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THE

EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE

REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY

JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM THE
REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME," ETC.

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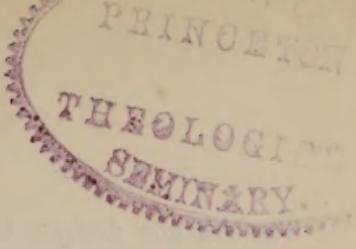
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THE HISTORY OF THE PREFACE

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THE HISTORY OF THE PREFACE



P R E F A C E.

THIS Volume, derived from Acts of Parliament, Proceedings of General Assemblies, Records of Diocesan and Presbyterian Synods, Episcopal and Presbyterian Presbyteries, and numerous contemporary and other Records, is intended to elucidate the History of the Episcopal Church when it was the Ecclesiastical or National Establishment of Scotland. It is designed to illustrate what the Episcopal Church, while connected with the State, really was, and its condition during its contentions with successive generations of adversaries. For this purpose the narrative is divided into Three Books or Parts—I. THE HISTORY OF THE TITULAR OR TULCHAN EPISCOPATE from the Reformation to the Accession of James VI. to the English Crown. II. THE HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND from 1606, and especially from the FIRST CONSECRATION in 1610 to the commencement of the Covenanting Rebellion in 1638. III. THE HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION, or from 1661 to 1688. Of the first, or TULCHAN EPISCOPATE, the Author has freely expressed his opinion as a miserable and contemptible system, and it is only surprising that the Titulars could have considered themselves true Bishops in any sense, yet ample proof is adduced in the following narrative that they did so, and that they endured persecutions and indignities for maintaining their “phantom Episcopate.” Nevertheless it served its political and temporary purposes, and as such the Titular Episcopacy must be understood, in developing the progress of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland previous to the union of the two Crowns in the person of King James VI.

The Author designs this Work as a contribution to Scottish Ecclesiastical History, and the reader is referred for subsequent details to his “ HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME ” as a continuation of this narrative. It will be seen from a perusal of both volumes, that probably no branch of the Church Catholic has experienced more vicissitudes, or has been more traduced and misrepresented by its enemies, than the EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, both during its legal establishment and after the Revolution, when it was supplanted by Presbyterianism. Notwithstanding the depressions, persecutions, and malignant falsehoods against which that Church contended, the treachery of its pretended friends, and the malignant hostility of its Covenanting enemies, whose libelling and assassinating propensities cannot be denied, the Scottish Bishops and clergy maintained the cause of their Church with dignity and constancy in the most dangerous and eventful times. The present Writer, therefore, submits his Work with confidence to the reader, convinced that he has distorted no fact, and that he has detailed in as temperate language as is possible to be employed, the history of a Church which has never been properly understood by some, and has been assailed by others with all the rancour, hatred, and revenge of sectarian hostility.

EDINBURGH, MARCH 1844.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE TITULAR OR TULCHAN EPISCOPATE IN SCOTLAND AFTER THE REFORMATION.

CHAP.	PAGE
I.—Scottish Archbispocrics and Bishoprics at the Reformation,	1
II.—The Reformation in Scotland and its Consequences—the last Roman Catholic Bishops, and the first Protestant Preachers, in Scotland,	39
III.—The Superintendent System of Church Government,	80
IV.—The Titular or Tulchan Episcopate,	96
V.—The Titular Bishops—their Humiliating Position—Proceedings of the General Assemblies—their Presbyterian Opponents,	124
VI.—The Titular Bishops attacked in the General Assemblies,	143
VII.—Progress of Presbyterianism,	168
VIII.—King James VI's Contentions with the Presbyterians,	202
IX.—Opinions and Practices of the Presbyterians of Scotland at the end of the Sixteenth Century—their Notions of Ordination—Mode of Exercising Discipline—Fondness for Trying and Punishing Cases of Scandal and Licentious Offences—their Tyrannical Proceedings,	243

BOOK II.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1606 TO 1639.

CHAP.	PAGE
I.—Establishment of the Church,	263
II.—Internal State of the Church—Trial of Lord Balmerino—The High Court of Commission—General Assembly—Synods of Fife and Lothian—Consecration of the Scottish Bishops,	297
III.—Peaceful State of the Church—Bishop Cowpar of Galloway—Trial of Ogilvie the Jesuit—Death of Archbishop Gladstanes,	319
IV.—Internal State of the Church—Archbishop Spottiswoode removed to St Andrews—Changes in the Bishoprics—The See of Orkney—The High Commission—General Assembly at Aberdeen—A Catechism, Liturgy, and Book of Canons, ordered to be prepared—A Confession of Faith approved,	347
V.—King James in Scotland in 1617—Proceedings during his Visit—Its Results—General Assembly at St Andrews—State of the Assembly—Elevation of Patrick Forbes of Corse to the Bishopric of Aberdeen,	365
VI.—The General Assembly and Five Articles of Perth—Bishop Cowpar's Defence of them—The Controversies which ensued—Conduct of Henderson—Fate of the Records of the General Assemblies,	390

CHAP.	PAGE
VII.—The Observance of the Perth Articles—Death of Bishop Cowpar—Ecclesiastical Arrangements and Discussions—Meeting of the Scottish Parliament—Its Proceedings—Changes in the Dioceses,	408
VIII.—The Episcopal Church at the Accession of Charles I.—Proceedings of the Bishops—History of Teinds in Scotland—The King's Revocation of the Teinds—Its Disastrous Consequences,	426
IX.—Changes in the Dioceses—Irrregular Ordination of Presbyterians in Ireland—Internal Affairs of the Church—Coronation of Charles I. at Holyroodhouse—Foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh—The First Bishop—His Death—Death of Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen,	445
X.—Discontent in Scotland—Plots of the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians—Trial of the Second Lord Balmerino—Bishop Sydserff of Galloway—Calvinism—The Compilation of the Scottish Liturgy—Archbishop Laud's Correspondence with the Scottish Bishops,	463
XI.—The Scottish Book of Canons and Scottish Liturgy,	484
XII.—The Riots at Edinburgh at the First Use of the Liturgy and the Results,	499
XIII.—The National Covenant and the Covenanters,	532
XIV.—The Confederacy against the Church and the Rival Covenant,	548
XV.—The Glasgow General Assembly,	571
XVI.—Overthrow of the Church—the Aberdeen Doctors—the Solemn League and Covenant—the Civil War—the Presbyterians sell the King,	604
XVII.—Fanaticism, Oppression, and Cruelties of the Covenanted Presbyterians,	635

BOOK III.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1661 TO 1688.

CHAP.	
I.—Preliminaries of the Re-establishment of the Church,	661
II.—The Scottish Bishops of the Second Anglican Consecration,	676
III.—The Retaliation,	702
IV.—The Consecration and Public Affairs,	715
V.—Administration of the Church during its Establishment,	741
VI.—Changes in the Episcopate and State of the Kingdom,	749
VII.—Difficulties of the Church and Plots of its Enemies,	769
VIII.—Farther Discouragements of the Church,	789
IX.—The Church and its Opponents,	810
X.—The Murder of Archbishop Sharp,	836
XI.—The Church and the Covenanters,	851
XII.—State of the Church previous to the Revolution,	869



BOOK I.

THE
TITULAR OR TULCHAN EPISCOPATE IN SCOTLAND
AFTER THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

SCOTTISH ARCHBISHOPRICS AND BISHOPRICS AT THE REFORMATION.

AFTER the primitive Episcopacy of the ancient Culdees was subverted, and merged into the Church of Rome, so as to leave few memorials of its existence, the City of St Andrews in Fife was for centuries the seat of the Scottish Roman Catholic Primates, as *Maximi Episcopi Scotorum*, but the See was not constituted archiepiscopal till 1470, during the episcopate of Patrick Graham, the successor and half-brother of the illustrious Bishop Kennedy who founded the University of St Andrews. This mark of distinction appears to have been procured from Pope Paul II. by Bishop Graham when at Rome, to extinguish the claims of superiority over the Scottish Church which had been often asserted by the Archbishops of York. In 1488, Robert Blackadder, who was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1484, procured a Bull from Pope Alexander VI. erecting that See into an Archbishopric, notwithstanding the violent opposition of Archbishop Schevez of St Andrews and other dignitaries. The kingdom was thus divided into two ecclesiastical provinces, at the head of each of which was the Archbishop, whose powers and jurisdiction were defined by Papal Bulls, and ratified by royal charters. The Archbishop of St Andrews was Primate of all Scotland and Metropolitan; but it does not appear that the Archbishops of Glasgow ever enjoyed the title of Primate, as in the case of the Arch-

bishops of York, who are styled Primate of England, and of the Archbishops of Dublin, who are Primate of Ireland.

The Suffragan Sees of the Scottish Archbishops were subsequently arranged. Those of the Province of St Andrews were Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Moray, Orkney, and Ross ; those of the Province of Glasgow were Galloway, Argyll, and the Isles. Keith includes Dunblane and Dunkeld among the Suffragan Sees of Glasgow as appointed by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI., and omits The Isles ; but this must either be a mistake, or a different arrangement was subsequently effected. The Diocese of St Andrews was of great extent before the foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh by Charles I. It included the counties of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan, and a large portion of Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine shires, on the north side of the Firth of Forth ; the counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and part of Stirling and Berwick shires, on the south side of that river and estuary, stretching towards the English Border ; and a considerable number of parishes, churches, and chapels in other dioceses, belonged to the See. In reference to the Suffragans, the Diocese of ABERDEEN comprehended the county of Aberdeen (except six parishes in the district of Strathbogie), twelve parishes in Banffshire, and four in Kincardineshire. It is said that the Bishops of Aberdeen anciently took precedence after the two Archbishops, which was altered in 1633, when Edinburgh and Galloway ranked next to the Archbishops, and the rest according to the seniority of their consecration. BRECHIN included parts of the two counties of Forfar and Kincardine. CAITHNESS comprised the counties of Sutherland and Caithness. The Diocese of Ross extended over the counties of Ross and Cromarty, and most of Inverness. That of MORAY consisted of the counties of Elgin and Nairn, parts of the counties of Banff and Inverness, and some parishes in Aberdeenshire. The Diocese of DUNKELD comprehended the greater part of Perthshire, some districts in Forfarshire, and some parishes south of the Forth in Linlithgowshire. The Diocese of DUNBLANE included the west and southern districts of Perthshire, and a small portion of Stirlingshire. The Diocese of ORKNEY consisted of all the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

The Archdiocese of GLASGOW extended over the counties of Lanark, Dunbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, and part of the counties of

Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and part of Berwickshire. Some portions of Stirlingshire were also included. The Diocese of GALLOWAY comprehended the ancient district so called, now divided into the counties of Wigton and Kirkeudbright, and part of Dumfries-shire. The Diocese of ARGYLL contained the county of Argyll and some of the Western Isles. The Diocese of THE ISLES included the Islands of Bute and Arran in the Frith of Clyde, and most of the Western Islands in the dreary and remote regions of the Scottish Archipelago. The Isle of Man is said to have been anciently a part of the Diocese of THE ISLES, from which it was disjoined, during the contest between Bruce and Baliol for the Scottish Crown, by Edward III. of England, who made himself master of the island.

A curious arrangement took place in 1508, which was ratified by a Papal Bull that year. It was ordered that in future the Bishop of Galloway, or Whitehorn, as the Diocese was sometimes designated, should be Dean of the Chapel-Royal at Stirling, constituted and endowed by James IV., with "the care of the souls of the King and Queen, along with precedence in the Chapel." The additional title of *Bishop of the Chapel-Royal* was conferred on the Bishops of Galloway by the King's solicitation, and confirmed by Pope Alexander VI., with all the emoluments derived from the appointment as Dean of the Chapel-Royal.* The first prelate who enjoyed the united bishopric, if that of the Chapel-Royal may be designated, was George Vaus or Vans, and the second was James Beaton, successively Archbishop of Glasgow and St Andrews. The prelates who held the united episcopal jurisdiction, after the translation of Archbishop Beaton to Glasgow, were David Arnot, Archdeacon of Lothian, Provost of Bothwell, and Abbot of Cambuskenneth; Henry Wemyss; Andrew Durie, Abbot of Melrose; and Alexander Gordon, who is prominently noticed in the sequel. As to the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, within the precincts of that Castle, it is said to have represented a more ancient chapel dedicated to St Michael, to which the provostry of the church of St Mary of Kirkheugh, near St Andrews, was annexed about the close of the fifteenth century, before the Chapel-Royal was endowed by James IV. The edifice founded or enlarged by

* Brief Analysis of the Chartularies of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, Chapel-Royal of Stirling, &c. by Sir John Graham Dalzell, Bart. Edin. 1828, p. 55, 56, 57.

that monarch was demolished by order of James VI., and the present building was erected, probably more extensive, when he resolved to celebrate the baptism of his eldest son Prince Henry in it with great splendour in 1594. The revenues of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling were absorbed after the Reformation, and the accession of James VI. to the English Crown extinguished its importance. The building has been in subsequent times used as an armoury, and for keeping fire-engines and small pieces of artillery. The only memorials long visible were a mutilated wooden crown, ornamented with a border in relief, and the stains of decaying colours. These had survived the wreck of the decorations with which the interior was adorned for the royal baptism, when ambassadors from Denmark, England, France, Holland, Brunswick, and Magdeburg, were present, and the Prince baptised amid a mixture of christian devotion and pagan pantomime. It is clear from the details of the chartulary, that James IV. must have ornamented his episcopal Chapel-Royal in a munificent manner. One of the articles of furniture is a *striking clock*, “per dominum Jacobum Pettygrew fabricatum;” and as the inventory was made in 1505, this is the second intimation of a clock striking the hours in Scotland, the first, as is supposed, occurring in 1489. Three organs are described—“*Tria paria organorum, quorum unum ut de lignis, et duo alii de stanno sive plumbo.*” Sir John Dalyell observes—“Possibly they were portable.” On this conjecture the following statement is curious:—“Most probably not. The very learned authority forgets that at this period music was cultivated by churchmen as a science—that the chantor, whose rank was next to the sub-dean, had no less than sixteen canons under him, and six singing boys, all trained to the Church services, including the solemn requiem for the souls of the departed. Could any thing be more ludicrous than to figure three of the prebends or canons, each grinding away on his portable organ? Did it not occur to the learned author that the *tria paria* might include the choir, the great organ, and the swell? An instrument of this description is now extant in Holland, which was removed from the Cathedral of Glasgow at the period of the Reformation.”*

Let us now attend to the Chapters of the several Dioceses as

* The above, written in pencil, on the copy of Sir John Dalyell's “Brief Analysis of the Chartulary of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling,” in the Advocates' Library, Edin. p. 69.

they were constituted before and at the period of the Reformation, so far as they are known, commencing with the metropolitan church of ST ANDREWS. The Diocese included the Deaneries of St Andrews, Fothrick, Gowrie, Angus, Mearns, Linlithgow, Haddington, Dunbar, and the Merse, or Berwickshire. The Archdeacons of St Andrews and Lothian are specified as the principal dignitaries. According to Martine's statement, the Archbishops of St Andrews before the Reformation had no chapter, properly so called, but the Prior and Convent were considered a Chapter, and all acts or confirmations were "testified by appending the Convent's common seal.—Thereafter, the Prioric being erected into a temporal Lordship, it was found needful that the See should not want a Chapter, the former being by this erection supprest, but that some course behoved to be taken for a new one," which was carried into effect in 1609 and 1617.*

The Chapter of ABERDEEN appears to have varied in number at different periods. In 1256, the statutes enjoined that the number of Canons should be thirteen at least, which was ratified by Bishop William de Deyn in 1366; but in 1382 they had increased to twenty-two. Between 1448 and 1514, the statutes, which were confirmed or sanctioned by Bishop Elphinstone, intimate that twenty nine persons were either obliged to find vicars, or that so many vicars were considered necessary for the performance of the ecclesiastical duties, to all of whom it is probable that prebends were assigned. Bishop Elphinstone provided in his Constitutions, dated 1506, that to prevent any disputes about the hire of the vicars of the choir of the cathedral church, there "shall be twenty vicars of the priesthood in the choir skilled in the Gregorian song for the daily service, two deans, two sub-deans, two accolites, six boys, and the sacrist." The Constitutions of Bishop Peter Ramsay, in 1256, enjoin the Dean to reside the greater part of the year; the Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, half the year; and the non-residence of the Archdeacon was allowed on certain days, because it was his duty to go through the diocese, and regulate abuses.† The Bull obtained from Pope Innocent IV. by the same Bishop

* Reliquiae Divi Andreae, or the State of the Venerable and Primal See of St Andrews, by a true though unworthy Son of the Church (George Martine), first published in 1683, reprinted at St Andrews in 1797, 4to. p. 39.

† Remarks on the Chartularies of the See of Aberdeen, by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. pp. 14, 15, 16.

that year, ordained the College of Canons, founded about 1157 by Bishop Edward in consequence of a Bull from Pope Adrian, to consist of twelve prebendaries, some of whom were appointed dignitaries, and a house, glebe, and garden, were allotted to each in the Chanony. The Bishop of Aberdeen was rector of the parish of St Nicholas in New Aberdeen ; the rector of the church of Kirkton of Seaton was Dean of the Chapter, the parson of Birse was Chancellor, the parson of Daviot was Treasurer, and the parson of Rhynie was Archdeacon. The other prebendaries were seven, exclusive of the minor canons or vicars-choral, who were presbyters, the singing boys, and the sacrist. But other prebendaries were added by subsequent prelates. Bishop Potton, or Polton, added one in 1262 ; Bishop Cheyne, four between 1313 and 1328 ; Bishop Alexander Kinninmont I. one in 1330 : Bishop Alexander Kinninmont II. five from 1356 to 1368 ; Bishop Greenlaw, one in 1412 ; Bishop Leighton, two in 1420 and 1424 ; and Bishop Lindsay, two in 1445. The rector of St Peter's Hospital was admitted to the dignity of a prebendary in 1527 by Bishop Dunbar, and was appointed sub-chantor. The twenty vicars-choral, or minor canons, were appointed by Bishop Elphinstone with consent of the Dean and Chapter. The sacrist, who was a priest, was to attend the choir properly vested, along with the other vicars, on holidays and festivals, and cause his beadle to ring the bells on these occasions, and throughout the year. Before the Reformation the Diocese of Aberdeen contained two Cathedrals—Mortlach and Old Aberdeen, and episcopal palaces at Balveny and Old Aberdeen, three episcopal manors, ten religious houses, three collegiate churches, one collegiate chapel, one university of King's college, one grammar school at Aberdeen, and the five Deaneries of Aberdeen, Mar, Garioch, Buchan, and Boyne. The Deanery of Aberdeen comprehended nine parish churches ; that of Mar, thirty-three ; that of Garioch, twenty-two ; that of Buchan, seventeen ; and that of Boyne, fifteen.*

The Chapter of MORAY consisted, about 1208, of eight prebendaries, constituted by Bishop Bricius, and confirmed by his successor Bishop Andrew in 1226 ; but in subsequent times the numbers, as in other establishments, were variable, and were probably augmented as the funds of the Cathedral were increased by dona-

* Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 317-327.

tions. In 1362 seventeen chaplains were constantly resident at the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity at Elgin, performing divine service. In 1542 and 1545 two prebends were instituted by Bishop Patrick. The official members of the Chapter specified are the Dean, the Chantor, Treasurer, Chancellor, Archdeacon, Sub-Dean, and Sub-Chantor. The dependencies enumerated are sixteen parsonages, six common churches, and twenty-six chaplaincies, of which latter seventeen were within the walls of the Cathedral.* It appears upon the original documents that Bishop Bri cius instituted eight canonries when the Cathedral of Moray was at Spynie, from whom he nominated the Dean, Chancellor, Archdeacon, Chantor, and Treasurer.† Bishop Andrew in 1226 added fourteen canons, and the Chapter of Moray was thus increased to twenty-two, a number which they never exceeded. To every canonry a vicarage was annexed for the better subsistence of the incumbent, who received the great tithes of both parishes, and was generally the patron of the vicarage. The Diocese of Moray was divided into the Deaneries of Elgin, comprising twelve parishes; Inverness, fourteen parishes; Strathbogie, eight parishes; and Strathspey, nine parishes.

The Chapter of Ross consisted of the Dean, the Chancellor, Archdeacon, Chantor, and Treasurer, but the number of canons or prebendaries is not accurately known. No chartulary belonging to the Bishopric of Ross has been discovered in Scotland. The conjecture is not improbable that Bishop Leslie, the last Roman Catholic Prelate, who was the zealous defender of Queen Mary, carried with him the documents of his Diocese, and they are now either lost, or preserved in a foreign library or college.‡

The Chapter of CAITHNESS is also unknown, as are the ecclesiastical divisions or deaneries. It is probable that the writs and other documents connected with this Diocese may be in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland.

The state of the Chapter of the insular Diocese of ORKNEY in former times is very obscure. In 1544, Bishop Robert Reid

* Brief Analysis of the Ancient Records of the Bishopric of Moray, by Sir John Graham Dalzell, Bart. p. 7, 8, 9.

† The original documents, with translations, are inserted in the Appendix to the edition of Mr. Lachlan Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, brought down to the year 1826, and published in 1827 by John Grant.

‡ Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 341.

granted a charter for the “ foundation and erection of certain offices in the cathedral church of Orkney for the service of God ;” six canons and as many chaplains are mentioned, and the Chapter is noticed as consisting of the Provost, Archdeacon, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sub-Dean, Sub-Chantor, seven prebendaries, thirteen chaplains, and six singing boys.” The Provost was to be a Doctor of Theology, of “ good fame, conversation, and name,” who was to take precedence immediately after the Bishop ; and the duties of his office are defined—“ *totius diocesis inquisitor heretice pravitatis, cui correctio canonicorum, prebendariorum, et capellaniorum in capitulo spectabit.*” In his absence the Sub-Dean was to act. The second dignitary next to the Provost was to be the Archdeacon, who was to be a Master of Arts—“ *vir probatis, vitae, et morum, presbiter bene eruditus in diuinis et humanis literis.*” The Precentor or Chantor was to be the third dignitary ; and to be eligible for the office he was to be a Master of Arts, or a graduate in another faculty well instructed in the Gregorian chant. The Chancellor was to rank third after the Provost, and he was to be a doctor in canon or civil law, or “ *bachalarius formatus in aliqua florenti universitate.*” Next to him was the Treasurer, who was to be a Master of Arts—“ *vir probus et circumspectus;*” the sub-dean was also to be a Master of Arts—“ *presbiter vir bene instructus in utroque testamento;*” and the Sub-Chantor was to be a presbyter—“ *bene instructus per omnes numeros in utroque cantu.*” The duties of the librarian, organist, the keeper of the clock, and other minor functionaries, are defined. This arrangement of the Chapter of Orkney was confirmed and ratified by Cardinal Beaton, when Archbishop of St Andrews and Papal Legate, in 1545.* The Chapter, as above constituted, continued in that state till the Reformation.

Little is apparently known of the ancient Chapter of BRECHIN. The Chancellor of this Diocese is mentioned in a document signed by the Bishop in 1511, the original of which is in the possession of Viscount Arbuthnot.† Some notices occur of the cathedral establishment in the various charters to the bishops and clergy. King Robert Bruce,

* The original documents are printed in “ *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney,*” by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Edinburgh, 1820, 8vo. Appendix, p. 18-30.

† *The History of Brechin,* by David D. Black, Town-Clerk, 1839.

by a charter dated at Scone, 10th July 1322, gave to John, Bishop of Brechin, and to the chaplain and canons of the cathedral church, the privilege of holding a market within the city on Sundays. In 1359, David II. confirmed to the same cathedral church all the privileges granted by his ancestors ; and in 1374, Robert II. enjoined his justiciaries, sheriffs, and provosts, to defend the Bishop of Brechin and the canons in all their lands and privileges. Among the more conspicuous benefactors was Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl and Caithness, who, in 1429, assigned L.40 Scots, payable annually from his estate and lordship of Cortachy or from Brechin, for the maintenance of two chaplains and six boys, to perform divine service within the choir ; and he gave land on the west side of the city for their residence. The one chaplain is enjoined to be instructed in music, and the other in grammar, which they were expected to study during the hours of interval from their spiritual functions. In 1435, the Bishop reduced the chaplaincies to one ; and nearly ninety years afterwards, in 1524, the then Bishop decided in some differences between the chaplains and the Chapter, for non-performance of duties. The Bishop, Dean, and Chapter, are noticed in a legal document dated 1535 ; and in 1566, Bishop Hepburn, at the request of Erskine of Dun, the patron of the two chaplaincies of the Virgin Mary in the Cathedral, united them, because they were insufficient for the support of two, and appropriated the income to one. But the constitution of the Chapter may be inferred from a reference to a more ancient document, designated an “ Apostolic Letter issued on Trinity Monday, in 1372, by Patrick, Bishop of Brechin, and the Chapter, in presence of the canons, rectors, and vicars of the diocese, to ascertain the number of benefices, and the dignities and offices belonging to the Cathedral, the incumbents who were to be considered prebendaries, and who of the eleven of them were to enjoy the dignities of Dean, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Archdeacon.” Among the official witnesses are the Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Arch-Dean, Sub-Dean, two prebendaries, and sundry canons of the Cathedral, the Dean and one prebendary being absent on account of distance. In 1384 the parish church of Lethnot was constituted a prebend at the request of Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, with a stall in the choir, and a place in the Chapter. In 1429 the Bishop and Chapter declare that the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, have

precedence of all the Canons, which was confirmed by their signatures in 1435. The parish church of Finhaven was constituted a prebend in 1474 at the request of the Earl of Crawford. Several chaplaincies and altarages were connected with the Cathedral.*

The Chapters of DUNKELD and DUNBLANE consisted of the usual dignitaries, but were limited; as both these Dioceses, like that of Brechin, were of no great extent. The Bishops had what were called mensal churches in various Dioceses. The chartulary and other records of the Bishopric of Dunblane are not to be found. Those of Dunkeld may probably be among the archives of the Dukes of Atholl, and some allusions occur in the Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, from the foundation of the See to 1515, written in Latin by Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and published in 1831.

In the Archiepiscopal Province of GLASGOW the Chapter of the Archdiocese of Glasgow first demands our attention. After John Achaius, the preceptor and chaplain of Alexander I., was promoted to the Bishopric in 1129, he divided the Diocese into the two Archdeaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale, established the dignitaries of Dean, Sub-Dean, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sub-Chantor, and Sacrist, and settled a prebend on each out of the donations he had received from the King. During the episcopate of Bishop John Cameron, the most munificent of all the prelates who occupied the See of Glasgow, elected in 1421, the members of the Chapter were thirty-nine, whom he ordered to erect parsonages, and reside in the vicinity of the Cathedral, appointing curates to officiate in their respective parishes. Those parsonages were situated at the upper end of the High Street near the ancient Cross, and in the streets called Drygate, Rottenrow, and Deanside Brae. During Bishop Cameron's episcopate, the Dean, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sub-Dean, and Archdeacon, were the dignitaries, and this constitution of the Chapter continued till the Reformation. The vicars of the choir are not of course included.†

The original Chapter of the See of WHITEHORN or GALLOWAY consisted of the Bishop, the Prior, Sub-Prior, and eleven Canons.‡ Nothing is known of the Chapters of ARGYLL and of THE ISLES.

* The History of Brechin, by David D. Black, Town-Clerk, 1839.

† Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, vol. i, p. 113, 114.

‡ Brief Analysis of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, p. 58.

The Earl of Argyll seized all the registers and charters of those Sees at the Reformation, when he obtained possession of the church lands, and it is uncertain whether they are lost, or were wilfully destroyed at the time.

In taking a view of the Scottish Cathedrals, much valuable information is presented to the ecclesiastical historian and antiquary. With no pretension to the magnificence, vastness, and imposing grandeur of those of England, and in every respect inferior in architectural display and genius, some of the Scottish Cathedrals were nevertheless stately edifices ; and those of Glasgow and Kirkwall, the two which are entire, may be considered as magnificent memorials of the founders. The Cathedral of St Andrews was one of the largest in Scotland, and though most of those in England are of greater extent, it was undoubtedly a splendid church. The ruins which remain, chiefly a monument of the violence of John Knox and his followers, and partly in subsequent times the work of the inhabitants, who resorted to it for materials to build houses and garden walls, sufficiently indicate the dimensions. The church consisted of the nave, 200 feet long and 62 wide, including the two lateral aisles ; a transept, with an eastern aisle, 160 feet long ; a choir with two lateral aisles, 98 feet long ; and at the eastern extremity 33 feet long :* the entire length of the whole structure within the walls being 356 feet. This magnificent edifice, the erection of which occupied one hundred and sixty years, with its stately towers and shining copper roof, all destined to fall by the hands of some thousands of sacrilegious enthusiasts, was begun by Bishop Arnold, formerly Abbot of Kelso, who filled the See from 1159 to 1162. Malcolm IV. was present at the foundation. The building was carried on by eleven of his successors, but the work, as appears from the long time for its completion, advanced slowly on account of the want of funds, and the anxiety that the edifice should be as splendid as possible. It was finished in 1318, when King Robert Bruce was present at the consecration, during the episcopate of Bishop Lamberton, who filled the See from 1298 to 1328 ; and, says Martine, “ considering the time it was demolisht [June 1559], it stood entire two hundred and forty years, and from the foundation to the razing thereof,

* The History of St Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A. In 2 vols. Edin. 1813.

occasioned by a sermon of John Knox against idolatrie, preached to a giddy lawless multitude, it was just four hundred years." It appears, however, that fifty years after the consecration a part of the church was accidentally burnt, but it was speedily repaired, and placed under the superintendence of the Priors of St Andrews, several of whom awarded large sums from their own revenues for its internal and external decoration. The ground selected for the site of the Cathedral is an elevated piece of table land on the east end of the city, overlooking the Bay of St Andrews, and a short distance north of the Priory, which had been founded for the Canons by Bishop Robert, the immediate predecessor of Bishop Arnold. Adjoining stands the venerable tower of the Chapel of St Regulus, the walls of the latter still remaining, 32 feet long and 25 feet broad; the whole structure generally admitted to be as ancient as the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, though unnoticed by historians till the thirteenth century, when the common tradition is retailed by them. The ruins of the Cathedral of St Andrews, which are now preserved with great care from farther dilapidation, are the remaining portions of a very large cross church, which, when entire, was principally of the very late Norman style, with some portions early English, and some parts later. The ruins consist of the east end of the choir, part of the walls of the south transept and south aisle of the nave, and a portion of the west end. Mr. Rickman states—"The details of the several styles, as far as they can be made out, are very fine, and it is to be regretted that so little is left for examination." The east gable contains three oblong windows with semicircular arches, above which is a large window, all between two turrets terminated by pointed octagonal pinnacles. The west point consists of a pointed arched gateway, ornamented with rich mouldings, but only one of the two windows above is entire, with one of the turrets of light and elegant workmanship surmounted by an octagonal lantern pinnacle.* The great central tower was supported by four massive pillars, the bases of which are still seen at the intersection of the nave with the transept. The Cathedral, which in addition to the outrages committed on it by Knox's adherents in 1559, probably was farther dilapidated in 1560, when an order was issued

* History of St Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A. Edin. 1843.

for demolishing such cloisters and abbey churches as were not then pulled down, must have been considered beyond the possibility of repair after the partial and nominal restoration of the Episcopal Church in 1572, and its full establishment in 1606. Most of the rubbish lay on the site of the ruined church till 1826, when it was removed by order of the Barons of the Scottish Court of Exchequer, and the floor and foundations of the columns laid open. Since that year subsequent clearings have farther developed this now melancholy memorial of fanatical violence, which may be viewed as no enviable monument of Knox and his mob. The ruins of the Archeepiscopal Castle of St Andrews are a short distance north-west of the Cathedral, overlooking the Bay. The castle was completely destroyed after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, when the assassins and their followers were compelled to surrender ; but it was rebuilt by Archbishop Hamilton, the Cardinal's successor, whose arms are still to be seen on the walls. The front window in it, from which the Cardinal is said to have witnessed the incremation of his conspiring enemy George Wishart, "the Martyr," is therefore, as far as that tradition is concerned, altogether a fable.

It is already mentioned that only two of the Scottish Cathedrals are entire, or escaped the violence of the Reformation—Glasgow, preserved by the spirited conduct of the citizens, and Orkney, which owed its safety to its distance from the scene of turbulence. These edifices are subsequently noticed ; meanwhile, proceeding northwards, the episcopal city of Brechin, nearly forty miles from St Andrews by Dundee and Forfar, claims our notice. This Cathedral was founded by David I. in the eleventh century, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but no distinct account of the date of the erection of the church, or of the adjoining steeple, and celebrated round tower, is known to exist. The belfry appears to have been built between 1354 and 1384, at least during the episcopate of Bishop Patrick de Leuchars, when, as a part of the payment of twenty-eight marks due annually from the parish of Lethnot to the Cathedral, Henry de Leighton, the vicar, delivered to the Bishop "a large white horse, and also a cart and horse to lead stones to the building of the belfrey of the Church of Brechin."* It appears that this Cathedral never was completed ;

* History of Brechin, by David D. Black, p. 17.

and though some beautiful ruins of the choir and chancel are still seen, the intelligent historian of Brechin doubts if “the high altar had ever been finished, and if there had been any thing more than a *Lady Chapel*, of which the foundations are occasionally met with to the east of the ruins.”* The great western door and the nave, according to this statement, constituted the whole of Brechin Cathedral ever erected, as there is no appearance of transepts, and what are now considered as such seem to have been mere extensions of the side aisles. This Cathedral escaped the fury of Knox’s mob, whose ravages indeed were very limited north of the Tay. Before 1806 the church, as used by the Presbyterian congregation, was an elegant Gothic edifice, consisting of the nave and two side aisles, and the transepts or extension of the aisles. In that year the north and south transepts were removed, new aisles were built on each side of the nave, and one roof placed over the whole, completely eclipsing the beautiful clere storey windows in the nave, and obscuring a fine carved cornice of the “nail head quatrefoil description, which runs under the eaves of the nave.”† It is needless to observe that, in an architectural point of view, the Presbyterians have completely deformed the edifice by their outrageous alterations. The church, as now occupied by the Established Presbyterians, is 114 feet in length, and 30 feet in breadth, or 58 feet including the aisles, added in 1806-7, each of which measures 14 feet, and the whole is supported by 12 pillars. The western door is beautifully carved, and the large Gothic window above it is deservedly admired for its elegant mullions and tracery. The original roof was Gothic, and was of a similar construction to that of Westminster Hall. At the north angle of the nave, close to the west door, rises the steeple, a stately square tower of 70 feet high, ornamented with elegant quatrefoil belfry windows, the top battlemented, and surrounded with a bar-tizan, from which rises a fine octagon spire 50 feet high. The base of the steeple contains an apartment with an elegant groined roof, terminating in an open circle about four feet in diameter, and 17 feet from the floor.‡ This room in all probability was a kind of chapter room for the clergy of the Cathedral, and it is now used as the Presbyterian session-house. A board in it intimates

* History of Brechin, by David D. Black, p. 253, 254.

† *Ibid.* p. 254.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 253, 254, 255.

that in 1615, Andrew, Bishop of Brechin, “ gifted the *hearse* before the pulpit,” the said *hearse*, which is still in the church, being a very elegant brass chandelier for holding candles. This Bishop was Andrew Lamb, one of those consecrated in England in 1610. Another intimation in this “ session-house” is to the effect that in 1665, David, Bishop of Brechin, gifted the “ orlodge,” or clock on the steeple. This prelate was David Strachan, consecrated in 1662.* The residence of the Bishops of Brechin in their own episcopal city was near a lane, still called the *Bishop's Close*, to the east of the Cathedral, and leading to the High Street. At one end is an arch, the aisles of which display part of the walls which enclosed the episcopal house, but no vestige now remains. Campbell, the last Roman Catholic incumbent, who dilapidated the See after the Reformation in favour of the Earl of Argyll, probably sold the mansion when he disposed of a piece of ground near the Bishop's Close to a certain James Graham, on the pretence that it had long been a “ receptacle of filth and nuisance,” and that “ he had not been able to walk in his own garden in safety by reason thereof.” It is well observed by the local historian of Brechin, that at the Reformation it was simultaneously discovered that the “ manses, houses, and hospitals of the Roman Catholics, had been contrived to last only during the continuance of their dominion.—The Archdean sold his mansion, with the houses and yards pertaining thereto ; the Chancellor conveyed a piece of waste ground upon which *formerly* stood his manse, with the garden thereof, and the Presbyters found that part of their residence and habitation was in a like dangerous and decayed situation, and that there was no cure but a sale. These and other similar grants are all ratified by James IV., and thus a great part of the property belonging to the church of Brechin passed to lay hands.”† Such was the fate of much of the ecclesiastical property in other places.

The See of Aberdeen is generally alleged to have been at Mortlach, a parish and decayed hamlet in the county of Banff, the latter in the vicinity of the thriving village of Dufftown, erected since 1815 under the auspices of the Earl of Fife. Malcolm II. is the reputed founder, and he was induced to erect a church and monastery to perpetuate a victory over the Danes in the

* History of Brechin, by David D. Black, p. 302, 305.

+ *Ibid.* p. 32, 33.

neighbourhood about A. D. 1010. Mortlach became the seat of the ancient prelates, and the Cathedral, such as it is, a remarkably plain edifice, is still used for parochial purposes; but the time of the proper erection of the See must be referred to the reign of David I., about 1136, when Nectanus was appointed Bishop, and the seat of the Diocese transferred to Old Aberdeen, within two miles of the large seaport of Aberdeen. The present Cathedral, dedicated to St Machar, occupies the site of the old church of St Machar, and was begun by Bishop Alexander Kinimont, the second of that name, who succeeded to the See about 1357; but at his death in 1381 the work had made little progress. His successors carried on the edifice according to their resources, which appear to have been very limited; for in 1430, Bishop Leighton laid the foundation of the steeple on the east end, and of the two towers on the west front. Bishop Lindsay, who succeeded him, completed the roof of the nave about 1445, and the church continued in this state till the episcopate of Bishop Elphinstone, who after 1484 rebuilt the ancient choir on the east end, and covered the roof with lead at the expense of James IV. That prelate also completed the great steeple about 1511, and placed in it three bells, the united weight of which was twelve thousand pounds. Bishop Gavin Dunbar, uncle of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow, who succeeded in 1518, finished the Cathedral, by completing the two towers on the west end, and about 1522 erecting the south transept, which was known by the name of his aisle. He also ceiled the roof of the nave with the finest oak of curious workmanship. His two successors, however, must have done something to the fabric, as their names and that of Queen Mary appear on the roof. But the Cathedral of Aberdeen, which occupied upwards of one hundred and fifty years in erecting, was not allowed to remain forty years entire. As the citizens of both the towns of Aberdeen were generally by no means favourable to the Reformation, being under the influence of the Earl of Huntly, and other noblemen and barons devoted to the Roman Hierarchy, a body of Reformers from the South considered it necessary to meet them, and ascertain their sentiments on the Protestant opinions. As the magistrates had heard of their destroying propensities in other places, they removed every article of value to a place of safety, and secured the archives and public

records. At the end of December 1559, a large mob of enthusiasts entered the seaport town of Aberdeen, and commenced their usual work of destruction by attempting to pull down the great spire of the church of St Nicholas, but they were driven back, and the fabric was saved, though they succeeded in destroying the monasteries of the Black Friars and Carmelites. The insurgents next proceeded to Old Aberdeen, to wreak their vengeance on the Cathedral. Bishop William Gordon, a relative of the Earl of Huntly, was fortunate to secure the jewels, silver plate, and other valuables belonging to the Church, portions of which were entrusted to the prebendaries for protection, and were never afterwards seen. Enraged at being deprived of their plunder, they stripped the Cathedral of its roof, demolished the choir and chancel, and the whole fabric would have been destroyed if the Earl of Huntly and Leslie of Balquhain had not arrived at the head of a strong force of armed retainers, and dispersed the assailants. They contrived to seize the lead of the church roof, and the three bells which Bishop Elphinstone had placed in the steeple, all of which were shipped at Aberdeen to be sold in Holland ; but it is some consolation to know that their avarice was frustrated, and that the vessel sunk with the plunder near the Girdleness, within half a mile of the harbour. That portion of the Cathedral preserved by the timely interference of the Earl of Huntly remained in a neglected state till 1607, when it was repaired by the inhabitants of the parish of Old Machar, in which it is situated, and covered with slates. From that time, except the interruptions noticed in the sequel, till a few years after the Revolution, the church was the Cathedral of the Diocese of Aberdeen, and the Principal of King's College was constituted Dean of the Chapter. In 1688, the lofty steeple on the east end, which was about 150 feet high, and contained three bells presented by Bishop Patrick Forbes, fell on the eastern part of the nave. It was in consequence greatly injured, and several of the sepulchral monuments were destroyed ; but the bells had been removed a short time before this accident, which was occasioned, according to the local tradition, by Cromwell's soldiers who were stationed in Aberdeen, and who had removed some of the buttresses to procure materials for military works erected by them on the Castlehill.

The Cathedral, which is now possessed by the congregation of the

Established Presbyterians, and is in complete repair, is a large Gothic edifice of granite, massive and stately, but externally of no architectural pretensions. In reality it is far inferior in beauty to several of the other Cathedrals even in Scotland. The west part, however, is very imposing, and is mostly worked in granite, in a bold style, of the decorated character. As it now exists, the church consists only of the nave and side aisles, 126 feet in length, and nearly 68 feet broad, including the latter, a very small portion of the wall of the transepts remaining; but when entire, the edifice is conjectured to have been about 200 feet in length, and the choir and transepts were probably 70 feet long. The windows are lancet-shaped in the west end, above the great entrance, and on this part are two towers, each 112 feet high, rising square above the ground about 52 feet, at which three projecting courses of stones are successively laid with intervening spaces, and then projecting probably 15 inches within the wall. The breadth above is contracted, and the towers are octagonal, diminishing as they rise in height. The spires are divided into three storeys, and terminate in points, on each of which is an iron cross, the whole being a very humble imitation of the papal crown. The side walls are about 42 feet high, and supported by a range of pillars on each side, 15 feet 6 inches high, and the diameter upwards of three feet. Seven Gothic arches are thrown over these pillars, extending the entire length of the side walls, and between them is an open passage in the centre of the wall, 5 feet 9 inches high, by one foot 10 inches broad. One of the Gothic arches which supported the great steeple is still in the east end, the columns of the arch entire, resembling trunks of trees bound together, and the capitals displaying beautifully ornamented foliage in high relief. In the south aisle a portion of Bishop Dunbar's tomb still exists, and in St John's, or the north aisle, are the remains of the tomb of Bishop Leighton, both of which monuments were defaced by the incendiaries at the Reformation. The roof, originally constructed by Bishop Dunbar, includes three compartments of square pannels joining at the opposite angular points, on which are painted the arms and titles of the sovereigns, princes, prelates, and nobles, who are supposed to have contributed to the expence of the edifice. In the first compartment, among the sovereigns and princes are the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of England, France, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, Portugal, Aragon,

Navarre, Sicily, Poland, and Bohemia, two foreign Dukes, and the city of Old Aberdeen. In the second compartment appear the Pope, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, all the Scottish Bishops, the Prior of St Andrews, and the University of King's College. In the third are the Scottish King and Queen, the Duke of Albany, the Earls of March, Moray, Douglas, Angus, Mar, Sutherland, Crawford, Huntly, Orkney, Erroll, Marischal, and Bothwell, and the town of New Aberdeen; along the top of the walls are also inscribed on the south side the names of all the Scottish sovereigns, from Malcolm II. to Queen Mary, and on the north side, of all the Bishops from Nectanus to Bishop William Gordon, the last Roman Catholic prelate. The latter records a succession of twenty-six Bishops, including Nectanus. All the inscriptions are painted in the old black Saxon character, but the great height precludes the decyphering of them in a legible manner. Tradition ascribes the whole to an artist named James Winter, a native of Forfarshire. A tabular record of this ceiling is inserted in Kennedy's "Annals of Aberdeen," which, it is stated, was the performance of "Mr James Paterson, the last master of the ancient music school of Old Aberdeen, who was also clerk of the [Presbyterian] church-session, and died some years ago at the advanced age of eighty-nine." It is farther stated—"A neat painting of this ceiling was executed by Mr. Cordiner, one of the ministers of St. Paul's Chapel in Aberdeen, and presented to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London."

The mutilated tomb of Bishop Dunbar, in the south aisle of the church, is already mentioned. It is an altar tomb, the effigy of the prelate in full pontificals under a round flowered arch, at the base of which are his family arms and those of Scotland. His body is interred in the vault beneath. Near his tomb is a blue stone marking the cemetery of Bishop Forbes in 1635, and in the same aisle is also an altar tomb, under a round arch of oak branches, with the figure of a bishop in pontificals wanting the head, a horn at the feet, under the head of which is a helmet for a cushion, with arms, and a lion rampant. This aisle was respectively known as St Machar's, Bishop Dunbar's, Bishop Cheyne's, and Bishop Scougall's Aisle. The tomb of the last-mentioned prelate is entire in the west end of the church. It was at one time finely illuminated, but the colours are now scarcely discernible. In the centre

of the tomb is an effigy of the Bishop in his episcopal robes in high relief, supported on each side by a young man, and in the background appears a burning torch. His mitre and crozier are finely cut on the pedestal, with his armorial bearings and motto, over which are placed three flaming urns. The inscription on the tablet intimates that he was consecrated in 1664, and that he died on the 16th of February 1682, in the 18th year of his episcopate, and 75th of his age. This monument, which was erected by his son, Mr. James Scougall, commissary of the Diocese, formerly stood at some distance from the walls, where it accidentally fell down, but it was ordered to be carefully rebuilt in its present position by Dr. Skene Ogilvy, one of the Presbyterian incumbents of the parish. Several other Bishops are interred in the aisles, whose graves are only indicated by common stones.*

The Cathedral of Aberdeen was the scene of another act of fanatical violence, nearly one hundred years after its first dilapidation by the mob in 1560. This was in 1649, when the crimes of that disastrous period were consummated by the murder of Charles I. "So violent," says Grose, "were the zeal of that reforming period against all monuments of idolatry, that perhaps the sun and moon, very ancient objects of false worship, owed their safety to their distance. As there was nothing to be found in the Cathedral of Aberdeen worth carrying off, the illiberal zealots wreaked their vengeance upon the stones and timber. The high altar-piece, of the finest workmanship of any thing of the kind in Europe, had to that time remained inviolate, but in the year 1649 it was hewed to pieces by order, and with the aid of the [Presbyterian] parish minister. The carpenter employed for this infamous purpose, awed by the sanctity of the place, and struck with the noble workmanship, refused to lay a tool on it till the more than Gothic priest took the hatchet from his hand, and struck the first blow. The wainscotting was richly carved, and ornamented with different kinds of crowns at the top, admirably cut; one of these, large and of superior workmanship, even staggered the zeal of the furious *priest*; he wished to save it, perhaps as a trophy over a fallen enemy. Whatever his motive may have been, his hopes were disappointed. While the carpenter rudely hewed down the sup-

* Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, 4to. 1818, vol. ii, p. 338-346.

porting timber, the crown fell from a great height, ploughed up the pavement of the church, and flew in a thousand pieces."* If Grose is correct in his date, the Presbyterian "priest," the hero of this exploit, was named William Strachan.

The consistory-house, adjoining the west end of the church, was built by Bishop William Stewart, in which is preserved an oak pulpit, having on the front his initials and a mitre. The episcopal residence stood at the east end of the Cathedral, and communicated with the east end of the choir by a covered passage. It was dilapidated during the episcopate of one of the Bishops Kinninmont, was repaired by Bishop Spens about 1459, and from that period the Bishops of Aberdeen had a permanent mansion in their own city. This residence was of limited accommodation, and was of no architectural importance, consisting of a quadrangular court, with a small turret at each of the angles. During the Civil Wars the building was plundered and defaced by the Presbyterian Covenanters, and in 1651 the whole materials were carried to the Castlehill of New Aberdeen by Cromwell's soldiers to complete their fortifications. The deanery house occupied the site of the Presbyterian manse, and most of the houses of the prebendaries were removed about 1725.

The date of the erection of the See of MORAY is uncertain. Malcolm III. is the reputed founder according to Leslie and Buchanan, and it certainly existed in the twelfth century. Bishop Gregory of Moray is a witness in the chartulary of Scone Priory in 1115. Various churches were used as the Cathedral till 1208, when Bishop Bricius, of the Douglas family, applied to Pope Innocent III., who empowered the Bishops of St Andrews and Brechin and the Abbot of Lindores to transfer the See to the church of the Holy Trinity at Spynie, and to distinguish it by the title of a Cathedral; but that locality was soon found to be inconvenient and insecure, and in 1224 Pope Honorius enjoined the Bishop of Caithness, the Abbot of Kinloss, and the Dean of Ross, to translate the seat of the Diocese to the church of the Holy Trinity at Elgin, now the county town of Elgin, or Moray, sixty-seven miles north-west from Aberdeen by Huntly. King Alexander II. granted a site to Bishop Andrew Moray, or de Moravia, the successor of Bishop

* Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, 4to. 1791, vol. ii. p. 265.

