deceptions, and hollow pretensions, in order to acquire public confidence to themselves, or to take it away from others. But surely that sort of political juggling, was never carried to such a height as it has been of late by modern whigs: many of them seem to have lost sight of, and all regard for, what was in former times held to be sound constitutional Whig principles; and to be willing to take up any opinions, sound or unsound, and to follow any practice correct or otherwise, that seem most likely to secure the approbation of the lowest and least enlightened of the people. Their thirst for office, and ambition to get into the treasury, induce them to seek their way through some of the most exceptionable, and

even polluted channels. And when they are driven back, and dragged out of the sink by which they attempted to penetrate, they seem but little disconcerted at the mud and filth they have caught in the dirty gutter. They would mount the bench on the back of Bergami, rather as be excluded.

But of all the errors and absurdities ever gone into in politics, that of the lower orders of society interfering in them, is the greatest and most dangerous. From the time that John Knox roused the peasantry, to take an active part with him in reforming religion and pulling down the Churches, till after the middle of last century, the lower ranks in Scotland, interesting themselves chiefly in what regarded religion, but few of them ever entered on the study of civil polity.—Till within the last 50 or 60 years, a man that could discuss knotty points in divinity, or in religious contraversy, about soundness of faith or purity of doctrine, or who could enter largely into the distinguishing peculiarities of the different sects, was esteemed a good and a great man, and was listened, and looked up to as an oracle, while one that would have begun to lecture on civil politics, would not have been at all attended to, among the lower and middling ranks. But now, such is the change of taste on these subjects, that a political lecturer is attended to above all others, and declaimers on religious subjects, or on religious contraversy, would have difficulty in procuring a hearing. The political whigs of the present day, care as little about the distinction between socinian and arminian, or any thing of the kind, as they do about *Gog* or *Magog*.

In so far as that change has been spontaneous, no one can be to blame. But of all the errors gone into by any political party, that of calling out the simple peasantry, and illiterate mechanics, to join them in their political manœuvres, and to set them agog on politics, was the greatest and most

dangerous; and those who did so, have much to answer for in that matter. The science of Government, is so far above the capacity, and out of the reach of people in labouring circumstances, that it is impossible they can ever form any correct opinion on the subject. All they are capable of doing, and indeed all that those who so improperly called them forth, ever meant they should do, was to surround the rostrums of their leaders, listen to their harangues, and rend the air with acclamations to every thing that was calculated to tickle their fancy, whether it be sense or nonsense, provided only that it was plausible. To enrage them against the Government, their deceivers persuade the multitude that all is wrong, that the Ministry are plunderers, enriching themselves on the vitals of the nation—that every thing that has been done by Government since the Whigs were turned out of office, is wrong; and all that it can do till they are reinstated, will be equally wrong, and tend only to national ruin. They not only complained of our going to war too rashly with France in 1793, (and in which many good men were of their opinion) but after the national honour and safety had been deeply implicated, and were at stake, they did what lay in their power to paralize our efforts to defend ourselves, and deliver Europe from the most degrading tyranny. They lamented the fall of the tyrant in 1812; rejoiced when he returned from Elba in 1815; and mourned when his doom in this world, was finally fixed. When he was gone, they clamoured about the taxes, imputed the national distresses, and interruption of the channels of commerce, incident to the change from war to peace; the consequent want of employment to the mechanics and labourers, though all these operated equally, or still more severely on surrounding nations, and even in America, where the Government is to their wish; all to the misconduct of the Ministry. Even the failure of the crop from the inclemency of the seasons, was by many imputed to the same cause. And when the Queen acted imprudently and most indecently, the Ministry alone were to blame.

Taking advantage of embarrassing circumstances, demagogues and orators run about like political fiends among the starving artizans, exciting them to discontent and to riot. Meeting followed meeting, and orators started up from every town and village, till the manufacturing districts were thrown into a wild uproar. Reform, sedition, rebellion, anarchy, and treason, became synonimous terms; and while members were canvassing for votes at the general election, the Radicals were manufacturing pikes, and plundering muskets to force a change, not only of Ministry, but of the Laws, Religion, and Constitution of the country. Treason and Rebellion were organized, and extensive and deep laid schemes were formed, and acted upon to a great and criminal extent, to overturn the throne and the altar—murder public functionaries—plunder the rich, and riot on their property. But when their diabolical schemes were matured and actually begun to be put in execution, the strong arm of power arrested part of the ringleaders, and brought to trial and to the scaffold, such a sample as was judged necessary to satisfy the offended laws of their country, and to show others what is justly due to such temerity.

It is true that the Whigs disclaimed all connection with these unhappy men, and even joined in opposing them. But if the rise and progress of Radical Reform are traced out, it will be found to have originated with them, and that they have uniformly supported the Radicals more than was prudent for them to have done.