Bricius, on the east side of the town, near the river Lossie. The foundation of the magnificent Cathedral was laid by that prelate on the site of the former church in 1224. No information of the progress of the edifice is given in the chartulary, though penalties are mentioned which were incurred for not fulfilling obligations connected with the construction or repair of the building. One instance occurs in 1234, and two others in 1286 and 1293. Bishop Andrew de Moravia added fourteen canons to the eight constituted by Bishop Bricius, and it is said that the Cathedral was almost completed during his episcopate, which terminated at his death in 1242, eighteen years after the foundation. In 1390 the Cathedral of Elgin was burnt, during the episcopate of Bishop Alexander Barr, by Alexander Earl of Buchan, commonly called the *Wolf of Badenoch*, youngest son of King Robert II. by Elizabeth More. This was to revenge a sentence of excommunication issued against him for keeping forcible possession of some ecclesiastical property, and the town shared the same fate of the Cathedral. This is the usual reason assigned for the attack of this fierce chief on the Cathedral of Elgin, but his resentment may have been excited by a different cause. In 1389, the very year before he committed this outrage, the Bishops of Moray and Ross, as judges ordinary of the Diocese of each litigant party, took cognizance of the Wolf of Badenoch for deserting his lawful wife, the Lady Euphemia Ross, and living in adultery with another woman. The Bishops ordained that the said Euphemia Ross "be restored to Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Lord of Ross, her husband, along with her possessions, to be treated with conjugal affection, in bed and board, in clothing, and all other matters corresponding to her station—that he shall put away Athyn's daughter Mariota—and failing to do so, as the said Lady Euphemia alleges fear of her life, he shall find the security of great and noble persons, under penalty of L.200, to treat her respectfully in every thing, and without endangering her safety." Moray was a flourishing See, but it comprised a district in which the people were fierce and barbarous, and ready to follow their leaders in any outrage. Bishop Barr represented the state of his Cathedral and Diocese, after the violence committed by the Wolf of Badenoch, in a very affecting manner to King Robert III. He says—"Being debilitated by age, impoverished and reduced by so many depredations and robberies, and brought

to such necessity, that at this Parliament of Seone I can scarcely sustain a needy existence for myself and my few servants, to solicit the rebuilding of my church, which was the especial ornament of the country and the glory of the kingdom, the delight of strangers, the praise of guests, the renowned among foreign nations for its beautiful decorations, and the number of those in its service. I shall say nothing of its lofty towers, its venerable utensils, and innumerable jewels, having had a personal concern in them along with some of my Canons. Because the Parliament did not hold, and as I could not labour farther in the cause of God and my church from the want of funds, I humbly implore your Majesty to compel the incendiaries to give suitable satisfaction for proper re-edification, and the other damage which they have occasioned ; and because I, a feeble old man, cannot prosecute the injury and the burning of my church for the foregoing reasons, I commit it to the justice of your royal Majesty, as the Bishop of Ross will explain.”*

It appears that the Bishop directed a subsidy to be levied from all the benefices in his Diocese to repair the mischief inflicted by the Wolf of Badenoch, and he enforced this subsidy by a sequestration of their fruits. The rebuilding of the Cathedral was in progress in 1414, for we find the members of the Chapter, who had convened to elect a Bishop, binding themselves by an oath that he on whom the choice might fall should assign a third of his revenues until the fabric was repaired. The Cathedral was at last rebuilt in a style inferior to few in that age, in the form of a Jerusalem cross, ornamented with five towers, two of which were at the west end, two at the east, and one in the centre. The church remained entire many years till 1506, when the great steeple in the centre, begun by Bishop Innes, who was consecrated by Pope Benedict in 1406-7, fell down. On the following year Bishop Fornan commenced the rebuilding of it, which was not finished till 1538, when the height, including the spire, was 198 feet. The stately edifice thus continued, and escaped the violence of the mob at the Reformation only to be dilapidated in a more premeditated manner. On the 14th of February 1567-8, the Privy-Council issued an order that the “ lead be taken from the Cathedral

* Brief Analysis of the Ancient Records of the See of Moray, by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. p. 10, 11.

churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, and sold for sustentation of the men of war." The Earl of Huntly and his deputies, with William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Patrick, Bishop of Moray, were appointed to enforce the order, which is signed R. M., probably the initials of the Regent Moray. The lead was accordingly stript from the Cathedral of Elgin, which was left completely roofless, and shipped at Aberdeen with the lead from that church; but the vessel went down off the Girdleness as already stated, and the sacrilegious cupidity of the Privy-Council was utterly defeated. The stately Cathedral of Elgin soon fell rapidly to decay, though some painted rooms remained entire in the towers and choirs till about 1640, and were frequented by Roman Catholics for devotional purposes. The great tower fell in 1711. Considerable attention has been paid by Government to prevent the ruins from complete decay, and the edifice is now an object of great and impressive interest, though the service of the Episcopal Church was never celebrated within its walls. The two western towers are of massive and elegant proportions, and are the most entire portions of the present ruin. The two eastern turrets are also tolerably entire; but no part of the great or centre tower now remains. From an engraving of the roofless Cathedral in 1668, it appears that the edifice was then in good preservation; but more than one half of it has now disappeared. The walls of the choir and the whole chapter-house remain, but those of the nave and transepts have fallen. The dimensions of the Cathedral are variously given. According to one authority, the measurement of which is expressly stated to be "nearly accurate," the length over walls was 234 feet, the breadth 35 feet; the transept 114 feet; height of centre tower 198 feet; eastern turrets 60 feet; western towers, without the spires, 84 feet; side wall 36 feet.* Another statement is, that "the length from east to west, including towers, is 289 feet; breadth of nave and side aisles 144 feet; breadth of choir, including walls and side aisles, 79 feet; length of transepts, including walls, 120 feet; height of west towers 83 feet; of east towers 64 feet; of middle tower and spire 198 feet; height of grand entrance 26 feet; of great western window 28 feet; of side walls 43 feet; breadth of side aisles 18 feet; diameter of eastern wheel window

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—Morayshire.

12 feet."* The chapter-house, which is lighted by seven windows and is in good preservation, is an octagon, 37 feet in diagonal breadth, with a vaulted roof 34 feet high, supported in the centre by a column 24 feet high, and 9 feet in circumference, sustaining arched pillars from each angle. In the walls are niches of the oak stalls or chairs of the clergy. It is on the north side of the Cathedral, and is entered by an arched apartment called the *sacristy*. The episcopal residence was the castle of Spynie, upwards of a mile from Elgin, and on the banks of what was formerly the loch or lake of Spynie. The ruins still indicate the importance and extent of the palace, which, when it stood entire, in the opinion of Mr. Lachlan Shaw, "was incomparably the most stately and magnificent he had seen in any Diocese in Scotland."† Mr Rickman's observations on the architecture of Elgin Cathedral are to the following effect:—"The general arrangements of this church seem to have been early English, carried on slowly, and thus mixed gradually with ornaments of later date. There are several very fine doors, and in some of them the ornaments of the early English and decorated characters are mixed. The east end is a very fine specimen of enriched early English, not exactly resembling any other example of that style. The western towers are of a plainer character, and the wall between them, with the great entrance doors and large window above, seem of rather later date. The chapter-house may be considered decorated, and there are a few fragments of perpendicular character. This church must be seen to be properly appreciated."‡

The Cathedral of Ross, the See of which was founded by David I., was in the small town of Chanonry, about a mile from the ancient royal burgh of Rosemarkie, and hence the Bishops of Ross were often designated *Episcopi Rosemarkiensis*. It stood in a spacious square formed by the residences of the clergy, and at the present time almost every house in the town was a manse belonging to the Chapter. The episcopal palace was situated a short distance from the residences of the canons, and as mentioned by Bishop Leslie, the last Roman Catholic prelate of the Diocese, as

* Rhind's Sketches of the History of Moray.

† History of the Province of Moray, 1to. edition of 1827, p. 322.

‡ Rickman on the Styles of the Architecture of England, from the Conquest to the Reformation, p. 287.

splendid and magnificent. The date of the erection of the Cathedral is unknown, and no description is preserved of its architectural appearance, though it is stated to have been a fine edifice, with a lofty steeple. It is said to have been considerably injured at the Reformation, but the tradition in the district is that both the church and the episcopal palace were pulled down by Cromwell's soldiers to procure materials for his fort at Inverness, eight miles distant, and that he sent the stones thither by sea. A part of the edifice, however, was left, which was repaired, and used for divine service during the establishment of the Episcopal Church after the Restoration of Charles II. At that period it was supposed to have been a portion of the original church, about 100 feet long, and 30 feet broad, with an arched roof. The edifice, however, was either repaired, or a new building was projected, during the reign of James I. In a letter from Mr. John Carse to the Right Rev. Dr. Patrick Lindsay, Bishop of Ross, dated London, Jan. 10, supposed year 1615, the writer says—" My hart rises at the newes of a rysing cathedral at Rosse."* The only remnant of it is in a state of decay, and is used as a burying-place. At the east of this sole memorial of the fabric, but detached from it, is a building supposed to have been the vestry, the upper part, now the council-chamber of the little burgh, and the vault below formerly used as a prison. A large bell in the modern spire bears the inscription of Thomas Tulloch, Bishop of Ross, and that it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Boniface, the latter the patron of the place, in 1460 ; but according to Keith, Thomas Urquhart was Bishop of Ross from 1449 to 1463, in which year he was succeeded by a prelate whose name was Henry. The seal of the old Cathedral is still preserved as the common seal of the royal burgh of Rosemarkie, and contains an inscription in Saxon characters, with St Peter and his keys, and St Boniface with his crook. In the inside of the ruins of the Cathedral are some mutilated stone-coffins, with figures of bishops in their episcopal dress, which appear to have been elegantly cut, but time and violence have entirely defaced the names and dates.†

* Letters and State Papers of the Reign of James VI. Edinburgh, 4to. printed for the Abbotsford Club in 1838, p. 248, 249.

† Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 311, 312. New Statistical Account of Scotland—Ross and Cromarty shires.

The date of the erection of the See of CAITHNESS is uncertain. The first recorded Bishop is Andrew in 1150, and his name occurs as a witness in several charters. The Cathedral was erected in the now poor and decayed royal burgh of Dornoch, 57 miles from Inverness, on the road to Thurso. The Cathedral is supposed to have been built by Bishop Gilbert Moray, who was consecrated in 1222, and died at Scrabster, where the Bishops of Caithness had a residence, in 1245. He was afterwards canonized, and a mutilated statue of him, under the name of St Gilbert, is still in the church. This Cathedral was a large and beautiful structure in the form of a cross, and escaped, by its distance from the scene of fanatical violence, the fury of the heroes of the Reformation, only to be burnt, with the exception of the steeple, in 1570, by the Master of Caithness and Mackay of Strathnaver, who had a feud with the Murrays, a tribe who then inhabited the district, about the possession of the person of Alexander eleventh Earl of Sutherland, at that time a minor. They also burnt the episcopal palace or castle, a large and massive edifice into which the Murrays had retired, but a part of it was repaired in 1813, and subsequently used as the *county jail* of Sutherland. The Cathedral was renovated by John twelfth Earl of Sutherland, and completed by Sir Robert Gordon, his "tutour." The whole was completely rebuilt, renewed, and beautified after 1835 by the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, mother of the second Duke, and it is now one of the finest structures of the kind in Scotland. A part of it is the burying-place of the Noble Family of Sutherland, and the other portions are fitted up for the Presbyterian congregation.*

Proceeding northward in these remote regions, and crossing the Pentland Frith, the stately pile of the Cathedral of Magnus, the church of the See of ORKNEY, towers above the houses of the royal burgh of Kirkwall, on the island known as the Mainland of Orkney, rising in the midst of dreariness and apparent desolation. The date of the foundation of the See of Orkney is unknown, and as the Orkney Islands, though occasionally under the Scottish crown, were often subject to Norway, their ancient ecclesiastical history is obscure. Rudulphus, Bishop of Orkney, is first mentioned as a witness to a charter of David I., but not as a liege of that monarch.

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—Sutherlandshire.

The foundation of the Cathedral is thus historically related. Magnus, Earl of Orkney, was murdered in the island of Eaglesay, one of the Shetland group, about 1115, by a rival named Haco. The Earl, on account of his reputed sanctity, was canonized, and his body deposited in Christ Church at Birsay, on the north-west of the Mainland. His nephew Ronald, who had visited Palestine as a Crusader, failed in an attempt to gain possession of the Earldom of Orkney, and resolved to rouse the courage of his followers by religion. Before he sailed from Shetland for Orkney, he vowed that if he was successful he would found a splendid church, and dedicate it to his uncle's memory. This was between the years 1130 and 1159, but the exact date is not known. In the accomplishment of the work he found it necessary to parcel out the islands in lots among his followers and subjects, to induce them to assist in completing the church, some vestiges of which are said to be still perceptible in the udal land-rights of the proprietors. The body of St Magnus was transferred from Birsay to the Cathedral thirty-four years after his murder, and the Pope declared Earl Ronald a saint for his pious work. At that time Orkney was under Norwegian dominion, and there can be little doubt that the Bishopric was then in existence. It is proved from some of the public records of Scotland that the Cathedral of St Magnus was canonically occupied in 1266. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh in 1485, seventeen years after the Orkney Islands were absolutely transferred to the Scottish Crown, the Scottish Ambassador at Rome was ordered to obtain a confirmation of all the transactions from the Pope, and the Cathedral was duly vested, along with the other rights of sovereignty, in the Scottish Kings. Soon after this annexation, James III. in 1486 erected the village of Kirkwall into a royal burgh and episcopal city, with extensive jurisdiction, property, and privileges; and the Cathedral church with all its lands and rights, were conferred on the corporation, with power to let or sell the lands, "to be always employed and bestowed upon repairing and upholding of the said kirk called St Magnus' Kirk;" but the Cathedral and its funds were speedily restored to episcopal authority. Bishop Edward Stewart lengthened the choir of the Cathedral at the east, by adding three arches resting on Gothic columns, and introducing the rose window at the altar. Bishop Robert Maxwell, who succeeded to the See in

1525, fitted up the choir with stalls, and furnished the tower with a set of finely toned bells, which still enliven the citizens of this remote town every day in a particular chime. Bishop Robert Reid, the founder of the University of Edinburgh, and projector of a college in Orkney, who obtained the See in 1540, enlarged very considerably the Cathedral at the west end, but the arched roof of this addition was never finished. This portion of the church is curiously decorated by various mixed specimens of architecture. The embellishment and completion of the Cathedral terminated with Bishop Reid's life, and its great distance from the scenes of destruction at the Reformation accounts for its preservation. Subsequently, while the Stuart Earls held the patronages in Orkney, and possessed the Bishopric at the first introduction of Presbyterianism, they maintained the Cathedral, and the nominal Bishop kept the choir in repair. The church was threatened with destruction by the Earl of Caithness, who was sent to quell an alleged rebellion of Patrick, Earl of Orkney, between 1609 and 1614, but he was prevented by the resolute conduct of the Bishop. Cromwell's soldiers committed gross outrages in the Cathedral, and it appears that the “pulpitt and the rest of the seats in the church were broken down by thame and brunt.” In 1671, during the episcopate of Bishop Honeyman, the spire was struck with lightning and entirely destroyed. The tower was afterwards roofed in with a paltry roof, which greatly disfigured the edifice.*

But Cromwell's soldiers were not the only desecrators of the venerable Cathedral of St Magnus, which Mr. Erskine, Sheriff-Depute of Orkney, afterwards a Judge in the Supreme Court by the title of Lord Kinnedar, justly designated in his Report to the Barons of Exchequer as “one of the most beautiful and valuable reliques of antiquity in Scotland,” when he was successful in preventing the Magistrates, Kirk-Session, and others from erecting some hideous buildings in the church-yard, on the north side of the Cathedral, for school-rooms, a county-hall, and various local purposes. In Presbyterian times it appears that the Magistrates of Kirkwall generally converted the church into a guard-house during their annual fair in August. This was done at least in

* Notes on Orkney and Zetland, illustrative of the History, Antiquities, Scenery, and Customs of those Islands, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney. Edin. 1822, 8vo. vol. i. p. 26—55.

1701 ; but it is only justice to the Presbyterian authorities or ministers to state that they denounce this as an “ unchristian and more than barbarous practice,” and speak of the people of the town “ keeping guard within the church, shooting of guns, burning great fyres on the graves of the dead, drinking, fiddling, piping, swearing and cursing night and day, within the church.” It appears also that little respect was evinced even when a sermon was delivered in the choir ; for the same parties allege—“ Neither can the preacher open his mouth, nor the hearers conveniently attend, for smoke ; yea, some of the members of the Presbytery have been stopped in the outgoing and coming to their meetings, and most rudely pursued by the soldiers with their musquets and halberts.” In 1710, however, one Presbyterian minister was charged with “ taking his horse through St Magnus’ church to grass in the church-yard, and another not long ago caused tye his horse to a pillar within the church, where it stood all the time of the sermon.”*

The Cathedral of St Magnus is said to be the property of the Corporation and inhabitants of Kirkwall, granted by charter of James III., confirmed in 1536 by James V., and again by Charles II. in 1661. Infestment followed upon the last-mentioned charter in 1669, and it was confirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1670.† The entire length of the church from east to west outside is 226 feet, the breadth 56 feet ; the arms of the cross or transept are each 28 feet beyond the side walls, and 23 feet in breadth. The height from the floor to the roof is 71 feet, and to the summit of the spire on the central tower variously stated at 133, and about 135, or 140 feet. Thirty-two pillars, faced with freestone, support the elegantly arched main roof of the choir and part of the nave ; the roof of the side aisles consists of groined arches ; and the whole edifice is lighted by 103 windows, including those of the steeple, some of them in the Gothic style, and of great size. The east window is provincially called a *rose* window, being of Gothic form, of four pointed arches separated by three shafts, and a wheel or circle is added above of twelve compartments ; the height of the whole is 36 feet, and the width 12 feet. On the south wing of the cross or transept is another cir-

* Peterkin’s Notes on Orkney and Zetland, vol. i, p. 57, 58.

† Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum, vol. viii. p. 34, 35, 36.

cular window, and in the nave three doors and a fine Gothic pointed window, two side doors forming with the others a porch. The whole edifice is built chiefly of red sandstone, interspersed regularly, especially on the west end, with white. The architecture is mixed Saxon and Gothic. This Cathedral was long kept in repair solely by a small fund derived from seat-rents, but it was inadequate for the purpose, and the church was prevented from becoming ruinous by the generous bequest of Gilbert Meason, Esq., a wealthy native of Orkney, who left, at the suggestion of his relative, Malcolm Laing, Esq., author of a well known History of Scotland, the sum of L.1000 sterling, the interest of which he ordered to be annually applied to repairing and beautifying the edifice. The choir is used by the Presbyterian congregation, and is fitted up in the most uncomfortable and deforming style; but they threaten to evacuate the edifice altogether, and occupy a structure near it, erected in 1842, and dignified with the title of the "East Church."*

Close to the Cathedral, in the vicinity of the ruins of the Palace of the Earl of Orkney, are the dilapidated remains of the Episcopal Palace. It is locally known as the *Palace of the Yard*, and is interesting as the scene of the death of Haco, King of Norway, after his defeat at the battle of Largs in Ayrshire, in 1263. James V. also resided within its walls some days, and was the guest of the Bishop when he visited Orkney. The Episcopal Palace is of great antiquity, but the date of its erection is unknown. Little remains except the round tower built at the north end of it by Bishop Reid, a small freestone statue of whom has escaped the ruthless hands of the barbarians who pulled down and stole the materials of the rest of the Palace.

A different scene presents itself to the inquirer into the history of Scottish ecclesiastical antiquities, when surveying the venerable Cathedral of DUNKELD in Perthshire, romantically situated on the banks of the River Tay, and literally embosomed among the magnificent scenery of the neighbourhood. When first seen on diverging from the Pass of Birnam, a hill immortalized by Shakespeare, this old episcopal city and its environs have a most striking effect, the fine bridge, the ruined Cathedral, and the palace of the

* Peterkin's Notes on Orkney and Zetland, vol. i, p. 55, 56. New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1841. Orkney.

Dukes of Atholl, appearing amid the dark woods. Great obscurity involves the early history of this original seat of the Scottish Primate before it was transferred to St Andrews. The choir, now used for parochial purposes, was built by Bishop Sinclair in 1350; Bishop Cairney commenced the great aisle, which was finished by Bishop Ralston in 1450; the chapter-house was built and the foundation of the tower laid by Bishop Lauder in 1469; and the latter was completed by Bishop Brown in 1501. There were several other buildings and the episcopal residence. At the Reformation this Cathedral was gutted and defaced in the most wanton manner. On the 12th of August 1560, a letter was written at Edinburgh, signed by the Earl of Argyll, the Regent Moray, then Lord James Stuart, and Lord Ruthven, addressed to their "traist friendis the Lairds of Arntilly and Kinvaid," enjoining them "to pass incontinent to the kyrk of Dunkeld, and tak down the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kirk-yaird, and burn the organ openly; and siclyk cast down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye." It is true that those three unprincipled worthies of the Reformation intimated in a postscript to their trusty friends—"Faill bot ze tak guid heid that neither the dasks, windocks, nor duris be ony ways hurt or broken, either glassen wark or iron wark." A rabble of fanatics excited by the most outrageous passions are seldom disposed to respect conditions, or to be restrained within certain limits, and this was exemplified in the case of the Cathedral of Dunkeld. Neither the sacredness of the pile, nor the romantic beauties by which it was surrounded, could impress their ruthless minds, and half the church was at least laid in ruins. According to the statement of Abbot Mylne of Cambuskenneth, who thirty years before was one of the Canons of the Cathedral, the mob had ample temptations to display their destructive propensities, for he describes the south gate built by Bishop Lauder as an elegant piece of architecture, beautified with several statues.

The Presbyterian congregation occupy the choir of the Cathedral. In the centre of the wall of the east gable is a part of the wall of the old abbey of the Culdees. The present roof was placed over the choir, instead of the former decayed one, in 1762, by James second Duke of Atholl, who obtained £300 from Government to assist in defraying the expences, and making alterations

in the interior, and on that occasion the elegant Gothic windows were altered in a style which displays the barbarian taste of the parties concerned. Several monuments of the Bishops who were buried in the choir were either defaced at the Reformation, or have entirely disappeared. The square slab of blue marble which indicated the grave of Bishop Sinclair, part of whose arms are on the outside of the east gable, long lay in front of the Duke of Atholl's pew on the floor. In the interior, on the south wall, are the arms of Bishop Alexander Lindsay, who filled the See at the eventful year of 1638. The monument of the Wolf of Badenoch, already mentioned in the notice of Elgin Cathedral, now on the north side of the door from the choir into the nave, stood originally in the centre of the choir. It consists of a recumbent figure in armour, the size of life, supported by a row of ornamental pillars, between which are figures, and a Latin inscription recording his titles, that he was of "good memory," and that he died in 1394. Although this and other monuments were greatly mutilated by a party of Cameronians after the Revolution in 1689, it is in tolerable preservation. The architecture of the nave, and of other parts of the church in ruins, is simple and elegant. A range of seven round pillars, above which are an equal number of windows, rises on each other in the walls of the nave, and at the west end are the remains of a magnificent window. In the wall of the south aisle, is the monument of a bishop in his episcopal dress, with his staff, in a niche prepared for its reception. On the north side of the choir is the chapter-house, the upper apartment of which is the charter-room of the Dukes of Atholl, and the vault below is the cemetery of that Noble Family. The steeple, which was roofed in 1762, contains four of the five bells placed in it by Bishop Brown in 1502. The fifth, which was broken, was recast in 1688, at the expence of John Marquis of Atholl. This steeple is rent in a singular manner on the west side, from the bottom of the uppermost window down the centre of the wall. The present state of Dunkeld Cathedral may be thus described. Exclusive of the choir the great aisle is 122 feet long, the breadth 62 feet, that of each of the side aisles 12 feet, and the height of the walls 40 feet. The body of the church is separated from the choir by a lofty built up Gothic arch. The main aisle is separated from the side one by six plain pillars of the Roman style, and two half columns,

the capitals being plain mouldings, supporting Gothic arches of the second style, above each of which is a semicircular window of two bays, with a trefoil in the interval. Above the roof of the said aisles is an acute bisected window with two trefoils, and a quatrefoil in the intervals. All the mullions have disappeared from the great western window, but the remaining fragments springing from the arch indicate that it was of a handsome florid design. Above it was a circular spiral window, the gable terminating with an elegant florid cross.*

The Cathedral of DUNBLANE, the See of which was erected by David I., though the date is uncertain, and an ancient religious house of the Culdees superseded by it, is in the episcopal town of that name, seven miles from Stirling, on the road to Perth. The founder of this Cathedral is unknown. When entire, it was an elegant edifice, 216 feet in length, 56 feet in breadth, and the length of the walls 56 feet. The general style of the church is the early English, of a beautiful character, but it has various later intersections and alterations. The choir is used by the Presbyterian congregation, all the rest of the church being in ruins. Some of the prebendal stalls are still entire in the choir, and the original roof and ceiling. The steeple is a modern erection, 128 feet high. Here are still some remains of the episcopal residence, which in Slezer's time, after the Revolution, as appears from the view of the city in his "Theatrum Scotiæ," was then a ruin of considerable extent, and a sequestered promenade in the neighbourhood is known as the *Bishop's Walk*. Slezer mentions that "in the ruins is an ancient picture representing the Countess of Stratherne, with her children, kneeling, asking a blessing from St. Blasius, clothed in his pontifical habit." The greater part of this Cathedral was dilapidated by a band of Reformers led by the Earl of Argyll and the Regent Moray, then Prior of St Andrews, one morning towards the end of June 1559, and the interior was purified, while the people were at mass, in the absence of Bishop William Chisholm, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the marauders. The Register of Dunblane, commencing 15th January 1663, is extant in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at

* Macculloch's Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, Edin. 1824, vol. i. p. 23, 24.

Edinburgh. It is a folio volume, written in a neat style, and chiefly consists of transcripts of leases of the teinds belonging to this poor Bishopric, granted by the Chapter to particular individuals after 1663 ; but it contains no information respecting the state of the Diocese, except the names of the Bishops, the prebendaries, and members of the Chapter. The Register of Dunblane, however, is a valuable document. It is stated in a manuscript note at the commencement of the volume, signed by John Swinton, then solicitor for the renewal of leases of the Bishops' Teinds in Scotland, afterwards a Judge in the Court of Session, from 1782 to 1799, by the title of Lord Swinton, that this Register was discovered in the garret of a house in Perth, which " Neil Menzies, surgeon there, purchased from Provost William Ferguson, whose wife was related to John Graham, commissary-clerk, and clerk of the Chapter of Dunblane." The said Neil Menzies gave it to Patrick Murray, sheriff-clerk of Perth, his great-grandson, who, in 1767, says Lord Swinton, " gave it to me, mentioning that he believed it to be a record of the Bishopric of Dunblane," in Mr. Graham's handwriting, " as it might be useful to me in my office of solicitor for Bishops' Teinds."

The Cathedral of the Archiepiscopal Diocese of GLASGOW, still the most interesting object of antiquity in that large and populous commercial city, now claims our notice as the chief of the western Dioceses. The foundation of the See of Glasgow is generally ascribed to St Mungo, or Kentigern, in A. D. 560, and tradition alleges that the holy man was burned at the east end of the ground on which the church stands, his tomb being pointed out in the Crypt below. Previous to 1100, St Mungo's church was an erection of wood, and was a very humble edifice. John Achaius, who succeeded to the See in 1129, began the Cathedral, and the portion of it built by him was solemnly consecrated in 1133, in the presence of David I. Bishop Joceline added to the Cathedral, and it was carried on by succeeding Bishops, though very few notices are recorded of the progress of the work. It was designed to be in the form of a cross, but the transepts were never erected, the foundations of the south one, covering a funeral arched vault beneath, having only been laid. It appears that in the fourteenth century, the great spire was of wood ; for in 1387, during the episcopate of Mathew Glendoning, it was destroyed by lightning. In 1408,

Bishop William Lauder, his successor, built the great tower to the first battlement, and also laid the foundation of the chapter-house. Bishop John Cameron succeeded Bishop Lauder, and he expended considerable sums in completing the Cathedral and Episcopal Castle—the Royal Infirmary now occupying the site of the latter. Bishop Andrew Muirhead, who obtained the See in 1455, also adorned and beautified the Cathedral.

This magnificent old edifice of Saxon architecture stands on the banks of the ravine traversed by the Molendinar rivulet, on the north-east side of Glasgow, in the locality called the Townhead. Previous to the repairs and alterations contemplated in 1843, the church measured 319 feet from east to west; width, 65 feet; height of the nave, 90 feet; of the choir, 85 feet—the general character of the whole structure being the early English, excellently designed and executed. The interior contains 147 pillars, and the whole is lighted by 159 windows, many of them of exquisite workmanship. “The composition of the nave and choir” observes Mr. Rickman, “is different, but each very good. In the choir the capitals are flowered, in the nave plain. These in the choir very much resemble some capitals in the transepts at York Minster, and are equally well executed. The west door is one of great richness and beauty, and bears a strong resemblance to the doors of the continental churches, being a double door, with a square head to each aperture, and the space above filled with good niches. The general design of the doorway is French, but the mouldings and details are English.” A splendid tower, surmounted by a graceful spire, rises from the centre. The grand entrance is on the west end, and on the south and north are doors; the choir, locally known as the High Church, is the only part of the Cathedral now used by the Presbyterians, and behind are the Lady Chapel and the Chapter-House. The latter, at the north end of the chancel, forms a cube of 28 feet, and the groined ceiling is supported by a pillar 20 feet high. The Consistory House, in which the Bishops held their ecclesiastical courts, projects from the north-west corner of the Cathedral, is 25 feet long, and 23 feet broad; but as it is evidently a more modern addition, it injures the general harmony of the whole building. The *Dripping Aisle*, so called from the perpetual dropping of water from the roof, is the lower part of the unfinished transept, long a place of

sepulture for the parochial incumbents of Glasgow. The Crypt, under the choir and chancel of the Cathedral, is not surpassed by any similar structure in Great Britain. M'Ure, the gossiping historian of Glasgow, who describes the Crypt when it was fitted up as a place of worship for the parishioners of the Barony parish, states, that "it is of length 108 feet, and 72 feet wide; it is supported by 65 pillars, some of which are 18 feet in circumference; the height of each, 18 feet; it is illuminated with 41 windows." The piers and groining of the pillars are of the most intricate character, beautifully designed and executed, the groinings having rich bosses, and the doors much enriched with foliage and other ornaments. The Crypt is again restored to its ancient purpose as an impressive region of death, at the east end of which is the supposed recumbent statue of St Mungo over his reputed grave.

The noble Cathedral of Glasgow only escaped the fate of the Cathedral of St Andrews at the Reformation by the prudence of the Lord Provost of the city, who appears to have been Robert Lindsay of Dunrod. The populace wished to pull down this grand fabric of former ages, and the Provost alleged that he was equally anxious for its destruction; but he advised them first to build a new church. This suggestion appeared reasonable, and the church was saved from the tempest of the Reformation. The citizens soon recovered their attachment to their Cathedral; for some years afterwards, when the famous Andrew Melville, then Principal of the University, and the preachers in the neighbourhood, had induced the Magistrates to sanction its demolition, the incorporated trades ran to arms, took possession of the church, and threatened instant death to the first individual who offered to injure a stone. They even compelled the Magistrates to make a solemn declaration that the edifice would be preserved. The work of renovating the Cathedral of Glasgow was in active progress in 1843.

The Cathedral of GALLOWAY was at the royal burgh of Whithorn, in the county of Wigton, on Wigton Bay. Nothing is recovered of its architectural appearance, size, dimensions, or even of its ultimate destruction. The church is so completely dilapidated, or rather demolished, by time and human violence, that only a few old arches remain, one of them of the Saxon order, al-

most entire, and much admired as the finest specimen of the kind in that quarter of Scotland.

The Cathedral of the See of ARGYLL, a See founded about 1200, and disjoined from the Diocese of Dunkeld, was in the Island of Lismore, at the mouth of the large inlet of Loch Linnhe, nearly eight miles from Oban. The chancel of the Cathedral, after having been considerably altered, is used as a Presbyterian place of worship, but nothing is known of the original edifice, the date of its erection, or the builder. Four miles west of this Island Cathedral, such as it now is, are the ruins of the Bishop's Castle, having a square open court in the interior.

The parish church of St Mary at Rothesay, in the Island of Bute, was one of the cathedral churches of the Diocese of THE ISLES for a considerable time before the Reformation, and the sole Cathedral during the establishment of the Episcopal Church in the seventeenth century. It was probably built about the end of the thirteenth century, and was taken down in 1692. The most of the materials were used to erect a new one, which was succeeded by the present Presbyterian edifice, built in 1795. Near this the walls of the choir of the old church of St Mary are still seen, and in it Robert Wallace, Bishop of the Isles, was interred in 1669.

Such is a sketch of the past and present state of the ancient Cathedrals of the Scottish Sees, for that of St Giles at Edinburgh was not so constituted till the foundation of the Bishopric by Charles I. in 1633. It will thus be seen, that in only a few of them was divine service performed by the Bishops and clergy after the Reformation, and those now wholly or partly entire are defaced and deformed to adapt them to the Presbyterian mode of worship. No allusion is here made to the destruction of the monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, as the present volume has only to do with the ecclesiastical edifices connected with the Sees.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—THE LAST ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS, AND THE FIRST PROTESTANT PREACHERS, IN SCOTLAND.

THE destructive outrages committed in Scotland at the outbreak of the Reformation attracted the attention of several distinguished members of the Church of England, who appear to have fraternized considerably with the Reformers of Switzerland. John Knox arrived in Edinburgh from France on the 2d of May 1559, and the first fruits of his orations were the destruction of most of the Cathedrals and religious houses. The reader may form some idea of the kind of information then current in England, at least in London, and of its authenticity, from several letters of Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr :—" In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion ; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries ; that some French soldiers of the garrison, [probably Edinburgh Castle is meant] have been slain in a riot, and that the Queen [Mary of Guise, widow of James V., and mother of Queen Mary, then Regent] was so incensed, as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox by sound of horn, according to the usual custom in Scotland when they mean to send any one into exile. What has become of him I know not."* In another letter is the following information :—" Every thing is in a ferment

* John Jewel to Peter Martyr, no date, but supposed to be 1559, in the " Zurich Letters, comprising the Correspondence of several English Bishops and others with the Helvetian Reformers, during the early part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," edited and translated for the PARKER SOCIETY, by the Rev. H^stings Robinson, D.D. &c. 1843, p. 24.

in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. The old Queen [Dowager and Regent] has been compelled to shut herself up in garrison. The Nobility, with united hearts and hands, are restoring religion throughout the country in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are everywhere levelled with the ground, the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames ; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask for ? You have often heard of *drinking like a Scythian*, but this is *churching like a Scythian*.^{*} It is melancholy to find such a man as Bishop Jewel not merely writing gross absurdities to his correspondent Peter Martyr, but actually exulting at the committal of the outrages caused by Knox, which he well knew must have been of the most serious consequences, and productive of the greatest distress and poverty, to say nothing of the valuable property destroyed, which to a country then so poor as Scotland must have been a severe deprivation.

But as the Established Episcopal Church of Scotland had no connection with the public affairs of those times, and was never linked in any way with the Roman Catholic Hierarchy which was prostrated by the Reformation, it is only necessary to narrate those transactions illustrative of the change of religious opinions, and the introduction of Presbyterianism into the country previous to the establishment of Episcopacy as the apostolical and primitive government of the Church. And as the present work is not intended to be a History of the Reformation, or of the strife of partizanship which it engendered, it is only necessary to follow the public events which were to exercise an important influence on the government and the community.

In the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 29th of November 1558, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunblane, were present. The Archbishop of St Andrews was John Hamilton, an illegitimate son of James first Earl of Arran, who was translated to the Primacy from Dunkeld soon after the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The Archbishop of Glasgow was James Beaton, nephew

* Jewel to Peter Martyr, London, August 1, 1559, p. 39, 40.

of the Cardinal, and the successor of Archbishop Dunbar in the See. The Bishop of Dunkeld was Robert Crichton, advanced to that See after the translation of Archbishop Hamilton. The Bishop of Aberdeen was William Gordon, fourth son of Alexander third Earl of Huntly. The Bishop of Moray was Patrick Hepburn, third son of Patrick first Earl of Bothwell, and brother of John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, who died in the month of August the same year in which this Parliament met ; and the Bishop of Dunblane was William Chisholm, uncle of William Chisholm, the last Roman Catholic Bishop of that See, his coadjutor. Fourteen Abbots and Priors also took their seats in this Parliament, exclusive of Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, and Sir James Sandilands, styled Lord St John, or Preceptor of the Knights Templars, both of whom were laymen. The only business of any importance which the Parliament transacted was to negotiate and ratify the marriage of the young Queen Mary and the Dauphin of France, son of the “maist cristine king,” afterwards Francis II. After this meeting of the Estates the destruction of the monasteries and churches took place; the triumphant party deposed the Queen Regent from her office, and appointed a council, too numerous to be of much essential benefit, for the government of the kingdom until the Parliament again met; and defended their conduct on the plea that they were hereditary councillors of their sovereign, describing themselves, moreover, as “*the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.*”

The Parliament, in which was sealed the fate of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland as an ecclesiastical establishment, met at Edinburgh on the 1st of August 1560. The Church dignitaries mustered in considerable force. The Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane already mentioned, James Hamilton, Bishop-elect of Argyll, brother of the Archbishop, but never consecrated, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, on whom the Pope had conferred the title of Archbishop of Athens, and John Campbell, Bishop-elect of the Isles, were present. It thus appears that before the Reformation the Bishops were entitled to take their seats in the Scottish Parliament after their election to their Sees, even previous to their consecration. No fewer than twenty-one Abbots and Priors attended, including

Lord James Stuart, the lay Prior of St Andrews.* The proceedings are not recorded till the 18th of August, when the “Confession of Fayth professed and believed by the Protestants within the realme of Scotland” was produced. This is said to have been the compilation of a committee, though Knox is generally considered the principal, and it was “publisshit by thame in Parliament, and by the Estatis thairof ratifeit and approvit as hailsome and sound doctrine, groundit upoun the infallibill trewth of God’s word.”

This production, which is of considerable length, and is inserted in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, has never been minutely analyzed by Presbyterian writers, and most assuredly it contains little to favour many points of their system.† Although evidently an emanation from the school of Calvin, so far as it discusses the speculative doctrines of election and predestination, this Confession neither maintains parity in the ministerial office, nor denies the episcopal government of the Church Catholic. It is for the most part doctrinal, and after an introductory preamble, includes the following subjects:—“ Of God—Of the Creatioun of Man—Of Originall Sin—Of the Revelatioun of the Promeis —The continuance, increase, and preservatioun of the Kirk—of the Incarnatioun of Chryst Jesus—why it behovit the Mediator to be very God and very man—Electioun—Chryst’s Death, Passioun, Buriali, &c.—Resurrectioun—Ascensioun—Faith in the Haly Gaist—The same of Gude Warkis—What Warkis are reputit gude before God—The Perfectioun of the Law and Imperfectioun of Man—Of the Kirk—The Immortalitie of the Saulis—Of the Notis by the quhilk the trew Kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha shall be judge of the Doctrine—The authoritie of the Scriptures—Of Generall Counsells, of thair Power, authoritie, and cause of thair conventioun—Of the Sacraaments—Of the ryght administratioun of the Sacraaments—To quhome Sacraments apperteine—Of the Civil Magistrate—The Gifts frelie gevin to the Kirk.” Many of these subjects are discussed at considerable length, and some of them contain the very language of the Thirty-Nine

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 523.

† Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 526-534.

Articles approved by the Convocation held at London in 1552, only eight years before, which Knox and the compilers must have seen. Thus, in the one entitled "Of the Kirk"—it is stated—"We utterlie abhorr the blasphemie of thame that affirme that men quhilk live according to equitie and justice sal be saved, quhat religiou that ever they have professit." In the one entitled "General Counsells," the compilers affirm—"As we do not raschly denie that quhilk godlie men assemblit togidder in generall counsel lauchfullie gadderit have proponit unto us; so, without just examinatioun, dar we not ressave quhatsaever is obtrudit unto men under the name of General Counsells; for plane it is that thay wer men, sa have sum of thame manifestlie erred, and that in materis of greit wecht and importance;" and they conclude by declaring—"Not that we think that ane policie and ane ordour in ceremonies can be appointit for all aiges, tymes, and places; for as ceremonies, sic as men have devysit, ar bot temporall, so may and aucht thay to be changeit when they rather foster superstition, than that thay edifie the Kirk using the same."

But the sentiments of the compilers of this Confession respecting the Sacraments are worthy of notice, because they are utterly at variance with those of the Scottish Presbyterians of modern times who claim Knox and his associates as the founders of their system. "We utterlie denie the vanitie of those that affirme Sacramentis to be nathing else but nakit and bair signes. No; we assuritlie believe that by baptisme we are ingraffit in Christ Jesus, to be maid partakaris of his justice, by quhilk our sins are coverit and remittit. And also that in the Supper rychtlie usit Christ Jesus is sa joynit with us, that he becomes the very nurischemet and fude of our saulis. Not that we imagine ony transubstantiation of breid in Cristis naturall body, and of wyne in his naturall bluide, as the Papists have perniciously taucht and damnablie believit, but this unioun and conjunctioun quhilk we have with the body and blude of Christ Jesus is wrought by the operatioun of the Haly Gaist."

Mr. Tytler, who pronounces this Confession to be "a clear and admirable summary of Christian doctrine grounded on the word of God," thus writes—"On most essential points it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances uses the very words of the Apostles' Creed, and the Articles of the Church of England as established by Edward VI. Thus, in the section on Baptism, the

Scottish Confession of Faith declares—‘ We assuredly believe, that by baptism we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted.’ Compare this with the Article of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, ‘ Of Baptism.’ It is there said to be a sign not only of profession but of regeneration, whereby as an instrument they that receive baptism rightly ‘ *are grafted into the Church.*’” After observing that a passage in the same Confession on the Lord’s Supper consists of the “ precise words,” as in the Articles of Edward VI., Mr. Tytler adds—“ Indeed, it is worthy of remark, that in these holy mysteries of our Faith this Confession, drawn up by the primitive Scottish Reformers, keeps in some points at a greater distance from the rationalizing of ultra-protestantism than the Articles of Edward.”*

This Confession was read in the Parliament on the 17th of August, and confirmed by the three Estates. On the 24th of August the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland was abolished, under the penalty, in the case of those who persist in acknowledging the papal supremacy, of “ proscription, banishment, and never to bruke honor, office, nor dignitie within this realme :” and that “ na Bischop nor uther Prelat use any jurisdiction *in tynes to cum* by the said Bischop of Rome’s authoritie under the pane foresaid.” All previous Acts of Parliament on religious matters, “ not agreeing with God’s holie Word,” were repealed ; and the celebration of or resorting to mass was prohibited, “ under the pane of confiscaition of all thair gudes movable and unmovable, and punisshing of thair bodies at the discreciooun of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction sik personis happynis to be apprehendit, for the first falt ; banissing of the realme for the secund falt ; and justifying to the death for the third falt.”

In reference to the penalties enacted against the supporters of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy by the very men who declaimed against its tyranny, and declared its ministers to be usurpers, it may be merely observed that we need not accuse Rome of a monopoly of persecution. This Confession is chiefly remarkable as having been the common creed of the Established Episcopal

* History of Scotland, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq. vol. vi. Edinburgh, 1837, 8vo. Edit. p. 212-213.

Church in subsequent times, and of the Presbyterians, until they adopted the Westminster Confession. It was adopted by Knox, Row, Winram, Willox, Spottiswoode (father of the Archbishop), and Douglas, Rector of the University of St Andrews, and afterwards the first titular Archbishop of that See. Although only four days were employed in the preparation of this summary of the doctrines which they considered true, and necessary to be received, an examination proves that it embodies the result of much previous study and theological research. The compilers were considerably divided in opinion, Spottiswoode, Winram, Willox, and Douglas, being anxious merely to reform corruptions and abuses, while Knox and Row contended for a complete change. It has been argued that the Parliament which ratified the Confession was illegal, because at the time there was no accredited Government in Scotland, and it wanted the sanction of the Sovereign; but though the objection is important, it is now of little moment, for all the Acts of this Parliament were confirmed by Queen Mary in 1577, or rather by the Regent Moray. The timidity and apathy of the Roman Catholics who were present, and heard the Confession read and ratified, may justly be pronounced disgraceful. Not one of them raised his voice against it, and the Earl Marischal bitterly animadverted on their conduct. The Earl of Atholl, Lord Borthwick, and Lord Somerville, were the only opponents, but they contented themselves with merely declaring that they would "believe as their fathers had believed." The First Book of Discipline, the work of the same compilers, was also presented with this Confession; but neither it nor the Second Book of Discipline ever received the sanction of law. An analysis of the former work is unnecessary on the present occasion. It may be observed that by this First Book of Discipline the election of "ministers" was vested solely in the people, after which the individuals were to be examined publicly by other ministers and elders, before admitted to discharge their functions. If such examination was satisfactory, each individual so elected was to be introduced to his congregation by his brethren *without ordination or ceremony of any kind*—the "approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person presented is appointed to serve," being expressly declared sufficient; for, according to the compilers, "albeit the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the

miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge *not to be necessary.*"

The conduct of the triumphant party, and the pusillanimity of the Roman Catholic Prelates, in this alleged Parliament of 1560, are thus noticed in a MS. sketch written at the time of the Revolution :—" Upon the whole, it can scarcely be said that a right step was taken by either party at that time. The Reformers did all in a hurry, with violence and precipitation, breaking through all order and decency, and allowing themselves to be made tools by a few ambitious aspirers, who perhaps had something less than religion in their eye. On the other hands it will not be easy to underrate the conduct of the Popish churchmen either. Their general silence under the attacks that were made upon the Hierarchy and rights of the Church gave their adversaries too much advantage over them, and made the equity of their cause too much suspected, according to what Spottiswoode tells us of the Earl Marischal's speech in what was called the Parliament of 1560— ' Seeing my Lords the Bishops, who by their learning can, and for the zeal they have for the truth, would, as I suppose, gainsay anything repugnant to it, say nothing against the Confession we have heard, I cannot think but it is the very truth of God, and the contrary of it false and deceivable doctrine.' Such a silence, I do think, was not agreeable to the practice of the first Christians in such cases. They preached and wrote, held Councils, and published decisions ; and even when under the persecutions of heathenish or oppressions of heretical Emperors, still they kept up a succession of church governors in every national church, and asserted, both with vigour and patience, their original and spiritual privileges ; whereas it does not appear that any such thing was done by the Popish clergy in Scotland at that time."* Such was the fall of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland, with the miserable prostration of its dignitaries, when not one of them had the courage to raise his voice in defence or palliation of that system of which they ought to have been the resolute defenders. It is, however, stated, on the authority of Archbishop Hamilton, that the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and another, probably indicating himself, opposed the new Confession ; but it is evident that he must mean what is called a

* MS. Advocates' Library, (marked 32, 3, 7,) p. 120, 121.

silent vote, though it is probable that they were intimidated by their peculiar circumstances. Several of them, considering the meeting as illegal, absented themselves; and others, who took their seats, having protested against the injustice of excluding them from being chosen Lords of the Articles, refused to interfere. A bill of complaint was presented against them by the Barons, “containing,” says Randolph, the English ambassador, “rather a general accusation of all living Bishops than any special crime they were burdened with.” No answer was returned to this document by the Prelates, and as the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, who were specially cited, neglected to appear, a decree was passed for the “stay of their livings.” All the leases which the Prelates had granted to preserve their lands from the avaricious grasp of the Reforming leaders, under the stipulation that the rents were to be paid, and the lands reconveyed to their original proprietors in more prosperous times, which had been duly sanctioned by the Pope, were declared to be void, without further process of law.*

The First Book of Discipline encountered a determined opposition. Knox and his colleagues suggested a most impracticable scheme for collecting the ecclesiastical revenues, which it was never supposed for a moment would be appropriated by the rapacious reforming nobility to their own use. It was recommended that “annual deacons should be surrogated into the room of the former legal proprietors,” to collect the tithes and rents of the church lands, and “those deacons were to distribute the incomes according to warrants signed by the ministers and elders.”† This proposition was received with scorn, and ironically termed “a devout imagination.” As a reply to the suggestion of Knox, it was subsequently enacted by the Secret Council on the 17th of January 1560-1, that “the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates, and beneficed Vicars, who have also joined themselves to us, bruik [enjoy] the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers for the preaching of the word, and the ministration of the sacraments.” Dr George Cook, a Presbyterian writer of high

* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. 8vo edit. p. 220, 221.

† Bishop Keith's History, p. 494.

authority, thus expresses himself on the appropriation of the temporalities at the Reformation :—“ Had the Papal Bishops been succeeded by men invested with the episcopal character, it would have been very difficult for the laity, as the law then stood, to wrest from the Church her ample possessions. By destroying the ancient policy, and laying the foundation of a new church, these possessions were left without a legal owner, and it might have been perceived that the nobles and barons would feel little inclination to endow the infant establishment with the wealth which they had so long contemplated with envy, when it ministered to the pomp and the indulgence of the priesthood.”*

Meanwhile the first General Assembly of this new religious association, for the Roman Catholic Hierarchy was still the legal establishment, and, as will be subsequently seen, the Bishops continued to sit in Parliament, was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. It consisted of forty-six individuals, preachers and private individuals, of whom John Knox was the most conspicuous, as “ minister ” of Edinburgh. A list was presented of those persons who were thought most qualified for the “ ministering of the Word of God and Sacraments, and reading of the communion prayers publicklie in all kirks and congregations, and given up by them every ane within their awin bounds.” Eight individuals were nominated “ readers,” with a certain John Chalmers, described as “ apt to teach,” in the district of Ayrshire, anciently termed Kyle ; twenty-one were nominated “ for ministering and teaching ” in St Andrews, probably meaning the Diocese generally ; and twelve are “ thought apt and able ” by the forty-six “ ministers and commissioners” comprising the Assembly, “ to minister.” On the 21st of December, the deanery church of Restalrig, about a mile and a half equally distant from Leith and Edinburgh, and then the parish church of Leith, was ordered to be “ raysit, and utterlie casten downe and destroyed,” because it was a “ monument of idolatrie.” On the 27th of December, sundry resolutions were adopted in opposition to the “ Pope’s Kirk,” and it was resolved to apply to Parliament and the Lords of Secret Council to inflict “ sharp punishment ” on sundry persons of rank in Wigtonshire, Kirkeudbrightshire, Haddingtonshire,

* Cook’s History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 415.

Fifeshire, Selkirkshire, and Ayrshire, for “ causing masses to be said, and being present thereat.” Among them are specified in the district of Galloway, now the counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, the Prior of Whithorn and the Laird of Kirmichaell, the latter charged with causing “ masse daylie to be said, and images holden up, and idolatrie to be maintained within his bounds.” In Ayrshire the principal recusants were the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, the Abbots of Crossraguel, and the parishioners of Maybole, Girvan, Kirkoswald, and Dailly. The “ auld Ladie Hume in Thornetoun” is denounced in Haddingtonshire, and “ the goodman” of Galashiels in Selkirkshire, who “ not only causes masse to be said, but also maintains the sayers thereof, who are enemies to God and his truth, and therefore were exylit out of Edinburgh.”*

It is clear, from a careful examination of all the proceedings of Knox and his associates, that they had adopted no regular plan for their new religious system. They appointed preachers in most of the principal towns, and they next subdivided a considerable part of the kingdom into five districts, to each of which they nominated persons to exercise a kind of jurisdiction or controul, under the title of *Superintendents*, over the preachers in the several towns and parishes. It was contemplated to increase those Superintendents to ten, but this was never effected, and even the five continued in their anomalous and illegal vocation only a short time. Those were John Spottiswoode, for the counties south of the Frith of Forth, to the English Border ; John Winram, for the county of Fife ; John Willox, for the counties included in the Archeepiscopal Diocese of Glasgow ; John Carswell, for the Bishoprics of Argyll and The Isles ; and John Erskine, Baron or “ Laird” Dun, for the counties of Forfar and Kincardine, then known as Angus and Mearns. With the exception of Erskine of Dun, all the “ Superintendents ” were in holy orders. Spottiswoode, who was descended from ancient family in Berwickshire, had been ordained by Archbishop Cranmer in England, and when he returned to Scotland he was appointed “ parson” of Calder in Linlithgowshire by Sir James Sandilands, a parish which he held till his death.

* “ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,” or Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland from 1560. Printed for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 4to. 1839. Part I. p. 3-6.

Winram had been Sub-Prior of St Andrews, and was an Augustine Monk. He is described by Principal Lee, of the University of Edinburgh, who is considered very high Presbyterian authority, as “a man of an intriguing turn, and probably was admitted to the confidence of both parties. It is not understood that he ever made any strenuous efforts in support of the Protestant doctrines; but he was allowed to retain some of the most lucrative appointments in the church, along with the dignity and honour of Superintendent. In various actions carried on before the Commissary Court of St Andrews he continued to be designated *Prior of Portmoak, Sub-Prior of St Andrews, Superintendent of Stratherne, Parson of Kirkness, &c.* till the time of his death in September 1582.”* In 1566, Winram appears, however, to have become weary of the “dignity and honour” of Superintendent of Fife, as he confessed to the General Assembly that year “his own inabilitie to discharge the office, and desired the Assemblie to denude him of it.”† Willox was originally a Dominican Friar in the town of Ayr, and it appears that after his appointment as Superintendent he took possession of the Dean’s residence in Glasgow, and continued to receive £1000 (probably Scots money) per annum out of the revenues of the Archbischoprie.‡ Carswell was rector or parson of Kilmartine in Argyllshire, and having been patronized by the Earl of Argyll, a zealous reformer, he was promoted to this office by the interest of that nobleman, to assist him in his projects of seizing the temporalities of the Bishoprics of Argyll and The Isles.

The facility with which the Superintendent Willox was enabled to receive a considerable portion of the revenues of the See of Glasgow is easily explained. At the outbreak of the Reformation in 1559, Archbishop James Beaton, already mentioned as the Cardinal’s nephew, retired to Paris, and he subsequently obtained considerable preferment in France. The victorious insurgents instituted a legal process against him, and sequestered all the revenues of his See. The Archbishop carried with him some of the silver

* Notice prefixed to the Revocation of the sentence of heresy pronounced by Cardinal Beaton against Sir John Borthwick, son of Lord Borthwick. Bannatyne Club, 4to, 1827, vol. i. p. 254.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, part I. p. 77.

‡ Letter of Thomas Archibald, Chamberlain to Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, at Paris, dated 10th October 1560.

ornaments, charters, documents, and whatever he could save from certain destruction by the mob. He never returned to Scotland, and before his death in 1603 he committed them to the care of the Scottish College of Douay and ordered all the writings to be restored when the Papal Hierarchy was re-established. It may be here observed that most of the documents were sent to Scotland in 1839, and were deposited in the Roman Catholic College of St Mary at Blairs, in Maryculter parish, near Aberdeen.

But extraordinary, unecclesiastical, and preposterous as was the new religious association, it is singular to find the Roman Catholic Prelates proffering to maintain its preachers. At a meeting of the Convention of Estates held at Edinburgh on the 22d of December 1561, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross, appeared and offered to relinquish the third part of their revenues for various purposes, after the amount of the rentals was accurately ascertained, and “siclyke to charge the whole Superintendents, ministers, eldars, and deacons, of the principale touns and shires of this realme to give in before the Queen’s grace and Lords of Counsale foirsaid, [on] the 24th day Januar next to cum, ane formale and sufficient roll and memoriall what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustene the ministerie and whole members of the realme, that her Majestie and Lords of Counsale foirsaid may tak order thairintil as accords.” The same Prelates on that occasion also offered, on the condition that their benefices and privileges were restored to them, to the “Queen’s Majestie for the space of ane yeir the third part of the rents of thair benefices, to be employit as hir Grace thinkis expedient, and this they offerit, and na forder.”*

Queen Mary landed at Leith from France on the 20th of August 1561, and soon found her kingdom in a religious, political, and civil feud. This unfortunate Sovereign assumed the government of a people little removed from barbarism, and excited by the most extravagant fanaticism. The ecclesiastical establishment was subverted; the temporalities seized by the powerful nobility; and a religious polity was openly sanctioned which was not only ill digested, but apparently not well understood by its authors. The whole country was in a state of confusion, and religion was made

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. ii. Appendix, p. 606, 607.

the pretext for committing atrocious crimes and causing innumerable disorders. The utter inefficiency of the *Superintendent System* is proved by the facts recorded at the time. At the meeting of the "haill Kirk," held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on the 26th of May 1561, it was resolved to petition the Lords of the Secret Councel "for maintaining, and speciall provision to be made for Superintendents, for the erecting and establishing of more in places convenient, and for punishing of the contemners of the said Superintendents, and disobeyers of them."* This indicates that the functionaries were not generally recognized in their new office, and it would startle many to see a man like Winram, who, as already observed, is described of "an intriguing turn," who had been the intimate friend of Cardinal Beaton, and who had preached the sermon in the Cathedral of St Andrews at the commencement of Wishart's trial for heresy on the last day of February 1545-6, advocating opinions in 1561 which he then maintained should be opposed by the Church and State, and that those who held them might be lawfully put to death. Complaints were soon preferred against the conduct of the Superintendents. In the General Assembly, held in the "Auld Counsell-House" at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1562—the sacred festival of Christmas being utterly disregarded, Spottiswoode, the Superintendent of Lothian, was alleged to be "somewhat slack in his visitations, and remaned not at the kirks for ordering such things as were necessar for the same; that he was too much given to worldlie affaires, slack in preaching, rash in excommunicatioun, sharper nor became him in making acts for payment of small tithes." Even of the Baron of Dun, lay Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, it was complained, that "manie popish priests, unable and of wicked life, were admitted to reading at kirks within his Diocese—that some young men were rashlie admitted to the ministrie, and to be exhortars, without such trial and examination as are required in the Book of Discipline—that gentlemen of vicious lives were chosen to be elders in divers kirks—that sundrie ministers under his jurisdiction remaned not at thair kirks, visit not the sick in thair extremitie, also that the youth are not instructed—that some ministers come too late to the kirks where they should preach on the Lord's Day,

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for Bannatyne Club, Part I, p. 5.

so that the people doe wearie staying upon them, and incontinent the sermon being ended they depart.”* In the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1563 in the “ New Tolbuith,” it was alleged against Winram, as Superintendent of Fife, that “ he preached not in his visitations, but caused the minister of the kirk to occupie the room;” and Willox of Glasgow was accused of not using “ his endeavour to procure the extirpation of idolatrie in his bounds,” the blame of which he ascribed to the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Cassilis. The state of Angus and Mearns was also noticed—that no discipline was used in “ many of the kirks”—that “ there was no convention of elders and deacons at kirks for correction of faults”—and that Erskine “ preached not at his visitations.” So completely satisfied were the Superintendents themselves of the utter inefficiency of their system, that on this very occasion Spottiswoode “ requested the Assemblie to give him libertie to return to his former cure, because he was not able to discharge so great a burthen as he was burthened with.” This was followed by a complaint from the parishioners of Calder, that “ Mr John Spottiswoode, presented to the parsonage of Calder fifteen years since by the Laird of Calder, had been presented three years since to be Superintendent of Lowthiane without their knowledge, and that by reason of his public office and exercise he is abstracted from his cure at the said kirk the most part of the year; desired, therefore, as before, to cause him renounce his Superintendentship, and returne to his former vocation, or else to demitt the said parsonage, to the effect ane other qualified man might be presented.” Willox “ desired to be disburthened of the great charge laid upon him, which he had undertaken onlie for a time, and requested the Assemblie to lay no greater burthen upon him than he was able to bear.”† Two years afterwards, in the Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1565, when Erskine of Dun was chosen Moderator, he candidly admitted that his “ visitations could not be very profitable, in respect it behoved him to lodge with his friends for the most part, who had most need of correction and discipline; therefore he besought the Assemblie to provide some other to that office.”‡

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I, p. 25, 26.

† *Ibid.* p. 39.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 65.

Some of the ordinary preachers were becoming dissatisfied with the unscriptural system of ecclesiastical polity with which they were connected, and which had not received any legal sanction. A certain Robert Ramsay was accused in the Assembly of 1563 of “entering in the ministrie within the Superintendent of Angus his bounds without electioun or his admission ; and that he affirmed *there was a mid way between Papistrie and our religion.*” It is true it was also alleged against the said Robert Ramsay that he had borrowed some money on security from the town of Inverness to purchase books, which he had not paid ; but as this was a matter with which the Assembly had no right to interfere, there can be little doubt that his principal offence was the assertion of the “mid way between Papistrie and their religion.” He was suspended from his functions, and ordered to appear before Winram at St Andrews, on the 19th of January following.*

The confusion which succeeded the Reformation in Scotland had its effect on some of the Roman Catholic Bishops, two of whom associated with the promoters of the new polity, and two others, who were Bishops elect, but never consecrated, joined the same party. The two latter were James Hamilton, elect of Argyll, and Robert Stewart, elect of Caithness ; the two former were Adam Bothwell, promoted to the See of Orkney, and Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway and titular Archbishop of Athens. Hamilton was an illegitimate son of the Duke of Chatelherault, formerly better known as the Earl of Arran, Regent of the kingdom, and younger brother of Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews. He was at the outset of life incumbent of Petty in the Diocese of Moray, subsequently Rector of Spott in Haddingtonshire, and after various unsuccessful nominations to the Abbey of Paisley and even the Archbishopric of Glasgow, he was preferred to the See of Argyll, with the Sub-Deanery of Glasgow, in 1558 ; but there is no evidence of his consecration. He was on the side of the Reformers in the Convention or Parliament of 1560, in the list of which his name appears as James, Bishop of Argyll. The only other notices of him which subsequently occur are in a charter granted to an individual in 1565, and his signature to the bond, with other relations of the name of Hamilton, to release Queen

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland—Acts of General Assemblies, Part I. p.44.

Mary from prison in 1567. He was alive in 1575. His name is also in the Commission of the Estates appointed in August 1560, to "move the Queen of England to take the Earl of Arran [the Duke of Chatelherault his father] to be her husband."* Robert Stewart, designated Bishop of Caithness, of the temporalities of which he obtained possession, though he was never in holy orders, was the second son of John third Earl of Lennox. He was educated for the Church, and there is little doubt that his powerful family connections would have procured for him the highest ecclesiastical preferment, as while Provost of the collegiate church of Dunbarton he was made Bishop-elect of Caithness in 1542, at the death of Bishop Andrew Stewart, son of John Earl of Atholl. Before he could enter into holy orders he became involved in the feuds between his brother, Matthew fourth Earl of Lennox, father of Lord Darnley, and the party who supported the Earl of Arran previously mentioned. He incurred the same forfeiture in 1545 with his brother the Earl, and was compelled to live in exile till 1563, when he returned to Scotland, and was not only invested with the temporalities of the Bishopric of Caithness, but was eventually rewarded, for complying with the Reformation, by a grant of the Priory of St Andrews, from his brother the Earl during his regency, after the assassination of the Regent Moray. He became sixth Earl of Lennox by royal charter, dated June 1578, at the death of his nephew Charles fifth Earl; but as he had only one illegitimate daughter, he resigned the earldom of Lennox for that of March in favour of his grandnephew Esme Stewart, Lord of Aubigny in France. The Earl of Lennox or March retained his title of Bishop of Caithness after he became a Protestant, and occasionally took a prominent part in the religious proceedings of his time. He is mentioned as connected with the "Superintendents, ministers, and commissioners of the Kirk," in the proceedings of the General Assembly held at Perth on the 25th of June 1563, when "commissions were given to the Bishops of Galloway, Orkney, and Caithness, for the space of a year, to plant kirks within their own bounds."† In subsequent Assemblies his name occurs in a similar manner. He resided privately at St Andrews till his death in March 1586,

* Acta Parl. Scot. Vol. II. Appendix, p. 606.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 32.

in the 70th year of his age. Though a mere layman, he is styled in the commission signed at Leith, in 1571, the *Right Reverend Father in God Robert, Bishop of Caithness*, directing him and the Superintendents of Lothian, Fife, Angus, or “*any uthers lawful Bischops and Superintendents* within this realm,” to *consecrate* John Douglas as “*Bisshop and Pastour of the metropolitan kirk of St Androis.*” This is one of the many instances of the ecclesiastical disorders which succeeded the Reformation in Scotland, when worldliness and fanaticism perpetrated acts utterly opposed to every principle of apostolical and primitive antiquity.

More comprehensive notices of the two conforming Bishops, Bothwell of Orkney, and Gordon of Galloway, must be given, because those two very questionable personages early connected themselves with the then so called “General Assemblies.” The See of Orkney was vacant after the death of Bishop Robert Reid at Dieppe in 1558, when returning with the other commissioners appointed to proceed to France to witness the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin. Adam Bothwell, second son of Francis Bothwell, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Scotland at its institution in 1532, was admitted to the temporalities of the See of Orkney on the 11th of October 1559. Bishop Bothwell was the uncle of John Napier of Merchiston, the celebrated inventor of Logarithms. He is described by the biographer of that great man as “courtly and luxurious,” and “although he was the first Reformed Bishop of Orkney, no prelate of the ancient regime could have been more studious of his ease. He seems to have joined the infant church rather from a sense of the staggering state of the old religion than because he entertained a violent distaste for its corruptions. He succeeded his brother William as rector of Ashkirk [a parish partly in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk] in 1552, and was only about thirty years of age when the vacancy occurred in the See of Orkney which he was selected to fill.”* As he is designated Bishop of Orkney in the grant investing him with the temporalities of the Bishopric on the 11th October 1559, he must have been elected by the Chapter some time previous to that date. His consecration is not recorded, but there is no doubt of

* Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. Edin. 1to. 1831, p. 61, 62.

the fact from subsequent acts of his life, and because he was duly elected by the Chapter. In a letter to his “richt honorable and best beloved brother the Laird of Merchistoun,” dated 5th February, the year supposed to be 1560,* he expressly mentions a visitation which he made of his Diocese, which corrects the assertion of Keith in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, that “Adam of Orkney appears never to have taken any charge of his cure.” He was confirmed by Queen Mary in the Bishopric in 1562, about which period he joined Knox’s party, and he continued to associate with them, though his office and station rendered him always an object of their suspicion. He was connected with the General Assembly held at Perth in 1563, when he obtained a “commission” for one year to “plant kirks” within his Diocese, and the name of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, occurs among the list of the principal persons present in the General Assembly held in the “New Tolbooth” of Edinburgh on the 25th of December that year, when he was appointed one of a committee to revise the Book of Discipline. In June 1565, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, George Buchanan, and four others, were by the same body “ordained to convene, and decide questions proponed or to be proponed, and to report their decision to the Assemblie, that the same may be inserted in the register.”† He had been nominated an Extraordinary Lord or Judge in the Supreme Court of Law on the 14th of January 1564, by the promotion of Sir James Balfour, and an Ordinary Lord or Judge on the 13th of November 1565. This appointment involved no abandonment of any principle by Bothwell, because by the original constitution of the Scottish Supreme Court, consisting of a President and fourteen Senators, eight, including the foreman, were to be ecclesiastics, and the distinction of spiritual and temporal judges, as provided by the act of institution, was carefully preserved—an ecclesiastic receiving the appointment when a vacancy occurred on the spiritual side of the Bench, and a layman at a deficiency on the temporal side; but this distinction was ordered to be “suppressed and forgotten” by the Act of 1640, by which all the Judges were enjoined to be of

* Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. p. 68.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 60, 61.

the “ temporal estate,” or laymen.* “ Adam of Orkney, ane of the Sessioun,” was present in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in June 1566. In his judicial capacity or function Bothwell appears to have been considered useful, and he was appointed one of two committees, one of which was authorized to “ reconsider and revise ” an answer to a book by Henry Bullinger, written by William Ramsay, Professor in St Salvador’s College, St Andrews ; and the other was to “ receive and decide questions, and to report decisions.”†

But the important political affairs with which Bishop Bothwell connected himself soon drew upon him the resentment of his Reforming associates. He subscribed his name to the bond granted by several of the nobility to the notorious James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, on the 20th of April 1567, and he celebrated the unhappy marriage of that personage and Queen Mary in the great hall of the Palace of Holyrood House on the 15th of May that year, in the form of the Protestants then in use. Yet the Bishop of Orkney, immediately after sanctioning a marriage he had counselled, which involved the Queen in irretrievable misery, and caused much disorder and bloodshed in the kingdom, joined the powerful association formed against the Earl of Bothwell. It is appropriately said of the Bishop of Orkney, and his cousin the Lord Justice-Clerk, Sir John Bellenden, that “ two greater hypocrites never breathed,” and that “ they were deeply implicated in the rebellion of the times, and parties to that diabolical plan to ruin the Queen which owed its success to treason, murder, rape, and forgery.”‡ In the deed of abdication extorted from Mary in favour of her son James, dated the 24th of July 1567, one of the Commissioners named in the document, as if empowered by the Queen to receive her renunciation of the throne, is Adam, Bishop of Orkney ; and on the 29th of that month he performed the ceremony of crowning the infant King in the parish church of Stirling, at the instigation of the insurgent nobility and their adherents. When the Earl of Bothwell, whom the Queen at the unhappy mar-

* Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice from its institution in 1532, by George Brunton and David Haig, Edin. 8vo. 1832, p. xxxvii.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 90.

‡ Napier’s Life of John Napier of Merchiston, p. 112.

riage had created Duke of Orkney, fled to that island region after his humiliating disgrace at Carberry Hill near Musselburgh, an armament of five ships was fitted out against him under the command of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, two of the most daring personages of that age, and they sailed in quest of Bothwell on the 19th of August 1567, accompanied by the Bishop of Orkney, who went in Kirkaldy's ship named the *Unicorn*. They descried two of Bothwell's ships cruising off the east coast of the Shetland Islands noted for dangerous currents, tides, and whirlpools. Kirkaldy's vessel was the swiftest, and he approached Bressay Sound, through which the fugitive Earl steered. So close was the chace that when Bothwell escaped by the north entrance Kirkaldy came in by the south. The followers of the Earl knew well those dangerous and narrow seas, and though their keel often grazed the sunken rocks, they soon got into a deeper and safer sea. In opposition to the remonstrance of his more experienced mariners, Kirkaldy, who saw his prize within his grasp, ordered every sail to impel the bulky *Unicorn*, and the ship struck on a rock covered at high water. It became instantly a wreck, and there was only time to save the crew and soldiers in a boat. Bothwell escaped—but the interesting part of this adventure followed. “As it was, one warrior heavily armed still clung to the wreck, and the boat already on its way deeply laden, it seemed impossible to save this being from destruction. His cries reached them, and were disregarded; another instant of delay, and he had perished; when collecting all his energies, he sprung with a desperate effort into the midst of the crowded boat, causing it to reel with his additional weight, encumbered as he was with a corslet of proof. Who could have surmised that this athletic man-at-arms, the last to quit the wreck, was a *Bishop*—the Bishop who had so lately joined the hand of him he pursued with that of Queen Mary—the very Bishop who a month before had poured the holy oil on the infant head of James VI., and stood proxy for the extorted abdication of that monarch's mother! It was Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. The rock from which he leapt can be seen at low water, and is called the *Unicorn* to this day.”*

* Napier's Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, p. 121, 122, 123.

The conspicuous enmity of Bishop Bothwell to the Earl of Bothwell, and his prominent connexion with the insurgent party against Queen Mary, were of little avail with his Reforming associates of the new “Church.” In the General Assembly held in the “Nether Tolbuith” of Edinburgh, on the 25th of December 1567—“ Adam, called Bishop of Orkney, Commissioner for Orkney, being absent, was deleted for not visiting the kirks of his country but from Lambmass [Lammas] to Hallowmass. Item, that he occupied the room of a judge in the Session, the sheep wandering without a pastor. Item, because he retained in his own company Sir Francis Bothwell, a Papist, to whom he had given benefices, and placed a minister. Item, because he solemnized the marriage of the Queen and the Earl of Bothwell, which was altogether wicked, and contrair to God’s law and statutes of the Kirk.”* On the 30th of December it was declared—“ Anent the marriage of the Queene with the Erle of Bothwell, by Adam, called Bischop of Orkney, the haill Kirk finds that he transgressed the Act of the Kirk in marrying the divorceit adulterer,† and therfor depryvis him fra all functioun of the ministrie, conforme to the tenour of the Act made thereupon, ay and until the Kirk be satisfied of the slander committit by him.”‡ Calderwood states—“ Adam, called Bishop of Orkney, pretended he might not remain in Orkney by reason of the evil air and weakness of his body. He denied that he understood Francis Bothwell to be a Papist, or that he had placed him in the ministry.” This Francis Bothwell was a son of either Richard or William, the Bishop’s brothers, and is probably the “Freir Francis Bothwell” who, with three others, found security to appear before the Justiciary Court on the 15th of April 1561, for exciting a riot in the town of Kirkwall during the previous September, in which two persons were killed.”|| The wily Bishop, however, was not long under sentence of deprivation from “all functioun of the ministrie.” In the proceedings of this General Assembly held at

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 112.

† Bothwell had divorced his Countess, Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of George fourth Earl of Huntly, that he might be enabled to marry the Queen. Lady Jean married subsequently Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland, and after his death Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. She died at Edinburgh in 1629 in the 81st year of her age.

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 114.

|| Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. I. p. 413.

Edinburgh on the 1st of July 1568, occurs the following passage, which is sufficiently explanatory—" Touching the Bischop of Orkney's suspensioun from the ministrie [by] the last Assemblie, and his obedience and submission, the Kirk restores him again to the ministrie of the word, and also ordaines him one some Sonday when he best may for weakness of his body, to make a sermoun in the kirk of Halierudehous, and in the end thereof to confesse the offence in marrying the Queen with the Erle Bothwell, and desyre the Kirk ther present for the tyme to forgive him his offence, and slander given by him in doing the fornamet act. The quhilk he promised to doe."*

The Bishop of Orkney was conspicuous in the Commission, chiefly composed of the murderers of Rizzio, against Queen Mary. This Commission met first at York, and the Regent Moray was incessantly urged by the Bishop and the more violent of his associates to prefer the charge against the Queen unconditionally. He was also the individual who gave in the document to the English Council accusing the Queen of the murder of Lord Darnley, to which the Regent Moray pretended an opposition. The parties returned to Scotland in February 1568-9, and the disreputable service in which the Bishop of Orkney had been engaged, though approved by the incipient Presbyterian Reformers, who were the bitter enemies of Mary, failed to shield him from their resentment. Shortly after his return from England he exchanged the property of the Bishopric of Orkney with Lord Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, an illegitimate son of James V., and afterwards created Earl of Orkney by James VI. in 1581, for that Abbacy, which was ratified by charter under the Great Seal dated the 25th of September 1569. This transaction exasperated his Reforming friends; and in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 1st of March 1569-70, it was made the first of six accusations, or "chief offences" brought against him; but this alleged "simoniacal charge" of which the wily Bishop was accused, appears to have been forced upon him much to his advantage in 1569, as appears by an Act of Parliament in 1592, entitled "Exceptioun in favour of Adam Bischope of Orknay."

As the six charges now mentioned curiously illustrate the spirit of the times, and of the leaders of the new religious

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 131.

party in Scotland, they are worthy of perusal; more especially as they were preferred by men with whom the Bishop of Orkney associated, and who only gave him battle, and tormented him, when they had some sinister purpose of their own in view, or when he objected to comply with some of their extravagant conceits. “*Imprimis*, The said Adam being called to the said office of Bischopric, and promoted to the profit thereof, and especially in Christ’s Kirk received the charge of preaching of the Evangell, to be also Commissioner in Orknay, quhilk he accepted, and executed for a certain space thereafter, quhile now of late he hath made a simoniacall change of the same with the Abbacy of Halyrudhous, yet bruiking the name, and stiled Bishop of the same, contrar to all laws both of God and man made against simony. *Secondly*, He hath demitted the said office and cure in and unto the hands of an unqualified person, without consent and licence asked and granted by the Assembly, leaving the flock destitute without a shepherd; whereby not only ignorance is increased, but also most abundantly all vice and horrible crimes are there committed, as the number of six hundred persons, convicted of incest, adultery, and fornication in Zetland, beareth witness; and hath simpliciter left the office of preaching, giving himself daily to the exercise of the office of a temporall judge as a Lord of the Session, which requireth the whole man, and so rightly no wise can execute both; and stileth himself with Roman titles, as *Reverend Father in God*, which pertaineth to no minister of Christ Jesus, nor is given them in Scriptures.” The third complains of the “great hurt and defraud of the Kirk,” and the assumed injustice done to the “said Lord Robert and his bairnes,” by the “simoniacall” exchange of the rents of Orkney for the third part of the revenue of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, without “consent or knowledge of the Assembly.” The fourth comprises local matters, chiefly accusing him of carelessness and neglect of his ecclesiastical duties; and the fifth, of allowing the parochial edifices to become so ruinous that it was dangerous to enter them. “Sixth, The said Adam hath accused, both publicly and privately, the ministers of Edinburgh as persons who have passed the bounds of God’s word in their publick teaching, &c.; in token whereof he hath absolutely absented himself from all preaching in the said kirk, and receiving of the sacraments, howbeit he hath had his dwelling

place within the said burgh [Edinburgh] at certain and diverse times since." They add—" Many more might be laid to his charge, but the Assembly trusting the former being amended, the rest will the better be redressed, doth supersede."*

But the Bishop of Orkney was too wily a personage to be easily frightened, and a few days afterwards he presented his answers to the " offences laid to his charge." In reply to the first he declared—" That in the 58 year of God [1558], before the Reformatiōne of religione, he was, according to the order then observed, provided to the Bishopric of Orknay ; and when idolatry and superstitione were suppressed, he suppressed the same also in his bounds, preached the word, administered the sacraments, planted ministers in Orkney and Zetland, and gave stipends out of his rents to ministers, exhorters, and readers ; and when he was a commissioner, visited all the kirks of Orkney and Zetland twice, to the hazard of his life in dangerous stormes on the seas, whereby he contracted sickness to the great danger of his life, till he was suspended from the exercise of his said commission in the year 1567, by reason of his infirmity, and sickness contracted through the air of the countrey and travells in time of tempest, at what time he desired some otherplace to travel in, which was then thought reasonable." He denied that he had demitted any part of his office to Lord Robert Stewart, but " that the said Lord Robert violently intruded himself into his whole living, with bloodshed and hurt of his servants ; and after he had craved justice, his and his servants' lives were sought in the very eyes of justice in Edinburgh ; and then was he constrained for mere necessity to take the Abbacy of Halyrud-house by advice of sundry godly men, because then we could not have the occasion of a Generall Assembly." In reference to the second accusation, he denied that he had abandoned absolutely the preaching of the Word, or that he had intended to do so, maintaining that ill health alone prevented him—that when Queen Mary appointed him a Judge in the Court of Session, he accepted the situation by the " advice of godly and learned men," believing that it was not repugnant to " any good order as yet established in the Kirk," and " alledged that diverse others having benefices had done the like, and are not condemned for so doing."

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 162, 163.

He thus hypocritically noticed the conclusion of the second article, which charged him with assuming “ Roman” titles—“ With pardon and reverence of the Assembly I may declare that I never delighted in such a style, nor desired any such arrogant title ; for I acknowledge myself to be a worm of the earth, not worthy any reverence, giving and attributing to my God only all honour, glory, and reverence, with all humble submission.” His answers to the third, fourth, and fifth charges consisted of explanations, modifications, and denials, not particularly interesting.” As to the last, he denied that he “ spake any thing but that which he spake in the last Assembly in their own audience. God forbid that he should be a detractor of God’s ministers for any privie injustice done to him, as he alleged none ; if there were any, he would rather burie them than hinder the progress of the Evangell. As for absenting himself from their preaching, he answered, he only kepted his own parish kirk, where he received the sacraments.*

John Knox and two others were appointed to try the “ sufficiency ” of these answers, and to report to the next Assembly ; but as nothing occurs in the records, it may be presumed that the Bishop’s defences were considered satisfactory. The General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 5th of March 1570-1, addressed a letter on that day to their “ right worshipfull and their loving brother,” Lord Robert Stewart, whom they still designated Commendator of Holyroodhouse, reminding him of their letter of the 8th of March 1568-9, thanking him for what he had done in “ planting kirks ” in Orkney and Shetland, and entreating him not only to “ continue to the end,” but to cause all who commit gross crimes and immoralities to be severely punished. Meanwhile Bothwell continued to retain both the Abbey of Holyroodhouse and the title of Bishop during his lifetime, and always after the exchange signed himself “ Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Holyroodhouse.” He was subsequently connected with various public transactions and matters of state, and died on the 23d of August 1593, in the 67th year of his age. His monument is still to be seen in the now ruinous chapel of the Palace of Holyrood, enumerating his titles, and containing a most flattering poetical inscription in Latin, in which this worldly hypo-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 165-168.

crete and intriguing apostate is represented as one of the greatest and the best men of his time. The subsequent history of his family may be here summarily noticed. At what time the unscrupulous Bishop Bothwell availed himself of a wife no intimation is preserved; but he married Margaret, daughter of John Murray of Touchadam, some years before 1580, by whom he left three sons and one daughter. John Bothwell, the eldest son, appointed a Lord of Session at his father's resignation in July 1593, and sworn a Privy Councillor to James VI., whom he accompanied to England in 1603, was created a Peer, by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse, by charter on the 20th of December 1607, with remainder to the heirs-male of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, failing whom to his own heirs and assigns whosoever. He married a daughter of Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael, by whom he had John, second Lord, who succeeded in 1629-30, and died without issue in 1635. The Peerage was dormant till 1704, when it was moved in Parliament that Alexander Bothwell of Glencorse, great-grandson of William, third son of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, who had been served heir to the second Lord, should have his name marked on the rolls of Parliament conform to his precedence. Some legal difficulties intervened, and his son Henry Bothwell of Glencorse was served heir to John, second Lord, in 1734. His petition was laid before the House of Lords on the 20th of March, but no judgment was ever pronounced. This gentleman, who died in the Canongate of Edinburgh in February 1755, married Mary, daughter of Lord Niel Campbell, second son of Archibald, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, and father of the Honourable Archibald Campbell, consecrated a Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Dundee in 1711, and by her had five sons, four of whom died without issue. Robert, the youngest, who settled in Jamaica, married Margaret, daughter of William Preston, Esq., of Gorton, near Edinburgh, by whom he had one daughter, who married Colin Drummond, M.D., a younger son of George Drummond, Esq., merchant, six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh. The offspring of this marriage were two sons and a daughter. One of the former, Archibald Bothwell of Glencorse, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scots Greys, and died in London in 1809. The children of the daugh-

ter are also mentioned, but the race of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, is now extinct.

Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, the only other consecrated Bishop who associated with the Reformers, was the second son of John Lord Gordon, by Jane, called also Margaret in the Peerage Lists, an illegitimate daughter of James IV. by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Drummond. The Bishop's father was Alexander third Earl of Huntly, and his brother George succeeded as fourth Earl. In his early youth he associated much with King James V., with whom he became a favourite, and was intended to be promoted to the Bishopric of Caithness in 1542, then forfeited by Robert Stewart, afterwards Earl of Lennox, already mentioned, but the election never took place, though the See of Caithness remained vacant from Stewart's forfeiture till his return to Scotland, and assumption of the temporalities of the Bishopric in 1563. At the death of Archbishop Dunbar, Gordon was elected by the Chapter to the See of Glasgow, and went to Rome to receive his confirmation, but the enmity of the Regent Arran was again successful, and James Beaton was consecrated at Rome to that Archbishopric in 1552, after a vacancy of a few years. The Pope, however, constituted him the titular Archbishop of Athens, and he was promised the first Scottish Bishopric, which was that of The Isles, to which he was elected in 1553, when he received the Abbey of Inchaffray, in the Strathearn district of Perthshire, *in commendam*. He had been admitted Abbot of Inchcolm, in the Frith of Forth, in March that year. He was translated to the See of Galloway, on the death of Bishop Durie, in 1558, but he also continued to retain the title of Archbishop of Athens.

At the outbreak of the Reformation, the Bishop of Galloway immediately joined the leaders of the movement, and Bishop Keith alleges that he was the "only prelate of that dignity in office at the time who turned Protestant."* If by this statement Bishop Keith intimates that Gordon was the only *duly consecrated prelate* who deserted the Roman Catholic Hierarchy he is in error, for there is no doubt that Bishop Bothwell of Orkney was also consecrated. But it is probable that Bishop Gordon had openly

* Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, *note*, p. 113.

associated and was connected with the Reformers before the Bishop of Orkney identified himself with them, and to this he may allude in the extraordinary sermon alleged to have been preached by him in St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, which is subsequently noticed. In that sermon he exhorts his hearers to pray for Queen Mary, and he is made to say—“ Yea, and farther, was she ever excommunicat by the order of the Kirk? If sa be, just causes had we not to pray for her; and albeit she were, we ought to pray for her and all other sinners, to bring them to the spirit of repentance. But many of our ministers are too ceremonious at this present, for I remember myself, at the *begynning of our religion* [the Reformation in 1560], when I teached either in this pulpet, or in the pulpet heir besydes, when we wald have been glad to had the mass here, and the preaching there. And, brethren, when I stood with the stole about my neck, how many Bishops bade [remained] or bore the burden on their back *than but I?* But now our ministers are grown sa wantone and ceremonious, that they will not pray for their lawfull heretrix, wha hes permitted them such libertie of conscience, that they may use what religion they please.”* Gordon sat in the disputed Parliament of 1560, and consented to the Book of Discipline, on the important condition that those Prelates who joined the cause should retain their preferments for life.

This renegade prelate had the meanness to petition the General Assembly, or “ Convention of the Kirk,” which met in June 1562, to be appointed “ Superintendent” of Galloway, and he received a very contemptuous reply. “ Mr Alexander Gordon, entituled Bishop of Galloway,” was taken into some favour by the Assembly held in December that year, though placed on a leet for the office, he requested with Mr Robert Pont, minister of Dunkeld, and “ in the meantyme, the Assemblie giveth commission to Mr Alexander to admit ministers, exhorters, and readers, and to doe such other things as were before accustomed in planting kirks.”† In June the following year his conduct was ordered to be investigated, but a commission was given to him for one year, with the injunction “that the Bishop of Galloway haunt as weill the sherifdom of Wig-

* *Memoriales of Transactions in Scotland*, subsequently cited, p. 140.

† *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part I. p. 28.

ton as the Stewartrie of Kirkubright, reckoned to be within his own bounds." His name occurs in various subsequent Assemblies, connected with his friend Bishop Adam Bothwell and others in the peculiar business entrusted to them. On the 26th of November 1565, having been previously sworn a Privy Councillor, Gordon was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session, and he now assumed courage to disown the title of Superintendent, for which he had humbly petitioned, and, says Knox, "now he would no more be called overlooker or overseer of Galloway, but Bishop;" but Knox admits that he zealously used his influence with the Queen to secure the stipends promised to the preachers, and in December 1566, he procured for their support an assignation out of the thirds of the benefices. This service, however, did not prevent a complaint to be preferred against him in the General Assembly held in December 1567—though he and his nephew, the Earl of Huntly, had sat in the Regent Moray's Parliament held in that month—that "he had not visited these three years bygone the kirks within his charge; that he had left off the visiting and planting of kirks, and he haunted Court too much, and had now purchased to be one of the Session and Privie Council."* He confessed "all that was laid to his charge;" but his "commission was continued till the next Assemblie, with admonition to be diligent in visitation."† Gordon joined Queen Mary immediately after her escape from Lochleven in May 1568; and as this involved him in the party disputes which followed, the General Assembly, on the 10th of July, ordered him to appear at Edinburgh at the next meeting of Parliament, and once for all "answer whether he will await on Court and Councell, or upon preaching the word and planting kirks."‡ The Assembly of July 1569 "inhibited him to exerce any function in the Kirk, conform to the act made against him in the General Assembly holden in July 1568."

Bishop Gordon was associated with Bishop Leslie of Ross and Lord Livingstone as commissioners on behalf of Queen Mary, to receive proposals from Queen Elizabeth's Council. Their return renewed the civil war between the *Queen's Men* and the *King's Men*, as the contending parties were designated. On Sunday the 17th of June 1571, a few days after the Regent Morton had defeated

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I, p. 112.

† *Ibid.* p. 114.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 131.

a strong body of the former between Edinburgh and Leith, the Bishop of Galloway occupied the pulpit of John Knox in St Giles' Church at Edinburgh. The sermon which he preached was preserved by Richard Bannatyne, the gossiping secretary of Knox, who alleges that it was “transported [reported] word by word, by the most copious auditorie being thair present for the tyme.”* It is, however, probable that this very extraordinary specimen of pulpit eloquence, which chiefly enjoins the duty of praying for Queen Mary, is altogether spurious, and it certainly bears marks of doubt as to its authenticity. About this time the Bishop was forfeited with the rest of the Queen's party; but this sentence was soon afterwards annulled by what was called the *Pacification of Perth*.

The Bishop's reconciliation with his associates of the General Assembly was not such an easy matter. In March 1572, “the Assembly, for certain causes moving them, discharge Alexander, called Bisshop of Galloway, to use any function within the Kirk of God till they be farther advised; and ordaineth Mr John Row, Commissioner of Galloway [who had superseded him in that office] to summon the said Alexander to compear before the next General Assembly to answer such things as shall be laid to his charge, under the pain of excommunication.”† The Bishop appeared in the General Assembly held on the 6th of August 1573, and on the 9th seven charges were preferred against him, which were chiefly political; but he was also accused of unwarrantably preaching in the kirks of Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts, and Holyroodhouse.‡ On the following day he sent an answer to the accusations by a domestic, but the Assembly refused to receive it, and ordered him to attend in person “the morne at ten hours.” He still refused to appear, and he was in consequence ordered to “make publick repentance in sackcloath three severall Sundays—one in the kirk of Edinburgh, another in Halyrudhouse, and the third in the Queen's College for Sanct Cuthbert's kirk, humbly confessing his offences and slander, asking the Eternal God and his Kirk pardon for the same.”|| The Bishop refused to obey this degrading

* The “Sermon is printed in the “Memoriales of the Transactions in Scotland, from 1563 to 1567, by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox.” Printed for the Bannatyne Club, one vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1836, p. 138-141.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland. Part First, p. 261.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 273, 274.

|| *Ibid.* p. 277.

sentence, which was doubly humiliating when the parties who enjoined it are considered. He sent a “supplication” to the Assembly held in March 1574, with various explanations and expressions of contrition, and by the interference of the Regent Morton, the “brethren ordered the said Bishop to appear before the kirk of Halyrudhouse, without sackcloath, upon Sunday next to come, and in presence of the congregation therein convened humbly to confess his offences, and ask the Eternal God mercy.”* He complied with this modification of punishment; and in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 6th of August 1575, it was found that he had “satisfied the sentence presented by them.”† The interference of Morton in his favour explains a statement in the eccentric sermon ascribed to Bishop Gordon, who is reported to have said—“How mony lords have observit thair hand writes and their seales, or keipit thair promises, either upoun thair syde or ours? Yea, few or nane. But I will speak newtrally, for it is my pairt, seeing my brother’s sone and I am thriddis of kin to the Lord of Morton. Is not the Regent siclyke and we neir of kin?” This Bishop died in 1576, and it is said that he made a resignation of his benefice in favour of George Gordon, one of his sons, which was afterwards confirmed by charter under the Great Seal; and he is also said to have granted charters of church lands in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in April 1564, to John Gordon of Lochinvar, grandfather of the first Viscount Kenmure.‡ The time of his marriage is not mentioned; but it appears that his wife was named Barbara Logie.|| His four sons and one daughter are enumerated. John Gordon, apparently the eldest son, after attending the University of St Andrews, was sent in 1565 to attend the Universities of Paris and Orleans, by the special direction of Queen Mary, who allowed him an annual sum from her French dowry and jointure for his maintenance. It is said‡ that his father designed to resign the Bishopric of Galloway in his favour in 1567, and had procured a confirmation of it under the Great Seal of Scotland, but it was never carried into

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland. Part First, p. 320.

† *Ibid.* p. 334.

‡ Catalogue of Scottish Bishops—See of Galloway. Sir Robert Gordon’s History of the Earldom of Sutherland, folio. Edinburgh, 1813, p. 290.

|| Douglas’ Peerage, edited by Wood, vol. ii. p. 26.

effect. John Gordon obtained some lay appointments at the French Court under Charles IX., Henry III., and Henry IV., and was a person of great learning. He went to England after the accession of James VI., entered into holy orders, and was appointed Dean of Salisbury Cathedral in 1604, which he held to his death in 1619 in the 75th year of his age, and was interred in the choir of that church. He was made Doctor of Divinity at Oxford at the first visit of King James to the University. It is stated—" This John Gordon was one of the greatest advanced of our Reformed Churches in his time, and was one of the most learned men in Europe in his days—well read in the ancient fathers, excellent in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek languages, having by his travels much advanced the reformed religion in France during his stay there.—He was a stout defender of the privileges of the church of Sarum, having been in his lifetime, and after his death, in some particulars an instrument to preserve their liberties."*

Of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Scotland at the Reformation who resolutely adhered to their own system little need be said. The fate of Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews is well known. Three years after the meeting of the alleged Parliament in 1560, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh for celebrating mass, and he was released only by the intercession of Queen Mary, who is said to have petitioned for his liberty with tears. In 1566 he baptized James VI. at Stirling, with all the ceremonial enjoined by the Church of Rome—a circumstance which powerfully operated against the Queen and himself in the minds of the Reformers. He was soon afterwards accused as a party concerned in the murder of Lord Darnley, for which there was not the shadow of evidence. Faithful to the hapless Queen in all her vicissitudes and sufferings, he resolutely opposed her legitimate brother the Regent Moray, in whose first Parliament he was attainted and declared a traitor. He fell into the hands of his enemies in Dunbarton Castle, was carried to Stirling, and hanged on the old bridge over the Forth there on the 5th of April 1571.

* Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 292, 293. John Gordon was the author of several works enumerated in Watts "Bibliotheca Britannica," in which he is absurdly designated *Deacon* of Salisbury. He was Dean from 1604 to 1619. Dodsworth's Historical account of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, 4to. 1814, p. 234.

This inhuman and wanton murder, committed in defiance of law, justice, and religion, was long remembered by the adherents of the prostrated Hierarchy of which he was the last Primate. He left a son who was subsequently legitimated. This individual is mentioned among those forfeited in 1571; but he and sundry others of his name were “restored” by the Pacification of Perth in February 1572-3.

William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, was the fourth son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, brother of the fifth Earl, and nephew of Bishop Gordon of Galloway. Although attainted with sundry others for alleged political offences, he continued in the exercise of his temporal and occasionally of his spiritual functions till his death, which occurred on the 7th of August 1577. He seems to have viewed the Reformation with indifference or contempt. An instance of this is recorded in the case of Walter Cullen, vicar of Aberdeen, whom, though a zealous Protestant, he collated to the benefice in the month of June before his death. It is stated—“ My Lord of Aberdeen gave the said Walter Cullen collacioun be ane ryng on his finger.”* Cullen seems to have been as unscrupulous as the Bishop.

The Bishop of Moray was Patrick Hepburn, third son of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, and grand-uncle of the notorious Earl. He kept possession of his episcopal palace of Spynie till his death in June 1573, and he was interred in the choir of his magnificent cathedral, which had several years previously been dilapidated by order of the Regent Moray. John Hepburn, an elder brother, was Bishop of Brechin from 1517 to his death in 1558. Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar, fourth son of Archibald second Earl of Argyll, was elected his successor by the Chapter, but he became a Protestant, and was never consecrated, though he seems to have retained the temporalities till his death in the end of 1562, when he held the office of Lord Privy Seal to Queen Mary. His successor, after a vacancy of three years, was John Sinclair, or St Clair, Dean of Restalrig near Edinburgh, who married Queen Mary to Lord Darnley in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse on the 29th of July 1565. He was the fourth son of Sir Oliver St Clair of Roslin, and younger brother of

* Spalding Miscellany, 4to. 1812, vol. ii. p. xxv. 45.

Henry Sinclair Bishop of Ross, with whom he proceeded to France in 1554, and returned with the documents which that prelate had collected for a continuation of Hector Boece's History of Scotland. He was admitted an Ordinary Lord of the Court of Session in April 1540, and succeeded his brother, the Bishop of Ross, as Lord President of the Court in 1565. He died in April 1566.

Bishop Sinclair of Ross, previously Rector and Dean of Glasgow and Abbot of Kilwinning, died on the first of January 1565, sometime after an operation had been performed on him at Paris by Laurentius, a celebrated practitioner of his time in cases of stone. It is doubtful whether he or his brother the Bishop of Brechin was the author of the Report of Decisions known as Sinclair's Practicks, which commences from the 1st of June 1540, and are continued to the 28th of May 1549. His successor was John Leslie, the learned and intrepid defender of Queen Mary, a truly eminent prelate, statesman, and historian. He is alleged to have been the son of Gavin Leslie, fourth son of Alexander Leslie of Balquhain in Aberdeenshire; but Knox designates him a "priest's bastard," and Keith, who corroborates his illegitimacy from copies of original documents in the charter-chest of Balquhain, inclines to the opinion that he was the son of Gavin Leslie, parson of Kingussie. He was born in 1527, and notwithstanding the defect of his birth a dispensation was obtained in his favour, and he became a canon and prebendary of Aberdeen. In the beginning of 1561 he disputed with the Reformers at Edinburgh, and if Knox is to be credited, he was compelled to confess that the only authority for the mass was that of the Pope. Nevertheless his own party had a high opinion of his abilities, and he was selected by them to proceed to Queen Mary after the death of Francis II., and invite her to return to Scotland, at the very time her illegitimate brother, then Lord James Stuart, and designated Prior of St Andrews, was sent by the Reformers on a similar mission. He reached Mary one day before the Prior, returned with her, and soon afterwards was made a Privy Councillor, in 1564 was admitted an Ordinary Lord of Session, and obtained the Abbacy of Lindores *in commendam*. In 1565 he succeeded Bishop Henry Sinclair in the See of Ross, and his consecration was doubtless private. The exertions of Bishop Leslie in favour of Queen Mary are well known. He accompanied her to Carlisle,

was appointed her ambassador to Elizabeth, the privilege of which he foreited by entering deeply into the Duke of Norfolk's intrigue. For this he was committed first to the charge of the Bishop of Ely, and to the Tower of London, from which he was liberated after an imprisonment of two years, on condition that he would leave England. He went to France, and thence to Rome, where he published his history of Scotland in Latin, only inferior to that of Buchanan, during a residence of three years. Subsequently he wandered from Court to Court, vainly endeavouring to rouse the Roman Catholic Princes in behalf of his captive mistress. He was appointed Vicar-General of the archipiscopal church of Rohan in 1579, and Bishop of Constances in Normandy in 1593, but the troubles of the times precluded him from deriving any advantage by those preferments, and he returned to Brussels, where he died in 1596, in the 69th year of his age.

William Chisholm, second son of Edward Chisholm of Cromlix was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane at Stirling, in 1527, and died in 1564. He was a zealous opponent of the Reformation, and alienated the greater part of his Bishopric to his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, and to his own three illegitimate children, a son and two daughters. William Chisholm, another nephew, was his coadjutor in the See, and still farther dilapidated the episcopal patrimony of the Bishopric. He was prosecuted for refusing to comply with the Reformation, and withdrew to France. He was appointed Bishop of Vaison, and is said to have died a Carthusian at Grenoble.*

Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, was expelled from his Diocese by the Reformers in 1561 or 1562. He succeeded his uncle Bishop George Crichton in the See. No particulars of any importance are recorded respecting him. The Diocese of the Isles was vacant by the translation of Bishop Gordon to Galloway. Keith mentions John Campbell, a son of Campbell of Cawdor in Nairnshire, a branch of the Family of Argyll, and ancestor of the Earls of Cawdor, as elect of the Isles, and Prior of Ardchattan in 1558 and 1560, but he was never consecrated. This personage dilapidated most part of the episcopal patrimony of the insular Diocese

* In " Catalogues of Scottish Writers" 8vo. Edinburgh, 1833, it is stated—" Gulielmus Chisholmus scripsit Examen Confessionis Fidei Calvinianæ.

in favour of his relations, and conferred some heritable jurisdictions on his own family of Cawdor. The remaining property was seized by the Earl of Argyll, when to serve his own purposes he procured, in 1566, the appointment of John Carswell, his chaplain, and rector of Kilmartine, as titular Bishop both of the Isles and Argyll, of which he had been nominated Superintendent by the Reformers. Carswell encountered the censures of the General Assembly for his conduct, but the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and his own remote situation, probably rendered him indifferent to the remonstrances of his associates. He was present as Superintendent of Argyll in the "Convention of the Kirk of Scotland" held on the "penult day of June 1562," and he was challenged in a subsequent General Assembly, but he is seldom mentioned in connection with the proceedings of the time. He died in 1572, or, according to Spottiswoode, in 1575, after various altercations with his opponents on the distracting subject of Church government, for accepting the titular Bishopric, and for his attachment to Queen Mary. Carswell was a man of considerable ability, and was the first who translated portions of the Scriptures into Gaelic. His son is mentioned in the public documents of the time.

The more conspicuous of the preachers who supplanted the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in the principal towns, exclusive of the Superintendents, may be here noticed. John Knox, who studiously avoided the office of Superintendent, was located at Edinburgh. Bishop Keith observes—"It is most likely he saw that he could be more useful for the main point by remaining close within Edinburgh, and guiding the inhabitants of that capital into such measures as he found necessary for bringing about their designs." Various unsuccessful attempts were made to remove him both to St Andrews and to Stirling. Knox was very active at all their meetings, and was often employed in matters of importance. John Craig, educated at St Andrews, and originally a Dominican Friar, was appointed to the church of Holyrood in 1561, then the parish church of the Canongate in Edinburgh. He was commanded in 1567 to publish the banns of marriage between Queen Mary and Bothwell, which he boldly refused, publicly condemned the marriage, and exhorted all who had access to or influence with the Queen to prevent such a scandalous alliance. Craig was also nine years colleague to John Knox, and he was afterwards re-

moved to Montrose. At the death of Adam Heriot subsequently noticed he succeeded him at Aberdeen, and resigned that charge in 1579, when he was appointed chaplain to James VI. He died in 1600, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. William Harlow, a person who had followed the avocation of a *tailor* in the Canongate, was appointed to St Cuthberts, Edinburgh. David Lindsay, of an ancient family in Forfarshire, was located at Leith. It is said that he was ordained in England, and while officiating at Leith he baptized the Princess Elizabeth in Holyroodhouse in 1599, and Charles I. in the Palace of Dunfermline in 1600. He died Bishop of Ross in 1613. David Ferguson, a native of Ayrshire, was stationed at Dunfermline. John Row, a priest, who had been induced to abandon the Roman Catholic Hierarchy by the detection of a clumsy imposture practised at Loretto, near the town of Musselburgh, intended to be set off as a miracle, was appointed to Perth. He was a man of considerable attainments, and made a conspicuous figure in subsequent times. William Christison was located at Dundee. Christopher Goodman, a native of Cheshire, and a student of Brasenose College, Oxford, at which he had been reader of the divinity lecture, was appointed to St Andrews. He became acquainted with Knox at Geneva, when a refugee during the reign of the English Mary, and readily adopted the tenets of Calvin. Although he died Archdeacon of Richmond in 1603, he is described as a violent nonconformist, and "for rigidness in opinion went beyond his friend Calvin, who remembers and mentions him in one of his Epistles."* He returned to England in 1565. Adam Heriot, an Augustine Monk of St Andrews, and connected with the family in Haddingtonshire from which the celebrated George Heriot was descended, was stationed at Aberdeen. His stipend was fixed at £200 Scots payable from the revenues of the town, and the Magistrates presented to him annually a suit of black clothes and other necessaries to the value of £30, with a donation of £10 in money for house-rent, the whole sum equal to £55, 8s. sterling. He died much respected for learning, piety, and worth, in the 60th year of his age, in August 1574. The other individuals appointed as "Reformed preachers," in the cities, towns, and important districts in 1560, were of no particular note.

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Dr. Philip Bliss, Vol. I. p. 722.

Such was the singular amalgamation of individuals who at first supplanted the ancient Hierarchy, while most of its prelates and dignitaries were alive ; and “with this small number,” as Archbishop Spottiswoode observes, “was the plantation of the church first undertaken.” They of course received in every succeeding year considerable accessions, and before 1571-2, when Episcopacy was re-introduced during the Regency of Morton—if that can be called Episcopacy which consisted merely of the restoration of the titles of the Dioceses, the holders never having been consecrated—they formed a very numerous association, and had many powerful supporters. Their extensive ramifications are indicated by the curious “Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, and of their Stipends, after the Reformation,”* or “since the yeir of God 1567.” In the districts from Stirling “eastward,” including part of that county, and those of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington, were seventy-nine ministers, exhorters, and readers, in the towns and parishes ; in the Lauderdale district of Berwick were only two ; but in the Merse district of that county were thirty-nine. In Forfarshire were thirty-two “ministers” and forty-seven “readers ;” in the Stormonth district of Perthshire were seventeen “ministers, exhorters, and readers ;” and eleven in the Carse of Gowrie district ; in Kincardineshire were ten “ministers” and twenty “readers ;” those within “Fife, Strathern, Forthrig, Strathtay, and Menteth,” including the exhorters, comprised one hundred and forty-five ; those of the district of Glasgow, comprising Lanark, Renfrew, and Dunbarton counties, were one hundred and seven ; in the Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick districts of Ayrshire were fifty-six ; in Teviotdale, now Selkirk, and part of Roxburgh shires, were thirteen ; in Tweedale, were eighteen ; in Nithsdale, were thirty-nine ; in Annandale, were eighteen ; in the adjacent districts, called Wauchopdale, Ewesdale, and Eskdale, were six ; and in the Bishopric of Galloway were fifty-eight. In the northern county of Ross were twenty-three ; in Caithness were twenty-two ; in Orkney were twenty-five ; Shetland, eleven ; in Moray were nine “ministers,” eighteen “exhorters,” and twenty-two “readers ;” in Aberdeen and Banff were twenty-six “ministers,” six “exhorters,” and sixty-nine “readers ;” and in the Marr district of Aber-

* Edinburgh, 4to. 1830. Printed for the Maitland Club.

deen there were one "minister," two "exhorters," and twenty-one "readers." All the names of the individuals are recorded, and some other modifications are given in the extracts from the "Buik of Resignations of the Ministers' and Reidars' Stipends" for the year 1576.