It was the Whigs, who in 1792, recommended to "*the People*," to form themselves every where into Reform Societies; and they have ever since that period, kept up a correspondence with those who did so—presented their Petitions—praised and lauded their conduct—defended them when attacked—kept them agog—pointed out subjects for them to Petition about—such as Reform in Parliament—

change of the Ministry—against Corn Bills—or to applaud the Whigs—Colonel Wardle—the Queen, or whatever was the popular delusion of the day. And when these people became so audacious in the end of 1819, as to render it necessary to convene Parliament, to get restrictive measures adopted, and to augment the army. The Whigs cried out against all these necessary measures, with as much vehemence, as they could have done against the most arbitrary proceedings ever resorted to in Turkey. They denied the existence of any plot or conspiracy whatever against Government, and claimed credit for interrupting the Government in its strides towards despotism. They raised great clamour against the Magistrates of Manchester, for having interrupted Hunt and the rabble that followed him; and still more against the Ministry for having approved of the conduct of these Magistrates. They anxiously defended all the conspirators; and one of their leaders in Scotland recently told a rabble meeting, convened in the Relief Church of Paisley, that the conspirators and traitors were all deceived and led into the net by the agents of Government.

So much for the candour of the Whigs. It would certainly be much more honourable and proper for them to state the facts, as they know them well, respecting these matters. They might say with truth and propriety, "These "people were not troubling their heads about politics, till "we called them from their looms, to join us in Petitioning "for Reforms that some of us do not want, and which we "only ran about, in order to acquire popularity, and to vex "and expose the Government. But having at our request "entered on that study, they have, by listening to still "greater Reformers than us, become politicians *sui generis*, "who are not to be satisfied with a Whig Ministry, but de-"mand a reform completely radical—an overthrow of the "altar and the throne—and a complete division of property. "But though we know these to be their intentions, yet we

"I wish still to keep in terms with them, not to let them ac-
"complish their dreadful purposes, but merely to bring
"them forward as make-weights to our party, to help us to
"oust the Ministry; and then we will curb their insolence
"and reduce them to obedience. We know, and probably
"some of us and our friends knew at the time, that the trea-
"sonable placard put up in the western counties of Scotland,
"1st April, 1820, was manufactured in the vicinity of Glas-
"gow, by our correspondents, who we have so often em-
"ployed to petition Parliament, and to re-echo our slang,
"drink our whisky, draw our carriages, and *Halloo* when
"we made harangues against the Government; and that no
"agent of Government had any hand in that treasonable
"production. We know too, that thousands, and tens of
"thousands, of these people, were prepared to rise to oppose
"the military, murder the magistracy, and plunder the
"rich. And we know that thousands of them did turn out
"in arms, while we, who knew they would do so, were send-
"ing money to support the cause, and attempting to para-
"lize the Government. All this, and much more we know,
"But it becomes necessary for the furtherance of our poli-
"tical projects, to deny our knowledge and belief of these
"matters, and to state without a blush, what we think will
"best serve the present purposes of our party." These are truths whether the Whigs shall own or deny them.

If the Whigs were not actuated by a blind rage for office, they might perceive the danger to which their politics expose themselves and the nation. If their plans of Reform had been carried into effect in 1793, they might have brought them into office for a time. But would not the Cartwrights, the Hardies, the Thelwells, the Tooks, &c. have run down the Foxes, the Erskines, the Greys, the Sheridans, &c. as the Independents did the Presbyterians. And if these had got in, would they not have been run down in their turn by the Watts, Downies, Despards, &c. as the Fayetts, Girons,

and others who effected the first Revolution in France was by Robiespierre. And if so, would not some General, like Cromwell or Buonaparte, have ultimately established a military despotism in his person. If the soundest of the constitutional Whigs were to succeed next Session, in establishing a Parliamentary Reform to their mind, that would not please Sir Francis Burdett and others, who wish for something still more democratic. If they again were to be gratified, would not Hume, Waithman, and Wilson, demand something still more refined? Would not Wood, Cartwright, Hunt, Cobbett, Wooller, Carlile, &c. oust them, and so on, one after another, till the vilest of wretches and of ruffians, would seize in their turn the reigns of the State; and the ultimate relief from anarchy, plunder, and bloodshed, come to be a military despotism?

Can the Whigs be ignorant of all this? Can any one of them be so blinded with ambition for office, and thirst for power, as not to perceive these things, or something similar to them, staring them in the face? Do they suppose themselves more active, or that they would be more fortunate than the Parliamentary leaders that opposed Charles I. on much fairer grounds than they can do George IV.? Can they imagine themselves equal, or nearly equal, to those who effected the first Revolution in France in 1789? If they do, it only shows their ignorance of their own talents. But if they were equal, or superior to both, they would not be able to stem the torrent of events. Reforms "are like the letting out of water," easily begun, but when once put in motion, altogether irresistible, till their impetuous course has run; and until overwhelming destruction has extended far and wide.

With the experience of former times, and of other countries before their eyes, the Whigs would do well to consider what they are doing. Some of them, and many of their fol-

lowers, are, no doubt, mere adventurers in fortune, character, and political projects; but others, who are wealthy and respectable, have a deep and serious interest at stake, to which it will be good for them if they attend in due time.