The great proportion of those functionaries were "readers," and this office requires explanation, as it is always mentioned as inferior to "exhorters," who were next in grade to the "ministers," and whose functions are sufficiently indicated by the title. The duties are thus defined in the First Book of Discipline :*—"To the churches where no ministers can be had presentlie must be appointed the most apt men that distinethie can read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the Church till they grow to greater perfection; and in the process of time he that is a reader may attain to a further degree, and by consent of the Church and discreet ministers may be permitted to minister sacraments, but not before that he be able somewhat to persuade by wholesome doctrine, beside his reading, and be admitted to the ministrie as before is said." On the 26th of December 1564 the General Assembly enjoined that every "Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, shall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the Sacra-ments."[†] Readers were not allowed to baptize children or celebrate marriages.[‡] Several duties were connected with these functions. In 1578, for example, the Reader of Aberdeen was ordered to catechize the children; and in 1604 he was enjoined, at the end of Prayers on Sunday mornings and week days, to recite the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed.^{||} The office was long retained even after the establishment of Presbyterianism in 1690, and appears to have been discharged by the parish schoolmasters, who read chapters from the Scriptures before the "minister" entered the pulpit. One of the last instances of which the present writer has heard, is that of Crail in the east of Fife, where the practice was retained till the beginning of the

* Chap IV, Part. IV, § 14.

[†] Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 54.

[‡] *Ibid.* p. 82, 124.

^{||} Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. II. 1842. Preface, p. xxiv.

nineteenth century, and the parish schoolmaster acted as the "reader." It is probable that the same occurred in other parishes throughout Scotland, and it was curious as one of the last relics of an office introduced by Knox, Winram, Spottiswoode, and the other compilers of the First Book of Discipline, most of which is now abrogated even by the Presbyterians themselves, though they occasionally appeal to it as an authority when it suits their own purposes. The Second Book of Discipline, drawn up by Andrew Melville and others in 1579, and ratified by the General Assembly in 1581, contains all those peculiarities and dogmas of Presbyterianism on which the First is silent.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUPERINTENDENT SYSTEM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

THE ecclesiastical, political, and civil disorders which sprung from the Scottish Reformation were farther increased by the conduct of the Government. We have seen that the Reformers in their General Assemblies had no scruples to accept the assistance of the regularly consecrated Bishops of Galloway and Orkney, and of the persons designating themselves Bishops of Caithness and Argyll, and that they never refused to acknowledge the episcopal rank and functions of the two former, except when those prelates offended them by being either negligent or lukewarm in their cause. In 1564 Queen Mary appointed a Commission to the Colleges in the University of St Andrews, to “cognosce, visit, and consider the patrimonie of the said Colleges,” to facilitate the purposes of instruction. In this Commission “anc Reverend Father in God,” Bishop Sinclair of Ross, was associated with the Queen’s illegitimate brother the Earl of Moray, the celebrated George Buchanan, John Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Maitland of Lethington, and other avowed enemies of the former Hierarchy, and of that very religion to which Mary herself was zealously attached.* Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Prelates were still legally recognized, and in the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 16th April 1567, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dunblane, Brechin, Orkney, Aberdeen, and Ross, were present. John Carswell, titular of the Isles, also appeared, and took his place as if he had been a lawfully

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* Vol. II. p. 544.

consecrated Bishop, without any objections urged by those among whom he is enumerated. Three of those prelates—the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Ross and Orkney, with Carswell, Titular of the Isles, were elected to represent the clergy among the Lords of the Articles, for which the said Titular was censured by the General Assembly. On the last day of the Parliament, which was on the 19th of April, for the meeting continued only three days, an act was passed by the Bishops, Abbots, Nobility, and Commissioners from the burghs present, entitled—"Concerning the Religion," but so vague and general that it might mean anything or nothing.* It merely sets forth that, as the Queen had "attempted nothing contrair the estait of religiou which her Majestie found publiclie and universallie standing at the time of hir arrival furth of France," the Queen, with advice of the three Estates of Parliament, annuls and abrogates all laws, acts, and constitutions, "canon, civil, and municipal, introduced contrary to the foresaid religiou and professors of the same." If this refers to the peculiar association formed by Knox and his associates, it is another proof of the extraordinary apathy with which the Roman Catholics beheld the downfall of their Hierarchy. But this apathy may probably in some degree be explained. In 1561 the act had been passed, already mentioned, ordering the whole revenues of the Archbispries, Bishopries, Abbacies, Priories, and all benefices, to be produced, out of which the Roman Catholic clergy agreed to give one-third to the Queen, on the condition that they were to retain the two-thirds. This third was to be appropriated to the maintenance of the preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the Crown revenues. "Before this proposal was made," Mr Tytler observes, "the funds of the Romish Church, previously immense, had been greatly dilapidated. On the overthrow of Popery the Bishops and other dignified clergy had entered into transactions with their friends or kinsmen, by which large portions of ecclesiastical property passed into private hands. In some cases sales had been made by the ancient incumbents, or leases had been purchased by strangers, which the Pope, zealous to protect his persecuted children, had confirmed. The Crown, too, had appointed laymen to be factors or administrators

* See Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, Edinburgh, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. Appendix.

of Bishopries and livings, so that by those various methods the property of the Church was so much dispersed and curtailed, that the third of all the money collected fell far below the sum necessary to give an adequate support to the clergy."* In short, the temporalities were for the most part alienated, and that influence which the Prelates formerly possessed was now annihilated.

The power of the Roman Catholic Prelates had been farther weakened by the institution of the Consistorial Court of Edinburgh by Queen Mary in 1563. For centuries they had been the judges in every matter connected with religion, and as the Church of Rome chooses to include marriage among its Seven Sacraments, questions of divorce, illegitimacy, intestate successions, and scandal, as rendering the guilty parties liable to ecclesiastical censure, were brought exclusively under their jurisdiction. These eventually became so numerous, and enabled the Bishops to obtain such a preponderating influence, that they were obliged in 1466 to delegate their judicial functions to their vicars or commissioners, but in 1560 all clerical jurisdictions were abolished. Queen Mary, on the 8th of March 1563, instituted the Consistorial Court of Edinburgh, with four judges, to try questions of marriage, freedom, nullity, divorce, legitimacy, bastardy, confirmations of moveable succession, and a variety of incidental matters, such as alimentary claims. A subordinate Commissary was also appointed to each of the Dioceses, to try minor causes, such as the constitution of the debts of a person deceased, confirmations of moveable estates, actions involving declarator or nullity of marriages, and other cases of less importance. On the 12th of March the Queen issued particular instructions to be observed by the Commissaries of Edinburgh and of the Dioceses, which were ratified by King James and the Scottish Parliament in 1592 and 1606. It may be here stated that in 1609, after the complete establishment of the Episcopal Church, the right of nominating the four Commissary judges was conferred equally upon the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, who in 1610 issued certain instructions to be observed by the said judges and their clerks.† Cromwell made considerable changes in the forms of the Consistorial Court, which were re-adjusted by the instructions of Charles II. in January 1666,

* Tytler's History of Scotland, 8vo. edition, vol. vi. p. 292, 293.

† See Balfour's Practicks, p. 655.

and the right of nominating the judges remained with the two Archbishops till the Revolution, when, by the establishment of Presbyterianism, it devolved upon the Crown. It is curious to notice, that although Knox and his associates denounced the Romish Prelates for holding offices which were considered incompatible with their functions, they never scrupled to arrogate to themselves those very powers, as if what was faulty in one set of men became the reverse when exercised by another. Accordingly, in the proceedings of their General Assemblies after 1560, we find those men assuming to themselves the judgment of cases of divorce, adultery, and other violations of morality, and discussing most licentious and indelicate subjects. It may be said that they thus acted to inflict ecclesiastical censures and penalties on the guilty parties, but a perusal of the proceedings of those General Assemblies, as detailed in the “Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,” at once proves that they interfered in indecent matters with which they had no connection, and discussed them with a coarseness and vulgarity strangely at variance with their extraordinary pretensions to religious sanctity. While, too, they unhesitatingly ascribed to the prelates and clergy all kinds of vices, numerous cases of gross and licentious immorality occurred among themselves, of which the case of Paul Methven, once baker in Jedburgh, and “Reformed minister” in Dundee, is as flagrant as any on record.

The short meeting of the Parliament in April 1567, in which was passed the Act “Concerning the Religion,” was the last with which Queen Mary was concerned. On the morning of the 10th of February of that year the murder of her husband Lord Darnley was perpetrated by the Earl of Bothwell and his associates in the house of Robert Balfour, Provost of the collegiate church of St Mary-in-the-Fields, commonly called the *Kirk of Field*, where Darnley was lodged while he was labouring under small pox, with which he had been seized at Glasgow. The locality where this horrid crime was committed, and which accelerated Mary’s misfortunes, is now a part of the southern suburb of Edinburgh in the immediate vicinity of the University. On 15th of May following, Mary completed her ruin by marrying the Earl of Bothwell, the murderer of her husband; on the 15th of June she surrendered to the insurgent Nobility on Carberry Hill near Musselburgh; and on the evening of the ensuing day she was sent a prisoner to

Lochleven Castle. Immured in that island-stronghold, the Queen was compelled to sign her resignation of the Crown and the appointment of a Regency, both of which documents were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 25th of July. Four days afterwards the infant James VI., then not fourteen months old, was crowned at Stirling, the ceremony of anointing being performed by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, and the sermon preached by Knox. In August the Earl of Moray was declared Regent, and the unfortunate Queen's authority in Scotland was annihilated. Her escape from Lochleven on the 2d of May 1568 ; the battle which ensued at Langside near Glasgow, where her supporters were utterly discomfited; and her flight into England, to endure a long and severe captivity, from which she was only released by the executioner in Fotheringay Castle, are matters of history well known. Such was the hapless fate of Mary of Scotland, and of all her enemies in her own kingdom the most bitter, bigotted, insulting, and ferocious, were the Reformed preachers and their adherents, both before and after her flight into England. In the midst of their devotional exercises they expressed themselves against her in language of fierce indignation, founding their arguments on the examples of wicked princes mentioned in the Scripture history of the Jews deposed and put to death for idolatry, and on alleged precedents in former reigns among their own sovereigns.

The government was now in the hands of the Regent Moray, a personage who, under the mask of zeal for the "Reformed religion," concealed the most dangerous and unscrupulous designs, and who had been more or less cognizant of many of the crimes and conspiracies of the age ; but at the same time a man of great abilities, of undoubted courage, and indefatigable in his exertions. The final doom of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy was sealed by Moray's appointment to the Regency. But before narrating the proceedings of his first Parliament, it is necessary to glance at some of the transactions of the General Assembly.

It may be here observed, that whatever opinion may be formed of the new Superintendent System of church government invented and introduced by the Reformers, it was essentially different from the subsequent Presbyterian rule, about which nothing is said in the First Book of Discipline. The country was not divided into Presbyteries and Synods, and not a word occurs about *Presby-*

terianism, as it is now known, in all the acts of the General Assemblies of the “ Universall Kirk ” for many years after 1560. On the contrary, the word *diocese*, or “ *diocie*,” is invariably used, and though in some instances the ancient boundaries was disregarded, this appears to have been done for the personal convenience of the Superintendents. In December 1566, John Knox was ordered by the General Assembly to write a letter to the English Bishops, which was thus addressed—“ The Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of kirks, within the realme of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who hes renounced the Roman Antichrist, and who does professe with the Lord Jesus in sinceritie, desyres the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.” This ungrammatical epistle, which appears to have been duly transmitted, though the individual Prelate who had the “ honour ” to receive it is not mentioned, is signed by John Spottiswoode, John Winram, John Erskine of Dun, John Row, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, James Melville, John Craig, William Christison, and Nicol Spittal, all leaders in their way, though the latter were less conspicuous than the former. It is a rather unpolite remonstrance from the above personages, who complain—“ By word and writ it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Pastors, that divers of our dearest brethren, among whom are some of the best learned within that realme [England], are depryvit from ecclesiastical functions, and forbidden to preach, and so by you are stayed to promote the kingdom of Chryst, because their conscience will not suffer them to take upon them, at the commandment of the authoritie such garments as idolaters in the time of blindness have used in the time of idolatrie.” Those incipient non-conformists had become troublesome to the English Bishops, by objecting to the canonical observances of the Church in divine service, and their Scottish “ brethren ” accordingly denounce “ surplice-claithes, cornet, cap, and tippet,” which they declare to be “ dregs of the Romish Beast.” After some impertinent advice they express themselves in a more respectful manner, and acknowledge the episcopal authority of the English Bishops.—“ But herein we may confesse our offence, in that we have entered further in reasoning than was purposed and pronounced at the beginning ; and therefore we shortly return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the *Prelates*, in favour

as our Head and Master commands every ane of his members to shaw to another ; which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's Majestie, in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble request of us, your brethren and fellow preachers, in whom, albeit there appear not great worldlie pomp, yet we suppose that ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against the Roman Antichrist, and travell that the kingdom of Jesus Christ be universallie advanced."*

The correspondence between the General Assembly and their Calvinistic friends in Switzerland, whatever it was, is not mentioned in their "Acts," as officially recorded in the "Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland." Only two allusions occur during several years after 1560. One is in 1562, when "it was concluded that one uniforme ordour shall be taken or kept in the administration of the Sacraments, and solemnization of marriages and burials of the dead, according to the Book of Geneva."† The other is some time afterwards. On the day they sent their interfering epistle to their "Brethren," the "Bishops of England"—is the following report:—"The Assemblie being advised with the interpretation of the Confession of the Kirk of Zurich by Mr Robert Pont, ordained the same to be presented, together with ane epistle sent by the Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, approving the same, providing a note be put in the margin, where mention is made of some holidays." This Confession was penned by the pastors of Zurich, and otherwise called the Latter Confession of Helvetia. In this Confession superiority of "ministers above ministers" is called "ane human appointment; confirmation is judged to be a device of man, which the Kirk may want without damage; baptism by women or midwives condemned; item, prolix and tedious public prayers, hindering the preaching of the Word in canonical hours, that is, prayers to be chanted, and often repeated at set times, to the prejudice of Christ's libertie; observation of Saints' Days. And this Assembly would not allow the days dedicated to Christ, the Circumci-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 85, 86, 87.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 30. It is also stated—"Ordains the Communion to be ministrat four times in the yeir within burroughs, and twyce in the year in landwart," or rural districts.

sion, Nativitie, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost Days, but took exception against that part of the Confession."*

The Regent Moray's first Parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 15th of December 1567, and as this meeting of the Estates was the most important of any since the Reformation, a notice of it is indispensable. The Regent presided, and the Bishops of Moray (Hepburn,) Galloway, Orkney, and Brechin, were present. This last named person styled Bishop of Brechin, though never consecrated, was, it is already stated, Alexander Campbell, a younger brother of Campbell of Ardkinglas, and was nominated to the See of Brechin in 1566 by the influence of the Earl of Argyll, after the death of Bishop Sinclair in 1565. His identity is involved in considerable difficulty. Bishop Keith alleges that Argyll obtained for him, while he was a "mere boy," the grant of the Bishopric, with power to alienate the temporalities as he pleased, and which he most unscrupulously achieved in favour of the Earl; but another authority,† which completely refutes Keith's assertion, states that he was appointed Provost of St. Giles' church in Edinburgh in 1554, at the resignation of Bishop Crichton of Dunkeld.

Among the first proceedings of Moray's Parliament were ratifications of the Acts passed in 1560 concerning the jurisdiction of the Pope, the abolition of "Idolatry," and the acts contrary to the Confession of Faith "published in this Parliament," and the "abolition of the Mass." All the Acts of the disputed Parliament of 1560 were confirmed, and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy completely abolished. Yet it is singular that no act was proposed to exclude the Prelates from their seats, for the Bishop of Moray was again in his place in the Parliament of 1568, and was chosen one of the Lords of the Articles on the spiritual side with Bishop Bothwell of Orkney.

It is commonly asserted that the Regent Moray's first Parliament established the Protestant religion in Scotland. New statutes were undoubtedly added to those of 1560; the General Assemblies were in some measure ratified; the thirds of benefices

* Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 90.

† Panmure MS. quoted in "History of Brechin," by David D. Black, Town-Clerk, p. 301, 302. Bishop Keith mistakes the meaning of a very common phrase. He says—"This Bishop was abroad at Geneva at the schools on the 28th of January 1573-4, so the reader may judge what age he has been of at the time of the grant of the Bishopric." But this does not intimate that he was a boy at school.

were ordered to be paid to collectors appointed by the Reformers, who were to account to the Exchequer after allotting stipends to the Superintendents, ministers, and their auxiliaries the exhorters and readers; and the funds of Provostries, Prebends, and Chaplaincies, were appropriated to the maintenance of Bursars in the Universities. It was also enacted that every sovereign at accession should take an oath to maintain the Protestant religion, and that Protestants exclusively should be admitted to any office not hereditary or for life, such as that of a judge, procurator, notary, or member of any Court. The teachers of youth were subjected to the examination of the Superintendents and other visitors appointed by the General Assembly.* But though these measures caused an important change in the state of the kingdom, that state was the reverse of peace and harmony. The supporters of Episcopacy, and the advocates of Presbyterianism, while both united against the Papal Hierarchy, were now to enter on the questions of ecclesiastical polity and discipline; and these dissensions, as is observed by Dr Cook, "strongly influenced the political principles, the manners, and the general sentiments of the inhabitants of Scotland."† Other matters also combined to fan the flame of discord. "Although," says Dr. Cook, "the Reformed faith had been declared to be that of the State, yet the manner in which it was to be inculcated, the form of church-government, and the support to be given to it by the Crown, were left in a great degree open for future discussion, rendering it probable that some changes in all these respects would yet be introduced. The unsettled condition of the Church was attended with many inconveniences to the clergy. Their stipends were not regularly paid; constant disputes arose between them and the persons who, under the former ecclesiastical establishment, had been inducted into benefices; the funds for paying the ministers were not with sufficient precision defined; and it was not determined whether, like the higher orders of the Popish clergy, they were to be recognized as one of the Estates of the kingdom."‡

The official account of the proceedings of the General Assembly which met on the 25th of December 1567, ten days after the Par-

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 14, 15, *et seq.*

† History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. iii. p. 310.

‡ History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 78, 79.

liament, is not of much interest apart from local and personal matters. A committee was appointed, the more conspicuous members of which were the Superintendents of Lothian and Angus, John Knox and John Craig of Edinburgh, David Lindsay of Leith, and John Row of Perth, “to concur at all times with such persons of Parliament or Secret Counsell as my Lord Regent’s Grace has nominat for such affairs as pertained to the Kirk and jurisdiction thereof, and also for the decision of questions that may occur in the meane tyme.”* Sundry regulations were sanctioned respecting the mode of collecting the stipends, and the “sufficiency” of the persons employed. Lady Jane, Countess of Argyll, illegitimate daughter of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael, appeared before this Assembly, and was ordered to “make public repentance in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling upon ane Sunday in time of preaching,” for being present at the baptism of James VI. in “a papisticall manner” by Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews. The proceedings appear to have been concluded by a letter drawn up and sent to their “beloved brother,” Mr Superintendent Willox of Glasgow, who for some reasons of his own had withdrawn himself into England, requesting him to return; and it commences with the significant motto—“*Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de cælo cadentem.*” In this letter they give a flattering representation of the state of religion throughout the kingdom—“virtue increasing, virtuous men in reputation;” and they conclude by declaring—“We cannot look for any other answer than ye shall give by yourself, and that with all expedition possible.”† Willox obeyed the summons to return, and opened the General Assembly held on the 1st of July 1568, of which he was chosen Moderator.

Although in subsequent meetings of their Assemblies the “Reformed” preachers were continually petitioning the Government about the mode of collecting their stipends, it is well known that during Moray’s regency they were greatly encouraged and protected. That regency terminated with the life of Moray, who was assassinated while riding through the town of Linlithgow, on the 21st of January 1569-70, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, to revenge the atrocious treatment of his lady by the

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 113.

† *Ibid.* p. 120, 121, 122.

Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, one of Moray's favourites, although there is little doubt that the perpetrator of this deed was also the tool of a faction who had some time determined on the Regent's destruction. This extraordinary man, long remembered by his partizans as the *Good Regent*, and execrated by his opponents, obtained almost uncontrolled power as the leader of the Reformatory party when little more than a youth, under his previous titles of Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews and Earl of Mar, before he was created Earl of Moray, and he fell the victim of private vindictiveness in the midst of his greatness before he was forty years of age. He was interred in what was called St Anthony's Aisle in St Giles' church at Edinburgh, on the 14th of February, and John Knox preached his funeral sermon on the passage—"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." The General Assembly appointed to be held at Stirling on the 25th of February, was adjourned to the 1st of March at Edinburgh, because only five persons appeared, "by reason of troubles falling out by the slaughter of my Lord Regent's Grace."* When that Assembly met, the principal business seems to have been the "accusations" and "offences" brought forward against Bishop Bothwell of Orkney previously noticed.

During this period the civil government of Scotland, rent by faction, was in the utmost confusion after the Regent Moray's death. An English army, under the Earl of Sussex, invaded the kingdom by ravaging the romantic district of Teviotdale and the Merse, destroying fifty castles, towers, or fortalices, and numbers of hamlets. In a second inroad Home Castle, one of the strongest in that quarter, was taken. Lord Scrope about the same time entered Dumfries-shire, and the march of his soldiers was too fatally indicated by the flames of villages and farm-houses, and the destruction of the labours of the field. Queen Elizabeth followed up this severity by sending the Earl of Lennox and Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, at the head of 1200 foot and 400 horse, to advance against Edinburgh, and avenge the murder of her great agent the Regent Moray upon the House of Hamilton. This was so far done effectually by forming a junction with the Earl of Morton, that Linlithgowshire and Clydesdale in Lanarkshire were devastated, and the estates and

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 156, 157.

residences of the kindred and adherents of the House of Hamilton were ravaged. The appointment of the Earl of Lennox, father of the unfortunate Lord Darnley, and grandfather of the young King, to the regency, on the 12th of July 1570, evinced the power of the English interest. A civil war ensued, and Sussex at the head of 4000 men again invaded Scotland, advancing through Annandale to Dumfries. Soon afterwards Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, who was found in Dunbarton Castle when that fortress was surprised, was carried to Stirling, and inhumanly executed on the bridge over the Forth, for his alleged concern in the murder of Lord Darnley and of the Regent Moray, the latter of which he is said to have admitted so far as to confess that he knew it was to be attempted. Such was the fate of the last Roman Catholic Primate of Scotland, the only Bishop who ever died by the hands of an executioner in Scotland ; a prelate whose character, even according to the admission of Dr Cook, though “ far from spotless, possessed considerable virtues, and under other circumstances might have been useful to his country. His talents were respectable, and had in early life been assiduously cultivated ; he was for the period deeply versed in theological and moral science ; he made several efforts to reform the Popish clergy, and to excite them to the discharge of their duties ; and he left, in the Catechism which he composed or approved, a striking proof of his learning and of his moderation. Although he was led upon some unhappy occasions to sanction the enormities of persecution, he was constitutionally mild, and had the merit of restraining the cruelty which his predecessors in the Primacy had delighted to indulge. But he had been corrupted by the dissolute manners which were so prevalent among the clergy of the Romish communion, and whilst he urged upon others a strict regard to temperance, he did not seek in his own conduct to preserve even the decency with which he might have been expected to veil his vices.”

The judicial murder of Archbishop Hamilton was the signal for Queen Mary’s party to fly to arms ; the indignation of his kinsmen the Hamiltons was unbounded ; and this deed caused a war of two years, by which the country was desolated by all the miseries of civil strife. It caused the assassination of the Regent Lennox, on the 4th of September 1571, at Stirling, by one Cap-

tain Calder, who confessed, before he was broken upon the wheel, that he was instigated to shoot him through the back at the attack on Stirling by Lord Claud Hamilton and the Earl of Huntly, before they took the town, to revenge the death of the Archbishop, whose execution the Hamiltons had sworn to visit to the uttermost upon the Regent.

The successor of Lennox in the regency was John sixth Earl of Mar of the name of Erskine, who was chosen by a majority of Parliament on the 5th of September, the day after the death of Lennox in the Castle of Stirling. This nobleman, under whose brief government a most important change was effected in the ecclesiastical polity introduced by the Reformers, is described as “owing his preferment to his moderation, his humanity, and his disinterestedness. As soon as he was in possession of that high office, he applied himself vigorously to allay, as far as possible, the contending factions in Scotland, and to free his country from the influence of English counsels. But Morton and his associates thwarted his views. The selfishness and ambition which reigned among his party made a deep impression on the Regent, who wished for peace with much ardour.—He was perhaps the only person in the kingdom who could have enjoyed the office of Regent without envy, and have left it without loss of reputation. Notwithstanding their mutual animosities, both parties acknowledged his views to be honourable, and his integrity to be uncorrupted.”* This high eulogium is confirmed by historians. “The Earl of Mar, governor to the young King,” says Mr Tytler, “was chosen Regent. His competitors for the office were Argyll, whom Morton had induced to join the King’s faction, and Morton himself, who was supported by English influence, but the majority declared for Mar, whose character for honesty in those profligate times stood higher than that of any of the nobles. On his accession to the supreme power, Mar confidently hoped that, by a judicious mixture of vigour and conciliation, he should be able to reduce the opposite faction, and restore peace to the country; but the difficulties he had to contend against were infinitely more complicated than he anticipated. Every attempt at negotiation was defeated by the unreasonable and overbearing conduct of Morton,

* Douglas’ Peerage of Scotland, edited by Wood, folio, vol. ii, p. 212.

who had entirely governed the late Regent, and determined either to rule or overwhelm his successor. This daring and crafty man, who was the slave of ambition, knew well that his best chance of receiving the supreme power lay in keeping up the commotions of the country, and in this perfidious effort he received rather countenance than opposition from England. So successful were his efforts, that for some months after Mar's accession to the Regency ; the war assumed an aspect of unexampled ferocity.—For many miserable months Scotland presented a sight which might have drawn pity from the hardest heart ; her sons engaged in a ferocious and constant butchery of each other ; every peaceful and useful art entirely at a stand ; her agriculture, her commerce, and manufactures neglected ; nothing heard from one end of the country to the other but the clangour of arms and the roar of artillery ; nothing seen but villages in flames, towns beleagured by armed men, women and children flying from the cottages where their fathers or husbands had been massacred ; and even the pulpit and the altar surrounded by a steel-clad congregation, which listened tremblingly with their hands upon their weapons. Into all the separate facts which would support this dreadful picture I must not enter, nor would I willingly conduct my reader through the shambles of a civil war. Prisoners were tortured, or massacred in cold blood, or hung by forties and fifties at a time. Country-men driving their carts, or attempting to sell their stores in the city [Edinburgh], were hanged or branded with a hot iron. Women coming to market were seized and scourged, and as the punishment did not prevent repetition of the offence, one delinquent, who ventured to retail her country produce, was barbarously hanged in her own village [West Edmonston] near the city. These are homely details, but they point to such intensity of national misery, and made so deep an impression, that the period, taking its name from Morton, was long after remembered as the days of the *Douglas Wars.*"*

The General Assembly held in 1570 appear to have confined themselves chiefly to the management of their own crude and undefined system of polity. In that held at Stirling on the 6th of August 1571, a letter was read from John Knox, dated St An-

* Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 8vo. edit. vol. vii. p. 365, 366, 370, 371.

drews, August 3d, in which he complains of his weak state of health, for he was then dying, otherwise he says—" I would not have troubled you with this my rude dictation." He entreats his brethren patiently to hear and judge certain libels against him in the former Assembly as they shall answer to God, being convinced that he had neither offended God nor good men in any thing of which he was accused. Those libels, it is alleged by his servant Bannatyne, had been thrown into the General Assembly in a counterfeit handwriting, accusing Knox of scurrilously reviling Queen Mary, and of sedition, schism, and erroneous doctrine.* Knox continues in his letter—" And now, brethren," he says, " because the [daily] decay of naturall strength threatens unto me certain and sudden departure from the miseries of this life; of love and conscience I exhort you, yea, in the fear of God I charge and command you, that ye take heed to yourselves, and the flock over which God has placed you pastours. To discourse of the behaviour of yourselves I may not; but to command you to be faithful to the flock I dare not cease. Unfaithfull and traitours to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus, if that with your consent, directlie or indirectlie, ye suffer unworthie men to be thrust into the ministrie of the Kirk, under what pretence that ever it be." He exhorts them to " gainstand the merciless devourers of the patrimonie of the Kirk," and concludes by praying that God may give them " wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause," and himself a " happy end."

It is recorded that this letter was " read, considered with mature deliberation, and allowed in all points with firm purpose to proceed and do according to the godly counsell contained therein touching the affairs of the whole Kirk. And as concerning his [Knox's] own part contained in the said letter, the Assembly ordained all persons to be warned at the Tolbooth-door that had, or pretended to have any thing to lay to the charge of the Superintendents or ministers, either presently convened or absent from the Assembly, to compear before the dissolving of the same, and accuse, if they had any just matter."†

In this Assembly it was resolved that a certain number of them should be nominated commissioners to " pass to my Lord Regent's

* Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, printed for the Bannatyne Club, 4to. 1836, p. 91-103.

† *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part First, p. 199-200.

[Mar] Grace, Counsell, and Parliament, and conclude upon the heads, articles, and designns, presented in his Grace's name to this Assembly ; to propone, humblie require, and desire, in the Kirk's name, the granting of heads, articles, and redresses of complaints, as shall be given to them by the Kirk, the ane and the other always to be concludit on conforme to the instructions to be delivered to them." Erskine of Dun, Spottiswoode, Winram, Row, and fifteen others, or any eleven of them, were empowered to proceed to Stirling on the 22d of the same month of August, "to counsell and reason." Most important projects were now to be developed respecting the form of ecclesiastical government. It was clear that the Superintendent System, which was neither Episcopal nor Presbyterian, with its ministers, exhorters, and readers, as devised by Knox, Spottiswoode, Winram, Erskine of Dun, Row, and others, had proved a failure, after an experiment of ten years, and it was clear that the very constitution of the kingdom had been rendered imperfect by the questionable authority of the Acts of the various Parliaments during that period. A different construction of the "Reformed Church" was in consequence determined, and this forms a curious episode in the history of that eventful time.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TITULAR OR TULCHAN EPISCOPATE.

THE miserable state of Scotland, rent by faction and civil discord, at the accession of the Earl of Mar to the Regency, is already delineated. The affairs of religion were also in utter confusion ; the Reformation had failed to produce beneficial effects on the generation who embraced its doctrines ; and the ancient Hierarchy was extinct, or at best only represented by the temporizing Bishops of Galloway and Orkney. The Acts of Parliament merely sanctioned the “ pure religion ” then professed in the realm as taught by the Reformers, but no form of church-government, not even the Superintendent System, was legally acknowledged. The laws of the kingdom still recognised the clerical order as one of the Estates of Parliament ; the Bishops and other dignitaries had been regularly summoned from a very early period to that assembly ; and their consent was indispensable in all the laws and constitutions enacted. “ At the Reformation,” says Dr Cook, “ it was esteemed dangerous to make any great innovation upon the political constitution then existing, and although the Roman Catholic Bishops were prohibited from teaching, and were in fact deprived of their right to exercise their clerical functions, they were permitted to retain the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and many of them regularly attended its deliberations. In progress of time several of them died, and as there was no possibility of continuing the succession, the Sees remained permanently vacant, and there was a near prospect of the total extinction of the spiritual branch of the legislature. The persons who successively administered the government of James contemplated, with much anxiety and alarm, an event which might be attended with consequences fatal to the

throne of their sovereign. They dreaded that if, under the reign of a minor, one of the Estates ceased to exist, their proceedings might be afterwards declared illegal, and the whole of those interesting regulations by which the liberty and the religion of the great mass of the people were intended to be secured might be set aside.* This is also the view of the then state of affairs by Bishop Sage. "The Lords," he says, "thought it expedient that the Ecclesiastical State should sit in Parliament, and therefore were eager to restore Bishops, *that their acts might be valid.*"†

It was consequently determined to establish Episcopacy, if that can be so termed which was merely nominal, and had no pretensions to the episcopal function. Certain of the Protestant preachers were allowed to vote in the Parliaments as the successors of the defunct Prelates, and officially appointed Bishops of the vacant Sees. This measure excited considerable dissatisfaction on the part of those in the General Assemblies who were wedded to the Superintendent System. The persons selected for this visionary episcopate were John Douglas, originally a Carmelite Friar, rector of the University of St Andrews, a cadet of the Earl of Morton's family, who was appointed to the Archbishopric of St Andrews; John Porterfield to Glasgow; and James Paton to Dunkeld. Some of the other Sees were not vacant, and the nomination of the titulars was delayed in several cases till a future period.

The Earl of Morton had obtained from the Regent a grant of the ample revenues of the Archbishopric of St Andrews, and doubtless others of the nobility anticipated similar appropriations. But this gift was illegal, for the patrimony of the Primacy never had been forfeited, and it was clear that, if by any change of affairs in subsequent times the Church should be restored, the Archbishops would have had a legal claim to recover not only the revenues, but to prosecute those by whom they had been appropriated without the authority of Parliament. Another motive for restoring the nominal order of Bishops was, not only to prevent the possibility of such proceedings at a future period, but with their consent to secure a certain portion of the patrimony to each See, while the rest was to be conveyed by statute to those of the nobility already in possession of the ecclesiastical plunder. When

* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 167, 168.

† Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 195-198.

Morton found that the Regent Mar was resolved to restore this nominal episcopacy, he hastened to St Andrews to secure the election of Douglas, and thus, by having a person entirely devoted to his interest in the See, keep undisturbed possession of the revenues, after allotting to him such an allowance as he was disposed to accept. Douglas appears to have been advanced in years, and in ill health at the time. The gossipping Richard Bannatyne, secretary of John Knox, describes him as an “auld unable man”—“ane man unable to travell in body as a man should do, and more unable of his tongue to teach the principal office of ane bishop.” He was nominated Archbishop on Saturday the 18th of August 1571, and as such he attended the Parliament or Convention held at Stirling on the 28th of that month. An attempt was made to prohibit him from voting as “ane of the Kirk,” under pain of excommunication, until admitted by the said “Kirk,” and Superintendent Winram was the party employed to threaten him with their censures;* but the Earl of Morton insisted on his voting as Archbishop of St Andrews under pain of high treason. He was ordered to get all the fruits of the benefice, and he attended the Convention of Stirling held on the 5th of September 1571, his name appearing as *Joannes Archeepisc Sancti-Andree*, with *Adam. Orchaden. Episc.*† In the proceedings of that Convention they are designated *Prelates*, and as such they took the oaths of obedience to the Regent Mar, with the “Lords, commissioners of burghs, barons, and gentlemen.”‡ Porterfield signs an “admonition” to the garrison of Edinburgh Castle as Archbishop of Glasgow along with Douglas and Bishop Bothwell.||

But before narrating the proceedings connected with the establishment of this nominal episcopacy, it is necessary to glance at the mode by which the Regent Mar successfully effected a change in the new ecclesiastical constitution. Some of the enactments of a previous Parliament had excited considerable discontent among the preachers, which was increased by the continued pressure of poverty, and by a declaration in the name of the Regent that the collectors who were appointed to receive the thirds of the ecclesi-

* Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 178, 183.

† *Ibid.* p. 213. *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 65.

‡ *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 67, 68.

|| *Ibid.* p. 70.

astical revenues as the stipends of the preachers could cease to act. This order, which was proclaimed at St Andrews, was grounded on the pretence that the stipends had not been regularly paid, and that the King's proportion of the thirds had been withheld; but it was reported that it originated with the Earl of Morton, whose agents had been prevented by the collectors from obtaining certain duties which he had appropriated. "It was thought," says Richard Bannatyne, "that these letters were raised by the Earl of Morton, unto whom the Rector of St Androis had written, showing that the Collector wald not suffer him to take up certain dues pertaining to the Bishopric, as the said rector had alleged, who was appointed and made Bishop of St Androis by the Lord of Morton, without any consent, assent, or admission of the Kirk."*

Erskine of Dun considered it necessary to correspond with his relative the Regent Mar on the state of religious affairs and the poverty of the Reformed preachers. His first letter is dated from Montrose, 10th November 1571, and some of the passages of it are curious, as developing the sentiments of this zealous supporter of the Superintendent System, and the extraordinary notions he maintained respecting church government in general. "As to the provision of benefices," he tells the Regent, "this is my judgement—All benefices of teinds, or having teinds joined or annexed thairto (which is taken up of the people's labours), have the offices joined unto them, which office is the preaching of the Evangel and ministracion of the Sacraments; and this office is spirituall, and thairfoir belongs to the Kirk, which only has the distributione and ministracione of spiritual things. So, by the Kirk spirituall offices are distributed, and men are received and admitted thairto; and the administration of the power is committed by the Kirk to Bischops or Superintendents; whairfoir to the Bischops and Superintendents pertains the examinatioun and admissioun of men into benefices and offices of spirituall cure, whatsoever benefice it be, as well Bishopricks, Abbacies, Priories, as other inferior benefices. That this pertains by the Scriptures of God to the Bischop or Superintendent is manifest." Erskine then cites 2 Tim. ii. 2, and 1 Tim. v. 22, for the edification of his friend the

* Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 197.

Regent, and proceeds—“ The Apostle, also writing to Titus, Bisshop of Crete, puts him in remembrance of his office, which was to admit and appoint ministers in every citie and congregation; and they could not do the same rashlie, without examinatione; he expressed the qualities and conditiouns of some men as should be admitted, as at length is contained in the first chapter, in the epistle foresaid. The deacons that were chosen in Jerusalem by the whole congregatioun were received and admitted by the Apostles, and that by laying on of their hands, as Saint Luke writes in the 6th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. This we have expressed plainlie by the Scriptures, that to the office of a Bishop pertains examination and admission into spirituall cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightlie, and exercise their office faithfully and purely. To take this power from the Bisshop or Superintendent is to take away the office of a Bisshop, that no Bisshop be in the Kirk, *which were to alter and abolish the order that God has appointed in his Kirk.*—A greater offence or contempt of God and his Kirk can no prince do than to set up by his authority men in spirituall offices, as to create Bisshops and Pastours of the Kirk, for so to do is to conclude no Kirk of God to be; for the Kirk can not be without it have the own power, jurisdiction, and libertie, with the ministratiōne of such offices as God has appointed.”

Erskine next declares—“ In speaking this touching the libertie of the Kirk, I mean not the hurt of the King or others in their patronages, but that they have their privileges of presentatioun according to the laws, provyding always that the examinatione and admissione pertain only to the Kirk of all benefices having eure of souls.” After some general observations on benefices and their temporalities he proceeds to the proper subject of his letter, which is an expostulation with the Regent for having nominated and constituted Douglas to be Archbishop of St Andrews, by his *own authority*, as grossly irregular and unscriptural, not to say unnecessary. “ As to the question—If it be expedient ane Superintendent to be where a qualified Bischope is?—I understand that a Bisshop or Superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is. But having some respect unto the case whereupoun the questione is moved, I answer, the Superintendents that are placed ought to continue in their offices, not

withstanding any others that intrude themselves, or are placed by us as have no power in such offices. They may be called Bischops, but are no Bischops, but idols (Zachar. verse 11., cap. vi.) with the Prophet, and thairfoir the Superintendents which are called and placed orderly by the Kirk have the office and jurisdiction, and the other Bischops so called have no office nor jurisdictione in the Kirk of God, for they enter not by the door but by another way, and thairfoir are not pastors, as says Christ, but thieves and robbers. I cannot but lament from my verie heart that great disorder used at Striveling at the last Parliament in creating Bischops, placing them, and giving them vote in Parliament as Bischops, in despite of the Kirk and hie contempt of God, having the Kirk opposing itself against that disorder.”*

To this letter, and to another dated from Perth, 14th November, the Regent Mar addressed as his reply to his “right trustie cousin” from Leith, on the 15th November. It contains a most important statement, which indicates his enlightened views of the important subject. “The default of the whole stands in this, that the *policie of the Kirke of Scotland is not perfect*, nor any solid conference among godly men who are well willed and of judgment how the same may be helped; and for corruptione which daily increases, whensoever the circumstancies of things shall be well considered by the guid ministers that are neither busy nor over desirous of promotions to thame and thairs, it will be found that some have been authors and procurers of things that no guid policie in the Kirk can allow.”† These admissions by the Regent prove that the Superintendent System was a complete failure, and he might well say that the “policie of the Kirk of Scotland,” as he calls it, though that Church was in reality extinct, was “not perfect.”

The Earl of Morton was at this time in Leith with the Regent, and Mr Richard Bannatyne records that “few godly believe that any comfort shall come to [the] Kirk by the Lord of Mortone’s means, who more seiks the destructione of the Kirk in depaupering the same, than either he seiks God’s glorie, or the weill of this present cause.” The negotiations for altering and

* Bannatyne’s Memorialles, p. 198-201.

† *Ibid.* p. 205, 206.

adjusting the ecclesiastical “ policie” are noticed in a letter from a certain Mr Alexander Hay, preserved by the same Bannatyne, retailing all the foreign and domestic news of the time, apparently to John Knox. He relates—“ There has been some conference betuixt some of the Superintendents and Ministers, and my Lord Regent’s Grace and the Counsall, for agreement in matters touching the policie of the Kirk and dispositioun of benefices. The matter is deferred till the 8th of January. It seems to differ rather in circumstances than in effect ; and to speake truth, I find the Regent willing and desirous to have a form agreed unto, which I trust he could perform for his interest.—If you have with you the book I sent you when I came from England, intituled *Leges Ecclesiastice Anglicane*, or *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which is the worke of John Foxe,* I will pray yow send the same to me with the bearer, and I shall doe goodwill to send you some other book to supplie the place of that, while [until] I return it, if ye think it worth.”†

On the 6th of December the Titular Archbishop Douglas and Superintendent Winram left St Andrews for Leith. As all parties were now generally agreed on the necessity of taking into consideration the subject of church government, the Regent consented to the request of the leading preachers that their jurisdiction and maintenance should be settled ; and Erskine of Dun wrote to the other Superintendents and Commissioners to assemble and make regulations respecting the provision for the King’s household out of the thirds of the benefices, and to consult about other matters of ecclesiastical polity.‡ A Convention of “ Superintendents, Commissioners, Ministers, and Commissioners for towns and kirks,” was accordingly held in the present parish church of Leith on the 12th of January 1571-2. The names of sixty-two persons are recorded as present ; the most conspicuous of whom are the Superintendents Erskine, Spottiswoode, and Winram, Messrs David Lindsay of Leith, William Christison of Dundee, Robert Pont, and David Ferguson of Dunfermline.|| They unanimously found that “ the present Convention shall have the strength, force, and

* No work so entitled occurs among the acknowledged writings of John Fox the “ Martyrologist.”

† Bannatyne’s Memorialles, p. 208.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 213.

|| Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 203, 204.

effect of a General Assemblie, and that all things be treated and ended herein that may goodlie be done, and meet to be concluded in any Generall Assemblie." Erskine, Winram, William Lundie of that ilk, Andrew Hay, commissioner for Clydesdale, David Lindsay, commissioner for Kyle, Robert Pont, commissioner for Moray, and John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, or any four of them, were authorized to "compear before my Lord Regent's Grace, and so many of the Lords of the Secret Counsell as his Grace shall appoint, in Leith this instant month of Januariy, and there in the Kirk's name most humbly request for answer thereto," and to report to the Generall Assembly appointed to be held at St Andrews on the 6th of March following. The members of this Convention or Assembly permitted Mr Robert Pont to accept the office of a Judge in the Court of Session, to which he had been appointed by the Regent, thus sanctioning in his case what they condemned in that of Bishop Bothwell of Orkney. This person, who became one of the leading preachers among the Reformers, was born at the little town of Culross in 1529, and educated at St Leonard's College in St Andrews, from which it is supposed he proceeded to a foreign university. It is already noticed that he competed for the office of Superintendent of Galloway with Bishop Gordon in 1563, and that in 1566, when a translation of the Helvetian Confession was ordered to be printed by the General Assembly, he was in so great repute with his party that they petitioned the Regent about three years afterwards to prefer him to a situation of greater usefulness. Pont was in consequence appointed Provost of Trinity College Church in Edinburgh, and afterwards to St Cuthberts near that city. In 1569 he excommunicated Bishop Bothwell of Orkney by command of the General Assembly. It appears that he was indebted for his seat in the Supreme Court to the influence of the Earl of Morton, who had his own reasons at the time for propitiating the Reformers. Pont, who was continued in his "office of the ministrie," was accused of non-residence in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in August 1573, and of not sufficiently visiting the district of Moray, in answer to which he pleaded want of leisure; and "no wonder," says the zealous Calderwood, whose Presbyterian notions were offended at his appointment; "he was suffered to be a Senator in the College of Justice."

The persons nominated to appear before the Regent Mar and the Lords of the Secret Council in the “Kirk’s name,” were met by the Earl of Morton, then Lord Chancellor, Lord Ruthven, Lord High Treasurer, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, “secretary to our sovereign Lord,” James Maegill of Nether Rankeillor in Fife, Clerk-Register, Sir John Bellenden, Lord Justice-Clerk, William Lundie of that ilk, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, who, or any four of them, were authorized by the Regent, on the 16th of January 1571-2, to “converse, treat, and conclude with the Superintendents and ministers in the Kirk, or commissioners authorized by them, anent all matters binding to the ordering and establishing of the policy of the Kirk.”* After several meetings and lengthy deliberations, Erskine, Winram, Craig, who was still the colleague of John Knox, and the others, agreed not only to overthrow the whole Superintendent System, but even to explode whatever tendency there might be towards Presbyterianism, and to substitute or restore a peculiar kind of Episcopacy, of their own construction, which had no succession, and was utterly divested of apostolical authority.

This singular transaction, which the great mass of the people beheld with indifference, and the adherents of the deposed and almost defunct Romish Hierarchy with contempt, shews that its concocters were completely bewildered on the great and important subject of the constitution of the Christian Church. It was contemptible in such a man as Winram to be a party to this spurious polity, which subsequently tended, more than any irregularity which the Reformation had introduced, to inflict serious injury on the Church, after Andrew Melville commenced the agitation in favour of Presbyterianism ; and it was degrading in Bishop Bothwell of Orkney to sanction a procedure which incurred the ridicule of the people. It is too evident that religion at that period was in Scotland considered in a political view, and the holiest and most sacred functions were assumed and usurped by men who must be held as either destitute of principle, or as indifferent to the constitution of the Church from the apostolical times.

The first article, as sanctioned by the two parties at their

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 207.

deliberation, is entitled—"Anent Archbischopriks and Bishopriks," and is expressed in the following manner, the orthography of which it is unnecessary to give verbatim. The date is "at Leith, the xvi day of Januar 1571-2."

"It is thought, in consideration of the present state, that the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops are not to be altered or innovated, nor yet the bounds of the Dioceses confounded, but to stand and continue in time coming, as they did before the Reformation of religion, at least till the King's majority, or consent of Parliament:—That persons promoted to Archbischopries and Bishopries so far as may be endowed with qualities specified in the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus:—That there be a certain assembly or chapter of learned ministers annexed to every metropolitan or cathedral seat. To all Archbischopries and Bishopries vacant, or that shall happen to be vacant hereafter, persons qualified [are] to be nominated within the space of [one] year and day after the vacancy, and the persons nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. The Dean, or failing the Dean, the next in dignity of the Chapter, during the time of the vacancy, shall be Vicar-General, and use the jurisdiction *in spiritualibus* as the Bishop might have need. All Archbishops and Bishops to be admitted hereafter shall exercise no farther jurisdiction in spiritual function than the Superintendent has and presently exercises, until the same be agreed upon; and that all Archbishops and Bishops be subject to the Kirk and General Assembly thereof *in spiritualibus* as they are to the King *in temporalibus*; and have the advice of the best learned of the Chapter, to the number of six at the least, in the admission of such as shall have spiritual function in the Kirk; as also, that it be lawful to as many others of the Chapter as please to be present at the said admission, and to vote thereanent."*

The second article is entitled—"Anent Abbacies, Priories, and Nunneries." It places these under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese in which they are situated, who is bound to take cognizance that the "ministerie" connected with them shall be maintained, if possible, by special assignation of so much annual stipend from the revenues as shall be found reasonable. The Bishop in

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 209.

this matter was to act with the Privy Council. The remainder of the revenues were to be assigned to the support of those of the "Ecclesiastical Estate" in Parliament who were to have the title of Abbot, Prior, or Commendator, and were to be "well learned and qualified therefore." The appointments were to be by royal letters under the Signet addressed to the Archbishops or Bishops of the Dioceses, who were to examine the persons so nominated for their learning and ability, and being found qualified, they were to be instituted to the dignities by the Bishops of the respective Dioceses, by authority of the King's letters under the Great Seal. All persons admitted commendators were to be eligible to be Senators of the "Spiritual State" in the College of Justice, or Court of Session, or might be employed in any other affairs connected with the public service, the consent of the Bishop being obtained that no churches connected with the preferments of such persons shall be "destitute of ministration."

The third article, entitled "Anent Benefices of cure under Prelacies," contains a variety of particulars regulating the Crown and individual patronages, stipends, and the mode of presentation to vacant parishes. It was resolved that no person was eligible to the "office of a minister" under twenty-three years of age—that all such were to be admitted to their cures by the Bishop or Superintendent, in whose presence they were to subscribe all the articles of religion which "concern the confession of the true faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments," ratified by the Regent Moray's first Parliament in 1567,—and they were also to take the oath of allegiance to the King acknowledging his authority. They were to procure from the Bishop a testimonial that they had thus qualified themselves, and on the first Sunday in "time of session or public prayers in the kirk," they were to read this testimonial and the Confession of Faith before the congregation, otherwise they were to be deprived. The other articles relate to "provostries of college kirks," prebends in the said "kirks," and chapelries founded for "support of the schools and increase of letters," and to maintain bursars or poor students at the grammar school and Universities. All bursars and students within the Diocese of Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness, and Orkney, were "to study their art, Theologie, the Laws, or Medicine," at the University of King's College in Old Aberdeen; those in the Diocese of St

Andrews, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Brechin, within “ane of the Colleges of the University of St Andrews;” and those within the Diocese of Glasgow, Galloway, Argyll, and The Isles, were to study “thair art within the Pedagogy of Glasgow.”

The form of “creating a Bishop,” or appointment by the Crown to a vacant Diocese, was approved, also the “license” under the Great Seal to the Dean and Chapter to choose “such ane as Bishop and Pastor of the said Bishoprick that shall be devoted to God, and to his Highness [the King] and his realm.” A certain document called an “edict” was also sanctioned, enjoining the Chapter to convene and choose their Bishop on a specified day, and the Dean and Chapter were to return a prescribed “testimonial” of their obedience to the King, who was to grant “confirmation, provision, and royal assent upon the Chapter’s certificate made of their election.” If the party elected was already a “Bishop,” and was to be translated, the document was to be expressed accordingly. After “the consecration,” the Bishop was to appear before the King, and take the oath of allegiance and supremacy framed for that purpose. An arrangement was made for the restitution of the temporalities of the Dioceses to the Bishops, and in favour of the “metropolitan and cathedral kirks.”

The Chapters of the several Dioceses were also reconstructed. After stipulating that for the “seat” of St Andrews as many of the old Chapter then alive and “are ministers, professours of the true religioun,” shall be of the Chapter during their natural lives, among whom was the lay “Bishop” of Caithness, who is styled Commendator of the Priory of St Andrews, it was enjoined that after the “death of the present convent of the Abbey the Chapter was to consist of twenty-one members.” The Prior of St Andrews was to be the Dean, and the others were to be the Prior of Portmoak, the Ministers of Edinburgh, Leith, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunbar, Haddington, Perth, Crail, Cupar-Fife, Anstruther, Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Dunfermline, Aberbrothwick, Calder, in “Lothian,” Fettercairn, Dun, and Methven. There were to choose by the King’s licence the Dean, the Archdean of St Andrews, the Archdean of Lothian, and the Chancellor; and in the meanwhile Winram was to act as Archdean of St Andrews, Spottiswoode as Archdean of Lothian, and Mr David Lindsay of Leith as Chancellor. The “seat” of Glasgow was arranged to

have a Chapter of thirty-two “canons or probendaries founded upon distinct and several benefices.” Of these the Pastor of Hamilton was to be the Dean, the Parson of Kilbride was to be the Chantor, the Parson of Campsie was to be the Chancellor, the Parson of Carnwath was to be Treasurer, the Parson of Cadder and Monkland was to be the Sub-Dean, and the other dignitaries were the Archdeans of Glasgow and Teviotdale. The Chapters of the other Dioceses are not enumerated in the Acts of the General Assemblies as recorded in the “Booke of the Universall Kirk.”

All these and other Articles were approved and ratified by the Regent Mar at Leith on the 1st day of February 1571-2. On the 24th of the previous January an “edict” was signed at Leith for the election of an Archbishop of St Andrews, conformably to this new state of affairs; on the 28th of January the Earl of Morton had proceeded to that city to influence the appointment of John Douglas; and the said “edict,” by authority of the Regent, was fixed upon the church door and the Abbey gate on the 3d of February, ordering the election to take place on the 6th. An account of the proceedings is given by Richard Bannatyne, who, as secretary to John Knox, appears to have been present. On the 6th of February John Douglas gave “specimen doctrine,” or in other words preached a “trial sermon,” in the parish church, and the Earl of Morton was present. The Chapter assembled in the Abbey or Priory on the 8th, after a sermon preached by Patrick Adamson, otherwise Constance, whom Bannatyne ignorantly calls Cousting. He says that a considerable discussion ensued about the election of the “Archbishop,” but “in the end the said Rector was chosen, notwithstanding that many of the godly ministers were against it, and Mr George Scott, minister of Kirkaldy, took an instrument that he condescended [consented] not.”

John Knox was then in St Andrews, and protested against the election of Douglas, but his secretary has not preserved the document, if the protestation was ever written. On Sunday the 10th of February, Douglas was “inaugurated” in presence of the Earl of Morton. Knox preached the sermon, but refused to assist farther at the ceremony, and the “consecration” was performed by the lay Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, and David Lindsay of Leith. The three sat with Douglas on a seat in front of the

pulpit during Knox's sermon, and after it was concluded Winram entered the pulpit. He delivered an address to Douglas from the first chapter of St Paul's Epistle to Titus, and then followed the order set forth in the First Book of Discipline for the election of Superintendents. Douglas read his answers to the several questions, and Mr William Cock, a Bailie of St Andrews, appeared to represent the people. Douglas denied that he had formed, or intended to make, any "simonaicall paction;" declared that he would be "obedient to the Kirk, and that he should usurp no power over the same;" and that he would "take no more power than the Counsall and Generall Assemblie of the Kirk should prescribe." The lay Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, and Lindsay, then "laid their hands and embraced the said Rector, Mr. John Douglas, in token of admission to the Bishoprik."^{*}

Such was the "consecration" which those three men had the presumption to perpetrate at the commencement of this spurious Episcopacy, one of them, the Bishop of Caithness, let it be recollected, never in holy orders, and even Lindsay's ordination is doubtful, at least it is so considered by Bishop Keith. On the Sunday when it was done a poetical satire in Latin was posted on the gate of St Mary's College and on the church door. It was entitled *Incommium*, but was so general in its allusions that it annoyed three individuals—Mr Robert Hamilton, Mr William Skene, commissary of St Andrews, and Mr Archibald Hamilton, each of whom thought it levelled at himself. The part which Knox sustained in this pretended consecration is curious, but if his secretary's statement is correct he was not inconsistent. Bannatyne alleges that this "inauguration" was "altogether against the mind of Mr Knox, as he at that time openly spake in pulpit," and "greatly inveighed against such ordour and doings as then were used." This excited the rage of Mr John Rutherford, Provost of St Salvador's College, who openly declared that Knox censured the proceedings because he had not himself been nominated to the See. This was told to Knox, who noticed it on the following Sunday in his sermon, when he declared that "he had refused a greater Bishopric than ever it was, which he might have had with the favours of greater men than ever the other had this Bishopric; but only that he spake for the discharge

* Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 223, 224.

of his conscience, and that the Kirk of Scotland should not be subject to that order which was then used, considering the Lords of Scotland had subscribed, and also confirmed in Parliament, the order already and long ago appointed in the Book of Discipline."* Dr Cook's observations on the conduct of Knox seem to be legitimate inferences. After stating that Knox "expressed his disapprobation," and refused to "inaugurate" the "new Primate"—a ceremony which neither he, the lay Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, nor Lindsay, had any more canonical authority to perform than the stalwart magistrate Mr William Cock—the Presbyterian historian, says—"This opposition proceeded from various causes. Still desirous that the polity of the First Book of Discipline should not be invaded, he beheld with regret the first attack which was made upon it; and he was satisfied that the choice of Douglas would be subservient to that robbery, as he usually styled it, of the Church's patrimony, which he had uniformly reprobated. He also dreaded that the consequences which Beza had apprehended would follow from the introduction of prelacy, and was thus led by his zeal for the purity of the Church not to concur in what might destroy that purity. That he was not influenced by the idea that Episcopacy was at variance with Scripture is evident from the communication which he within a few months made to the Assembly at Perth, and from the part in the ceremony taken by the Superintendent of Fife [Winram], one of his confidential friends."†

Several of the Bishopries were speedily filled by the leading men among the Reformed preachers, and this novel "Episcopacy," or form of ecclesiastical polity even worse than the Superintendent System, and more objectionable than Presbyterianism, because it was the mere shadow without the substance, was soon carried completely into operation. Dr Cook pronounces a high eulogium on the proceedings of the Convention or Assembly held at Leith which restored the archiepiscopal and episcopal rank, and led to the "inauguration" of Douglas. "The episcopal polity," he says, "which issued from the Convention appears to have been admirably calculated for securing an useful and efficient

* Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 256, 257.

† Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 187, 188.

clergy. It established an excellent system of controul ; it enforced upon ministers the regular discharge of their pastoral duties ; it assigned a peculiar province to all holding benefices ; allotted a moderate provision for their support and comfort, whilst it subjected the highest dignitaries to restraints which guarded against the indolence or the profligacy that had disgraced the Bishops under the Popish Establishment."—" But although the Church of Scotland must be considered as having at this time adopted Episcopacy, and although that adoption proceeded upon grounds so rational and so conformable to the principles of the Reformers, the zealous Presbyterians of after times looked back with regret to this part of the ecclesiastical history of their country, and endeavoured very unnecessarily, and in express opposition to the language and proceedings of the Church, to represent the resolutions framed at Leith as having been rashly made, as having been forced upon the ministers, and as having never received the explicit sanction of the General Assemblies—an effect of party zeal not uncommon, but weakening the cause which it was designed to support." These are candid admissions, and a careful investigation of the whole circumstances triumphantly refutes the assertions of Wodrow, Calderwood, and other Presbyterian writers, who zealously endeavoured to shew that their Reformed association or society, which they dignify with the name of "*The Church*," was opposed to Episcopacy. The very names of the parties present in the Convention or Assembly at Leith on the 12th of January 1571-2, and who are all enumerated in the "*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*," present an unanswerable confutation of the Presbyterian statements. As to the objection that the resolutions at Leith " never received the explicit sanction of the General Assemblies," though such is not the fact, yet if it were it would be a matter of no consequence, for those very General Assemblies, as the meetings were called, were not then legally recognized. Calderwood, Wodrow, Petrie, and other Presbyterian writers, have been satisfactorily answered by Bishop Sage, in his "*Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined*," as to the opinions adduced from their writings by Dr Cook, and it is truly a miserable subterfuge to adopt such a mode of treating with contempt the first appearance of this kind of Episcopacy in Scotland after the Reformation. The objection to it which must occur to the sound Churchman is, that it was

altogether a vain and futile system—that it was no Episcopacy at all, or so only in name—that the “consecration” of Douglas and others by unauthorized men, one of whom was a layman, was disgraceful, outrageous, and most sinful—and that the whole was a political arrangement to serve particular purposes, and introduce a set of men into the Parliaments to represent the defunct and absent Prelates of the fallen Hierarchy, assuming their ecclesiastical titles, and pretending to be invested with functions which it was impossible to obtain without consecration from Bishops regularly and canonically consecrated. Episcopacy without the succession is nothing, and differs in no respect from Presbyterianism, for it is the apostolically derived succession which constitutes the Episcopate. Even the people ridiculed the persons “inaugurated” by such men as the lay Bishop of Caithness, Winram, and Lindsay. They were long known by the very appropriate and significant soubriquet of *Tulchan Bishops*, derived from a practice then prevalent of stuffing a calf’s skin with straw, and placing it before a cow to induce the animal to give milk, which figure was called a *tulchan*—a term derived from a word signifying a model or a close resemblance. The Tulchan Hierarchy was a complete deception, and was merely one of *titles* connected with personal arrangements and political expediency, to say nothing of its gross perversion of the real episcopate and its schismatical profanity. The men who figured in it as Titulars or *Tulchans* ought never to have been recognized by Keith in his enumeration of the Scottish Bishops.

The Presbyterian Calderwood tells a story about Patrick Adamson, the successor of Douglas as Titular Archbishop of St Andrews, that disappointed at having lost the election on the present occasion, or at not then obtaining a Bishopric, he told his audience in a sermon he preached at St Andrews in February 1571-2, the time of the “inauguration” of Douglas—“There were three sorts of Bishops—*my Lord Bishop*, *my Lord’s Bishop*, and the *Lord’s Bishop*. *My Lord Bishop* was in the time of Popery; *my Lord’s Bishop* is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my *Lord’s* right sure; and the *Lord’s Bishop* is the true minister of the Gospel.” It is impossible to ascertain what amount of truth is to be attached to Calderwood’s report of this sarcastic attack on the nobility. The same story is recorded by another Presby-

terian partizan, who mentions that he was present—that it was the first time he heard Adamson preach—and that the sermon was delivered “the week after the Bishop was made.”* It is not likely that Adamson would attempt to compete for the nomination to the Archbischopric with such a man as Douglas, the Rector of the University, and supported by the powerful influence of Morton. One author, of no great authority, thinks it necessary to deny the story by the statement that Adamson was not then in Scotland;† but there is no doubt that he was in St Andrews at the time. Bannatyne expressly mentions that “Mr Patrick Cousting”—a corruption of Constance, Adamson’s proper surname—preached on Friday, the 8th of February 1571-2, the day on which Douglas was elected, though it is not likely that he would then introduce such pleasantries into his sermon; but we have other evidence. The General Assembly held at Edinburgh in March 1570-1, “brotherly required Mr Patrick Adamson to enter *again* into the ministry, in respect of the good gifts that God hath given him, and scarceness of ministers in divers counties. He answered, that he would advise with himself and brethren that love him till the next Assembly, and promised them to answer whether he would then enter in the ministry, or withdraw himself allutterly.”‡ Accordingly, in the General Assembly held in August 1571, his written answer was read, “anent his re-entry to the ministry.” It appears to have been in the affirmative, for the “Assembly ordained the commissioners appointed to speak to the Lord Regent’s Grace before or at the next Parliament, to take order with the contents of his letter, and to report what they shall happen to do therein to the next Assembly.”|| This memorial in Adamson’s favour to the Regent was so far successful, that he was granted, before March 1572, a pension of five hundred merks annually out of the rental of the Parsonage of Glasgow, payable at Martinmas and Whitsunday, “because for his own part he was willing to endeavour himself to the uttermost of his power to the service of the ministry, according as it would please the Kirk to call him; and also, “he would not only be at the Kirk’s command to employ his labours, but also would

* James Melville’s Diary, p. 25.

† Mackenzie’s Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 365.

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 193.

|| *Ibid.* p. 198, 199.

be content the said pension be at their pleasure, as any thing pertaining to the Kirk."* In August 1572 he was ordered by the Assembly to "enter in the ministry at Paisley at what time the commissioner of Clydesdale shall charge him thereto, which the Assembly desireth to be done with all diligence, according to the said Mr Patrick's own promise."† These facts prove that Adamson was then in Scotland, and was held in great repute by the leaders of his party, and they are here introduced as connected with a person who was soon to sustain a very prominent place in religious matters, and who was to experience no ordinary persecution from his former associates.

The resolutions of the Convention at Leith, ratifying the Titular or Tulchan Episcopacy, were reported to the General Assembly held at St Andrews on the 6th of March 1571-2, at which Douglas was present as "Archbishop," though his friend, Robert Hamilton, minister of St Andrews, was appointed Moderator. This offended several of the fanatical party, and, says Bannatyne, who complains bitterly of some of the proceedings, "things went not as the most godly and upright desired."‡ No discussion took place on the subject, but a committee was appointed, consisting of the titular Archbishop, Superintendent Winram, John Knox, John Craig, Patrick Adamson, David Lindsay, John Craig, John Row, Robert Montgomery, and others of lesser note, to meet in the house of Knox, who was then resident in St Andrews in a very precarious state of health; and they were enjoined to "consider and sight [sift] the said articles and conclusions, and what therein they find agreeable to God's word, and to the utility of the Kirk, to report the utility of the same to the Assembly" that night or the following day, that "the said conclusions may be inserted in the Register." Nothing farther appears to have been done, but the title of *Archbishop* was recognized. Winram resigned his office of Superintendent of Fife; Patrick Adamson signed the conditions for which he was to receive the pension of five hundred merks granted by the Regent out of the Parsonage of Glasgow; and the titular Archbishop, though he offered and promised "to demit all the offices which might impede him to execute the office

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 240, 241.

† *Ibid.* p. 245.

‡ Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 227.

of a Bishop," was continued Rector of the University, and Provost of the New College till next Assembly, " providing always he be diligent in visitation of his kirk." It appears, however, that Wimram's resignation was not accepted, for he was ordered to "use his own jurisdiction as before in the provinces not yet subject to the Arch-bishopric of St Andrews, and requested to concur with the said Arch-bishop, when he requires him in his visitation, or otherways within his bounds, until the next General Assembly; and in like manner the Superintendents of Angus and Lothian to continue in their jurisdiction in manner foresaid, without prejudice of the said Arch-bishop, except by virtue of his commission."^{*} A form of prayer was then in use throughout the parishes, as a certain Patrick Creich, who "for just causes was deprived of all function in the Kirk, was admitted again to *read the prayer* in Haddington kirk if he and the town could agree."[†]

On the 21st of April 1572, Christison, minister of Dundee, reported the arrival of an "Ireland Bischop, called the Bischope of Cashal," in that town. This must have been the titular or Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, who, in 1567, wounded with a dagger James McCaghwell, the proper Archbishop of that See, because he would not surrender to him the administration of his province, and effected his escape into Spain. In the following year this Titular and the Titular of Emly were sent by certain confederated rebels in Ireland as their ambassadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore their aid and assistance in rescuing their religion and country from the alleged oppression of Queen Elizabeth. The object of this personage in visiting Scotland is not very clear, but when he appeared in Dundee he was attended by a few servants, and brought a letter of recommendation to the magistrates from the zealous and Reformatory Earl of Argyll, who requested them to further him to Flanders, whether he wished to proceed under the pretence of "visiting the schools." Soon after his arrival in Dundee this titular Archbishop was arrested by order of the Regent Mar, and his attendants prevented from having any communication with him. A packet of letters was discovered in a closet of his lodging by one of the Bailies, which

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 237-242.

† Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 227, 228.

was sent to the Regent. In this packet was a Latin commission, regularly sealed, directed to the Pope and the King of Spain, beseeching them to emancipate Ireland from the sway of Queen Elizabeth, and promising to use their exertions to restore the Roman Catholic religion both there and in Scotland. The Regent ordered the Titular to be removed from Dundee to St Andrews, in the castle of which he was confined. It was reported that Elizabeth demanded him to be surrendered and sent to England, but he escaped from his durance on the 8th of August, early in the morning, out of a window, and descended a great part of the wall by means of his bed-clothes, which he cut and formed like a rope; "whether," says Bannatyne, "by negligence of his keepers, whom he had caused drink hard the night before with others in the place till midnight, or by policy and craft, I dare not affirm."*

The next General Assembly was held in the Tolbooth of Perth on the 6th of August 1572, and as it may be viewed as having sanctioned the Titular Episcopacy, its proceedings are of some importance. Erskine of Dun was unanimously chosen Moderator. One of the first decisions was a declaration that the Diocese of St Andrews, whatever might be its bounds, belonged exclusively to the Bishop, and to no other Superintendent, to "visit and plant kirks." The titular Archbishop requested that as the Diocese was extensive, and he was unable to discharge the whole duty personally, some of the "godliest and best learned" might be appointed, with whom he could consult about the order of the Diocese. Erskine of Dun, Spottiswoode, Robert Pont, John Craig, and Andrew Hay, commissioner for Clydesdale, were, at the request of the titular Archbishop, associated with him as a kind of "council." They next appointed a committee to revise the "heads and articles concluded at Leith in the month of January last, betwixt my Lord Regent's Grace, the Secret Council, and commissioners of the Kirk." The most conspicuous persons of this committee were Erskine of Dun, Winram, John Craig, William Christison, John Row, David Ferguson, Robert Pont, David Lindsay. Altogether thirteen were appointed, to consider and report.

Two days afterwards the Committee gave in the result of their deliberations, "*requiring the whole Assembly to adhere to the same.*"

* Bannatyne's Memorialles, p. 234, 235, 249.

The substance of their report was that by the adoption of certain ecclesiastical titles, such as Archbishop, Dean, Chancellor, and Chapter, neither they nor their brethren who convened at Leith intended any recognition of “ papistrie or superstition,” but they unanimously wished “ rather the said names to be changed into others that are not slanderous or offensive ; and in like manner protest, that the said heads and articles agreed upon be only received as an interim, until farther and more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the King’s Majesty’s Regent and nobility.” The Assembly “ in one voice” ratified this report. It was also suggested that in future the title Bishop should alone be used ; that as the names Chapter, Dean, Arch-Dean, Chancellor, were disliked by numbers, other designations meaning precisely the same should be adopted which would give less offence, such as that the Chapter should be called the *Bishop’s Assembly*, and the Dean the *Moderator* of that Assembly—that “ as to the functions of Deans, Archdeacons, and Chancellors, some be appointed by the present Assembly to try and give in their judgment concerning the said functions, how far they shall extend in particular, and also toward the functions of the Abbots and Priors, and of the interchanging of all their names to others more agreeable to God’s word, and the policies of the best Reformed Kirks.” The whole to be reported to the next Assembly, or to the Parliament, if any meeting intervened.”

Knox, who was still at St Andrews in such a state of illness that he signed himself in one of his letters *half deid*,* was unable to attend the Assembly, but he sent them a short epistle which was entrusted to the care of Winram and Pont. “ Albeit,” he wrote, “ I have taken my leave not only of you, dear brethren, but also of the whole world and worldly affairs, yet, remaining in the flesh, I could not, cannot cease to admonish you of things which I know to be most prejudicial to the Kirk of Christ Jesus within this realm. *Above all things preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the Universities.* Persuade them to rule themselves peaceably and order the schools in Christ, but subject never the pulpit to their judgement, neither exempt them from your jurisdiction.”

* Knox to the Laird of Drumlanrig, 26th May 1572, Bannatyne’s Memorialles, p. 236.

The meaning of this tirade against the Universities is not very clear, unless he refers particularly to the state of affairs at St Andrews, which might come under his notice during his residence there. Knox continues—"Farther, I have communicated my mind with these two dear brethren [Winram and Pont]. Hear them, and do as ye will answer before God." This refers to a paper which he transmitted with his letter, containing ten Articles which he urged the Assembly to consider and adopt with the sanction of the Regent. He requests that "all Bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto, within a year after the *vaking* thereof, according to the *order taken in Leith* by the commissioners of the nobility and of the Kirk *in the month of January last*"—that no pensions of benefices be allowed without consent of the legal possessor, the Superintendent, or commissioner of the district, or "*of the Bishops lawfully elected according to the said order taken at Leith*"—that persons nominated Bishops be rejected if they "make not residence, or be slanderous, or found unworthy either in life or doctrine, by the judgment of the Kirk"—and that "an Act be made, decerning and ordaining all Bishops admitted by the order of the Kirk now received, to give account of their whole rents and intromissions therewith once in the year."^{*}

It thus appears that Knox with almost his dying breath approved of the resolutions of the Convention of Leith, introducing and establishing the Titular Episcopate subject to the General Assembly; and yet with the knowledge of this fact Mr Thomas M'Crie, a Dissenting Presbyterian teacher in Edinburgh, of the sect called "Original United Seceders," or popularly by the soubriquet of *Old or New Light Burghers*, has the effrontery to maintain the very reverse. In a series of lectures which he published, full of vulgar abuse, low scurrility, gross misrepresentations, and miserable anecdotes pretending to be witty, this person the son of Knox's well known biographer, Dr M'Crie, states, with reference to the "phantom Bishops," as he designates the Titulars—"Still, however, the introduction of these nominal dignitaries threatened the future peace of the Church, and the prospect of the confusions to which it might give rise, embittered the last hours of Knox,

* Booke of the Universall Kirke of Scotland, Part First, p. 248.

whose ‘dead hand and dying voice’ were raised against the innovation. Hume of Godscroft informs us that the Reformer rebuked Morton sharply for divers things, but especially for his labouring to set up and maintain the estate of Bishops.”* Now, without reference to Hume of Godscroft as an authority, the whole of this as set by Mr Thomas M‘Crie, a bitter Presbyterian enemy of the Episcopal Church, is utterly gratuitous. Knox, little more than three months before his death, wrote on the 5th of August 1572, to the General Assembly held at Perth, and among other matters entreated that “*all Bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto*, within a year after the waiking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith by the commissioners of the nobility and of the Kirk *in the month of January last.*” In the account of Knox’s last moments by his Secretary Bannatyne no “dead hand and dying voice,” not a word was uttered against the Titular Episcopate, which he undeniably sanctioned by approving of the Convention in Leith ; and as to what he said to the Earl of Morton, who with Lord Boyd and Douglas of Drumlanrig, visited him on his death-bed a few days before he expired, Bannatyne expressly declares—“ What purpose was among them none but themselves knew.”† There is no doubt that Knox lived and died, unconscious to himself, in a state of schism, and as such the Presbyterians are welcome to claim him if they please ; but it cannot be denied that he considered the Titular Episcopate as neither sinful nor unscriptural—a fact which Mr Thomas M‘Crie ought to have ascertained before he added this to his collected mass of abuse with which his production abounds. In the Articles he transmitted by the hands of Winram and Pont to the Assembly at Perth, “he assented,” says Dr Cook, “to the change of polity, for he advised the Assembly to petition the Regent that all vacant Bishoprics might be filled with qualified persons within a year after the vacancy had taken place, according to the order taken at Leith ; and he speaks of Bishops lawfully elected in conformity to that order. In the answer returned to him the Assembly informed him that they found his articles both reason-

* Sketches of Scottish Church History embracing the Period from the Reformation to the Revolution, by the Rev. Thomas M‘Crie, author of the “ Life of Dr M‘Crie.” Edinburgh, 12mo. 1841, p. 97, 98.

† Bannatyne’s Memorialles, p. 285, 286.

able and godly."* This answer was signed by Winram, Lindsay, Pont, Row, Spottiswoode, Erskine of Dun, and the "Bishop of Caithness."†

The Regent Mar died after a severe illness at Stirling on the 29th of October 1572, though few expected that it would prove fatal; and the Earl of Morton was elected his successor on the 24th of November, the very day on which Knox died in his house at Edinburgh. He had left St Andrews on the 17th of August, and he was in such a debilitated state that he did not reach Leith till the 23d. During his last illness, he was, according to Bannatyne, who personally attended him, solely occupied in devotional exercises, and in receiving visits from his friends. Among the persons of rank who interested themselves in waiting upon him, were the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and the lay Bishop of Caithness. Knox, says Mr Tytler, "was scarcely to be called an aged man, not having completed his sixty-seventh year, but his life had been an incessant scene of theological and political warfare, and his ardent and restless intellect had worn out a frame which at no period had been a strong one." Of such a man as Knox little need be said in the present work. "None," as Mr Tytler observes, "who has studied the history of the times or his own writings, will deny that he was often fierce, unrelenting, and unscrupulous, but he was also disinterested, upright, and sincere. He neither feared nor flattered the great; the pomp of the mitre or the revenues of the wealthiest diocese had no attractions in his eyes; and there cannot be a doubt of his sincerity, when in his last message to his old and long-tried friend Lord Burghley, he assured him that he counted it higher honour to have been made the instrument that the gospel was simply and truly preached in his native country than to have been the highest prelate in England." The unfeeling and insolent conduct of Knox towards Queen Mary is one of the many instances of his "fierce and unrelenting" disposition, and his fore-knowledge of the horrid murder of David Riccio in the presence of his sovereign, which Mr Tytler has completely proved from authentic documents, shows that he was "unscrupulous,"

* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 185.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 250.

and that “on many occasions he acted upon the principle, so manifestly erroneous and unchristian, that the end justified the means.”* His officious interference with the affairs of individuals excited against him numerous enemies, and many scandals were circulated of which he was the hero. Some of them are recorded by his servant Bannatyne. Knox was interred in the church-yard of St Giles at Edinburgh in the presence of the Regent Morton and several of the nobility. That cemetery, now covered with the buildings erected for the Supreme Courts of Scotland, then extended from the south side of the church to the Cowgate, and the spot where Knox was buried was long traditionally preserved as having been almost directly in front of the equestrian statue of Charles II. in the Parliament Square.

Knox was twice married. His first wife was Marjory Bowes, sometimes called *Joane* to distinguish her from another sister Margery, the fifth daughter of Sir George Bowes of Streatham, in the county of Durham, Knight Marshal, by whom he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar. It is singular that Knox apparently took little interest in them, and even permitted them to be educated in the principles of “Prelacy.” A short time afterwards a notice occurs in the account of one of the meetings of the General Assembly, that “Mr Knox had been in England to see his *bairns*.” In 1566 they went to their mother’s relations in England, and were educated at St John’s College, Cambridge, their names being entered only eight days after their father’s death. Nathaniel, the elder son, died Fellow of St John’s in 1580; and Eleazar was appointed one of the University Preachers. He was also admitted to the vicarage of Great Clacton in Essex, died in 1591, and was interred in the chapel of St John’s College. Both died without issue.

Knox’s second wife was Margaret, daughter of Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, and sister of James Earl of Arran. By her he had three daughters, respectively named Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth, who were subsequently married to Presbyterian ministers—Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthberts, James Fleming, and the zealous John Welsh of Ayr. The marriage of Knox to a lady in the rank of his second wife occasioned many jocular

* Tytler’s History of Scotland, 8vo. edit. vol. vii. p. 401, 427-438.

observations, more especially as the disparity of years was considerable, and the person and manners of the bridegroom were not particularly fascinating, a contemporary describing him as “ane auld blak earle,” and very facetiously ranking the lady among the “pious sisterhood” of her day. She survived the Reformer, and married Sir Andrew Ker of Faldounside. She received a pension of 500 merks, two chalders of wheat, six of barley, and four of oats for the year 1573.

The writings of Knox are chiefly political and controversial. Archbishop Spottiswoode alleges that he was not the author of the work entitled the “*Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland*,” which bears his name;* but the “supplication” of his servant Bannatyne to the General Assembly in 1573, places its genuineness beyond doubt. He declared that Knox had “continued and perfectly ended” the narrative to the year 1564;—“so that of things done since, nothing by him is put in that form and order as he hath done the former, yet not the less there are certain scrolls, papers, and minutes of things left to me by him, to be used at my pleasure, whereof a part were written and subscribed with his own hands, and another by mine at his command.” He proceeds to state that the “said scrolls are so untacked and mixed together, that they were in danger of being lost if they fell into hands not accustomed to them, and that as he was unable to do so at his own expense, he requests a “reasonable pension” for his trouble. The sum of L.40 was allowed him for the purpose, and proper persons were associated with him in the publication of the work.

Thus far have we traced the progress of the ecclesiastical polity introduced by the Scottish Reformers as it respects the Superintendent System, previous to the establishment of the Titular Episcopate. It was the boast of John Row, one of the most

* “As to the *History of the Church* ascribed commonly to him,” says the Archbishop, “the same was not his work, but his name supposed to give it credit; for besides the scuril discourses we find in it, more fitting a comedian on a stage than a divine or minister, such as Mr Knox was, and the spiteful malice that another expresseth against the Queen Regent [consort of James V., and mother of Queen Mary]; speaking of one of our martyrs, he remitteth the reader to a farther declaration of his sufferings to the Acts and Monuments set forth by Mr Fox, an Englishman, which came not to light some ten or twelve years after Mr Knox’s death.” *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, folio, 1677, p. 267.

prominent of them, that they “ took not their example from any Kirk in the world, no, not from Geneva.” Independents, Methodists, Baptists, and every sect, however extravagant, set forth similar pretensions, and have the same right to do so as the Presbyterians, because this presumptuous boast of sectarianism, in any form by which it is characterized, results from the same dangerous source—the pernicious adoption of private judgment in opposition to ecclesiastical authority in all ages. It is one of the melancholy examples of men thinking that they ought to run as far as possible from what they are induced to hate. We need not, therefore, be surprized at the unsuccessful result of crude and ill-digested schemes, the offspring of private opinions, heated imaginations, and party resentment, all deeply intermingled with the political strife and animosities of the times. “ As the Scottish Reformation,” it is alleged in a well known periodical not particularly friendly to the Episcopal Church,* “ did not originate in native learning, so it did not even come recommended to the Scottish people by the learned authority of its propagators. In relation to other national reformers, the Reformer of Scotland was an unlettered man. ‘ Compared with Knox,’ says a great German writer, ‘ Luther was a timorous boy;’ but if Knox surpassed Luther himself in intrepidity, even Luther was a learned theologian by the side of Knox. With the exception of Melville, who obtained what erudition he possessed abroad, the religion of the people of Scotland could boast of no theologian worthy of the name. Some remarkable divines, indeed, Scotland has possessed, but these were all adherents of that Church which for a season was established by the will of the monarch in opposition to the wishes of the nation. The two Forbeses, to say nothing of Leighton, Burnet, and Sage, were Episcopalian. In fact, the want of popular support made it necessary for the divines of that Establishment to compensate by the strength of their theological learning for the weakness of their political position.”

* Edinburgh Review, October 1836, p. 113, 114.

CHAPTER V.

THE TITULAR BISHOPS—THEIR HUMILIATING POSITION—PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES—THEIR PRESBYTERIAN OPPONENTS.

THE Earl of Morton was confirmed in the Regency by a Convention held at Edinburgh on the 24th of November 1572, which was attended by the Titular Archbishop of St Andrews, the lay Bishop of Caithness, and Bishop Bothwell of Orkney. His first Parliament met also at Edinburgh on the 26th of January following. The first act was “anent the true and Haly Kirk;” and the “lawful Archbishops, Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners of the Dioceses and Provinces of the Realm,” were enjoined to proceed vigorously against all the determined adherents of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, under the penalty of “tynsall,” or loss of the fruits of their benefices for one year to the King’s use. Another act was passed, prohibiting the “adversaries of Christ’s Evangel,” by whom were meant the Romanists, from enjoying the “patrimony of the Kirk,” which the “Archbishops, Bishops, Superintendents, Possessors, or Titulars of Prelacies,” and the General Assembly were to enforce. It was also enacted that none were to be considered “loyal and dutiful subjects,” if they refused or delayed to “make their profession of the true religion;” and they were imperatively commanded to “fortify, assist, and maintain the true preachers and professors of Chryst’s religion against whatsomever enemies and gainstanders,” concluding with a denunciation of the “cruel decrees of the Council of Trent, which most injuriously is called by the adversaries of God’s truth the

Haly League." An act was passed regulating manses and glebes, and the parish churches were ordered to be repaired.*

It is already stated that the Titular Prelates whom the change in affairs called into existence were Douglas of St Andrews, and James Paton, who was appointed to Dunkeld in 1571, when the See was declared to be vacant by the forfeiture of Bishop Crichton. The name of this Titular occurs in the List of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers in 1567, as minister of Muckhart, a parish in the south-eastern part of the county of Perth, on the banks of the Devon. John Porterfield was also nominated titular Archbishop of Glasgow in 1571, in which he continued little more than a year, when he was succeeded by James Boyd, proprietor of the estate of Trochrig, the second son of Adam Boyd of Pinkhill, a younger brother of Alexander Boyd, father of Robert third Lord Boyd, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmarnock. Bishop Keith describes him as "a very worthy person," who "exercised the office of particular pastor at the cathedral church, the Barony of Glasgow being then the parish that pertained to that church. Orkney and Caithness were still possessed, the former by Bishop Bothwell, the latter by the lay Titular Stewart. The Titular of Dunblane was not appointed till 1574, in the person of Andrew Graham, who is styled "preacher of the word of God," and who was the second son of William first Earl of Montrose by his third marriage, as is stated in the Peerage Lists, but in the Acts of the General Assembly he is styled son to Graham of Morphie, a cadet of the Montrose Family, which is the correct statement. The presentation of this Titular to Dunblane caused a "difficultie" to the General Assembly held in March 1574-5, he having never been even a *preacher*, but this objection was overruled, because they had not decided whether it was necessary that all "Bishops," as they styled the Titulars, should first be preachers, and Graham was ordered to be admitted if found qualified. For this purpose he was ordered to "exercise" or lecture on the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans on a specified day in the Magdalene Chapel, which still stands in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, before the "Bishops, Superintendents, and ministers that may be

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 71, 72, 73, 76.

present, and especially before the minister of Edinburgh."* Aberdeen had no Titular till after the death of Bishop Gordon in 1579, when David Cunningham, minister of St Nicholas in New Aberdeen, was appointed. George Douglas, an illegitimate son of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, was nominated titular Bishop of Moray in 1573. Brechin was possessed by Alexander Campbell, of the Ardkinglas family ; and Bishop Leslie of Ross, though one of the overthrown Hierarchy, and absent in England, was undisturbed in his nominal possession of the See, which he retained till his death in 1596. No Titular was appointed to Galloway, and none to The Isles after the death of Carswell, which occurred in 1572, till about 1575, when a "Bishop of the Isles" is recorded as present in the General Assembly held in August that year ;† but he is not mentioned by Keith ; and none to Argyll till 1580, when Neil Campbell, minister of Kilmartin, was nominated. It thus appears that only a few Titulars were considered necessary to represent the defunct Spiritual Estate in Parliament.

The name of John, "Bishop of Sanct Andrews," occurs several times in the account of the proceedings of the General Assembly held in March 1572-3 at Edinburgh, when several complaints were preferred against him. One of these was by Mr John Brand, minister of Holyroodhouse, who alleged that the titular Archbishop had authorized a Popish priest named Forrest to administer the sacrament of baptism at Swinton in Berwickshire, in violation of the injunctions of Spottiswoode the Superintendent. Douglas answered that "the foresaid priest had recanted all papistrie in the kirk of St Andrews, and thereafter he admitted him to administer the sacrament of baptism." The Titular was farther accused of not visiting the parish churches within Fife for six months past, and "also for not preaching since he was a Bishop." To this he replied that he "preached in every kirk which he visited by himself at all times, but excused his not visitation since the last Assembly by reason of his sickness."

Some complaints were lodged against the titular Archbishop in the General Assembly held in Edinburgh in August 1573, but

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 325.

† *Ibid.* p. 331.

were merely connected with the mode in which he discharged his functions. Paton, the Titular of Dunkeld, was also subjected to an investigation. It was alleged that he “had received the name of a Bishop, but they had not heard that he had used the office within his bounds.” He answered that he “had lately received that Bishopric, and that there was a Superintendent continued in that bounds till this Assembly.” The other accusations against him were that he had not proceeded against Papists, and particularly against John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl, who was well known to be a zealous Roman Catholic, and who, with Lords Sommerville and Borthwick, had strongly opposed the Reformation in 1560—that he had made a simonaical compact about the profits of his Bishopric with the Earl of Argyll—and that he had voted in Parliament in favour of a certain act of divorce which had been passed in opposition to the sentiments of the General Assembly.* At this meeting Bishop Gordon of Galloway was charged with divers offences, and ordered to make public repentance in sackcloth three several Sundays in St Giles’ church, the College church, and St Cuthbert’s church, Edinburgh. The Titular of Dunkeld was peremptorily ordered to visit his Diocese after the Assembly was dissolved, to enforce the act of Parliament “against Papists, of what degree so ever they be,” and all other criminal persons, and to report at the next meeting. Meanwhile intimations were given to appoint days for the election of the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, the titular Bishops of Moray, Ross, and Dunblane, and of a “suffragan” for the Titular of St Andrews in Lothian. Commissioners were ordered to be in all provinces where Bishops were not placed—the Parliament was to be petitioned respecting the repairs of those cathedrals used as parish churches, and as the most part of the canons, monks, and friars within the realm had made profession of the “true religion,” they were enjoined to serve as readers,†

The General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 6th of March 1573-4, was attended by five Titulars of the “phantom Episcopate”—John “Bishop” of St Andrews, James “Bishop” of Glasgow, James “Bishop” of Dunkeld, George “Bishop” of Moray, and

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 270.

† *Ibid.* p. 280, 283.

Robert "Bishop" of Caithness. The proceedings appear to have commenced with the usual complaints against the Titular of St Andrews for neglecting his duty, and he urged his constant excuse that "he had been continually sick." The Titular of Dunkeld was again arraigned for not excommunicating the Earl of Atholl and his second Countess, Margaret, third daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming, and successively relict of the eldest son of the Earl of Montrose, and of the eldest son of the Earl of Mar. This lady was probably the more obnoxious to the leaders of the Assembly because it was generally believed that she possessed the power of incantation, and had contrived, when Queen Mary gave birth to James VI., to transfer all the pains of child-labour to a certain dame patrimonially designated Lady Rires. The Titular very naturally had no inclination to incur the resentment of such a near and powerful neighbour as the Earl of Atholl, who then resided in great splendour on his own extensive domain, having at his command a numerous and fearless clan. He admitted the neglect, and was ordered not only to confess his fault publicly in the cathedral church of Dunkeld, but to pronounce the sentence of excommunication within forty days, and to report to the Regent Morton, with whom the Earl of Atholl was then at feud. A more serious charge was preferred against the Titular of Moray. He was accused of fornication, which he seems to have admitted, for he alleged that "after admonition given him he had abstained from all cohabitation with the said woman." He was ordered to "purge himself before the Assembly of the said crime," and a committee was appointed to summon the "Chapter of Moray" before them for irregularity in his election. The Titular satisfied a subsequent General Assembly for the "slander" under which he laboured, and was no more troubled on the matter.

This Assembly sent a complaint to the Regent Morton, setting forth that they were much disappointed at the absence of his Grace and the nobility, which was to them "most dolorous and lamentable," as it caused the non-attendance of many members who "well cannot be absent from the treating of these things that appertain to the Kirk and policie thereof in Assembly together," and to the "which end the Assemblies are appointed." They inform the Regent that they extended their admonition to all persons, of whatever rank, who were then with him, and especially

the Bishops and “such as are of the ministry.” This may have some reference to a Convention held by the Regent in Holyroodhouse on the 5th of March, the day before their Assembly met, in which it was declared, that although since the “alteration of religion the liberty of the Evangell has been enjoyed in unity of doctrine, yet is there *not to this day* any perfect policy by laws and constitutions set out, how the Kirk in all degrees shall be governed in decent and comely order, by which sundry inconveniences have followed, and more are like to occur hereafter, if timely remedy be not provided.” The Estates nominated a commission to “convene, confer, reason, and put in form the ecclesiastical policy and order of the governing of the Kirk, as they shall find most agreeable to the truth of God’s word, and most convenient for the state and people of the realm.” The Commission consisted of John Lord Glammis, Chancellor, the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, the Commendators of Dunfermline, Newbattle, Deer, and Pittenweem, James Macgill of Nether Rankeilour, Clerk Register, Sir James Bellenden, Lord Justice-Clerk, David Borthwick, King’s Advocate, John Erskine of Dun, John Winram, John Spottiswoode, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of King’s College in Old Aberdeen, James Lawson, the successor of Knox as minister of Edinburgh, and David Lindsay of Leith.* They were all present, and were ordered to meet on the 14th of the same month of March in Holyroodhouse, to “draw a form of the said ecclesiastical policy,” to be submitted to the Estates at their next convention, and by their advice presented to the Parliament, that the whole, or part of it, may be sanctioned by law. Nothing, however, appears to have resulted from this Commission, at least their proceedings are not recorded.

The situation of the Titular Bishops, and the domination over them by the General Assembly, are evident from sundry resolutions at this meeting. It was declared that the “jurisdiction of Bishops in their ecclesiastical function “shall not exceed that of Superintendents, which they previously had and still have,” and that, like them, the said “Bishops” shall be “subject to the discipline of the General Assembly as members thereof.” The Titulars were also prohibited from collating to any benefice within the

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 89.

bounds of the Superintendents without their written consent, and even the consent of three “well qualified ministers” was necessary before appointment to parishes within their own limits. Erskine, Spottiswoode, and Winram, resigned their office as Superintendents, and Robert Pont, “in respect that George Douglas is admitted Bishop of Moray, demitted his office of commissioner” for that Diocese.

These details evince the miserable state of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland at that period, when the Church was extinct, and the instruction of the people, the administration of the sacraments, and the whole clerical functions, usurped by self-constituted preachers. As to the Titular Episcopate, it was so utterly lifeless, inefficient, and contemptible, that it is astonishing how the men invested with it had the boldness to call themselves, and the presumption to consider themselves, Bishops in any sense. Yet that they did so is evident from their signatures, and their seals, on which their names are paraded as if they had been duly consecrated Prelates, and part of the great succession of the Christian ministry. Much of the deplorable inefficiency of the system which prevailed is ascribed by Presbyterian writers to the conduct of the Regent Morton, who is accused of not only oppressing the people generally to gratify his avarice by extorting money, but of refusing to pay the stipends of the preachers, and even spurning the functions of those personages whom Dr Cook magniloquently terms “the venerable Superintendents, the fathers of the Protestant Establishment in Scotland.”* Whatever truth may be in such charges, it is evident from Morton’s conduct that he was dissatisfied with the whole affair; he felt the responsibility of his situation as the head of the Government, and he was harassed and disgusted at those innovations in ecclesiastical polity which were continually in agitation in the General Assemblies, sowing the seeds of strife among the peaceable, and aiming at no practicable, intelligible, or satisfactory arrangement.

Such was the state of affairs when Andrew Melville made his appearance in Scotland in July 1574. As this individual’s history is zealously pourtrayed by a Presbyterian writer of local note,†

* Cook’s History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 235-241.

† Life of Andrew Melville, containing Illustrations of the Literary and Ecclesiastic-

who has set forth all the said Melville's actions and sentiments in the most favourable manner to serve his own party, it would occupy too much space to enter into biographical details in the present work of his birth, connections, and educational career. It is enough to state that he was born in 1545 at Baldovie, on the banks of the South Esk, near Montrose, an estate of which his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, was the proprietor—that he acquired the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages from a Frenchman named Marsilliers, who was patronized in the school of Montrose by Erskine of Dun—that he proceeded to the University of St Andrews, where his abilities attracted the notice of the afterwards titular Archbishop Douglas then Rector—that he went to France in 1564, and distinguished himself at the University of Paris, whence he removed to Poictiers, and was appointed Regent in St Marceon's College there—and that he went subsequently to Geneva, and was presented to the chair of Humanity then vacant in that Academy or University. At Geneva he became intimately acquainted with Beza and other distinguished persons of the Calvinistic school. After an absence of ten years Melville returned to Scotland in 1574, and was “the first,” as it is quaintly stated upwards of a century after his arrival, “who kindled the combustions in this Church by introducing the discipline of Geneva among us.” This is of course denied by the Presbyterian writers, but the evidence of its truth, as previously adduced from the Acts of General Assemblies in their “Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,” is complete and satisfactory to any unprejudiced inquirer. Wodrow affirms that the Presbyterianism subsequently introduced by Melville was kept in view in all the measures adopted from the Reformation; but Dr Cook denies this statement, declaring that the said Wodrow is “wrong” in so expressing himself. A more recent Presbyterian writer, Mr W. M. Hetherington, ex-minister of Torphichen in Linlithgowshire—a person animated, like most of the preachers of his views, by the most malignant hatred towards the Episcopal Church, of the true history and principles of which he is in utter ignorance, must needs make a

tical History of Scotland during the latter part of the Sixteenth and beginning of the Seventeenth Century, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D., Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh, Author of the “Life of John Knox,” Edinburgh, 2 vols. 1819.

similar flourish to that of Wodrow. He asserts, and most truly, for the fact can be and has been repeatedly demonstrated, that "Episcopalians are in the habit of ascribing the decided Presbyterian form of church government in Scotland to the personal influence of Andrew Melville, who had brought, say they, from Geneva the opinions of Calvin and Beza, and succeeded in infusing them into the Scottish ministers, who had previously been favourable to a modified Prelacy." Yet in the face of the undeniable fact that such meetings called *Presbyteries* and *Synods* were not known or heard of in Scotland for upwards of twenty years after the Reformation, and notwithstanding the details previously given of the proceedings of the General Assemblies with which the Titular Bishops were associated, the Presbyterian preacher at Torphichen has the effrontery to say—"The Reformed Church of Scotland was from the beginning, and always has been, so far as she has been enabled to exhibit and act upon her own principles, decidedly opposed to Prelacy, taking neither her creed, her form of government, nor her discipline, from any other Church, but from the word of God alone, and in principle, aim, and endeavour, always essentially and determinedly Presbyterian."* A writer in a celebrated periodical flatly contradicts this dogmatical and presumptuous assertion. He observes that after the Reformation, "for nearly centuries Scotland, compared with other countries, may be broadly stated to have been without a Theology," and he alludes to the Presbyterians, for he explicitly states in the passage previously cited that "some remarkable divines indeed Scotland has produced, but these were all adherents of that Church which for a reason was established by the will of the monarch in opposition to the wishes of the nation." The reviewer proceeds to the utter annihilation of the Presbyterian preacher at Torphichen's arrogant declamation about the origin of this schism in the "Word of God:"—"The Reformation in Scotland, and the institution of the Scottish Church, were *not indigenous*—were *not the conclusion of a native theology*. In Scotland the new opinions were a communication from abroad. The polity and principles of the Scottish Church were borrowed—borrowed from

* Hetherington's History of the "Church" of Scotland, Edinburgh, 8vo. 1812, p. 133, 134.

Calvin and Geneva; and it was only one, and one of the least prominent, of the many Calvinist and Presbyterian churches throughout Europe. At the same time it was neither the creature nor the favourite of the Prince.* The truth is, that in Scotland the Church Catholic became extinct from the Reformation to 1610, for neither can the ill-digested Superintendent System, with its array of "Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers," nor the miserable Titular Episcopacy incorporated with it, nor the human inventions introduced by Andrew Melville under the name of Presbyterianism, nor all three put together, be considered as entitled to any connection with the true and apostolic Church. As to the Titular Episcopacy, even Dr M'Crie, with all his Presbyterian narrowness, rightly observes—"This mongrel species of Prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true Episcopalian. Though certain eager advocates of primitive order, and the uninterrupted succession of the Hierarchy, have persisted in maintaining that Episcopacy always existed in Scotland, and in support of this plea have appealed among other things to the transactions at Leith, yet they have generally shewn themselves reluctant and shy in claiming kindred with the Tulchan Prelates whenever their true original and real condition were exposed. And, indeed, how could they acknowledge, as legitimate bishops, men who professed as little of the episcopal power as they did of the episcopal revenues, who were subject to the authority of an assembly composed of pretended presbyters and mere laics, by whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended and deposed, and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of canonical consecration."†

* Edinburgh Review, 1836, vol. lxiv. p. 112. "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." Aiton's History of the Rencontre at Drumclog and Battle at Bothwell Bridge, 1821, p. 22.

† Life of Andrew Melville, vol. i. p. 151. Dr M'Crie is quite right in stating that no true Episcopalian ever could claim "kindred with the Tulchan Prelates," whether their "true original and real condition" were "fairly exposed or not." Being "utterly destitute of canonical consecration," they were, like his "pretended presbyters [though he used the word *pretended* ironically] and mere laics," intruders into the sacred office, and every act they performed was ecclesiastically invalid. It is distressing to think of the mockeries seriously practised in Scotland in those times under the name of "the Church," and Bishop Keith is severely censurable for inserting those men in the episcopal succession of the Sees in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.

It seems that Melville was induced to return to Scotland by the representations of a certain Andrew Polwart, who was then in Geneva as the companion of Alexander Campbell, the titular Bishop of Brechin. This is Dr M'Crie's statement, but Dr Cook makes the chief adviser to have been no less a personage than the Titular himself, “ who happened to visit Geneva, and convinced that his [Melville's] abilities would be of much service to the cause of religion in Scotland, he earnestly requested him to renounce the situation which he held, and to visit his native land.” It is difficult to say where Dr Cook discovered this glowing character of the contemptible Titular of Brechin—a mere creature of the Earl of Argyll, who dilapidated the ecclesiastical patrimony in the most shameful manner in favour of his patron, and whose sacrilegious transactions in alienating the church property from 1566 to 1605 are evident from the charters granted by him preserved among the records of Brechin. Melville, however, returned from Geneva with his friend the Titular and the said Polwart. He no sooner arrived in Edinburgh than he was visited by the celebrated George Buchanan, and also by Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, and Colonel James Halyburton, who were commissioned by the Regent Morton to offer him the appointment of domestic instructor in his household until a situation became vacant ; but Melville refused the offer, and retired to his brother's house of Baldovie, where he occupied himself some months in superintending the education of James Melville his nephew, afterwards an eminent Presbyterian preacher, who had been in his youth a zealous admirer of the sermons of John Knox in St Andrews.