If the folly of the Whigs, in driving matters with so high a hand, be obvious, and their political prospects be now but dreary, as they certainly are, the madness of the Radicals, and the dangers to which thousands of them have so foolishly exposed themselves, must appear still more conspicuous. The Whigs have had prospects, and even occasional tastings of the loaves and fishes; and are like Statesmen; and the Crown from former experience of them, cannot be afraid that they would be disposed to curtail its influence. No, they have always been the supporters of prerogative when in office; and only bauled against it, when out of place. But what claim can such men as the Radicals, or their leaders, have to be placed at the helm of the State? What qualifications do they possess, to enable them to discharge such an important trust? They can only be qualified to head a mob of plunderers, and to commit assassinations.* If such

* When the Strathaven party set out in arms to join their Brethren at Glasgow, upon the 5th April, 1820, some of them were heard to declare, that they would not give their chance of that day's booty for £1000; and the oldest man of the party roared out on the Street to his brethren in arms, like the commanders at Drumclog, "*Now mind, Lads that no quarter is to be given.*"!! This was not the way that Government treated them, even after they had forfeited their lives to the violated laws of their country. For out of more than 20, on which the sentence of death was justly pronounced, besides others that had pled guilty and were never condemned, and many more that might have been condemned, and others that fled, only three suffered the awful sentence of the Law. The Servants of the Crown it seems were disposed, greatly to their honour, to be much more merciful than this Strathaven shoemaker meant to have been. Fortunately for themselves and others, they got no opportunity of exercising the ryel ngeaa they had meditated.

men as them were to offer their services to the Crown, His Majesty might say to them, "the Whigs I know, and the Tories I know, but who are you?".

But even supposing they were to be placed on the saddle, or that they assumed it; they would not keep possession of the reigns for one week. One of them would destroy another, who would in his turn be again destroyed, so long as a ruffian could be found among them ready to do so. If the city of Glasgow, and all it contained, had been given up to them in April 1820, and not a living creature left in it but themselves; the whole property of every description in it would have been devoured, or destroyed by them in a few weeks; and probably the one half of them would soon have massacred the other. They would have been still worse, if they had attained full power over the nation. What would the state of society be, if all legal authority and restraints were destroyed, and every man at liberty to do what was right in his own eyes? The idea is too horrifying to be dwelt upon.

If ever any of these people were so foolish, as to imagine that the Radicals were capable of doing any thing, except either as make-weights to the Whigs, or to riot and plunder on their own bottom; the result of their foolish proceedings in Spring 1820, might serve to convince the most presumptuous among them, that, as politicians, they are only capable of folly or of crime. After having run the rounds of political folly pointed out to them by their leaders, for twenty years past, and after they had polluted their minds with the nonsense of Cobbett and Hunt and the blasphemies of Carlile, they at last agreed to raise the standard of Rebellion; and without minding further the pretensions of Whig or Tory, they resolved to assume the reigns of Government. But after many months anxious deliberations on the subject, and thousands, and tens of thousands embarking in their cause, and delegates sent from Scotland to England, and from place

to place, daily and weekly for many months; and after all their wisdoms had been concentrated, and their diabolical projects of murders, plunder, rebellion, and riot, had been matured, and the hour fixed by them for the dreadful explosion had arrived, without their being in the least interrupted; their whole dreams of power and schemes of audacious villainy fell to pieces, from the ignorance and imbecility of their guilty authors, and the want of concert, union, and confidence among themselves. Never was a scheme so extravagantly wicked, and in which so many were embarked, so easily defeated. So long as these people listened to the harangues of their deceivers, and petitioned or resolved as they were directed, they made a considerable figure, and were denominated "The People,"—the wisest and most patriotic of the lieges. But when they set up for themselves, they soon became first obnoxious to all good men, on account of their diabolical designs; and they next rendered themselves contemptible by imbecility in their execution.

Let therefore all who have had any hand, directly or indirectly, in leading those people astray, do what they can to reclaim them. Let those of high rank and fortune take warning by the fate of the Duke of Orleans. Let inferior ranks look at the calamities brought on this and other nations by civil discord. Let those who have been implicated in rebellion, and who are now indebted for their lives to the lenity of a merciful Government, which they had insulted, and sought to destroy; reflect on their conduct; bewail the fate of those who have suffered; and make amends for their errors and crimes, by their future good behaviour. And let all the labouring classes, who are, or may be happier in this island, than people of their rank can be in any other part of the world, learn to fear God; honour the King; and to avoid them that are given to change.

THE END.

NOTICE.

THE Author perceives, with regret, that some repetitions, some grammatical inaccuracies, a few typographical errors, and some mistakes in punctuation, have escaped notice. But as none of them render it difficult for the reader to discover the error, or alter the meaning of the author, he has not judged it necessary to collect them into an *Erratum*.