Melville arrived at Edinburgh in the beginning of July 1574, and Douglas, the Titular of St Andrews, died on the last day

Winram assisted at the “ inauguration” of John Douglas as Titular of St Andrews, and “ was *popishly* and in consequence *episcopally* and *canonically* ordained,” and as he held the office of “ Sub-Prior of the Abbey, and as such Vicar-General during the vacancy of the See,” Dr M'Crie innocently asks—“ Will not these two circumstances, joined to the *tertium quid* of his being a Superintendent, make him if not *formaliter*, at least *virtualiter* a Bishop?” It is really amusing to find a man like Dr M'Crie, of some pretensions to research, indulging in this frivolous question. Though Winram had held a dozen of ecclesiastical preferments, the whole of them could not constitute him *virtualiter* a Bishop. He lived and died a schismatical presbyter, and had as much right to be considered a regularly and canonically consecrated Bishop as Dr M'Crie himself, or any other Presbyterian minister.

of that month the same year. This caused a vacancy in the Tulchan Primacy at the disposal of the Regent, who appears to have resolved to appoint Patrick Adamson, at that time officiating as one of his chaplains. A serious charge is brought against Melville at this crisis, which, if true, exhibits him not as the honest and conscientious Presbyterian zealot, but as actuated in his subsequent conduct by disappointed ambition. Though he had refused the Regent's offer to become his domestic preceptor from motives which are not sufficiently clear, he was in idle retirement at his brother's house of Baldovie, and it is possible that his vanity might have been gratified by the offer of the Titular preferment, which would have closely connected him with the University of St Andrews, though he may have refused the nomination. The Regent had never publicly intimated who was to be the successor of Douglas in the Titular Primacy, but “it was Mr Andrew Melville's misfortune that he was neglected, and therefore, in the year 1575, he stirred one Mr Dury to impugn the episcopal order and all imparity.”* Such is the accusation, though it is difficult to reconcile it with Melville's avowed principles, which, though sufficiently insolent, were characterized by a kind of blunt sincerity. It must also be remembered that Bishop Sage quotes a letter from Melville to Beza, written in 1579, in which the former mentions that for five years he had not ceased to fight against the Titular Episcopacy, shewing that he had never lost sight of his project, and that he must have at least secretly promoted it after his return to Scotland.†

A letter was sent by Beza with Melville to the General Assembly, recommending his friend for his piety and learning, and stating that the greatest affection Geneva could evince to Scotland was that the former had suffered itself to be “robbed,” that the latter might be “enriched.” Dr M'Crie also informs us that Beza's letter, and “the report of Polwart and the Bishop of Brechin

* Extract from a MS. Narrative, said to be “written by a person of great honour and true learning,” about the “several periods of Episcopacy and Presbytery in the Church of Scotland,” in “An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland, chiefly opposed to the Censures, Calumnies, and Accusation of a late Presbyterian Vindicator,” alleged to have been written by the Very Rev. Dr Monro, the ejected Principal of the University of Edinburgh at the Revolution. London, 4to. 1693, p. 60.

† Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, p. 217, 218 (?)

spread the fame of his erudition throughout the country." This would not be difficult to do, notwithstanding the questionable honour of a testimonial from such a despicable person as the Titular of Brechin and the obscure Mr Polwart, in a country such as Scotland then was, in which the Presbyterians continued for nearly two centuries to be far behind all other national establishments in theological, and consequently in classical erudition;" for as it has been truly observed, the Presbyterian system "was neither the offspring of learning nor of power, and after being long upheld by the nation in defiance of every effort of the Government, it was finally established by a revolution."^{*} This, in plain language, intimates that the whole change of religion in Scotland was effected by an illiterate mob.

Beza's letter recommendatory of Melville was favourably received in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 7th of August 1574; but he is only noticed in the proceedings as one of a Committee, consisting of George Buchanan, James Lawson, and Peter Young, described as "pedagogue to our Sovereign Lord,"[†] appointed to revise the "History of Job, compiled in Latin verse, by Mr Patrick Adamson," and if "found by them agreeable to the truth of God's word, to authorize the same with testimony of their hand writ and subscription."[‡] Adamson wrote the above men-

^{*} Edinburgh Review, 1836, vol. Ixiv. p. 112, 113.

[†] Mr. Peter Young, one of James VI. preceptors, was lay Abbot of Dryburgh, and is described by Sir James Melville as a person of "milder mood" than his colleague the "Right Honourable" George Buchanan, who was lay Abbot of Crossraguel, an appointment he received from Queen Mary. "Master Peter Young was genteeler, and was loth to offend the King at any time, and used [conducted] himself warily, as a man that had a mind of his own weill by keeping of his Majestie's favour." He was sent to Denmark, after the departure of Frederic II's ambassadours, who came to Scotland in 1585, ostensibly to claim the Orkney and Shetland, and bringing the money with them for their restoration to the Danish crown; but in reality to inform the Scottish King that Frederic had "twa dochters, and was willing either to give him his choice of them, or that he would accept the ane of them as it should please the father to bestow, whilk should be the most comely, and the best for his princely contentment."—"Master Peter Young was sent into Denmark to thank that King and see his dochters, that he might make report again of his liking them, with a promise that his Majesty should send them or it were lang ane honorable ambassade." Historie of King James the Sext, and Introduction to "Letters to King James the Sixth from the Queen, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, Princess Elizabeth," &c. by Sir Patrick Walker, printed for the Maitland Club. Edinburgh, 4to. 1835, p. vi. ix.

[‡] Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 310.

tioned “History,” or poetical version of the Book of Job, and the Tragedy of that Herod who was smote by an angel, also in Latin verse, apparently before 1573, when he narrowly escaped murder at Bourges, in which place he was during the massacre perpetrated at Paris on St Bartholomew’s Day, with his pupil Macgill of Nether Rankeillor. It is stated in his Preface to his Poem on Job that he was compelled to conceal himself seven months in the house of a publican, who for his compassion to “heretics” was thrown from the roof and killed, when upwards of seventy years old. Adamson had sent copies of both Poems to Lyons and Paris to be printed. The ensuing civil wars prevented their publication, and their author recovered one of the copies very accidentally which had been sent to his friend Lambinus at Paris, at whose death Dr Henry Blackwood discovered among his papers both pieces, and transmitted them to Adamson, who printed them in 1572, and their appearance secured for him considerable reputation. The opinions of Melville, Buchanan, and their colleagues on Adamson’s Poems are not officially recorded, but it may be inferred that it was favourable, as in a subsequent Assembly he is included among certain persons who are styled “well-beloved brethren” nominated for “reading and answering bills and complaints.” Although, however, Melville was merely appointed one of a committee to revise the Poem of Adamson, and was not present in the Assembly, his merits were not overlooked. It was proposed to appoint him Principal Provost of St Mary’s College in St Andrews vacant by the death of Douglas, but Boyd, the Titular of Glasgow, supported by Andrew Hay, who acted as “commissioner of the West,” so strongly represented the miserable condition of the University of Glasgow, that Melville was induced to prefer the claims of that seminary, which had suffered severely from the changes caused by the Reformation. He accordingly became Principal of the University, and by his exertions restored its efficiency as an academical institution.

The conduct of the Titulars of Dunkeld and Moray was again discussed in this Assembly of August 1574, the former on some of the usual charges, especially for not excommunicating the Earl of Atholl, for which he admitted he could “allege no lawful excuse,” and the latter about the mode of his admission or election by the so called Dean and Chapter to the Bishopric. As the details are

of no particular interest, it is unnecessary to glance at these and other local proceedings. As a proof, however, that no avowed intention existed of abrogating the Titular Episcopate and introducing Presbyterianism, among the articles ordered to be laid before the Regent, it was resolved—"Because there are sundry Bishoprics vacant, such as Dunblane, Ross,* and others, that his Grace would take order that some qualified persons be provided thereto with diligence."† The Titular of Dunkeld was prohibited from administering the "Holy Supper upon week days at the kirks within his jurisdiction;" and peremptorily enjoined to excommunicate the Earl of Atholl within forty days, "under the pain of suspension from his said office." The Titular was present, and "interponed his faithful promise;" but he offended their dignity by leaving the Assembly on the following day without their permission, for which he was ordered to be "delated at their next meeting." John Brand of Holyroodhouse was threatened with deprivation of his office if he delayed to excommunicate Bishop Gordon of Galloway, in the event of that Prelate not "satisfying the Kirk" before a specified day; and their "loved brethren, Mr Robert Graham, Archdeacon of Ross, and Mr John Robertson, Treasurer thereof," were commissioned "conjunctly and severally to pass to the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, and there to visit kirks, colleges, and schools, and other places needful within the said bounds, and in the same to plant ministers, readers, elders, and deacons, schoolmasters, and other members necessary for erecting a perfect Reformed Kirk, suspend for a time, or *simpliciter* deprive such as they shall find unworthy or not apt for their office, whether it be for crimes committed or ignorance; abolish, eradicate, and destroy all monuments of idolatry; establish and set up the true worship of God as well in cathedral and collegiate kirks, as in other places within the said bounds, conform to the order taken and agreed on in the Book of Discipline."‡

The proceedings of the next General Assembly, held at Edinburgh on the 7th of March 1574-5, develope the position of the

* Ross was not vacant, Bishop Leslie being still the Bishop, though not in Scotland; but he was evidently considered to be no longer the Diocesan on account of his adherence to the Roman Catholic Church.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 306.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 311, 312.

Titular Episcopate, nevertheless no open attack was made upon it, though Andrew Melville was present as a member. The titular Archbishop of Glasgow was chosen Moderator, and the business commenced with the usual complaint against the Titular of Dunkeld for not excommunicating the Earl of Atholl, to which were added the offence of leaving the last Assembly before it was dissolved, and the old charge of a “simoniacaal paction with the Earl of Argyll,” who was now dead. He answered the present charge by stating that he had “used admonitions” with Atholl, “who desired some conference of godly and learned men, to the effect he might be resolved in such doubts of religion as presently move him, seeing that hitherto he hath not heard preaching.” The excuse for the second was, that being informed of one of his children “deadly sick, who soon after departed, he went in haste out of the town without advertisement of the brethren,” but that he was willing to submit himself to the reproof of the Assembly if the excuse was not sufficient; and the third charge was met by a general denial.

Spottiswoode, Erskine, Winram, Lawson, and Hay, commissioner of Aberdeen, or any three of them, were appointed to convene with the Earl of Atholl, and report his answer to the Assembly. His Lordship was then in Edinburgh, and seems to have endured this intermeddling officiousness with much condescension. With the exception of Spottiswoode, they waited on him during the afternoon of that day, but they made little impression, for they reported that they found him “not fully resolved in sundry heads of religion,” and he requested further conference with the parties whom he had already met, and in the meanwhile “promising of his honour that he would assist my Lord Bishop of Dunkeld for punishing of offences within his bounds, and setting forward of his synodal assemblies, and that no slander should be found within his house.” This very reasonable declaration, however, was most unsatisfactory to the “Brethren,” who sent David Lindsay, minister of Leith, and George Hay, the Aberdeen commissioner, with a peremptory order to the Earl to give in his statements in writing. They reported that the Earl still wished delay and longer time to have “consultation of learned men to the resolution of difficulties, and what he had promised before of his honour he should keep the same to the least point.” The Assembly, “car-

nestly craving the said Lord's conversion, and willing to win him by all means possible, that he might be joined to the society of the Kirk," ordered him to have all his doubts removed before the ensuing midsummer, otherwise both he and his Countess were to be excommunicated by the Titular of Dunkeld.

The same Titular had also a slight altercation with his brother Titular of Brechin, who complained that certain expressions uttered by the former in the preceding Assembly about pensions was "a slandering of the nobleman departed, and desired it to be proven." To this the Titular of Dunkeld replied, that "he declared he was pressed by the said umquhile Earl of Argyll to do something against his will," and this he offered to state in writing, referring the whole matter to the Assembly. The cool impertinence of the Titular of Brechin on this occasion was only equalled by his hypocrisy, for no one knew better than he did that the "umquhile" zealous Earl of Argyll had strong temporal reasons for supporting the Reformation. Two other Titulars were also compelled to figure in this Assembly. The one was the "Bishop of Moray," and it was to be decided whether he had been lawfully chosen, before he could be tried in life and doctrine as a Bishop. Andrew Melville, Winram, and two individuals, were appointed to investigate and decide the point. The other was Andrew Graham, already mentioned as nominated to Dunkeld by the Regent Morton. He was ordered to "give proof of his doctrine before the Brethren upon the text appointed by them to him." In the case of the Titular of Moray, Melville and his associates reported that as there was "suspicion conceived by the trial of his doctrine and manners, he gave personally such trial of his doctrine as the shortness of time will permit." He was also to "make his purgation of the slanderous crimes whereof he was accused in the Assembly before, without prejudice of the process depending." This decision, the latter part of which referred to his amour with a certain widow styled Lady Ardross, was considered satisfactory, and the Titular was subjected to an examination. He was asked in what manner he had obeyed the act of the Assembly on the "purgation of slander." He replied that he had presented himself before Douglas, the Titular of St Andrews, "now resting with God," and had obeyed the said act; but as he could produce no witnesses, the "Brethren" appointed Winram, Wilkie, rector of

St Andrews, and another, to take his “purgation” in the same manner as he should have done before the Titular and kirk of St Andrews; and as he was then “under medicine,” Andrew Melville, Winram, and a third, were appointed to confer with him on matters of religion, and report to the Assembly. The result of this was stated by Winram, who informed the “Brethren” that the Titular was willing again to “purge himself,” in other words, to do penance if no record of his former submission could be found at St Andrews.

Ramsay, Titular of Dunblane, was ordered, after a discussion, which was decided in the affirmative, whether he was eligible, as he had not been previously a preacher, to deliver an exercise, or trial discourse, in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, on the commencement of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans in presence of certain parties. It may be inferred that he gave satisfaction, as no further notice is recorded. Another Titular, Alexander Hepburn, designated “elect of Ross,” delivered a trial “exercise” on a prescribed part of the Prophecy of Zachariah, and he acquitted himself in such a manner that “the Brethren with one consent approved the said exercise and doctrine, and praised God for the same.” In this Assembly final judgment was given against their former confederate Bishop Gordon of Galloway, who was released from the degrading sentence of appearing as a criminal in three several churches in Edinburgh, on the condition that he presented himself before the congregation in the church of Holyroodhouse on the following Sunday, and “humbly confess his offences, and ask the eternal God’s mercy.”

Having thus dealt with the Titulars and Bishop Gordon, they enacted that no person was to be admitted a minister who was ignorant of Latin, except such as after examination “for their singular graces and gifts of God shall be found able by them to use their function without knowledge of the Latin tongue.” Decency in apparel was enjoined, and all dramatic representations founded on the narratives of the canonical Scriptures were prohibited either on Sundays or other days. A law was ordered to be framed, that “no Bishop be elected to a Bishopric by the Chapter before he give proof of his doctrine before the General Assembly, and trial be taken by them of his doctrine, life, and conversation;” and in the meantime this duty was to be done by the respective

Chapters, who were to be allowed to elect after the Assembly were satisfied. But the most interesting fact is the following. A statement was laid before them by Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh, and Thomas Bassenden, printer and burgess, respecting the publication of an edition of the Bible in English. Messrs David Lindsay of Leith, James Lawson of Edinburgh, Andrew Polwart, and George Young, were appointed to revise the edition, and the Assembly agreed that the printers were to receive L.4 : 13 : 4d. Scots money, or between seven and eight shillings sterling, for every copy sold. The "Bishops, Superintendents, and commissioners bearing charge within the realm," were ordered to use their influence with the "Lords, barons, and gentlemen of every parish, as also with the whole burghs within the same," to "try how many of them will be content to buy one of the said volumes, and will advance voluntarily the said price, whole, or half at the least, in part payment, and the rest at the receipt of their books." Every parish church was ordered to be provided with a Bible, and the edition was specified to be ready for delivery before the last day of March 1576. Such is the substance of the arrangement respecting one of the first editions, if not in reality the first printed Bible in Scotland,* which was the translation printed at Geneva a few years previous. The next General Assembly, in compliance with the petition of Arbuthnot, induced the commendator of Dunfermline, who is designated the "Lord Abbot," to licence Mr George Young to the "office of corrector," whose charges and expences Arbuthnot stipulated he would himself defray. As the Regent had issued letters in the King's name, authorizing collections to be made as above noticed, the Assembly also granted another part of Arbuthnot's petition, which was to "charge every ordinary within his jurisdiction to put the said letters into execution, and make me be paid, conform to the tenor of the same, whereby the godly enterprize of the same may take full effect with expedition."

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 314-330.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TITULAR BISHOPS ATTACKED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.

THE choosing of Boyd, the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, to be Moderator or President of the General Assembly held in March 1574-5, is a proof that no avowed intention had been expressed to overthrow the Titular Episcopacy sanctioned by the Convention of Leith. The first grand attack against the Tulchan System, and undoubtedly through it against the canonical Hierarchy everywhere, was made in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 6th of August 1575, when Bishop Gordon of Galloway, and the Titulars of Dunkeld, Brechin, Dunblane, Glasgow, and The Isles, with the Superintendents of Lothian and Angus, are enumerated, and Robert Pont was chosen Moderator. Andrew Melville, too cautious to appear personally the originator of the schemes he meditated, had previously been actively engaged in impressing some of the leaders in favour of the polity and principles of Geneva; and wishing that the subject should be introduced as a Scottish emanation, he persuaded Mr John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to bring the Presbyterian or Genevan polity before the Assembly. At the very outset of the proceedings, when they commenced their usual examination of the lives and doctrines of the Titulars, Dury protested "that the trial as Bishop prejudices not the opinions and reasons which he and other brethren of his mind had to oppose against the said office and name of a Bishop."*

This elicited a speech from Melville, who pretended to address the "Brethren" as if he had been entirely ignorant that the sub-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 231.

ject was to be introduced. He declaimed in favour of the flourishing state of what he called the “ Church” at Geneva, explained the notions of Calvin and Beza, denied the scriptural authority for the episcopal office, which he maintained to be the same as that of ordinary ministers, and urged many of the arguments which the Presbyterians and other anti-episcopal sects advance in favour of their system of parity. Melville’s speech apparently made considerable impression, and six individuals were appointed to inquire “ whether if the Bishops, as they are now in the Kirk of Scotland, have their functions in the Word of God or not, or if the Chapter appointed for creating them ought to be tolerated in this Reformed Kirke ?” If they had considered the subject in its proper light, they would have seen that the “ function ” or office of the then Titulars had *no* authority from the Scriptures, or ecclesiastical antiquity, because they were merely nominal Bishops for political or party purposes, unconsecrated, and of no higher authority than their lay preachers, whom they dignified with the title of “ ministers,” as if they had been canonically ordained deacons and presbyters. The persons appointed to conduct this inquiry were Melville himself, John Craig, then minister of Aberdeen, formerly Knox’s colleague at Edinburgh, James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, David Lindsay of Leith, John Reid of Perth, and George Hay, the commissioner from Caithness. According to Archbishop Spottiswoode, Lindsay, Row, and Hay, were favourable to the “ lawfulness of episcopal function in the Church,” while Melville, Craig, and Lawson, were zealous for the Genevan or Presbyterian parity. After various conferences they all lodged a written declaration, stating that—“ They think it not expedient presently to answer directly to the first question, but if any Bishop be chosen who has not such qualities as the word of God requires, let him be tried by the General Assemblies *de novo*, and so deposed.” Nevertheless, they condescended to enlighten the “ Brethren ” on the points wherein they agreed concerning the office of Bishop and Superintendent :—“ First, the name of Bishop is common to all those that have a particular charge, as well to preach the word as to minister the sacraments, and to execute the ecclesiastical discipline with consent of their elders ; and this is the chief function of the word of God. Also, that out of this number may be chosen some to have power to oversee

and visit such reasonable bounds, besides his own flock, as the general Kirk shall appoint ; and in their bounds to appoint ministers, with the consent of the ministers of that province, and of the flock to whom they shall be appointed ; and also to appoint elders and deacons in every principal congregation where there are none, with the consent of the people thereof, and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes, with the consent of the ministers foresaid.”*

Such was the “ deliverance,” not so much affecting the then Titular Episcopate, which was a mere shadow, a miserable and unscriptural substitute, but against the constitution of the Catholic Church and the episcopal succession generally ; and it will be admitted that the said “ deliverance ” was sufficiently Presbyterian, although Melville did not “ think it expedient to answer directly the first question,” which was, if the episcopal function had any warrant in the Scriptures. Archbishop Spottiswoode censures the Titulars for not opposing the above declaration, alleging that it was “ no wisdom in them to have given a way to such novelties, and have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be thus drawn in question ;” but the venerable Primate forgot that their “ vocation ” was a fallacy, utterly unwarrantable and preposterous ; and it also appears that some of them, if not the whole, were absent, for although mentioned as present in the Assembly with the “ commissioners ” and “ ministers,” it is stated in the record of the second day’s proceedings, that—“ Because certain of the Bishops and Superintendents compeared not the first day of this Assembly, it was thought good to call [cite] them, and the absents to be noted.”† The Presbyterian writer Wodrow infers, from the silence of the Titulars, that the Assembly was unanimous against the episcopal office, but this is at direct variance with all the facts and documents, and also with the sentiments expressed in the report to the “ Brethren ” on the occasion.

The Titular of Dunkeld was suspended from his office by this Assembly on several accusations, one of which was the dilapidation of the benefice, particularly “ a nineteen year tack [lease] of

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 343.

† *Ibid.* p. 333.

thirty-six chalders of teind victual, at 5s. 8d. per boll, to the Earl of Argyll," which he indeed confessed, declaring "that divers times it repented him thereof, and yet, by the grace of God, is willing to have it reformed, either by favour and good-will of my Lord Argyll, or by process of law, wherein my Lord Regent's Grace had promised to him his assistance." Another complaint was for not excommunicating the Earl of Atholl, his excuse for which was pronounced "frivolous," and intimation was given to the Earl and Countess that if they were not "resolved in the points of religion" before Martinmas, to the satisfaction of John Row of Perth and three or four others, the said Row was to pronounce sentence of excommunication against them in Dunkeld, assisted by the Superintendents of Angus and Fife, and William Christison, minister of Dundee. Melville's friend, Andrew Polwart, is noticed in this Assembly's proceedings as "ordained [enjoined] to serve at Paisley, according to his promise made to the Bishop of Glasgow." But Mr Andrew proved very unpopular in Paisley, the inhabitants insulting him and setting him at defiance; and in October 1577, he was "decerned to be free and at liberty, that he may serve where it pleases God to call him, because "of their contempt of the discipline, their manifest vices, menacing, and boasting of him in doing his duty, his labours cannot be profitable to them" [at Paisley]. Bishop Gordon of Galloway was received into favour so far that he was allowed to preach, but he was still "suspended from commission of visitation," and he was exhorted "to concur and help the commissioner of Galloway in his visitation for keeping good order and discipline within these bounds." The other matters of which they thought proper to take cognizance were "heresies, witchcraft, blaspheming the name of God, violation of the Sabbath-day," and regulations respecting marriages; but chiefly gross, licentious, and revolting questions on crimes which it was disgraceful to discuss in any religious meeting exercising the high pretensions to which they laid claim. They appear also to have been annoyed by the inhabitants of the county of Aberdeen. It was stated by way of complaint, that "the ministers and readers in the country keep certain patron and festival days, and on these days convene, pray, and preach, and foster the people in superstition." To this the commissioner of Aberdeen replied—"That some ministers of the country think it

lawful, but for his own opinion, he wished it should be taken away by an ordinance of the Assembly.”*

The next General Assembly was held at Edinburgh on the 24th of April 1576, and John Row was chosen Moderator. The proceedings commenced with complaints and accusations against all the Titulars, with the exception of the so called Bishop of Ross, which were frivolous, factious, and contemptible, evidently originating to display a kind of splenetic power. The Titular of Glasgow was “dilated” for not “preaching in the town of Glasgow since he entered in his office, and also rarely preaching, howbeit he was thought diligent in visitation,” and for having “no particular flock.” Three other charges were brought against him, which were even of less importance. Boyd modestly answered, that “preaching is the good gift of God, which is not equally bestowed on all, and excused himself that he was not so able, nor so liberally gifted with understanding as others; although it cannot be denied but that he preached, especially at Govan and other kirks, and was willing to do his duty.” As to the other charge, he contended that “he received no particular flock in the entry of his office, nor no question was moved thereupon; but if the Assembly think that he should be astricted to a particular flock, he should either obey the ordinance of the Assembly therein, or give place to others.” The Superintendent of Lothian was accused of “initiating” the Titular of Ross in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, though “admonished by the brethren not to do it,” and of not frequently visiting his district. He confessed the first, and assigned sickness since Jauuary and “evil weather” as his excuse for the second. The Titular of Dunblane was “dilated” for not having “taught since his entry to his office, nor yet makes residence, nor hath a particular flock.” The Titular of Moray was also alleged to have “no particular flock,” which he admitted, but informed them that he was then “under process of horning,” or prosecution, which rendered him liable to incarceration, and that he had presented himself to the Assembly on that occasion solely by a personal protection granted by the Regent.

But the great attack was against the Titular of Dunkeld for “diminution of the rents of the Bishopric,” in the affair of the

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 331-317.

lease granted by him to the Earl of Argyll. After hearing his defence and explanation, they found that he had violated the act of the General Assembly in March 1569 against "such persons as diminish the rents and fruits of their benefices," and that he had incurred "the penalty thereof, to wit, deprivation from his office, and that which he hath of the Kirk therethrough, so far as lies in their power *for ever*." The Titular took an appeal from this decision to the Privy Council. Mr David Lindsay and Mr Patrick Adamson were appointed to intimate the sentence to the Regent. They announced the Regent's opinion on the following day. Morton was justly exasperated at their conduct, after their previous expressions of satisfaction at the result of the Conference of Leith, which they had professed to consider a final adjustment. He admitted that the Titular of Dunkeld had been justly deprived for his offences, and that he "could find no fault therein;" yet he indignantly requested that "a polity and universal order would be established in the Kirk for such and other proceedings," and advised that either the agreement at Leith should be reconsidered, or those points in it to which they objected be substituted by others, or to draw out some polity of their own, and submit it to his consideration. In the meanwhile he suggested that they should depute some of their number to answer the Titular of Dunkeld's appeal to the Privy Council. Sundry "honourable men and brethren" were appointed to answer the Regent, among whom were the Titular of Glasgow, Erskine of Dun, Andrew Melville, Pont, Lawson, Adamson, and Lindsay. Morton's suggestion was adopted, and they accordingly appointed provincial committees to draw up "an overture of the polity and jurisdiction of the Kirk, and uttering the plain and simple meaning of the Assembly therein," and to report their proceedings to the next General Assembly. Among those appointed were the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, Andrew Melville, and three others, for the Western counties, to meet and confer at Glasgow on a certain day; Pont, Lawson, Lindsay, and two others, for Lothian, to meet at Edinburgh; Winram, for they still recognized him as Superintendent of Fife, and the Masters of the University of St Andrews, to meet in that city, for Fife; Erskine of Dun, Christison, Row, and two others, for Angus and Mearns, to meet at Montrose; and Messrs John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, and George Hay, for

Aberdeen. It will be observed, that in those arrangements they completely neglected the Highlands, Orkney, and Shetland.

But this report was not forthcoming at the next General Assembly, and even in the following, held in April 1577, it was acknowledged that “the matter of the polity of the Kirk collected by the Brethren is not yet in such perfect form as is requisite, and sundry things largely entreated [discussed], which will be more summarily handled: others requiring farther dilation.”* The indignation of the Regent had apparently granted them permission to remodel the ecclesiastical constitution, and Melville and his friends were actively engaged in framing the whole scheme of the Presbyterian parity, as delineated in their singular compilation which they produced, entitled the “Second Book of Discipline.” Accordingly, with one exception, little occurs of public interest in the proceedings of the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 24th of October 1576, in that of 1st April 1577, or in that of the 25th of October of the same year.

The exception now mentioned was the case of Patrick Adamson, whom the Regent Morton nominated titular Archbishop of St Andrews in the autumn of 1576. As this eminent person has been often mentioned in the present work, some notice of his early life may be here introduced. Adamson’s proper name was Constance, and he was the son of poor though industrious parents, his father, according to Calderwood, having been a baker at Perth, where he was born in March 1543. The reason for changing his name to Adamson is not stated. Calderwood says that he “assisted as a minister in the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1560,” and the name of *Patrick Constane* certainly appears in the list of those in St Andrews for “ministering and teaching,” mentioned at that meeting, but he is not noticed as personally present. If the Patrick Constane was really Adamson, he was only in his eighteenth year, otherwise the date of his birth is incorrect, but it is probable that the necessities of the times made the Reforming leaders not very scrupulous about age, and he may in the outset have been merely one of their “readers.” It is certain that, after attending some years at the University of St Andrews, he was about 1560 acting as a schoolmaster in a village near Cupar, the

* Bookc of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 391.

county town of Fife, and that his great reputation for learning induced a neighbouring proprietor, Macgill of Nether Rankieillor, to engage him as preceptor to his eldest son, whom he intended to send to France to study civil law. His adventures at Bourges, and the Latin poems he there wrote, are already mentioned, and after his return to Scotland we find him prominent in the General Assemblies, and actively connected with the Titular Episcopate, until 1576, when he was appointed the head of that spurious and uncanonical order.

Adamson was present in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 24th of October 1576, when his nomination as Titular by the Regent is thus noticed—"As by the ordinance of the Assembly, Bishops should be tried before them, before they be admitted by the Chapter," they "require both the counsel and advice of the Kirk herein. The said Mr Patrick being present, answered, That my Lord Regent's Grace had discharged him to proceed farther in this matter, in respect the said act and ordinance of the Kirk is not accorded on, and therefore he would not meddle farther and make instance therein; which answer the Kirk thought should be given by the Chapter to my Lord Regent's Grace." The Regent transmitted forty-two questions, concocted, it is said, at the suggestion of Adamson, to this Assembly, requesting proper answers at their convenience. This is alleged to have been a device of the Regent to delay and thwart the details of ecclesiastical policy in which Melville and his friends were engaged, at least such is the statement of Calderwood and Wodrow. Many of these questions are on the topics with which the reader is familiar. A certain number of persons, among whom were Erskine of Dun, Andrew Melville, James Melville, Pont, Row, Lindsay, Craig, Lawson, and Christison, were appointed to "consider the heads of the policy, advice and consult thereupon, and upon the said questions, and to report their judgments thereanent, conceived formally in writing, to the next Assembly." At a subsequent part of the proceedings Adamson's appointment was again brought before them, the so called Chapter of St Andrews having delayed the election. He was asked—"If he would submit himself to the trial and examination of the Assembly, and receive the office of a Bishop according to the injunctions of the Kirk?" This he positively declined. Some curious notices occur of the manners of the

times. The inhabitants of Dunfermline requested permission to act a "certain play not made upon the canonical parts of Scripture" on a Sunday afternoon, which was refused, and the Bailie of Dunfermline was exhorted to "request the town to keep the ordinance of the Assembly." The question was discussed, whether a "minister or reader may *tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern,*" and it was actually decided that such might be allowed, only such minister or reader was to be exhorted to "keep decorum." Interments in the churches were prohibited, and those who opposed this were to be denied privileges until they made "public repentance." Salt-pans, mills, and "other labouring, which draws away innumerable people from hearing the word of God," were ordered to be stopped on the Sundays; and probably they would have denounced the ebb and flow of the tide, the light of the sun, or any other operation of nature, if such had been submitted to their consideration.

Sundry statements were reported to the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 1st of April 1577, about the progress of the "policie of the Kirk," as concocted by Andrew Melville and his fellow-labourers in that work. Meanwhile, in the case of Adamson, who had now been elected titular Archbishop of St Andrews by the "Chapter" after the meeting of the previous Assembly, he was summoned to appear before this conclave on the charge that he "had entered in the said Bishopric against the acts of the General Assembly, and usurped the office of visitation within the bounds of Fife, unauthorized by the commission or power of the Kirk, and left his ordinary office of ministry." The "ordiners and inagurers" of Adamson were also enjoined to be summoned, "if need require." In this year Adamson published a Catechism in Latin verse, in Four Books,* which is said to have been for the use of King James VI. It was so much approved, that both Pont and Lawson wrote very excellent Latin odes in its commendation, and it elicited the praise of the learned in England and on the Continent.

Adamson seems to have been unmolested during the year 1577, and he was present in the Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 25th of October that year, when he was commissioned by the Regent Morton to lay before them a letter from Queen Elizabeth, intimat-

* The title is "Catechismus Latino Carmine redditus, et in Libros Quatuor digestus."

ing that a Council of the Protestants of Germany was to be held at Madgeburg for establishing the Augsburg Confession, originally drawn up by Melanethon with Luther's approbation, to be laid before the Emperor Charles V. at the great Diet held at Augsburg in June 1530. In this letter the Regent was requested to inform her Majesty if the Assembly "thought mete that any of the learned ministers shall repair thither, and who they will name to this effect." Eight persons were nominated, the Regent selecting three of them, one of whom was Andrew Melville, but none of them proceeded to Madgeburg, and Morton took no farther interest in the matter. Adamson, Melville, and a number of influential persons, were appointed to confer with the Regent, if such consultation was necessary, on the "heads of the policy and jurisdiction of the Kirk read in audience of the whole Assembly, and thought good that the same should be presented to my Lord Regent's Grace."

The deliberations of Melville and the Presbyterian party were embodied in the production afterwards noticed, entitled, "The Second Book of Discipline," which was approved by the Assembly with only one exception, and this appears to have been the eighth chapter, on "Deacons, and their Office, the last ordinary function in the Kirk." This production was laid before the Regent for his sanction, and when he received it he promised to appoint some of the Privy Council to meet with its compilers, but other and more important matters engaged his attention. The Regent's administration of the government had become unpopular, discontented and ambitious men fawned on the King, then in the dawn of youth, to whom he was misrepresented, and a project was formed to drive Morton from his high office. The Presbyterian party had become his inveterate enemies, and had so often irritated him by their opposition that he about this very period declared to Melville on one occasion—"There never will be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the kingdom." Morton held that the General Assemblies were mere convocations of the King's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his own permission as Regent. The truth of this was abundantly evident in the subsequent century after 1638, and though it has been virtually admitted and practised by the Presbyterian Establishment since the Revolution of 1688, the claims of Melville and his party were of a different description. They

maintained a *jus divinum* for their meetings, and their grand aim was to render themselves independent of all civil and secular authority, and to be the sole judges of their own conduct, as well as to be the dictators of that of others. Their pretensions were utterly incompatible with political freedom, and were the old and intolerable usurpations of the Church of Rome under a more odious and unsufferable form. This King James soon discovered to his sad experience, and the tenets which Melville and his associates introduced and advocated partly caused the ruin of his son.

Morton resigned the regency in the beginning of March 1578, and on the 8th of that month the King, though only in the twelfth year of his age, undertook the government in person, assisted by a Council selected by himself to manage the affairs of state. Those present at Stirling when James assumed the sceptre were the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Montrose, Caithness, Mar, and Eglinton, Lords Maxwell, Ogilvy, Herries, and Invermeath, the titular Bishops of Moray and Brechin, the Commendators of Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, and Newbattle, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, and George Buchanan. Four days afterwards, at another and more numerous meeting, when Morton obtained a formal discharge from his office of Regent, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, and the Titulars of Caithness, Moray, and Dunkeld, attended. The King's Council were chosen at a meeting held in Stirling Castle on the 24th of March, at which were present the King in person, the Earls of Argyle, Atholl, Montrose, Caithness, Rothes, and Glencairn, Lords Ruthven, Maxwell, Herries, Oliphant, Ogilvy, and Invermeath, Bishop Bothwell, and the Titulars of Caithness, Moray, Dunkeld, and Brechin, the Commendators of Dunfermline and Newbattle, George Buchanan, as Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Sir William Murray. It was then resolved to elect six of the nobility, and three of what was called the "Spiritual Estate," to "remain together for furthsetting of his Majesty's authority and administration of justice until the next Parliament." The six noblemen were the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Montrose, and Caithness, Lord Lindsay, and Lord Herries, and the three so called "spirituals" were the titular Bishop of Caithness, and the Commendators of Newbattle and Deer, with whom were associated Alexander Erskine of Logan. A certain number were selected to "be upon the Council when they were present," or when their "sove-

reign lord sent for them." These were the Earls of Angus, Mar, Rothes, Eglinton, Erroll, Glencairn, Menteith, Lords Maxwell, Ogilvy, Gray, Invermeath, Bishop Bothwell, and the Commandators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth.*

Morton's resignation of the regency was so far favourable to the Presbyterian party, that it enabled them to prosecute their schemes more vigorously, and to become bolder in their demands. Although unscrupulous in his general conduct, and apparently indifferent to religion, Morton had always supported the Reformation, and had materially advanced that ecclesiastical revolution by his powerful influence. He was the opponent of Presbyterian parity, but he supported the titular Episcopacy from worldly, selfish, and political motives. In the language of Dr Cook—" By his demission the adherents of Presbytery gained a vast accession of strength, and instead of having to fear the resistance of a vigorous Government, they were now certain that the State would be weakened by the formation of parties striving to engross the royal favour, and that amidst the contest of those parties, they might not only steadily pursue their object, but render concession to themselves essential for the stability of the throne."

This disposition was soon manifested in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 24th of April, a few weeks after Morton's demission of the regency. Andrew Melville was chosen Moderator, and as his party were now predominant none of the Titulars attended. It was resolved that " Bishops, and others bearing ecclesiastical functions, be called by their own names, or brethren, in time coming ;" and farther, that " no Bishops shall be elected or made hereafter before the next General Assembly, discharging all ministers and chapters to proceed anyways to election of Bishops in the meantime, under the pain of perpetual deprivation from their offices, and that this matter be proponed first in the next General Assembly, to be consulted what farther order shall be taken therewith." It was also ordered that no persons shall be collated to vacant parishes until the next General Assembly, and that even the King's presentation should be resisted. This direct interference with the prerogative of the Crown, and defiance of the Government, was followed by the nomination of Pont, Law-

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 115-119.

son, and Lindsay, to revise the copy of the new “*Polieie*” to be presented to the King; and a certain number were appointed “to concur and convene at such times appointed by the King and Council,” in the event of a conference being requested, at which, if such took place, they were to “reason also on the head of the ceremonies, and how far ministers may meddle with civil affairs, and if they may vote in Council or Parliament.* This last subject of discussion was levelled at the Titulars, who attended and voted at the meetings of the Privy Council.

In their usual inquisitorial manner, emboldened by the successful progress of their cause, they impeached the Earl of Atholl, the successor of Lord Glammis as Chancellor, who was killed in a street of Stirling in a squable on the 17th of March,† the Earls of Caithness and Eglinton, and Lord Ogilvy, as suspected Roman Catholics, and appointed Row and Lawson to admonish Atholl, and Craig and Duncanson to wait upon the others, to induce them to subscribe the “articles of the religion,” and to “participate the communion.” Atholl and Eglinton escaped the visitation of the “brethren,” by having left Edinburgh, but Caithness and Ogilvy readily answered the inquiries. The former requested to “see the articles of religion which he was desired to subscribe, and he should give his answer;” the latter declared that he had already done so, and he had communicated, but

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second*, p. 401, 408, 409.

† This nobleman is said to have been disposed to sanction some of Melville’s projects, but, says Crawford, “his main difficulty was, that Episcopacy could not be suppressed without sinking one of the three Estates of Parliament.” He wrote a letter to Beza on the subject of church government, in which he says—“Since every Church has its own pastor, and the power of pastors seems to be co-ordinate by the Christian institution, the question is, Whether the episcopal function is necessary for drawing these pastors into a Synod upon occasion, for ordaining pastors and for exercising the censure of the Church? or whether it is more eligible that the pastors managing upon terms of equality, and under the check of prelatic superiority, should elect persons into the ministry, with the consent of the patron and people, and likewise be empowered to censure, depose, &c. For keeping on the Bishops we have these two motives—First, the stiff and ungovernable temper of the people; the dealing with their stubbornness would in all likelihood be impracticable, were it not for the force of the episcopal character and jurisdiction. The other motive is, that by the ancient constitution of the realm nothing can pass in Parliament without the Bishops, who make the said third Estate. Now, to change this usage, and sink this Third, would be extremely dangerous.” *Crawford’s Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland*, folio, Edin. 1726, p. 133.

"if any man doubted his profession, he was content to subscribe the said articles, and to participate the supper of the Lord."

The next General Assembly of this year was held at Stirling on the 11th of June, probably to be near the King's residence, as we find them appointing a deputation to request the royal presence at one of their meetings. They soon proceeded to give their opinion on the order of "Bishops," and unanimously resolved that the act of the former Assembly "shall be extended for all times to come, ay and until the corruption of the estate of Bishops be utterly taken away, and that all Bishops already elected be required particularly to submit themselves to the General Assembly [of the Kirk] concerning the reformation of the corruption of that estate of Bishops [in their persons], which if they refuse, after admonitions, excommunication to proceed against them." The Titular of Dunblane was so mean as to proffer his submission. A report was given of the manner in which the King had received his copy of the "Policie," and the answer is described as "good and comfortable"—that "not only would he concur with the Kirk in all things that might advance the true religion, but also would be a procurator for the Kirk."*

But notwithstanding this denunciation of the episcopal office by the Presbyterian party in their Assembly, the Titular Bishops, with the exception of Graham of Dunblane, attended a meeting of the nobility and other Estates at Stirling Castle on the 12th of June, at the very time the Assembly was convened, and took their places as spiritual peers. At this meeting were the Titulars Adamson of St Andrews, Boyd of Glasgow, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, Stewart of Caithness, Campbell of Brechin, Cunningham of Aberdeen, Douglas of Moray, and Paton of Dunkeld, who are all recorded as if they had been canonically consecrated prelates, and are regularly associated with the nobility, the commendators of the abbeys, and the commissioners from the burghs.† This proves that it was the decided conviction of the Government at the time that no act was valid without the sanction of the Spiritual Estate, even though represented by men who were unordained persons, and merely laymen.

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 413, 414.

† Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 121.

All the before mentioned Titulars are repeatedly mentioned with the exception of Aberdeen. Mr David Cunningham, Sub-Dean of Glasgow, was nominated to that See in 1557 by the Regent Morton, to whom he had officiated as one of his chaplains. He is described as a “learned man, and of singular good qualities, but the times were so troublesome that he had not the occasion to shew himself, or do any good.” An account of his “consecration” is preserved by a contemporary diarist, who was reader of Aberdeen at the time. Bishop Gordon, the last Roman Catholic Prelate retained the See, by the interest of his relatives the Huntly Family, till his death on the 6th of August 1577. “On Monday the 11th day of November, the year of God 1577, Master David Cunyng-hame, son to the Laird of Cunynghameheid, was consecrat Bishop of Aberdeen in the kirk by Master Patrick Constance [Adamson] Bischop of Saint Andrews, who made the sermon. Master John Craig, minister of Aberdeen, and Master Andrew Strachan, minister [place not stated] collaters, and that in presence of the whole congregation of Aberdeen, with others of the country present for the time.”*

The first Parliament of James VI., after his assumption of the government, was held on the 15th of July following, and among the several Acts passed, those connected with ecclesiastical affairs studiously omit any notice of the bold proceedings of the two former General Assemblies in which the Titular Episcopacy was declared to be abolished, and superseded by the Genevan or Presbyterian parity. The third Act, entitled the “Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk of God and religion,” consists of only a few lines, declaring that the King, with advice of his *Three Estates* of Parliament, including thereby the Titular Bishops, ratified and approved “all and whatsoever Acts of Parliament, Statutes, and

* The Chronicle of Aberdeen from 1491 to 1593, by Walter Cullen, Vicar of Aberdeen, in the “Spalding Club Miscellany,” vol. ii. p. 46, 47. In the Editor’s Preface it is stated that this account is, “though brief, not without interest, as the only notice which, so far as the Editor knows, has been preserved of the forms used in the installement of the Titular Bishops in Scotland between the year 1572 and the year 1606.” To this it may be observed, that a much more minute account of such an “installement” is given in the “Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,” and in Richard Bannatyne’s “Memorialles,” which is laid before the reader in a previous part of this volume, in the case of Douglas, titular Archbishop of St Andrews. Adamson seems to have followed that form.

Constitutions passed and made before, agreeable to God's Word, for maintenance of the liberty of the true Kirk of God and religion now presently professed within this realm, and purity thereof." A commissioner was appointed to visit the Universities, and "reform such things as tended to superstition, idolatrie, and papistrie," and in this commission were the Titulars Adamson of St Andrews, Boyd of Glasgow, Cunningham of Aberdeen, Andrew Melville, Peter Young, Andrew Polwart, associated with the Earls of Lennox and Buchan, Lord Boyd, and other influential persons. In an Act for visiting the Hospitals, the Titulars are explicitly recognized as "Bishops." But the most important Act was connected with the "Book of the Policie of the Kirk," or Second Book of Discipline, which had been presented to the King and the Estates for approval by the General Assembly at the instance of the Melville party, demanding it "to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and have the strength of a law perpetually in all time coming." This production was read in presence of the Lords of the Articles, but the "many heads thereof being found of so great weight and consequence, that no resolution nor determination can be presently given therein," yet "our said Sovereign Lord and his *Three Estates* being most willing that the policy of the Kirk should be certain and established," appointed twenty-seven persons to compare the "foresaid Book, with certain treaties made before at Leith and Holyroodhouse, concerning the said policy," or any eighteen of them to convene at Stirling on the 18th of August. Among the twenty-seven specially nominated, were the Earls of Lennox and Buchan, and Lord Boyd, from the Privy Council; the Titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, for the "Bishops;" the Commandators of Newbattle, Dunfermline, and Deer, for the "Abbots;" three, one of whom was Erskine of Dun, for the lesser "Barons;" three for the burghs; and among those for the "ministry" occur the names of Arbuthnot, Lawson, Lindsay, Christison, and Row, as the more conspicuous, with whom were associated George Buchanan, Peter Young, and sundry lawyers connected with the Supreme Court.* Andrew Melville appears to have been purposely excluded as a person not likely to promote harmony at the meeting.

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 105.

Little is known of the proceedings of the parties appointed to confer on the "Policy," or rather to examine the Second Book of Discipline, than the fact they could not agree, the supporters of the rights of the Crown objecting to every apparent interference with its prerogatives.* Another General Assembly was held at Edinburgh on the 24th of October, for they convened no fewer than three such meetings in 1578, and the usual discussions ensued. At the request of the Assembly, the Chancellor, Atholl, the Earl of Montrose, Lords Seton and Lindsay, met them, and Mr David Ferguson, the Moderator, harangued those noblemen on the "care and studie the Kirk of God had taken to entertain and keep the purity of the sincere word of God unmixed with the invention of their own heads." He set forth that as "true religion is not able to continue nor endure long without a good discipline and policy," his friends had therein employed their "wit and study, and drawn forth of the pure fountains of God's word such a discipline [and policy] as is meet to remain within the Kirk, which they presented to the King's Majesty," by whose command commissioners were appointed to confer with certain of themselves, and the whole was again presented to the Lords of the Articles, with a request that the same might be ratified by law, but that as yet they had not succeeded. They therefore entreated their Lordships present to use their influence to procure the sanction of the King and Parliament to the Presbyterian system as developed in their Book of the "Policie and Discipline." The noblemen replied in general terms that some of them had openly professed the religion then sanctioned by law some years past, and that they were resolved to maintain the same, but that all other details must be referred to the King and Privy Council. With this answer they were compelled to be content.

The Titulars were also the objects of discussion. Adamson was enjoined to "remove the corruptions of the state of a Bishop in his own person," which meant that he was to renounce his title of Archbishop of St Andrews, under penalty of excommunication. He was absent, but the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they now simply designated *Mr James Boyd*, attended, and they de-

* Another meeting was held in December, of which Calderwood gives an account, but it is of no interest, and the result was unsatisfactory.

manded his "submission." The Titular had resolved to oppose them, and he replied in a written document. "First," he said, "I understand the name, office, and modest reverence borne to a Bishop to be lawful, and allowable by the Scriptures of God, and being elected by the Kirk and King to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful. As it respects my execution of that charge committed to me, I am content to endeavour at my uttermost ability to perform the same, and every point thereof, and to abide the honourable judgment of the Kirk from time to time of my offending by my duty, craving always a brotherly desire at their hands, seeing that the responsibility is weighty, and in the laying [any thing] to my charge, to be examined by the canon left by the Apostle to Timothy, (1 Timothy iii.) because that portion [of Scripture] was appointed to me at my receipt [induction], to understand therefrom the duties of a Bishop. As towards my living, rents, and other things granted by the Prince to me and my successors for the securing of that charge, I reckon the same lawful. As to my duty to the supreme magistrate, in assisting his Grace in Council or Parliament, being summoned thereto, I consider my position as a subject compells me to obey the same, and [that it is] no hurt but beneficial to the Kirk that some of our number are at the making of good laws and ordinances. In the doing whereof, I protest before God I intend never to do any thing but what I believe shall stand with the purity of the Scripture and a well reformed country, for a good part of the revenue I enjoy has been given for that cause."*

This defence of himself and his order by the Titular of Glasgow, which Dr Cook candidly admits was "moderate and judicious," was declared to be unsatisfactory, "no answer to the act," and he was ordered to consider the subject and to state the result in the afternoon. This he refused to do, and withdrew from the Assembly, "upon which," says Dr Cook, "a commission was given to Melville, and several of the most zealous of the Presbyterian faction, to urge his subscription to that act which required the complete submission of Bishops to the Assembly." Dr M'Crie denies that his hero Melville was connected with this commission to persecute the Titular of Glasgow, and alleges that

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 423.

Mr David Wemyss, minister of Glasgow, was the “only individual employed in this business.” Melville’s name does not indeed appear, and Wemyss undoubtedly gave in the Titular’s subscription or submission to the Assembly in 1579,* but Spottiswoode positively asserts the fact, and there is nothing improbable in the Archbishop’s narrative, the accuracy of which was well known at the time. To prevent any mistake or indulgence in the matter, they enacted—“ That they [the Titular Bishops] be content to be pastors and ministers of the flock. 2. That they usurp no criminal jurisdiction. 3. That they vote not in Parliament in name of the Kirk without permission from the Kirk. 4. That they take not up for the maintenance of their ambition and riotousness the emoluments of the Kirk which may sustain many pastors, the schools, and the poor, but be content with reasonable living according to their office. 5. That they claim not to themselves the titles of the Lords Temporal, neither usurp temporal jurisdiction, whereby they are abstracted from their office. 6. That they rule not above the particular elderships, but be subject to the same. 7. That they usurp not the power of the Presbyteries. 8. That they take no farther bounds of visitation than the Kirk committeth to them.”†

This terminated the proceedings of 1578, in which, notwithstanding all the exertions, fulminations, and pretensions of the Presbyterian party, the ratification of their “Policie” was carefully avoided by the Government. It now remains to offer a few observations on this said “Policie,” or the “Second Book of Discipline,” which was never sanctioned by Parliament, though it has been the great repository of reference by the Scottish Presbyterians in support of their projects and sentiments. This production is of course the theme of extravagant praise by the Presbyterian writers. In Dr Cook’s opinion, though he is astonished at the presumptuous claim of the compilers that “the whole of the scheme was not merely agreeable to the word of God, but expressly authorised and enjoined by divine authority,” and although he considers it at variance with the “very few incidental injunc-

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 434.

† *Ibid.* p. 425.

tions which are given by the sacred writers," yet Dr Cook must needs make a flourish in its favour, for he observes—" When we throw out of sight this radical error [that Presbyterianism is of divine authority !], from which so much evil afterwards arose, and examine the Polity upon its own merits, it may be admitted, even by those who turn the principle of divine institution against it, that there is much in it which is truly excellent, and many proofs of the vigorous and sound views of the persons by whom it was framed." And Dr M'Crie, who, as a Presbyterian Dissenting preacher, was thoroughly imbued with the bigotted prejudices of his sect, maintains that " the Second Book of Discipline was drawn up with great deliberation and care by persons who had studied the subject with much attention, and had leisure to digest their views. It is methodically arranged, and the propositions under each head are expressed with perspicuity, conciseness, and precision." But this Presbyterian Dissenting Doctor adopts a different view of its scriptural authority from his Presbyterian Established contemporary. The latter, we have seen, is " astonished" at the pretensions of its compilers, that the book is " agreeable to the word of God," or is " expressly authorized and enjoined by divine authority," and designates such claim as a " radical error ;" but Dr M'Crie is valiant in its defence :—" Its leading principles," he declares, " rest upon the express authority of the word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture—they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the Church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule.—It is a form of ecclesiastical polity, where practical utility has been proportional to the purity in which its principles have been maintained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland ; whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favorable opportunity of demanding its restoration ; and the principal secessions which have been made from the national Church [the Presbyterian Establishment] in this part of the kingdom [Scotland] have been stated, not in the way of dissent

from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles."*

Leaving the Presbyterians themselves to reconcile the different views of Dr Cook and Dr M'Crie, both eminent men, on the scriptural authority of the scheme of ecclesiastical polity set forth in the "Second Book of Discipline," from the "constitution" of which every true Churchman, in the proper sense of that term, must "dissent," the magniloquent phraseology and confident assumptions of Dr M'Crie must be understood and received in a very modified manner as mere flights of imagination. The laboured defence of Melville, in reply to Archbishop Spottiswoode's narrative, which follows the above-quoted declamatory rhetoric, is a proof that Dr M'Crie felt it necessary to defend his hero, and attempt the refutation of the serious charges, undeniably true, preferred against him by the Scottish Primate. The public conduct of Melville, the *Episcoporum Exactor*, the *Slinger-out of Bishops*, which his relative, the other Melville admits in his Diary he obtained as a soubriquet, will not stand the test of impartial investigation, even although "he was on all the committees employed in collecting materials for the Book of Polity, and in reducing them into form;" although "he was present at most of the conferences held on the subject with members of the Privy Council and Parliament," had a "principal share in all the discussions and debates that occurred both in private and public on the articles which were most keenly disputed and opposed; and subjected himself to great personal fatigue, and expence, and odium, during a series of years which were spent in completing the work, and in procuring its reception."† These are the mere characteristics of a zealous and indefatigable leader, who is resolved to achieve, if possible, a triumph over those from whom he thinks that he cannot run far enough or oppose when he thoroughly hates them, but have no connection with the real merits of the case. All this alleged bodily and mental exertion may be, and often has been, spent in a bad or questionable as in a good cause, and the pride of partizanship or leadership generally induces men to make many sacrifices. The narrative of Archbishop Spottis-

* Life of Andrew Melville, vol. i. p. 166, 171, 172.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 173.

woode, undeniably proved by collateral and subsequent evidence,* remains unanswered by Melville's defenders, and the Presbyterian polity which he put into form was a mere human invention or device, or, as Dr Cook calls it, a "radical error," when claiming as its warrant the high authority of Scripture. But some of the statements of Dr M'Crie, who may be considered the representative of the extreme Presbyterians, deserve a passing notice. He asserts that "the Second Book of Discipline has secured the lasting attachment of the people of Scotland," and this is declared in the face of the well known fact, that one-half of the people of Scotland know nothing about it, and nine-tenths of the other half never saw the said Book, or feel any interest in its details. Dr M'Crie alleges that whenever the said Book "has been wrested from them by violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restitution." Now, every reader of history knows that when that exploit was achieved, the people were in rebellion against their lawful sovereign—that the Second Book of Discipline was not even mentioned at and after their Glasgow General Assembly of 1638; and if the Presbyterians can exult over the atrocities their predecessors perpetrated at that unhappy period, which led to the murder of their sovereign, they may well be viewed as the enemies of order and as the defenders of insurrection. Dr M'Crie farther boasts that the Second Book of Discipline "is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly dominion on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule"—that "it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation," preserving "that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ," and that "it encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities." Yet the Government of the rude age in which it was compiled shrank from recognizing in any way this boasted palladium, and the history of the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, from 1834 to 1843, is a triumphant refutation of Dr M'Crie's statements, which are proved to be mere opinions, at variance with dissensions which have occurred, and which threaten a war of extermination between two parties whose feuds and dissensions are unhappily notorious.

* History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 275.

That the Second Book of Discipline contains many fundamental truths is not to be denied ; but most of sects hold some essential principles in common with the Church Catholic from which they have separated, and if Protestants choose to deny every fundamental truth which even the Romanists believe, obscured though it may be by their own inventions, they must of necessity altogether reject Christianity. Much, too, is said by the Presbyterian writers about the time and trouble employed in the compilation of the Second Book of Discipline, and of the learning and research it evinces. It is considered a wonderful production—a *magnus opus*—a prodigy of theological erudition. But any one who carefully examines it will form a much more moderate estimate of its merits. A considerable portion of it is very nearly the same with the First Book of Discipline, and many parts of it are derived from the outline in the “Form of Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments used in the English Congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and learned man John Calvin,” printed first at Geneva in 1558.* The Book consists of thirteen chapters, divided into various sections ; but as the Presbyterian system of parity is now well understood, and prevails among Independents, Methodists, and other sects, it is unnecessary to enter into minute details. The whole is a compilation framed on human principles by unauthorized men, who interpreted the Scriptures to suit their own principles. It commences by drawing the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power—a distinction in many cases remarkably intricate, and one which has been often made the agent of rebellion in Scotland, and dogmatical resistance to the constituted law. It sets forth a separate and independent power to be vested in themselves, who were to be the sole judges of what is civil and ecclesiastical, and who, under the pretence of discipline, were to domineer over all magistrates if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion. The entire compilation is framed on the assumption, that no other religious system was to be ever tolerated in Scotland but their own. Of course the episcopate is denounced, and the name of Bishop is declared to be synonymous with pastor or minister. The whole platform of Presbyterian polity is developed in the institution of Presbyteries and Provincial Synods under

* This tractate was represented at London in 1613, and comprises, including the title-page and preface, forty quarto pages.

the controul of the General Assembly. One peculiarity is connected with what they designated the “ordinary call to enter on the ministry.” In the First Book of Discipline the imposition of hands at ordination was declared unnecessary, and ordered to be discontinued. It was accordingly never observed by Knox and the other compilers of that work; but in the Second Book of Discipline it was enjoined to be restored, and always to be practised. It occurs in the eleventh and twelfth sections of the third chapter, entitled—“How the persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are admitted to their Offices.” They declare that “ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed of God and his Kirk, after he be well tried and found qualified. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, prayer, and *imposition of hands of the eldership.*” By the word *eldership* they mean the Presbytery, not the functionaries commonly known as *elders* in Scotland, whose duties and office are defined in the sixth and seventh chapters. And though the Second Book of Discipline was, as already observed, never ratified by law, from about this period may be dated the commencement of the present system of Presbyterian ordination, for the compilers acted upon it in their own way, and considered it binding on themselves. This, then, is the sole origin of “ordination” in the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, and among the Seceders, Cameronians, and other Presbyterian Dissenters—enjoined by unauthorized men, and practised by their unauthorized followers.

In tracing the history of the introduction of Presbyterianism into Scotland, we find numerous instances of the melancholy effects of human passions, prejudices, and errors. Although Melville, notwithstanding the assertions of Dr M'Crie, was the first importer of the Genevan system, it cannot be denied that the seeds of it were sown before his arrival, and that they only required a husbandman like him to take advantage of them as they sprung up, and bring them to maturity. From the framing of the First Book of Discipline down to the compilation of the Second, a period of about eighteen years, the “contendings” of the Reformed preachers were against the “Pope’s Bishops,” not against the episcopal order in general, for we have seen that they willingly recognized the Bishops of England as true Prelates, and even addressed them as their “Brethren.” But we must now view the

Melville party as endeavouring to carry out their principles to the utmost extent, not as carrying on a warfare against the mere Titular Episcopate, which in itself was as worthless as their own, but against the apostolical constitution of the Church, and maintaining a system in which all are masters. And as to their Second Book of Discipline, what after all is it? A mere stringing together of their opinions about their "Policy," while nothing is mentioned of the doctrines of the gospel, and not a word introduced referring to the great and saving truths of Christianity, in which the people were to be instructed. They left out the "weightier matters"—"temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come," and contended solely for their own supremacy, with an arrogance, dogmatism, and presumption, which would not have been tolerated for a moment in any other than a kingdom such as Scotland then was—rent by faction, civil discord, political intrigue, and private hatred.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

THE unfortunate Titular of Glasgow, consigned to the tender mercies of Mr Andrew Melville and others, was now to experience the persecution which Adamson, his brother Titular of St Andrews, had long suffered. Melville peremptorily demanded Boyd's submission to the General Assembly, and being then depressed by domestic grief and bodily suffering he pacified his tormentor by compliance. The ingratitude of Melville in this business, and as manifested in his general conduct, is admitted by Presbyterian writers. Boyd, says Dr Cook, “had been his friend and his patron : he had placed him in the University of Glasgow, and bestowed on him many favours ; but although Melville treated him in private with the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him, and he invaded his retirement, when a feeling mind should have regarded that retirement as sacred.” Though Wodrow endeavours to vindicate Melville, and, omitting the harsh manner by which he obtained the Titular’s submission, rests his defence on the allegation that Boyd was not the chief instrument of bringing Melville to Glasgow—a statement contradicted by the other Melville in his Diary—the narrative of Spottiswoode is too important to be set aside. “Nothing,” says the Archbishop, “did more grieve him [the titular Archbishop Boyd] than the ingratitude of Mr Andrew Melville, and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the College, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private and at the Bishop’s table, to

which he was ever welcome, no man did ever use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but in the public meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his own name, and use him most uncivilly." Dr M'Crie's apology for Melville's conduct is most extraordinary. After stating that "some of these charges are ridiculous and childish, and the rest are false and calumnious," and that "the allusion to Melville partaking of the Archbishop's hospitality is utterly unworthy of a reply," we are favoured with the following "deliverance" in the regular Presbyterian style of the sect to which the author belonged—"What is said as to the episcopal titles is absurd as well as puerile. There was an act of Assembly directing that the Bishops should be addressed by the same titles as other ministers. In obedience to this act, and in common with all his brethren, Melville observed the rule in the public meetings of the Church; but he did not think that the Assembly intended to interfere with the ordinary civilities of life, and accordingly made no scruple of giving the Bishop his usual titles in private intercourse." A more degrading explanation of Melville's conduct could not have emanated even from an enemy. According to this logic he added private insult to public courtesy, or he chose when at the Titular's table completely to gainsay his avowed principles for the pleasures of appetite. The testimony of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, the Titular's son, to the "inviolable friendship" between his father and Melville has nothing to do with the matter. That friendship is admitted; but the charge against Melville is ingratitude and hypocrisy.

In the spring of 1579 Melville and his party induced the magistrates of Glasgow to meditate the demolition of the cathedral in that city; but this is also denied by Dr M'Crie, because the "statement rests solely on the authority of Bishop Spottiswoode." "I never," says the Doctor, "met with any thing in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised their demolition on this ground." It will be observed that this is in direct opposition to Dr M'Crie's recorded opinions on cathedrals in his Life of John Knox. As to cathedral churches, the Presbyterian party at that time were

not afflicted by such eye-sores ; for the whole of them, with the exception of Glasgow and Kirkwall, had been dilapidated by the so called Reformers in the time of Knox. But why object to it because it rests “ solely upon the authority of Spottiswoode ? ” He was Archbishop of the See before his translation to St Andrews, and must have known the history of the affair, which is noticed in all the local annals of Glasgow, and it is generally allowed that the massive structure was saved only by the interference of the incorporated trades, who, when the workmen collected for the purpose were marched to destroy the church by beat of drum, “ took arms,” says the Archbishop, “ swearing with many oaths that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it.”

The proceedings of the Presbyterian party in the three General Assemblies of 1578 against the Titular Prelates, and in favour of their own system, attracted the notice of the Government, and in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 7th of July 1579, a letter from the King was read, requesting them to maintain the “ policy” then protected by the State, and during his minority both to conduct themselves peaceably, and to yield due obedience to their sovereign. His Majesty desired that they would not interfere with matters neither sanctioned by the law nor received in practice, reminding them that the meeting of Parliament was approaching when the whole question of the Church Government would be considered, and intimating that if they persisted in any other course, some among them, “ over busy to wish the contrary effects, may find themselves disappointed.” The royal letter was pronounced unsatisfactory, and as they chose to set it at defiance, James became from this date, young as he then was, strongly prejudiced against the Presbyterians. They summoned the Titular of St Andrews to appear before them in Edinburgh “ at a reasonable day,” to answer various charges, especially his delaying “ to remove the corruptions of the state of Bishops in his own person,” to which they were the more emboldened by the submission of the Titular of Glasgow, which was produced by Mr David Wemyss, subscribed by himself on the 8th of June preceding. They concluded their proceedings by addressing a long letter to the King, in which, among other matters, they intimated to him the publication of the first printed edition of the Bible in Scotland by Alexander Arbuthnot, from the English translation made at

Geneva by “the godly men of the nation of England for the most part banished from their country for the gospel’s cause”—a statement which sufficiently indicates their sectarian predilections. They contrasted their “days of light, when almost in every private house the book of God’s law is read and understood in our vulgar language, and the age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city, without the cloisters of monks and friars, could the book of God once be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarity, used and read by few, and almost understood and expounded by none ; and when the false-named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of your Highness’ most noble grandsire of worthy memory [James V.], made it a capital crime, to be punished with the fire, to have or read the New Testament, in the vulgar language ; yea, and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a preposterous sect, they were named New Testamenters.” They reminded James of the favourable manner in which he had at first received the “Book of the Policie of the Kirk,” when he assumed the government, and entreated him to sanction it that their labours might not be lost, “whatsoever hath been bestowed therein.” The state of the times is then set forth—the “manifest corruption of our lives in all estates, and licentious and godless living of the multitude, the impurity of some, and wickedness, the cruel and unnatural murders, heinous and detestable incests, adulteries, sorceries, and many such like enormities, with the oppression and contempt of the poor, almost universal corruption of justice and judgment, and many other evils which overflow this commonwealth, bear evident witness how slender and small success hath hitherto followed the reformation of religion within this realm.” After this very extraordinary admission of the almost total failure of their teaching and preaching to improve the people for nearly twenty years, they wander into their usual field of controversy, their dearly beloved Genevan “Policy,” which in their opinion was superior to the most fundamental principles of the Church, and request the King to establish it throughout the kingdom, reminding him of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, Hezekiah, the “great Constantine,” the “gentle Gratian,” the “godly Theodosius,” and “such others, to be worthy of eternal memory and commendation.”*

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 441-448.

The effect of this Genevan homily on the young King is not stated. This General Assembly was dissolved on the 10th of July, and the ensuing one appointed to be held at Dundee on the 12th of July 1580. The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 20th of October 1579, and notwithstanding the fulminations of the Presbyterian faction, the Titulars of St Andrews, Orkney, and Brechin, who are styled “reverend and venerable fathers in Christ,” attended the first day as spiritual peers. The Titular of Caithness was also present, but as he had now succeeded as sixth Earl of Lennox he is noticed as such, and he obtained a confirmation of his infestment in that Earldom from this Parliament. On the third day of the meeting they were joined by the Titular Prelates of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Moray, and fifteen of the “Abbots” or commendators were present. The Lords of the Articles were that day chosen, and the parties were the Titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Orkney, the Commendators of Dunfermline, Newbattle, Deer, Culross, and St Colm, the Earls of Morton, Argyll, then Chancellor, Lennox, Montrose, Rothes, Eglinton, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Herries, and nine gentlemen from the representatives of the burghs. On the fourth day of the meeting, at which the King was present, the six Titulars duly attended. The Estates refused to ratify the Second Book of Discipline, so that Melville and his friends were again mortified by its rejection, but they passed two acts, the one “Anent the true and Haly Kirk,” and the other “Anent the jurisdiction of the Kirk.” The former ratified all previous acts, and defined the “only true and Haly Kirk of Jesus Christ within the realm” to be that based on the Confession of 1560; the latter declared the “jurisdiction of the Kirk” to be that which “consists and stands in the preaching of the true word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the holy sacraments,” and that “there is no other face of Kirk nor other face of religion than is presently by the favour of God established within this realm.” A committee was appointed to meet at Edinburgh on the 11th of April 1580, and to report to the King and three Estates what “other special points should appertain to the jurisdiction, privilege, and authority” of the said Kirk. The persons nominated were the Earls of Morton, Argyll, Rothes, and Buchan, the titular Archbishop Adamson of St Andrews, the Commendators of Dunfermline, Newbattle, Deer, and Culross,

Erskine of Dun, Spottiswoode and Craig, Lawson and Lindsay, as "ministers," with Alexander Hay, Clerk Register.*

It will thus be seen that the Parliament considered the Titular Episcopate to be strictly legal, and paid no attention to the remonstrances, petitions, and denunciations of the Presbyterian party. The favourite "Book of Policie," the so much boasted labour of years and display of learning, was not even discussed. This must have been humiliating to the pride of Melville, who saw his exertions baffled, and his Genevan parity disregarded. An act was passed by this Parliament, entitled "Ratification of the Reformation of the University of St Andrews," the object of which was "to visit and consider the foundations, to remove all superstitions and papistry, to displace unqualified persons, and plant worthy and qualified in their stead, to redress the form of studies and teaching by more or fewer professors, and generally to establish such order in that University as shall most tend to the glory of God, profit of this commonwealth, and good up-bringing of the youth in sciences needful for continuing of the true religion to all posterity." But in that act the General Assembly was not even mentioned, and it was declared that "the election of qualified persons [professors] shall from this forth *pertain to the Bishop of St Andrews.*" A commission was appointed, among whom were the King's grand-uncle the Earl of Lennox, who was commendator of the Abbey of St Andrews, *Patrick Archbishop of St Andrews*, Erskine of Dun, and Winram, who was still designated Prior of Portnoak, authorizing them conjunctly, or any three of them, to take cognizance of the present ministers and members of the said University.†

An act was also passed by this Parliament which significantly delineates the morals of the people, and the lamentable failure of the religious instruction as imparted by the Reformed preachers to improve them. We have seen that the Presbyterian party themselves acknowledged in their letter to the King the "slender and small success which hitherto followed the reformation of religion within this realm,"‡ and it could not be otherwise, when it is recollect ed that they occupied their time in discussions about their "Policie,"

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 121, 127, 128, 129, 137, 138.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 178-182.

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 447.

questions concerning marriage, divorce, and other matters of gross indelicacy. The act alluded to is entitled “Discharging of markets and labouring on Sundays, or playing and drinking in time of sermon,” but it is fair to state that the practices to which it alludes had been occasionally matter of complaint in the General Assemblies. It refers to an act passed in the reign of James IV. prohibiting the holding of markets and fairs on holidays, or within the church or churchyard. This act, which had fallen into disuse, was ratified and confirmed in the following manner:—“And seeing that the Sabbath days are now commonly violated and broken, as well within burgh as to landward [in town and country], to the great dishonour of God, by holding and keeping the said markets and fairs on Sundays, using of hand labour, and working thereon, as on the remaining days of the week, by gaming and playing, passing to taverns and alehouses, remaining from the parish kirk in time of sermon or prayers on the Sundays,” the holding of markets on these days, or any other [holiday], in the churches, or within the churchyards, was prohibited under the penalty of confiscation of the goods for the use of the poor of the parish. All labouring was to be punished by a fine of ten shillings Scots, or ninepence sterling in the case of a poor person; and those guilty of gambling, drinking in taverns and alehouses, and wilful absence from the parish church, were to be amerced in the sum of twenty shillings Scots, to be assigned to the poor of the parish, and if they refused or were unable to pay the fines, they were ordered to be placed in the stocks, or “such other engine devised for public punishment,” for twenty-four hours.* Another act was passed which distinctly recognised the Titular Episcopate. A complaint had been transmitted to the King by the last General Assembly respecting the prevalent practice of educating the youth of the upper classes abroad, by which they were in danger of attaching themselves to the “Pope’s Kirk.” It was enacted that all such shall obtain the royal sanction for their departure, and within twenty days after their return they were to repair to the *Bishop*, Superintendent, or commissioner of the Kirk, within whose bounds they resided, and make “confession of their faith according to the true religion established in the realm.”

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 138.

In September 1579, a young nobleman arrived in Scotland who soon became the intimate favourite of the King, and the most amiable of that class of royal companions, but who subsequently encountered the unmitigated opposition and abuse of the Presbyterian party on the supposition that he was a Roman Catholic, simply because he had been educated in that system, and was related to the House of Guise. This was Esme Stuart, Lord Aubigny in France, son of John Lord Aubigny, a younger son of John third Earl of Lennox, the grandfather of Lord Darnley, and consequently the great grand-father of the King. James received his accomplished relative with the utmost kindness, and made no secret of his partiality. He induced his grand-uncle, the Titular of Caithness, to resign the Earldom of Lennox for that of March in October following the arrival of Lord Aubigny, who was created Earl of Lennox, and invested with the revenues of the Abbey of Arbroath, which had devolved to the Crown by the forfeiture of Lord John Hamilton. Lord Aubigny was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Lennox in 1581. This nobleman, either from conviction or policy, embraced the Reformed religion soon after his arrival in Scotland, by a public profession thereof in St Giles' church at Edinburgh, participating in the Sacrament, and subscribing the Confession of 1560 at Stirling. But this was not considered satisfactory by the Presbyterian party, and the rapid advancement of a foreigner afforded them a favourable pretext for exciting a clamour that the King's religious principles would be perverted. Some dispensations from Rome, real or pretended, were accidentally discovered, permitting those who held them to swear and subscribe whatever should be required, if they diligently advanced in secret the Roman Catholic faith. James, young as he was, perceived the mischief which might be occasioned by these misrepresentations, and caused John Craig, who was now admitted as a kind of chaplain to the royal household, to compose a Confession of Faith, to satisfy his subjects that the charges against him and Lennox were groundless. The original, with all the signatures, is preserved, written on parchment, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh,* and is entitled "Ane Short and Generall

* It is endorsed—" Covenant subscryved by King James of worthie memorie and his Household, 28 Jan. 1580, sent frome Somer, in France, by Monsieur [name obliterated] to my Lord Scotstarvet, Aug. 1641." It is printed in the "Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland," Part Second, Bannatyn Club, p. 515, 518.

Confession of the true Christian Faith, according to God's Word and Acts of our Parliament, subscribed by the King's Majesty and Household, with sundrie others, to the glorie of God, and good example of all men," on the 28th of January, and confirmed at Holyroodhouse on the second of March 1589-90. It chiefly consists of a fierce tirade against the Pope, and the doctrines, ceremonies, and practices of the Church of Rome, expressed in the most unmeasured language of vituperation. It was signed by the King, Lennox, Morton, Argyll, Ruthven, and the whole of the Privy Council. The only Titular who subscribed was the ex-Earl of Lennox, who merely adhibits his name, Robert Stewart, omitting his assumed title of Bishop of Caithness. A gentleman named Borthwick adds to his signature "with hand and heart."

Two General Assemblies were held in 1580, the one commencing on the 12th of July at Dundee, at which the Laird of Lundie was present as the representative of the King, and the other at Edinburgh on the 20th of October. In the former the usual complaints were brought against the episcopal function in general, and particularly against the Titulars of Moray, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. Graham, the Titular of Dunblane, submitted himself to their authority and direction. The "office of a Bishop" was again denounced, and the Titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray, were respectively ordered to appear before a Synodal Assembly, to be held in St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Elgin, on the 18th of August, and if they refused they were to be summoned before the next General Assembly. The Titulars of Brechin, Argyll, Orkney, Caithness, and The Isles, were also ordered to attend that Assembly, to "answer such things as shall be inquired of them." Certain articles were drawn up for the consideration of the King and Privy Council, one of which was that the "Book of the Policie may be established by an Act of the Privy Council, until a Parliament be had, at which time it may be confirmed." Esme Earl of Lennox endeavoured to propitiate the Presbyterian party, by addressing a letter to this Assembly, setting forth his gratitude to divine mercy for his safe arrival in Scotland, and that he had been "called to the knowledge of salvation since he came into the land"—that "though he had made an open declaration" to this effect in Edinburgh, and subscribed the Confession of his faith at Stirling, he thought it his duty to "make them a free and humble

offer of due obedience, and to receive them well in any thing it shall please them," assuring them that he would "always be ready to perform the same with all humility."

In the other General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 20th of October that year, it is recorded that the Titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray, did not appear when called on the second day. The proceedings on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and part of the seventh sittings are not recorded, several leaves of the original register having been torn out in 1584. Probably this explains the charge preferred against the titular Archbishop Adamson by John Row, that he mutilated the Register of the General Assembly. Some submission must have been tendered by the titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, and The Isles, for those of Moray, Aberdeen, Caithness, and Brechin, especially the two latter, were summoned to appear in the next General Assembly, and conform to the example of the others. The same was intimated to Bothwell of Orkney. Adamson of St Andrews is mentioned, though not in his titular capacity, as personally present. He was nominated to act with several on a matter connected with that University, and also to confer with the King on some of their demands. Andrew Melville was ordered, against his own inclination according to his nephew,* to resign his office of Principal and Professor in the University of Glasgow in favour of Mr Thomas Smeaton, and remove to St Andrews, "to begin the work of theology there with such as he thought fit to take with him to that effect." Probably the most important statement in the records of this meeting is the order to divide the kingdom into Presbyteries, and to report to the next Assembly.

Melville was admitted to his new office in the University of St Andrews in December that year. He was cordially received by the titular Archbishop, who, says James Melville, "resorted to our lessons, and kept familiar friendship with Mr Andrew, promising what could lie in him for the welfare of that work. He had taken himself to the University of St Andrews, and taught twice in the week exceeding sweetly and eloquently."[†] This testimony, which is that of an avowed enemy, is honourable to Adamson's character. It is even stated that Andrew Melville often

* James Melville's Diary, printed for the Wodrow Society, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1842, p. 83.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 85.

preached for him when he was absent. They were so intimate that Melville borrowed a horse from the Titular, to enable him to attend the General Assembly held at Glasgow on the 24th of April 1581, which is an additional proof of Adamson's good nature, for he knew well that the "platform of Presbytery" was to be ratified on that occasion chiefly by the instigation of Melville.

This General Assembly is noted as the first in which the Presbyterian system, as subsequently known in Scotland, was developed. It was reported that exclusive of the Dioceses of Argyll and The Isles, the rentals of which had been seized by the Earl of Argyll after the Reformation, Scotland contained about nine hundred and twenty-four churches, some of which were "pendicles," probably chapelries, and many of them were in ruins. Sundry of the parishes were also declared to be too large for the convenient resort of the inhabitants to the churches. It was proposed to reduce the number of parish churches to six hundred, in every one of which was to be a minister, and the stipends were to be paid as follows:—One hundred at 500 merks each, two hundred at 300 merks, two hundred at L.100, and one hundred at 100 merks, or "somewhat more or less." These six hundred parishes were to be divided into fifty Presbyteries, twelve, or "thereabouts" to form a Presbytery; three of those Presbyteries, or "more or fewer, as the country lies, to make a Diocese;" a certain number of Presbyteries were to form a Synod, and the members sent by those Synods were proposed to constitute the General Assemblies. A form of the "Dioceses" and Presbyteries was drawn up in the following order:—Orkney, to consist of the Presbyteries of Tingwall and Kirkwall; Caithness—Wick and Dornoch; Edinburgh—Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling; Haddington, to comprise Haddington and Dunbar; Ross—Chanonrie, Tain, and Dingwall; Moray—Forres, Elgin, and Inverness; Banff—Banff, Deer, and Kildrummie; Aberdeen—Aberdeen, Inverury, and Kincardine O'Neil; Angus—Dundee, Kirriemuir, and Kettins; Mearns—Bervie and Fordoun; Dunkeld—Perth, Dunkeld, and Crieff; St Andrews—St Andrews, Falkland, and Dunfermline; Jedburgh—Chirnside, Dunse, Kelso, and Jedburgh; Peebles—Melrose, Peebles, and Biggar; Glasgow—Lanark, Glasgow, and Dunbarton; Ayr—Ayr, Irvine, Maybole, and Colmonell; Galloway—Whithorn and Kirkeudbright; Dumfries—Dumfries,

Penpont, Lochmaben, and Annan; in all, eighteen Synods or "Dioceses," and fifty-three Presbyteries.*

Such was the outline of the Presbyterian division of Scotland submitted to the General Assembly, to enable him to be present at which in proper time Melville borrowed a horse from the titular Archbishop Adamson. As the time was too limited to take the whole into consideration, it was unanimously resolved that an experiment should be made—"ane beginning be had of the Presbyteries instantly"—and the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Haddington, Dunbar, Chirnside, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, St Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Stirling, Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine, were ordered to be constituted, but to most of them more than double the proposed twelve parishes were allotted. A certain number of persons were appointed to see those Presbyteries constituted before the ensuing May, and it is curious to find among them the names and titles of the Titulars of Glasgow and Dunblane. The only other transaction worthy of notice in this Assembly was connected with their "Policie," or Second Book of Discipline. Having failed to obtain a ratification of it by the King and Parliament, they ordered it to be recorded in their registers, in the "Acts of the Kirk, and to remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and copies thereof to be taken to every Presbytery." In this position the Second Book of Discipline still continues. The Confession of Faith, already mentioned as signed by the King and Privy Council, was unanimously declared to be "ane true and Christian Confession." James Melville describes it as "most notable," but he alleges as a reason for not inserting it in his Diary that copies were in the dwellings and hands of all.†

The King and the Lords of Secret Council offered no opposition to this new division of the kingdom into Presbyteries, as appears from their declaration on the 9th of May 1581, in which "the King's Majesty, with advice of the Lords of the Secret Council," finding that the spurious ecclesiastical polity would not be permanent, appointed commissioners to attend to the business.‡ They evidently resolved to carry into effect their own measures, in defiance of the General Assembly, the Second Book of Discipline,

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 480, 481, 482.

† James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 87.

‡ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 519, 520, 521.

and the Presbyterian leaders. It was soon apparent that they had no intention of abandoning the Titular Episcopacy. Boyd, often mentioned as the titular Archbishop of Glasgow, died in 1581, and a successor to him was soon found in the person of Mr Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, who is accused of consenting to become the tool of the Duke of Lennox, who was to receive, for the payment of a small allowance annually, the whole revenues of the Archbischopric. The melancholy downfall and fate of one prominent personage in the drama of those times may be here noticed. The Earl of Morton, during whose Regency, and by whose influence, the Titular Episcopate was established, had fallen on the scaffold on the 2d of June that year, the victim of his own crimes, but chiefly of the hatred of one of the most unprincipled adventurers of that age, the notorious James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, second son of Andrew Lord Ochiltree, whose mother was the only daughter of James first Earl of Arran. This person, who had served in the Army of the States of Holland against the Spaniards, and was known by the title of "Captain" Stewart, returned to Scotland in 1579, and having obtained the favour of James VI., who appointed him to various offices, he commenced a fierce opposition to the Earl of Morton, against whom he preferred an accusation before the King in Council, in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, on the 30th of December 1580, of being accessory to the murder of Lord Darnley, the King's father, for which the Earl was tried and beheaded at Edinburgh by the instrument which he is said to have introduced, and well known as the *Maiden*. Stewart was a few months afterwards created Earl of Arran, and as such he is often mentioned in Scottish history, though the title was restored to the Hamilton Family in 1585, to whom it belonged. In 1596, when he was unexpectedly attacked near Douglas in Lanarkshire by Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, the nephew of Morton, who had long resolved to avenge the rigorous proceedings against his uncle, and killed him on the spot.

The titular Archbischopric of Glasgow was thus vacant by the death of Boyd in June 1581, but the See was no more than nominally vacant as it respects the temporalities, all of which were restored in 1588 by King James and the Parliament to Archbiishop Beaton, who acted as ambassador at Paris, and enjoyed them till his death in 1603, having survived the Reformation, from the

effects of which he fled to the Continent, nearly forty-three years. The appointment of Montgomery as Titular was a very extraordinary transaction, and on his part sufficiently unprincipled. The See was placed by the King at the disposal of his favourite the Duke of Lennox, who offered it to various preachers, on the condition of contenting themselves with an annual pension, and assigning to him the revenues. Montgomery, whose position as minister of Stirling made him well known to the Court, was induced to comply with the terms of the Duke of Lennox, who is accused "by Guisian counsel and direction of having pressed the restoring of the estate of Bishops."^{*} It is admitted by Bishop Keith that "Mr Montgomery gave bond that he should dispone to this Duke and his heirs the income of his See, how soon he should be admitted Bishop, for the yearly payment of L.1000 Scots, with some horse-corn and poultry."[†] This "vile bargain," as Archbishop Spottiswoode justly terms it, sanctioned by the influence of the Court, was a regular declaration against the Presbyterian party, and excited much popular clamour. Of Montgomery personally nothing is known, except that his name occurs as present at several General Assemblies, that he was in the habit of defending the sentiments of Melville, and had proposed to censure certain of the preachers who solicited an explanation of the Acts passed in the General Assemblies, which set forth that "the office of a Bishop was not warranted by the word of God."

It was now resolved to make another grand attack on the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the alleged simony committed by Montgomery, though the disgraceful transaction could scarcely be considered as such, because he was not in holy orders, and could not by any possibility be a properly consecrated Bishop. The General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October 1581 discussed both subjects. At the opening "the whole Bishops being called, none was present but Dunblane." After arranging sundry of their own affairs respecting the "platt," as they designated their scheme of the formation of a certain number of parishes into Presbyteries, a message from the King was communicated to them about the admission of Montgomery, to which they delayed

* James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 118.

† Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, edited by Bishop Russell, p. 261, 262.

an answer, and “ charged the said Mr Robert not to depart till this Assembly be dissolved.” On the fifth of their sittings certain commissioners from the King wished to be informed on the important point affecting the legal constitution of the Parliaments. “ If,” they asked, “ the office of Bishops was to be condemned, to which temporal jurisdiction was also annexed, such as voting in Parliament, assisting at the Privy Council, and defraying part of the taxation, what reason could be adduced to shew that the King could lawfully abolish the episcopal estate?” A committee of ministers and gentlemen were appointed to consider this question, which “ the Assembly thought very weighty and of great consequence,” and on the following day they reported that “ after long reasoning that they had agreed thus far, that, touching voting in Parliament and assisting in Council, commissioners from the general Kirk should supply the place of Bishops,” and that the heritable bailies could “ exercise the civil and criminal jurisdiction anent the office of Bishops.” This crafty attempt to obtain power and influence, which was sanctioned by Andrew Melville, Pont, and others of the preachers, was favourably received, and the “ judgment of their brethren allowed.” In the case of Montgomery the King declared that he was willing to allow them to inquire into his life and doctrine, and Andrew Melville three days afterwards produced sixteen charges against him, which he was ordered to answer in “ write” on a certain day.

Some of these charges are curious, and evince the determination of the Presbyterian party to render Montgomery obnoxious. The first was that in a public sermon at Stirling he discussed the circumcision of women, and concluded by stating as his opinion that the operation was performed on the “ skin of their forehead.” 2. He maintained openly in Glasgow that the discipline of the Kirk was a matter of no importance. 4. He alleged that the [Presbyterian] ministers used fallacious and captious arguments, and were men of “ curious brains.” 5. That he spoke contemptuously of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and tauntingly asked in what school Peter and Paul graduated. 8. That he had designated the “ lawful calling in the Kirk” and the Second Book of Discipline, “ trifles of policie.” 9. That he had accused the ministers of sedition. 11. That he denied the “ doctrine of Christ,” who pronounced that the most part are rebellious and perish. 12. He denied that in

the New Testament the presbytery or eldership was mentioned. The other charges were probably mere inventions of his opponents, and related to private scandals, gossiping conversations, and “negligence in doctrine.”

Melville was enjoined to produce his witnesses in support of the accusations against Montgomery, who had now withdrawn from the Assembly, and could not be found, though summoned by Mr Andrew Polwart at the house of a certain William Montgomery, probably a relative, where he lodged, and also in the Abbey of Holyrood. Eight persons were brought forward by Melville, one of whom was the titular Archbishop Adamson. They were all sworn and admitted, but as Montgomery was still absent, they nominated seven individuals, or any three of them, to examine him, and allowed Melville his own time for farther probation. After various proceedings in the matter, and having received the opinion of the King, to whom the leaders had sent the articles of accusation, that he was “content they had proceeded against him as a minister,” the “Brethren” of the newly constituted Presbytery of Stirling were authorized to summon Montgomery before them, to “try and examine his life and conversation, and accusations [to be] given thereanent, with all possible diligence,” and to report to the Synodal Assembly of Lothian, who were authorized to proceed against him. Meanwhile he was ordered to “continue in the ministry of the kirk of Stirling, and not to meddle with any other office or function in the Kirk, namely, in aspiring [or attempting] to the Bishopric of Glasgow, against the word of God and acts of the Kirk, or [to trouble or] vex any of his brethren to admit him thereto, under the pain of excommunication.”*

In this General Assembly Mr Walter Balcanqual, father of the celebrated Dr Walter Balcanqual, subsequently noticed, Master of the Savoy in 1617 and 1621, and in 1624 Dean of Rochester, prominently appears. He had attacked the Duke of Lennox in a sermon a few days before the meeting, and was alleged to have stated that “within these four years papistry had entered into the country, not only in the Court, but in the King’s hall, and was maintained by a great champion who is called [his] Grace, and if *his Grace* would oppose himself to God’s word he should have little grace.”

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 546, 547.

This gave great offence to the King and the Court, and a royal complaint was lodged against Mr Walter for his impudent freedom. In his defence he very craftily declared that the General Assembly were the only competent judges of the life and doctrine of ministers, and that he would submit himself “ simply to their godly judgments, always neither being ashamed of his doctrine, nor yet being inclined to give any advantage to his enemies, whose purpose against him he knows in this matter.” Farther—“ he will only require this condition, that the canon of the Apostle Paul be kept to him, which is, ‘ Against an elder receive no accusation, but under two or three witnesses.’”—“ Here,” quoth Balcanqual, “ are the Assembly of the Kirk, as competent judges for him ; here he is ready before your Wisdoms to answer all accusations that shall be laid against him, and underly your judgments thereunto. Let any man, therefore, according to the canon of the Apostle, which in no way you can break, stand up here before you, and say he has any thing to accuse the said Mr Walter of either in life or doctrine.” The result may be anticipated. The Assembly decided that “ seeing Mr Walter is an brother in the ministry, the canon of the Apostle must be kept unto him,” and they requested the King to produce witnesses. James declined to embroil himself with men who opposed and insulted him on every occasion, and they unanimously resolved that the sermon “ contained neither error, slander, nor just offence, but solid, good, and true doctrine.”*

James Melville states that after this Assembly the titular Archbishop Adamson subscribed the Second Book of Discipline, or the “ Policie,” at a dinner party in presence of his uncle Andrew Melville and others, “ which subscription,” he says, “ is yet in my uncle’s custody.” The truth of this may be doubted, when we find the same James Melville at the very time sneering at “ Mr Patrick Adamson, Bishop of St Andrews, a great councillor in these days,” accusing him of maintaining, among “ many other evil grounds,” that “ a Christian king should be chief governor of the Kirk, and behoved to have Bishops under him to hold all in order, conform to antiquity and most flourishing state of the Christian Kirk under the best Emperor Constantine ; and that the discipline of

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 528, 529, 543.

the Kirk of Scotland could not stand with a free kingdom and monarchy, such as his Majesty's in Scotland."*

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 24th of October, and the King attended in person. Though the General Assembly's sittings were continued several days afterwards no notice is taken of their proceedings. The Titulars of St Andrews, Orkney, and Brechin, appeared as "spiritual peers" on the fourth day of the Parliament, and were elected Lords of the Articles, with sundry "Abbots" and "Priors," noblemen, and commissioners from the principal towns. On the sixth day of the meeting all the acts of former Parliaments in favour of the "true Kirk of God and religion" were confirmed, but the Presbyterian polity was never mentioned. The Titulars were nominated members of a committee to regulate the temporalities of benefices, and an important act was passed relating to patronage—that "all benefices of cure under prelacies shall be presented by our Sovereign Lord and the lawful patrons in the favour of able and qualified ministers;" and "in case any shall happen to be given and disposed otherwise hereafter, decerns and declares the gifts and dispositions to be null and of no avail, force, or effect." This was followed by an act against blasphemy and other "horrible oaths," by which sundry fines, according to the rank of the offenders, were to be exacted, and the poor, who were unable to pay the lowest penalty, which was only eightpence Scots money, were to be put in the stocks or imprisoned. It is curious to find that "prelates" and "beneficed men in dignity ecclesiastic," are enumerated among those who were supposed likely to offend, the former of whom were placed in the same rank with the nobility, and were to be amerced four shillings; the latter were to forfeit one shilling.†

The attendance of Adamson at this Parliament in his capacity of titular Archbishop is thus noticed by James Melville:—"That winter he passed over to a Convention of the Estates, and after he nought Curt [or got no favour at Court] as he looked for, he addressed himself to the ministers of Edinburgh, showing them how that he came over to Court with Balaam's heart, of purpose to curse the Kirk and do evil; but God had wrought so with him that he had

* James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 120, 121.

† Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 194, 195, 210, 211, 212.

turned his heart to the contrary, and made him both in reasoning and voting to stand for the Kirk, promising to farther and farther fruits of his conversion and good meaning. Whereat John Dury was so rejoiced that he treated him in [his] house, and wrote over at length to me in his favour. Whereupon I passed down to his castle [of St Andrews] at his homecoming, and shewed him what information concerning him I had gotten from the brethren of Edinburgh, thanking God therefor, and offering him, in case of continuance, the right hand of society. Whereat rejoicing, he told me the matter at length concerning the great motions and working of the Spirit. “ Well,” said I, “ that Spirit is an upright, holy, and constant Spirit, and will more and more manifest itself in its effects ; but it is a fearful thing to be against him.”* As Adamson was not likely to practice upon the credulity of this gossipping nephew of Andrew Melville, his sentiments must be held as exaggerated. With singular inconsistency he records at this very period, and immediately after the above statement, that among the enemies of his uncle at St Andrews, who were the Professors in the University, all influenced by the “ cauldness of Mr Robert Hamilton’s ministry,” the Provost and Magistrates of the city, and the Prior and his gentlemen pensioners—“ the fifth and greatest enemy of all was the Bishop, Mr Patrick Adamson, craftily and quietly concurring with the Court, but always as yet under profession of great friendship, and so most dangerously seeking his destruction, with the utter overthrow of the liberty of Christ’s Kirk and kingdom.” Melville farther adds, that when Montgomery made a show of submission to the next General Assembly, a certain Mr William Clark, “ my predecessor, a wise, godly, and sweet man, said to him—‘ It will never be this man that will trouble and hurt the Kirk ; but you will find that Mr Patrick Adamson will do it, who is this man’s counsellor, and causes him now to yield for the time.’† ”

Their next General Assembly, to which the above alludes, was held at St Andrews on the 24th of April 1582, and Andrew Melville was chosen Moderator. The proceedings were of no particular interest, and, with the exception of some local matters, and a

* James Melville’s Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 121, 122.

† *Ibid.* p. 127, 128.

declaration that the Kirk had power to revoke any thing they were pleased to consider injurious to them, the affair of Montgomery and the Archbischopric of Glasgow was the prominent business. It appears from the original document in the Register of the Privy Council, that the Archbischopric lapsed to the King, and a declaration in favour of Montgomery, dated at Stirling Castle, 12th April 1582 was issued, to the so called Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, conform to the agreement ratified at Leith in January 1571-2. Certain of the newly constituted Presbyteries were prohibited from proceeding against Montgomery, and an injunction was issued to some of the neighbouring persons of influence to assist in installing him. But it is both tedious and unnecessary to follow all the disputes, collisions, and wranglings which now continually occurred between the Court and the Presbyterians, in which the remarkable leniency and moderate conduct of the former present a singular contrast to the bold pretensions, impertinent interferences, and arrogant dictation of the latter. Nor is the subsequent history of the Titular Episcopate of any importance. It is already observed that it was one of those human expedients which was as destitute of canonical authority as the Presbyterian system, and was, like it, a mere worldly invention, without even its assumed claims to the authority of Scripture.

In August 1582, occurred the celebrated seizure of the person of King James known as the *Raid of Ruthven*, from the circumstance of the King's detention in the mansion of Ruthven, now called Huntingtower, the seat of William first Earl of Gowrie, who was deeply implicated in the transaction—an exploit which James never forgot. The object of it was to take the King out of the hands of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran, and for a time the conspirators were successful. The Presbyterian party zealously justified the treasonable act, and in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 9th of October following they unanimously concluded that the conspirators, who had compelled the King then in their power to grant them a remission, had rendered good and acceptable service to God, their sovereign, and the kingdom, requiring all sincere Protestants to entertain the same opinion. James was kept under the restraint of his new keepers until the following year, when he escaped from their controul. During his detention he was compelled to submit to

numerous insolent reproofs, advices, and harangues, by the Presbyterian preachers, who by identifying themselves with the actors in the Raid of Ruthven had attached to their interest an influential political party. The Duke of Lennox was compelled to leave the kingdom without taking farewell of the King, and he died of fever soon after his arrival at Paris in May 1583. The Presbyterians industriously circulated a report that before his death he became a Roman Catholic—a falsehood which the King himself publicly refuted in an account which he wrote of his favourite's dying moments, and invited his family to Scotland, whom he invested with some of the highest offices at his disposal. James Melville relates a curious anecdote respecting the death of the Duke of Lennox, which illustrates the malignant feelings of the Presbyterians at the time. It appears that the King visited St Andrews about the end of July 1583, after he escaped from the restraint or imprisonment of the Raid of Ruthven, and the Titular Adamson, who had then recovered from a dangerous illness, preached before him. He contradicted in the course of his sermon the report that the Duke had died a Roman Catholic, and produced a document which he affirmed to be in the deceased nobleman's handwriting to the contrary ; but, says Melville, “ an honest merchant woman, sitting before the pulpit, and spying it narrowly affirmed it was an account of a four or five year old debt, which a few days before she had sent to him, whereof she got no more payment than the Duke's executors made her.”*

The illness of Adamson must not be overlooked, as it is connected with a tragedy, too common in those times, which was caused by Presbyterian persecution. During most of 1582 he was confined to the castle of St Andrews, in Melville's phraseology, “ like a fox in his hole.” His physicians either misunderstood his distemper, or could afford him no relief, and in his distress he took some medicine from a woman named Pearson, who resided in the village of Byrehills in the vicinity of St Andrews, which was of essential benefit to him. His Presbyterian enemies soon invented a charge of witchcraft against the woman, and he was also accused of using satanic agency to save his life. The woman was examined by the so called Presbytery of St Andrews, declared

* James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 137, 138.

to be a witch, and they strangely enough consigned her for execution to the custody of Adamson, who, his enemies alleged, suffered her to escape from his castle. Four years afterwards the woman was apprehended, and tried by a jury composed of inhabitants of St Andrews, Pittenweem, and Anstruther, on the 28th of May 1588. She alleged that a man named Simpson her cousin, then deceased, had “ told her of every sickness, what herbs she should take to heal them, and how she should use them, and in special she said that he told her that the Bishop of St Andrews had many sicknesses, as the trembling fever, the palp, the ripples, and the flexus,” meaning fever and ague, palpitation at the heart, weakness at the back and the joints, and the flux. Though the particulars of the trial are not recorded, yet the woman was found guilty, and her fate is marked on the margin—*convicta et combusta*, which intimates that she encountered the common fate of many who fell victims to that miserable delusion, and was strangled and burnt.* Adamson’s alleged trafficking with witches is the prominent theme of the coarse doggrel satire against him, entitled the “ Legend of the Bishop of St Andrews.”†

The eloquence of Adamson before the King at St Andrews in 1583, and a successful disputation in the presence of James with Andrew Melville, secured for him the royal favour, and he was actually sent Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth towards the end of that year. His conduct in London has been variously represented, but he seems to have been received with courtesy and respect by the English Prelates and such of the nobility as were zealous for the Church. Among other matters of importance Adamson was instructed to take “ sure cognition of the ecclesiastical policy of that country, and to report the same to his Majesty at his return, that he might frame the Kirk of Scotland conform; but this took no good success, for albeit this [Titular] Bishop was a man of rare learning, and of excellent doctrine in the Kirk, yet his actions and proceedings in life and conversation were no wise correspondent.”‡ The Presbyterian party were not ignorant of Adamson’s instructions. James Melville alleges that after his

* Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. p. 161-165.

† Printed in Dalyell’s Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, vol. ii.

‡ Historie of King James the Sext, published by the Bannatyne Club, 4to. Edin. 1825, p. 205.

arrival in London about Christmas 1583, he gave Queen Elizabeth a most unfavourable account of the Presbyterian preachers and the “guid nobilitie” their adherents, while he represented the Court in the best possible manner :—“ He practised with the Bishops for conformity, and gave them *dextra societatis*; he dealt for learned preachers to be placed in the best situations of Scotland, knowing well the best men of the ministry of Scotland were to be displaced; he wrote very craftily to Geneva and Tiguria, and sent them propositions and questions desiring to have their judgment; and finally left no stone unturned that might make up for the work of Satan, to besiege and demolish the walls of Jerusalem,”* meaning the Genevan polity, of which his uncle was the supporter.

The propositions or questions which Adamson is alleged to have drawn up, presented to the “French Kirk,” and sent to “Geneva, Tiguria,” &c. are inserted in the Diary of James Melville, who says that they were transmitted to him by his uncle, and that the Titular’s object in preparing them was “to make us and our discipline odious to the Queen and Kirk of England.” The pretensions and claims of the Presbyterians to independence of the civil power are exposed in nineteen propositions, and the Titular’s reply to or “judgment” of them, which James Melville declares he “pressed to have confirmed by the learned doctors and ministers of God’s word in England, Geneva, and elsewhere, for supplanting the Kirk of Scotland,” are expressed in the same number. The Titular’s opinion of the episcopal function is thus stated —“ The government of the Kirk does consist in the authority and power of the Bishop, to whom are committed the diocese and provinces in government.—The office of a Bishop is of the apostolic institution, and most agreeable to the primitive purity of the Kirk of God.—The ordination and ordinary judgment of pastors belong to the Bishop, without whose authority whosoever does presume to the pastoral cure enters not at the door but over the wall.—Doctors have no power to preach but by the appointment of Bishops, neither have they any further power in governing the Kirk.—Seniors or elders of the last sort are not agreeable with the Scriptures, nor ancient purity of the primitive Kirk. Presbyteries to be appointed of gentlemen, or lords of the soil, and others

* Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 141.

associated with the ministers, are no other but to induce a great confusion in the Kirk, and an occasion of continual sedition." The Titular presented his propositions, which he also sent to the other parties mentioned, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. Andrew Melville wrote a reply which he transmitted to Geneva and Tiguria, and his nephew faithfully obeyed his injunctions respecting Adamson's propositions.—" As my uncle directed me," he says, " I made the business known at home, and informed all the good brethren of his proceedings and sent copies of his articles abroad throughout the country."*

The cause of Adamson's failure in England ought not to be overlooked. The Presbyterian preachers approved and defended the treasonable Raid of Ruthven, and some of the more conspicuous of their number were summoned in the autumn of 1583 before the King and Privy Council to retract their opinions, and to express their willingness to live peaceably without annoying the Government. Some security was necessary for the conduct of those restless individuals, whose religious harangues abounded with allusions to the political parties of the time, and were neither scrupulous nor complimentary in their allusions to the King. This was the more necessary, as a Convention of the Estates held in the same year had declared all those concerned in the Raid of Ruthven to have been guilty of high treason, ordered the act approving of their conduct when the King was in their hands to be expunged from the records, and resolved to support the royal authority in prosecuting them with the utmost rigour. One of those summoned before the King and Council was Andrew Melville, to answer " anent certain speeches uttered by him from the pulpit," says his nephew, " seditious and treasonable." He attended with some of his friends, one of whom was Robert Bruce, a preacher who afterwards caused James an infinitude of trouble; and after various discussions it was resolved that " Mr Andrew, for his irreverent behaviour before his Majesty and Council, should be put inward in the Castle of Edinburgh during the King's will." Melville's friends, who were well aware of his uncivil conduct and rash statements, were now afraid, as his nephew asserts, that if he were " once fast, he would not be released again unless it were for the scaffold,"

* Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 143-154.

seriously consulted about his safety. They were informed that the place of his confinement was changed to Blackness Castle on the south side of the Frith of Forth, a "foul hole," says his nephew, "kept by Captain James' men," as he designates the King's favourite already mentioned as the Earl of Arran. This information was confirmed by the appearance of a macer in the house of Lawson, with whom Melville had dined, who got access after the repast, and served the said Melville with a warrant to enter himself within the Castle of Blackness before the end of twenty-four hours. Melville professed to receive the citation respectfully, but he fled from Edinburgh that night, and on the following day reached Berwick, narrowly escaping from a band of Arran's men who had left the city a very short time previously to seize him on the road.* This occurred in February 1583-4.

Andrew Melville proceeded from Berwick to London, where he remained till November 1585. In the English metropolis he used every exertion to oppose Adamson, by vilifying his character and misrepresenting his conduct, and he scrupled not to become intimate with and prejudice several of the Bishops; for we are told that "the banished ministers of Scotland had certified some of the Council and Prelates of England hereof, so that the man [Adamson] was the less regarded in his negotiations."† The Titular's position in England is more charitably represented:—"There seems to be no reason to doubt that the two things he principally laboured were the recommending the King his master to the nobility and gentry of England, and the procuring some support for himself and the episcopal party in Scotland, which was then in a very low state. In each of these designs he had as much success as the situation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumstances, would allow; his revenues were far from large, and his skill in managing them very indifferent. His enemies took occasion from thence to represent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends with more humanity and truth said that he had spent too much time about other sciences, to be well skilled in economy."‡ One singular statement connected with Adam-

* James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 141-144.

† *Ibid.* p. 205.

‡ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 26.

son's residence in London is that he, though unordained and a mere layman, was permitted to officiate in London, and it is alleged, on the authority of his son-in-law Wilson, that "by his eloquent preaching he drew after him such a concourse of people, and raised in their minds such a high idea of the young King his master, that Queen Elizabeth forbade him to enter the pulpit during his stay in her dominions."* This extraordinary assertion has induced some to infer that he entered into holy orders in England, for which no evidence can be brought forward. If it is true, it indicates a singular laxity on the part of those who admitted Adamson to officiate.

The flight of Andrew Melville into England excited the indignation of some of the prominent leaders of the General Assembly, who denounced the Court in their sermons, and excited the fanaticism of the people. A proclamation was issued by the King, declaring that the retreat of the hero of the Second Book of Discipline was voluntary, and that there was no intention to proceed against him, but those declarations were not regarded. The great object of the Presbyterians was now to domineer over the civil power, and to exercise a complete independence in all matters which they considered themselves entitled to discuss. It was accordingly resolved to adopt some stringent measures to keep in subordination a body of men who, by their unlicensed phraseology and extraordinary demands, were publicly insulting the Government. The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 19th of May 1584, to which Adamson was summoned from England, and his name appears first on the list as "Archbishop of St Andrews," followed by the Titulars of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Orkney, Dunblane, Argyll, and The Isles, as representing the Spiritual Estate. Thirteen "Abbots" or Commendators were present, and among the nobility was Ludovic second Duke of Lennox, who had succeeded his father Esme in 1583. The Titulars of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Orkney, and The Isles, and eleven of the titular Abbots, were associated with those of the nobility and commissioners of burghs chosen as the Lords of the Articles, and the King presided in person. The first act was a ratification of the "liberty of preaching the true word of God, and administration of the Sacraments, in purity and

* The authority cited is "Vita Pat. Adamson, etiam Dedicat. Oper. per T. Wilson."

sincerity, according to the Confession of the Faith received and authorised by Parliament in the first year of his Majesty's reign." The second act established the King's supremacy over all Estates and subjects within the kingdom, which was directly levelled at the pretensions of the Presbyterians; and the third act ratified the authority of the *Three Estates* of Parliament, thus expressly sanctioning the Titular Episcopate. This was followed by another act prohibiting all jurisdictions not approved by Parliament, and all assemblies and conventions held without the King's special licence. Another act limited the preachers to their "own charges and vocation," and they were not to intermeddle with matters unconnected with their functions. A very significant act, which could not fail to be understood, ordered all to be fined or personally punished who uttered "slanderous and untrue calumnies against the King's Majesty, his Council, and proceedings, or to the dishonour and prejudice of his Highness, his parents, progenitors, crown, and estate." This latter was intended to reach those of the Presbyterian preachers who were constantly in the habit of railing at Queen Mary, the King's mother, in their harangues. The Raid of Ruthven was denounced, and those concerned were ordered to be punished for high treason. An act was passed disinheriting the posterity of the Earl of Gowrie, who, though ordered to leave the kingdom, notwithstanding the pardon granted to him for the Raid of Ruthven by the King on the 23d of December previous, was found lingering at Dundee, apprehended, and carried to Stirling, where he was tried for high treason on the 28th of May, and decapitated the same day. Another act was passed authorizing the titular Bishops, and such other commissioners as were to be nominated, to reform the Universities; and a long act "annulled the pretended excommunication against Mr Robert Montgomery," for which he had petitioned, setting forth that as he had "faithfully travelled in the ministry of the Evangell since the Reformation of the religion, and being a pastor almost the space of twenty-two years bypast, it pleased our Sovereign Lord graciously to bestow upon the said Mr Robert the Arch-bishopric of Glasgow, then vacant by the decease of umquhile Mr James Boyd of good memory," but that he had been "in a pretended manner excommunicated by Mr John Davidson, minister at Libberton kirk," by a pretendedly alleged commission from the

General Assembly to that effect, “in defiance of the order of the King and Privy Council to the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, and Linlithgow, and “all other Presbyteries, Elderships, General and Synodal Assemblies.”* Those were the principal acts which had a special reference to the Presbyterian agitation. About the same time Adamson obtained a commission under the Great Seal, by which he, as “Archbishop of St Andrews,” was authorized to exercise within that Archdiocese all the powers which belonged to the former canonically consecrated Primate, by “himself, his deputes, and commissioners, in all matters ecclesiastical,” and “under his Highness to call and convene synodal assemblies of the ministry within the Diocese, for keeping of good order, maintaining true doctrine and reformation of manners, to give admission and collation of benefice to persons qualified, either presented by the lawful patrons or by the King, to depose persons unqualified, and unable in life and doctrine for discharging of their cure,” with many other powers, commanding all “faithful and true subjects to yield unto the said Patrick Archbishop of St Andrews due obedience.”†

The preachers knew well that acts opposed to their Presbyterian discipline and polity would be submitted to and ratified by the Parliament, and Mr David Lindsay of Leith, probably the most moderate and conciliatory of the fraternity, and who was in favour with the King, was sent to solicit that nothing would be done prejudicial to their system. He was accommodated for his interference with a residence in Blackness Castle. Some of them next attempted to appear in the Parliament with a remonstrance, but they were unable to obtain admission. The Privy Council, determined to assert their authority, and suspecting that abundance of sedition would be uttered in the sermons on the ensuing Sunday, enjoined the Magistrates of Edinburgh to silence those of the preachers who offended, and even to remove them forcibly from the pulpits, which the civic authorities promised to do after the acts were proclaimed in the usual form. The preachers took advantage of this interval to denounce the Parliament, and Pont and Balcanqual attended at the proclamation of the statutes at

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 290. *et seq.*

† Calderwood's History, in which the entire document is inserted, p. 161, 162.

the Cross, and protested against them in the name of what they called the “Church.” For this boldness Mr Pont, who, though a preacher, was still a Judge in the Supreme Court, and whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed, was deprived of his judicial office, and retired immediately from Scotland, though he returned a few months afterwards with the Earl of Angus and his party, and resumed his ministerial duties. Mr Balcanqual and Lawson consulted their safety by flight to Berwick, and a letter was sent to them by the influence of the Court, in reply to a communication, afterwards noticed, which they had addressed to their congregations, that they were “decerned by their parishioners to be unworthy shepherds to govern a flock, but rather as ravenous wolves; and this was subscribed by the hands of the principal Magistrates for the time.”* James Melville accuses “Captain James,” or Arran, who was then Lord Chancellor, of saying, that “if Mr James Lawson’s head was as great as a hay-stalk, he would cause it to lop from his neck.”† Melville’s nephew, James Melville of St Andrews, Patrick Galloway, Row’s successor at Perth, and two others of less note, also fled to England, and John Dury of Edinburgh was banished to the North of Scotland. The two Melvilles, Balcanqual, and Galloway, returned to Scotland on the following year, but Lawson died in London in October 1584.

The adherents of the fugitive Presbyterians immediately excited the old clamour of Popery against the King, to which an answer or declaration was considered necessary by the Government. An explanation was written by Adamson in the name of the King, denying that his Majesty was inclined to Popery, and maintaining that his sole object was to adjust the ecclesiastical polity. But this moderate and constitutional statement of the King’s intentions was obstinately rejected by the adherents of the fugitive preachers, who wrote letters to their friends in Edinburgh soon after their arrival at Berwick. Those letters, the substance of which is preserved by Calderwood, professed to explain the “reasons” for the writers withdrawing themselves “for a time” from the kingdom. They alleged that “cruelty” was intended against them and their friends by “wicked men, most assuredly through

* Historie of King James the Sext, printed for the Bannatyne Club, p. 205.

† Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 167.

the councils of that Man of Sin the Antichrist of Rome, and his supporters, as well in this country as forth of the same”—and that “the whole discipline [was] violently plucked out of the hands of them”—meaning themselves—“to whom Christ Jesus hath committed the spiritual government, and given into the hands of those who have their calling of the world, and of men, not of God; Assemblies discharged [prohibited] and excommunication made null by them who have no power to bind and loose.” Lawson and Balcanqual wrote a more lengthy epistle, which chiefly consisted of coarse, insolent, and indecent invectives against the episcopal office, evidently dictated under the excitement of violent passion and resentment. Their letter seems to have been addressed to the Magistrates and Council of the city, who by the persuasion of a certain Henry Nisbet, described as a “favourer” of the Duke of Lennox, but more probably, as Dr Cook admits, “afraid of irritating Government,” transmitted the invective to the King. A reply, which Adamson is accused of writing by the command of James, was ordered to be sent in the name of the Magistrates and “kirk” of Edinburgh, denouncing the fugitives for their conduct, and expressing the hope that his Majesty will soon provide them with “*good and pious pastors.*” The Presbyterian writers allege that this was signed by the Town Council and the “kirk” of Edinburgh chiefly by the influence of Arran and his brother Colonel Stewart, who came from Falkland Palace in Fife, where the King was then residing, several times to the city for the purpose—that “some yielded, some refused, and therefore were troubled for receiving, reading, and concealing the letter which the ministers sent to the [Town] Council and [Kirk] Session of Edinburgh, before the King and his Council had seen it”—and that “few had subscribed from their heart, no, not four or five of their old enemies.” The fugitives replied to this answer, addressing only those who signed the document condemning their conduct, defending themselves from the accusations urged against them, but written in a milder mood than their previous fulminations.*

An adjourned meeting of the Parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of August, at which the King was present, and the Titulars of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Aberdeen, with

* Calderwood's History, p. 156, 159.

the “ Abbots” of Lindores and Balmerino, and the Priors of Blantyre and Pittenweem, attended on the “ spiritual” side. On the third day the Lords of the Articles were chosen, among whom were Adamson of St Andrews, Montgomery of Glasgow, and the other Titulars of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, and Brechin, with nine of the lay Abbots. Calderwood asserts that “ an act was made at this Parliament, that all ministers, readers, and masters of Colleges, should compear within *forty days*, subscribe the act of Parliament concerning the King’s power over all Estates, spiritual and temporal, and submit to the Bishops, their ordinaries, under pain of losing their stipends, with certification that they should not be heard afterward.” But in the original act nothing is said about the *forty days*. It was enjoined that all the before mentioned persons were to subscribe the following obligation—“ We, the beneficed men, ministers, readers, and masters of Colleges and schools underwritten, testify and faithfully promise by these our hand-writings [signatures,] our humble and dutiful submission to our Sovereign Lord the King’s Majesty, and to obey with all humility his Highness’ acts of his said late Parliament [of 20th May], and that according to the same we shall show our obedience to our ordinary Bishop or commissioner appointed, or to be appointed, by his Majesty, to have the exercise of the spiritual jurisdiction in our Diocese.”* This act was the cause of a scene before the Privy Council which is described by Calderwood. Mr John Craig, John Brand, and other Presbyterian ministers, were cited for “ controuling” or refusing to obey the late acts of Parliament. “ Because,” replied Craig, “ we will object to any thing repugnant to God’s word.” The Earl of Arran started to his feet, and exclaimed—“ Thou art too pert: I will shave your heads, pair your nails, cut [off] your toes, and make you an example to all who rebelled against the King and his Council.” The recusants were ordered again to appear before the King at Falkland on the 4th September. On that occasion a violent altercation ensued between Craig and the Titular Adamson in the royal presence. In reply to a severe observation by Arran, Craig said—“ There have been as great men [as thou art], and set up higher, who have been brought low.” This was an evident

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 347.

allusion to at least the fate of the Earl of Morton. “ I shall make of thee,” retorted Arran, “ a false friar a true prophet ;” and he ironically sunk on his knee, saying, “ Now I am humbled.” “ Nay,” observed the Presbyterian, “ mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou shalt be cast down from the high horse of thy pride, and [be] humbled.” Calderwood, according to the practice of his party, considered this as a prophecy of Arran’s fate a few years afterwards, when he was killed on horseback by Douglas of Parkhead for his concern in the trial and execution of his uncle the Regent Morton. The result of this appearance before the Privy Council was that Craig was prohibited to preach in Edinburgh, and Adamson was appointed to officiate in his stead. But the titular Archbishop experienced a very indifferent reception according to the Presbyterian historian, for at his first appearance in the pulpit of St Giles’ church almost the whole congregation rose and retired. Adamson continued to officiate sometime in Edinburgh, where he encountered considerable opposition from the rabble, and his enemies circulated many false and scandalous libels against him, to ruin his reputation, and make him odious to the citizens. The Presbyterian party descended so low as to induce some of their adherents to make a noise at the church door, by beating it with sticks, to disturb the titular Archbishop while he was in the act of preaching ; and Calderwood mentions two of those worthies who thus acted one day while he was at prayers, for which they were cited, but avoided a suitable punishment by a retreat into England—the common resort of all descriptions of offenders and disaffected persons at that period.

The threat of deprivation contained in the act of Parliament was not without a very salutary effect. Numbers of the preachers, afraid of a reduction of their stipends, signed the declaration of obedience, among whom were Craig, Brand, Mr John Duncanson, and Mr Andrew Simpson of Dalkeith. They pretended that their subscription was not “ sought to be an allowance either of the acts of Parliament or of the state of Bishops, but to be a testimony of their obedience to his Majesty, and that they would submit to all his laws and acts of Parliament so far as they agreed with the word of God.” The position of those persons explains their compliance. Craig and Duncanson were “ preachers

to the King's domestics," Brand was minister of Holyroodhouse, the cautious Mr Andrew Simpson was " pastor " of Dalkeith, and the representatives of the Regent Morton were his neighbours. Courtly and baronial influence, therefore, had its due effect on those pliable orators. Intelligence of this defection reached the fugitive ministers ; and Patrick Galloway wrote a long exhortation and remonstrance at Berwick, whieh he sent both to those who had subscribed, and to those who " refused." The contents of this production by a man who several years afterwards deserted his Presbyterian associates, and died a minister of Edinburgh during the establishment of the Episcopal Church in 1624, may be easily inferred from such expressions as the following—that the Bishops had sold God—the "beggarly Bishops and their clergy"—" the persons that ye have presently subscribed obedience unto are infamous vile men, not only of the base sort among the people, as were the priests of Jeroboam, but most dissolute and scandalous in their life." After several statements of a similar violent nature, Adamson is singled out in particular as " a Bishop to whom he cannot give a condign epithet, and he was sure a thousand could not express his vices, as they and all the world can witness;" and that they could testify against the vices of the age, " seeing your new erected Popery, and namely your famous Ordinary the Archbishop, to whom ye have bound your obedience, is altogether festered and overgone with them." Mr Galloway farther complained that some " not only subscribed themselves, but also, like desperate pert folks, destitute of Christian charity, travelled to seduce and infect others, and betrayed those who were constant by dilating them to the persecutor." This choice epistle concludes—" As for Patrick, called Archbishop of St Andrews, though it were lawful to us to render obedience to Bishops, yet can we not submit ourselves to him nor to his injunctions ; as he for just causes is lawfully suspended from all function and office of the Kirk by decree of the General Assembly, which hitherto he hath never sought to be retreated." The only observation of importance made by this future Court flatterer, who managed his subsequent affairs so prudentially that his son was created Lord Dunkeld,* was that the " Bishops " whom he denounced had their

* Mr. Patrick Galloway married, as his second wife, Mary, daughter of Mr. James Lawson, the successor of Knox, as " minister" of Edinburgh, and repeatedly noticed in

" power and authority from the Court, and could nor dared to do any thing without special command or leave of it." This was strictly true of the Titular or Tulchan Bishops in the reign of James VI. before his accession to the English crown, and thus the Church and true religion suffered in those years of sectarian and seditious agitation, when the Presbyterian preachers refused to obey any laws which were disagreeable to themselves, or were not ratified by their General Assemblies.

the preceding narrative. Their son, Sir James Galloway, was Master of Requests to James VI. and Charles I., a Privy Councillor, and conjunct Secretary of State with Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling, in 1640. He was created Lord Dunkeld in 1645. Mr. Patrick Galloway's connection with the Episcopal Church after 1610 is noticed in the proper place.

CHAPTER VIII.

KING JAMES VI.'S CONTENTIONS WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS.

ALTHOUGH King James had got rid of some of his most troublesome theological and political opponents by their flight into England, where, especially those of them at Newcastle, they associated with the noblemen exiled for their connection with the Raid of Ruthven, he still had difficulties to encounter. The leaven was left behind among the people who had delighted in the harangues and tirades of the fugitive Presbyterian preachers, and many were strongly interested in their favour. A party of the nobility and gentry, some of whom cared little abstractly for Presbytery, espoused their cause, principally to obtain political power, and to oppose Arran, now Lord Lieutenant of Scotland, and the Court favourites. The acts of the Parliament of 1584 connected with ecclesiastical government, for the doctrines of the gospel seem to have been viewed as of minor importance by the Presbyterians, excited dissatisfaction. To allay this discontent, and to give to the lieges a proper explanation of the Acts of Parliament, Adamson drew up a Declaration in the King's name, which appeared in the month of January 1584-5. This document, setting forth the whole questions in dispute, consisted of a number of heads, or, as they are called, "intentions." The claims of Presbyteries and the pretensions of General Assemblies to supreme independent jurisdiction, the Raid of Ruthven, which became as much a religious as a political enterprize, the episcopal office, and many other matters, were temperately discussed. Calderwood comments on this Declaration, and concludes it by the following tirade against

the Titulars, in allusion to his favourite system of presbyterian parity :—“ Of all the Bishops in Scotland, granting that government were lawful, who is able to discharge the burden ? Are not three or four of these Bishopries already reduced to such a state, that the poor minister would not take the place for a simple stipend ? The Bishop of Dunkeld is an old doting Papist : the Bishops of Brechin, Dunblane, Orkney, Caithness, and the rest, as meet for that purpose as I am for singing a solemn mass. What can men look for in the Bishop of St Andrews, a juggler, a hollyglass, a drunkard, a vile epicurean, affirming that thing to be treason this year which with tears he subscribed the last ?”*

But notwithstanding these false and scandalous libels against the Titulars in general, and Adamson in particular, the Declaration written by the latter in the King's name, though it exasperated the Presbyterian faction, was applauded by reasonable men, and when published at London in February following, it secured many friends to James in England, while it greatly increased Adamson's reputation. It is preserved at length in a historical work of undoubted authority,† and it shews the real cause of the hatred cherished towards the Titular of St Andrews by the Presbyterians, while it is a faithful delineation of their insolent conduct to King James, and the domineering sway they exercised over the people. Calderwood furiously assails the historian for preserving this document, with an “ odious preface of alleged treasons pre-fixed unto it,” in the “ Chronicle of England,” and concludes by a rabid bravado :—“ Our Kirk was ever careful, and especially at the same time, to entertain the amity between the two nations, and deserved no such indignity at their hands ; but let such a lying libel lie there, as a blur to blot their Chronicles.”

In the beginning of 1584-5, a farther subscription to the acts of the Parliament was still urged upon the preachers, who were to appear before the titular Bishop or Commissioner appointed to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, and a committee was appointed to receive the signatures. This committee consisted of the Titulars of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Argyll, The Isles, Peter Watson, styled parson of Flisk in Fifeshire, Robert Graham, Archdeacon

* Calderwood's History, p. 172-181.

† Thinn's Continuation of Hollinshed's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 438.

of Ross, James Hannan, Chancellor of [the Bishopric of] Orkney, and three gentlemen, one of whom was Erskine of Dun, with whom were associated certain noblemen and others as assistants. The rage of the Presbyterians at the defection of their old friend Erskine is sufficiently indicated by Calderwood's statement—"Indeed, John Erskine, Laird of Dun, sometime Superintendent of Angus, proved *a pest in the North.*" Adamson is alleged to have suggested this committee. If the advisers of James had commanded the respect of the people, he had now a favourable opportunity to carry out his plans, and effectively silence his Presbyterian opponents. The more violent of the latter were fugitives in England, and the meetings of the General Assembly, the certain source of turmoil and discord with the Government, were suspended, as that debating convention was not held till May 1586. But James was still under the influence of Arran, whose acts of cruelty and oppression were notorious, and whom the exiled nobility had resolved to remove from the royal presence. Into the political transactions of those times, however, it would be out of place in the present work to enter, as this part of the narrative is solely connected with the Titular Episcopate, which was now hastening to its close. The downfall of Arran was effected ; this unprincipled favourite was deprived of his honours, and driven into humbled retirement, and the exiled nobility were restored to favour. Soon afterwards, the Parliament was held at Linlithgow on the 1st of December 1585, at which the King was present. On the first day of the meeting, the Titulars of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Orkney, took their seats, and were chosen among the Lords of the Articles. The Titular of Brechin's name occurs on the roll at the third day of the meeting. The Titulars of St Andrews and Orkney were nominated members of the Privy Council, but no acts connected with religion or ecclesiastical matters were enacted in this Parliament, if we except the very first, entitled "an act against the authors of slanderous speeches or writings," which was levelled against the Presbyterian preachers, to stop their impertinent, personal, and scandalous tirades in their sermons, denouncing all and sundry who offended them, or who had the boldness to think differently. A meeting of the Presbyterian preachers was held at Linlithgow about the same time, which, by Calderwood's account, was very discordant. Those whom he calls

the “sincerer sort,” which means the more violent, insisted that the acts of 1584 should be repealed, and the “Discipline” established by law. They had made known their demands to the nobility, who sent them to the King, but James met them with the epithets of *loons*, *snakes*, and *seditious knaves*, which he applied to them. Mr John Craig made an angry invective before the King and the Estates against a certain Mr James Gibson, who had denounced in a sermon at Edinburgh the “subscribing ministers,” of whom he was the principal, and also attacked the “peregrine ministers,” as he designated the fugitive preachers in England. A serious schism was threatened, but at last the King desired them to submit to him their written objections to the acts of which they complained. They prepared a document, which was presented to the Parliament, but it is not mentioned in the records. This paper is designated “Animadversions conceived upon the Acts of Parliament made in the year 1584,” and professed to review all the statutes then enacted. They complained, among other alleged grievances, that their “liberty” was so far invaded that they were restricted to “preaching and ministration of the sacraments,” and that they could not exercise at their caprice, or when it suited their purposes, “the power of binding and loosing, which is called the power of the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,” and “excommunication to be pronounced against the disobedient.” The act ratifying the King’s supremacy over all persons in the realm was declared a grievance, and they brought forth their old allegations against the episcopal office, and the “corruption of the ecclesiastical estate” before the Reformation, alleging that the Roman Catholic Prelates “had no lawful function in the Kirk of God.” They considered it a special hardship, and invasion of their pretended claims to spiritual independence and jurisdiction, that they were not to be allowed to hold assemblies and conventions without the King’s “special license and commandment,” which they declared an infringement of their privileges. They were pleased to admit that those ought to be deprived of the function of the ministry and revenues if they committed “any offence worthy of deprivation,” but the act, they alleged, exempted certain persons “who have vote in Parliament,” referring to the Titular Bishops; and “as to the voting in Parliament, who they ought to be that should have place there, we have declared

before," reminding the King of their very modest proposal that some of their own party should sit as "spiritual persons" in the Parliament. They even admitted that ministers should "use no other function, judgment, nor office, which may abstract them from the same," and confessed that "if it be simply meant the act is very good;" but they cunningly insinuated that the King's advisers were evidently attempting to burthen him, being only "one person," with a "function and jurisdiction both in civil and ecclesiastical matters;" and they put forth their former claim that "the office-bearers and ministers of the Kirk" ought to represent the ecclesiastical Estate in Parliament," so far as that is "one of the three Estates." Though ministers, they said, ought not to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occasion they allowed it "so far as they are lawfully called by the prince, and are able to discharge the same." This was in compliment to their friend Mr Robert Pont, the said Mr Pont while a "minister," also acting as a Judge in the Court of Session, or Supreme Civil Court. Pont resisted the intended censure of his former vocation, contrary to the opinion of Andrew and James Melville, and others, but according to Calderwood, "it behoved them to bear with him, in respect of the apparent division and schism which was like to arise otherwise; but this was clearly condemned afterwards." They complained of the commission to "Patrick called Archbishop of St Andrews and other Bishops," which authorised them to "put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical, to visit the kirks, and state of the ministry, to reform colleges, receive presentations, and that they only may give presentations;" and concluded by beseeching the King to revoke the act annulling the excommunication of Mr Robert Montgomery, the titular of Glasgow. They added a supplication, praying to be restored to their "livings, places, and offices, from which they were displaced by the said acts, and to their stipends as well bygone as to come."

The King, who is said by Calderwood to have now disclaimed the Declaration written by Adamson, drew up an "interpretation" of the acts of 1584, in which he explained and defended them in a very able manner, replying to their objections to each act. It is curious to learn the opinions of James VI. on the episcopal office at this period of his life, when he was not twenty years of age. "My Bishops, who are one of the three Estates, shall have power

as far as God's word and example of the Primitive Kirk will permit, and not according to the Man of Sin's abominable abuses and corruptions. But I cannot enough wonder where ye find that rule or example either in God's word, or any other Reformed Kirk, that some ministers by commission from the rest ought to be one of the Estates of Parliament. Well, God purge your spirits from ambition, and other indecent affections for your calling, and give you grace to preach in all humility his word and truth. As to the discharge of Assemblies, they are not simply discharged, but only ordained that they should be holden with my special license.—To end this my declaration, I intend not to cut away any liberty granted by God to his Kirk. I claim not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture. I allow not a Bishop according to the traditions of men, or inventions of the Pope, but only according to God's word ; not to tyrannize over his brethren, or to do any thing of himself, but with advice of his whole diocese, or at least with the wisest number of them, to serve him for a council, and to do nothing [by] him[self] alone, except the teaching of the word, ministration of the sacraments, and voting in Parliament and [Privy] Council. Finally, I say his office is *solum ἐπισκοπή ad vitam*, having therefore some prelature and dignity above his brethren, as was in the Primitive Kirk, my intention is not to discharge any jurisdiction in the Kirk that is conform to God's word, not to discharge any Assemblies, but only those that shall be holden without my license and council's. My intention is not to meddle with excommunication, neither claim to myself or my heirs power in any thing that is mere ecclesiastical, and not *ἀδιαφόρον*, nor with any thing that God's word hath simply devolved in the hands of the Kirk. And to conclude, I confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be Head and Lawgiver to the same, and whatever person doth arrogate to himself, as head of the Kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter anything that the word of God hath only remitted unto them, that man, I say, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the word of the Son ; against the Son, in not obeying him, and taking his place ; against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience. Thus much for my declaration, as far as shortness of time would permit, wherein whatsoever I have

affirmed I will offer myself to prove by the word of God, purest Ancients, and modern Neoterics, and by examples of the best Reformed Kirks ; and whatsoever I have omitted for lack of time I remit first to a convention of godly and learned men, and next to a General Assembly, that by these means a godly policy being settled, we may uniformly arm ourselves against the common enemy, whom Satan, feeling the breath of God, maketh to rage in these latter days.”*

This admirable reply was dated 7th December 1585, and was signed by the King, but there is reason to conclude that it was revised by Adamson. The more violent of those “ amiable” Presbyterian preachers, enraged at not obtaining their demands, resorted to their usual practice of inflammatory epithets in their sermons, for which one of them, Mr James Gibson, was rewarded with a compulsory domicile in the castle of Edinburgh ; and two of them, named Howison and Watson, are mentioned as already in prison, the latter having very charitably compared the King to Jeroboam, and making his Majesty even worse than that Scripture personage. But the majority of the preachers thanked the King for his Declaration, and suggested that the whole matter of ecclesiastical policy should be referred to “ some of the most learned and godly” in the kingdom, and “ if need be, with consultation of the best Reformed Kirks in other countries.” In the meanwhile, or till the next meeting of Parliament, they requested permission to hold their ordinary assemblies, and to administer discipline in their own way, as before the passing of the acts, promising to give an “ account to God, his Majesty, and Council,” and not to disturb the kingdom. They farther entreated that all ministers and masters in colleges or schools should be restored to their situations, that Howison and Watson be set at liberty, and that “ the Bishops use nothing but that which they were in use of before the making of theforesaid acts.”

Balcanqual, in violation of these stipulations, preached a sermon before the King in St Giles’ church at Edinburgh on the 2d of January 1586-7, in which he furiously assailed the episcopal office. James, at the conclusion, rose from his seat and “ rebuked” the preacher, telling him that he “ would prove that there

* Calderwood, p. 193-196.

should be Bishops and spiritual magistrates endowed with authority over ministers," and "Mr Walter undertook to prove the contrary." About the same time a conference was held between some of the more moderate of the preachers and a deputation of the Privy Council, and various articles were admitted as the fundamental principles of future arrangements. It was agreed that the "name of a Bishop hath a special charge and function annexed to it by the word of God—that his election shall be by a presentation directed to the General Assembly, from whom he shall receive his admission"—that the Bishops were to be recognized as the moderators or presidents of the Presbyteries within their dioceses—that by the advice of these Presbyteries, and with the concurrence of the majority, they were to admit or deprive ministers, and receive presentations to parishes—that they were to reside and discharge the pastoral office at particular churches, and yet were to visit within their own Dioceses, though amenable for their morals and doctrine to the General Assemblies. New Presbyteries were to be constituted, and Synods held twice in the year. The meeting of the next General Assembly was fixed on a specified day. It was agreed that the "jurisdiction of the Kirk consists in doctrine, ministration of the sacraments, exercise of discipline, and correction of manners by excommunication, and usual censure of the Kirk, as likewise absolution from the same." The Kirk was considered at liberty to *inquire* into cases of "heresy, apostacy, witchcraft, idolatry, frailty in the flesh, blasphemy, perjury, usury, abusing of the sacraments, breaking of the Sabbath;" and that other offences were to be visited with "censure," although the civil magistrate either punished or pardoned the perpetrators, such as "slaughter, open disobedience to parents, murthering of children, and such like." The Titular Montgomery of Glasgow was to appear before the next General Assembly, and be "reconciled to the Kirk;" the enlightened Mr Watson was to fulfil his promise to the Laird of Largo in Fife when he was liberated from durance, and apologize in "open pulpit" for his complimentary comparison of King James to King Jeroboam; and the subdivision of Dioceses, causes of deprivation, and voting in Parliament, were referred to another conference to be appointed by the King, to be held in Holyroodhouse ten days before the meeting of the General Assembly; but it does not appear that this second conference took place.*

* Calderwood, p. 197, 198, 199.

Although nothing satisfactory could be expected from conditions, the most important of which was to make the “Bishops” responsible to such a convention as the then General Assembly, the violence of Mr Andrew Melville completely defeated any farther adjustment. In the month of April 1586, the Provincial Synod of Fife was held at St Andrews, and was opened by the other Melville, who repeatedly attacked the Titular Primate, and dwelt upon the “corruptions of the human and satanical Bishopric.” Adamson was present, and an accusation was preferred against him, but he retired from the Presbyterian conclave, and by the exertions and influence of the worthy Mr Andrew a sentence of excommunication was issued against him. The Moderator, who was no friend to Adamson, refused to pronounce the sentence, which, however, was willingly done by a certain Mr Andrew Hunter, Presbyterian preacher in the parish of Carnbee, a few miles distant. The Titular appealed to the King and to any lawful Assembly, and retaliated by excommunicating the two Melvilles and sundry of their associates. But this procedure of the Titular was of little avail, as Mr Andrew had stirred up the people against him. That apostle of disorder convened an audience in St Mary’s College, and the Titular was informed that the oration might possibly induce the rabble to maltreat him. He took refuge in the steeple of the church, and was afterwards escorted in safety to the Castle of St Andrews by his friends. Calderwood, who relates this affair in the most disgusting and indecent manner, pretends that a hare unexpectedly made its appearance on the street, and ran before the Titular towards the Castle; and that the people called the animal the *Bishop's witch*. The King was exasperated at Andrew Melville’s conduct in this transaction, which resulted from the fiercest malignity, and Dr Cook even admits that it “is impossible to offer any satisfactory justification;” but the Court thought it prudent in the meantime not to interfere.

The General Assembly met, after an interval of two years, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, on the 10th of May 1586. The King sent Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, the Lord Privy Seal, and his former preceptor, Mr Peter Young, to inform the conclave that, “being occupied in great affairs, he could not that day give his presence,” and commanded them to adjourn in the afternoon to the Chapel-Royal of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, when “he would propone his mind to them.” The “Brethren”

accordingly resorted to the Chapel-Royal, where the King took his seat at the end of a table, and the persons present were accommodated with "forms." James delivered a speech, in which he told them that he had acceded to their request, and called this Assembly, for two reasons—the one to contradict "certain evil reports blown and spread abroad of him by some of his own subjects, both within his realm and without, that he had made defection from the true religion ;" and the other, "for remitting of the ministers of the Kirk to a judgment concerning the discipline of the Kirk," adding that "he purposed to establish that throughout his realm which by conference among them should be found most agreeable to the word of God." Mr Robert Pont, who sat as Moderator of the last Assembly, doled out some flattering reply—"Sir," he said, "we praise God that your Majesty, being a Christian Prince, hath honoured our Assembly with your own presence, and we trust your Majesty speaketh without hypocrisy." Mr David Lindsay of Leith was chosen Moderator from a leet of four, the King voting first for him.

They met in the Tolbooth on the following day, when the Privy Seal, Mr Peter Young, and Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, Lord Secretary, appeared as commissioners from the King, and requested an answer to the question—"Whether the Bishops might have pre-eminence over the brethren, if not jurisdiction, yet *ordinis causa?*" The reply was—"It could not stand with the word of God; only they must tolerate it, in case it be forced upon them by the civil power." New Presbyteries were ordered to be constituted, and the towns for the meetings of the Provincial Synods fixed. At a subsequent sederunt it was oracularly laid down as indisputable, that "there are four offices ordinarily set down to us by the Scripture, to wit, *Pastors*, *Doctors*, *Elders*, and *Deacons*," and to this quadruple gradation of functions was added—"The name of a Bishop is not to be taken [as it hath been] in papistry, but is common to all pastors and ministers ;" yet they subsequently admitted that some "ministers" might be entrusted with superior powers under the controul of the General Assembly, and subject to Presbyteries. The King, in his frequent communication with them, insisted that "Bishops," or those who were invested with the superintendence sanctioned by the Conference, should be amenable exclusively to the General Assembly, and not to Presbyteries. This was at first refused, but when they were

informed that if this was not conceded nothing farther would be granted, the majority consented that "the trial and censuring of such pastors as the General Assembly shall give *commission to visit*, shall be in the hand of the said Assembly, or such as they shall depute, until farther order be taken" by the same. It was agreed that "Bishops" should be Moderators of the Presbyteries within their bounds, with the exception of St Andrews; yet sundry "ministers" were empowered to summon the said "Bishops" before them, and to examine the accusations against them, and the General Assembly was to pronounce sentence.

The case of the Titular of St Andrews, and the farcical "ex-communication" of him by the Synod of Fife at the instigation of Mr Andrew Melville, came before this Assembly. Although the fulmination in itself was utterly contemptible, as proceeding from a body of unauthorized men such as a Presbyterian Synod must ever be, it is evident that it caused much annoyance to Adamson. This is explained, when it is recollect that the titular Archbishop was very poor, and that the violent proceedings of his enemies against him had a very serious effect on his limited pecuniary means and his domestic necessities. The King interested himself also in the matter, and gained over a party in his favour. The threat which the King held *in terrorem* over them was one of those alarming announcements not particularly pleasant even to zealots. It was distinctly declared by the royal commissioners to the Moderator, that nothing would be conceded to the "Kirk" unless the Titular was restored; and Maitland, the Secretary of State, positively assured the conclave that if this was not done, the whole "polity" of the Presbyterian system, as far as sanctioned, would be overturned, the stipends of the preachers would be arrested, and the Titular would be "set up to preach in Edinburgh, speak to the contrary who would."* Alarmed at this most effectual mode of bringing them to reason, they offered to *absolve* the Titular, if he would, in a written document, declare solemnly that he never professed, or intended in any way to claim, a superiority over other ministers or pastors, or allowed the same to have authority in the Scriptures, or if he had ever done so to acknowledge that he was in error—that he would agree to apologize for his "im-

* Calderwood, p. 212.

perious" conduct in the Synod of Fife, and "promise good behaviour in time to come"—and that he would claim nothing more than what the Scriptures warrant, and was allowed by the late Conference, and submit his life and doctrine to the General Assembly "without any reclamation, provocation, or appellation therefrom in all time coming." With this the Titular was so weak as to comply, or probably his circumstances were such as to render a reconciliation on such humiliating conditions unavoidable. The sentence of "excommunication" was recalled, though a protest was entered against its revocation by Mr Andrew Melville and two worthies of equally implacable disposition, who invoked the "Almighty, his holy angels, and saints here convened" on the subject.* The state of the Titular's income may be inferred from the circumstance, that after his "absolution" from the "excommunication," the King and Council authorized him to lecture in theology in St Salvador's College, St Andrews, twice every week, in addition to the ordinary discharge of his pastoral duties to a "particular flock"—an appointment which he probably would not have obtained while he was under the ban of the worthy Mr Andrew Melville. It is some consolation to know that this man before he died experienced some of the miseries which his implacable temper and turbulent fanaticism inflicted on the unfortunate Titular. But his persecuting hostility to Adamson was now represented to the King in the strongest manner, and the amiable Mr Andrew was peremptorily ordered to leave St Andrews, and rusticate in the shires of Forfar, Kincardine, and other counties north of the Tay, under the pretence that he was to "confer with Jesuits, and reduce them to the true religion, so far as in him lay." James Melville would probably have had the *pleasure* of accompanying his uncle in his perambulations, but he happened to be confined by a fever, and he was allowed to remain at St Andrews, being a person comparatively harmless, and incapable of doing any mischief in the absence of his relative. The real object of Mr Andrew's removal to the north of the Tay was to ensure some degree of peace to Adamson in the discharge of his duties. But Melville, who well knew the purport of the Council, soon tired of his mission to the supposed "Northern Jesuits," and induced some of his friends in the

* Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 615-663.

University to petition the King for his royal permission to return. This was granted in the month of August following by the influence of the Master of Gray, on the express condition that Adamson was not to be molested, and that he was to be treated with respect. The Titular and Mr Andrew continued their lectures in their respective Colleges during the ensuing winter ; but if we are to credit the zealous Mr Calderwood, the “ sincerer sort both of the town and of the University repaired to the College [St Mary's], and heard Mr Andrew and Mr Robert Bruce, whose mouth God opened at that time, and made scruple to hear the Bishop, notwithstanding his absolviture in the late Assembly.”*

The old Presbyterian leaven respecting the “ policy ” effervesced in the Synod of Merse, or Berwickshire, at a meeting of that fraternity after the Assembly. They affected to be greatly annoyed by an alleged report that they of the “ ministry of Scotland are divided touching the policy and government of the house of God, which was spread and increased by subscribing a letter presented by the King's Majesty to a number of them in the ministry, and by mistaking the simple and sincere meaning of the subscribers of the same.” They denied that there was any such difference of opinion among them, and declared that the only true and scriptural government of what they were pleased to call the “ House of God, agreeing with the blessed institution of his Son, the only Head of the same,” was that exercised by “ ministers, elders, and deacons, particular assemblies of kirks, Presbyteries, Provincial and General Assemblies, as was before May 1584.” They farther pretended that what they had subscribed contrary to that principle was merely an “ obligation of obedience to the King's Majesty, and so many of his Highness' laws as were agreeable to the word of God allenarly, according to his Majesty's own declaration to them by word and writ (that his Highness would press them no farther) before the said subscription ; no way allowing of that tyrannical supremacy of Archbishops and Bishops over ministers, nor of the laws which directly repugn the word of God, as namely, the second, fourth, and twentieth acts of Parliament [of 1584] ; as also the act annulling Mr Robert Montgomery's excommunication, or any other act made to that effect.” This specimen of

* Calderwood, p. 213.

Presbyterian sophistry was allowed to pass unnoticed as harmless and contemptible. Calderwood says it was signed by thirty individuals, and he gives the names of four of those Jesuitical quibblers who were alive in 1631,* yet who must have conformed for at least twenty years to the alleged “tyrannical supremacy of Bishops and Archbishops” in reality—the mere shadow of which, as it respects the Titular Episcopate, they had denounced in 1586.

In the beginning of 1586-7 occurred one of those numerous exhibitions in which the Presbyterians delighted to indulge, evincing the bitter hatred which they cherished towards their sovereign. The fate of Queen Mary was drawing to its close, and the scaffold of Fotheringay Castle was to release the unfortunate Queen from a long, severe, and unjust captivity. The very pious and charitable “kirk session” of Edinburgh refused to enjoin their ministers to pray for the Queen, or even for the preservation of her life, though anxiously requested by the King, after the sentence of death was pronounced against his mother. As the Presbyterian writers carefully conceal the real facts of this case, a chronicler of the time has preserved an account of the King’s visit to St Giles’ church on the 3d of February, the day he had appointed for solemn prayer in behalf of the unhappy Queen. He had merely requested all “Bishops,” ministers, and office-bearers, to mention her distress in their public prayers, and commend her to God in the form appointed, which was “that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of his truth, and save her from the danger wherein she was cast.” On this occasion the King expected that Adamson was to preach, but to his astonishment when he entered the church he found that the “ministers had perched up in the pulpit a young fellow, one John Cowpar.” The King exclaimed before the congregation—“Master John, that place was designed for another, yet since you are there do your duty, and obey the charge to pray for my mother.” Cowpar replied that he would speak solely as the *Spirit of God should direct him*, and immediately commenced an extemporaneous prayer, in which he alluded to Queen Mary under the name of Jezebel, and other scriptural epithets. The King

* Those worthies were John Smith, minister at Maxton; George Johnston, minister at Ancrum; William Meffan, or Methven, minister at Fogo; and James Deas, minister at Ettleston. Calderwood, p. 213, 214.

ordered him to desist, at which the pious Mr John vociferously exclaimed—" This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh, for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst!" He then came down from the pulpit, and left the church followed by all the women. In the midst of a considerable noise which this disgraceful and irreligious conduct excited among those who remained, Adamson went into the pulpit, and delivered an eloquent and appropriate discourse, which was heard with satisfaction by the well disposed part of the congregation.* Calderwood states that the ministers of Edinburgh refused to pray for the Queen, neither " could the King move his own ministers, Mr Craig and Mr Duncanson to supply their places ;" but this is contradicted by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who asserts that " Mr David Lindsay at Leith, and *the King's own ministers*, gave obedience." In the afternoon, Mr Cowpar, Mr Balcanqual, and Mr Watson of Jereboam notoriety, were summoned before the Council for their insolent speeches. Calderwood alleges that they were sent to Blackness Castle, a statement also contradicted by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who says that Balcanqual and Watson were merely prohibited from preaching in Edinburgh, but that Mr Cowpar was allowed to cool his zeal in that state prison.+

Although the Titular of St Andrews was " absolved" from his " excommunication," the Presbyterians could not cease from annoying him. A General Assembly was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of June 1587, and Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, now Lord Chancellor, ancestor of the Earls of Lauderdale, and Walter Stewart, commendator of, afterwards first Lord Blantyre, attended as the King's commissioners. Andrew Melville was elected Moderator. Adamson was again threatened with censures for absence from the Assembly, and for not delivering up the Register of the " Books of the Assembly" unless by the King's command, though he confessed that he knew where they were deposited. Lindsay and Duncanson were ordered to form a " supplication" to the King to that effect. It was farther reported to the Assembly that sundry of the " Brethren" had caused Adamson to be *put to the horn*, as it is called in Scotland, or outlawed by a civil process before the Court of Session, for " non-payment of their stipends

* Moyses' Memoirs, p. 115.

+ This individual was the elder of William Cowpar, the eminent Bishop of Galloway.

assigned to them ;" and a "grievous complaint" was also entered, "of the slander that he lies at the horn, for not furnishing two gallons of wine to the communion." It was alleged that such "slanders" induced several not only to withdraw from his sermons, and from his administration of the sacraments, though it was admitted that others resorted as usual, but that there "appears some division which should be redressed." The King's commissioners, however, interfered, and declared that the circumstance of the Titular "lying at the horn" was a civil matter with which the Assembly had no concern; but it was decided in their usual manner, in a general sense, that it "is slanderous to a Christian to resort to the [sermons and other] exercises foresaid of one whom they know to be at the horn, and suspended from all function of the ministry." They appear to have proceeded no farther against the Titular of St Andrews in this Assembly, but they ordered proceedings against those of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, the last of whom was accused of an act of immorality. Towards the conclusion of the Assembly the King sent certain articles for their acceptance. It was demanded that "if any controversy be concerning the Bishop of St Andrews, it be reasoned in his Majesty's presence"—that the Bishop of Aberdeen [Cunningham] be not intruded in his jurisdiction and living, but the same to be exercised by himself, because the alleged slander, whereby he was condemned before, is insufficiently tried and removed"—that James Gibson and John Cowpar* "acknowledge and confess their farther offences and slanders against his Majesty, and satisfy therefore as he shall think good, or otherwise be deprived from all function in the Kirk"—and that the Titular of Glasgow be "received without farther ceremony to the fellowship and favour of the Kirk." Evasive answers were given to the King's first, second, and third articles ; and as it respected the fourth, they declared that they would be guided in their treatment of the Titular of Glasgow precisely by the King's proceedings against the worthy Messrs Gibson

* The reader is already familiar with Cowpar's conduct before the King in St Giles' church. His companion Gibson had the hardihood to state in a sermon that the King himself has been the real persecutor of the Kirk, and that "as Jeroboam, for erecting of idolatry and permitting thereof, was the last of his posterity, so he feared if he [the King] continued, he would conclude [or be the last of] his race."—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 709, 710.

and Cowpar—" They shall dispense with Mr Robert Montgomery in some ceremonies used in repentance, in case they find his Majesty willing to remit somewhat of the rigour of his Majesty's satisfaction craved of the two brethren by whom they find his Highness offended."*

In this Assembly Mr Robert Pont produced a presentation from the King to the Bishopric of Caithness, vacant by the death of the Earl of March, formerly Lennox, previously mentioned as the lay Bishop or Titular of Caithness, who was the uncle of James. Mr Pont stated in the Assembly, to prevent any one in future from " slandering his person," that " for some loss and hurt done to him in his trouble, after divers suits given into the Exchequer, at length this presentation, without procurement of him, was put in his hand ; and if the living might be enjoyed with safe conscience, and without slander of the Kirk, desired their judgments thus far also, being of mind resolved in the matter that he would agree to be minister of Dornoch, and to take visitation according to the command of the Kirk, and for his office and charge enjoy the living only." But Mr Pont was not allowed to accept the proffered titularship. His brethren sent a letter to the King on the 28th of June, in which they ludicrously asserted that they acknowledged Mr Pont " to be already a Bishop according to the doctrine of St Paul," and that he was " qualified to be pastor or minister of the kirk of Dornoch, or any other kirk to which he may be legally called, as also to be a commissioner or visitor within the bounds of Caithness ;" but " as to that corrupt estate or office of them who have been termed Bishops heretofore, we find it not agreeable to the word of God, and it has been condemned in divers other Assemblies ; neither is the said Mr Robert willing to attempt the same in that manner.†

The next Parliament met at Edinburgh on 8th of July, at which the King presided, and the Titulars of St Andrews, Aberdeen, Orkney, Dunkeld, and Brechin, with thirteen of the commendators were present. The Titulars of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Orkney, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles on the first day of the meeting. Mr David Lindsay of Leith, by order of the

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 699, 700, 701.

† *Ibid.* p. 696, 697, 698.

“Brethren,” protested on behalf of the Presbyterian party, or, as they now always called themselves, the “Kirk”—that “none be suffered to vote any thing in the name of the Kirk but such as have function in the Kirk, and who shall have commission of the Kirk to the effect foresaid.”* The first act passed on the fourth day of the meeting was a declaration of the King’s “perfect age,” having then attained his twenty-first year, and the second was a “ratification of the liberty of the true Kirk of God.” Acts were passed against Roman Catholics and their books; the Titulars of St Andrews and Dunkeld were again placed in the Privy Council, but no notice whatever was taken of the General Assemblies or of the Presbyterian party, notwithstanding the protest of the future Bishop of Ross, that “no Prelate, Bishop, Abbot, or Prior [commendator], should have vote in Parliament but only such as bear function in the Kirk, by preaching of the word and administration of sacraments, hoping by this protestation that the rest of their plat [scheme] should have had the better success; but the same was given light ear unto for that time.”† One curious circumstance occurred in this Parliament, which was strangely completely overlooked by Melville and his associates. This was the restoration of James Beaton, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, to the temporalities of his See, though he had resolved to remain in France, and a protestation was lodged for the widow of the former Titular Boyd, that such “benefit and restitution” in favour of Archbishop Beaton was not to be “hurtful or prejudicial to her and her bairns, anent their rights and titles of whatsoever lands or possessions of the patrimony of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, or otherwise.”‡ An act was also passed in favour of the Titular of St Andrews, ratifying the pension of L.600 Scots and four chalders of oats to Patrick Adamson’s son, of the thirds of the Archbishopric, for “diverse great considerations and sums delivered at his Majesty’s command,” which pension was confirmed by the King and three Estates in the Parliament held at Linlithgow. This explains a singular transaction illustrative of the unscrupulous conduct of the Government in seizing church property, and by which the Presbyterian ministers were completely outwitted

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 428.

† Historie of King James the Sext, (Bannatyne Club,) p. 232.

‡ Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 471.

in a project devised by themselves against the Titulars. We are told by the contemporary writer, that they devised the following plan :—“ Because the Prelates had great rents that appertained to the Kirk by good right, and they did no service or function therein, but lived at their pleasure, and the said Bishoprics and Prelacies had certain temporal lands annexed unto them, whereby either [all] of them are called Lords ; for these two causes the [Presbyterian] ministers esteemed their Estate so odious, that they preached much against them, and besides all this they esteemed their own ordinary stipends so little and ill paid, and therefore devised to put into the head of the Prince [King James] that these temporal lands could not, nor should not, justly appertain to the Prelates, but rather to the Crown. This purpose was communicated to Secretary Maitland, who at this Parliament [of 1587] was established Chancellor, in whom they trusted that he would convey all things to their intent[ion] ; and therefore they wished him to persuade the King that the feu mails [duties paid to superiors] of the temporal lands of Prelacies should be annexed to the [Presbyterian] ministers' stipends. But he informed the King directly in the contrary, affirming that it was necessary that the temporal lands of Prelacies should be annexed to the Crown, to enrich the same, which was then at small rent. And he [Maitland] considered well that offers would be made by every possessor, who would bestow large [sums of] money to obtain the gift thereof to himself heritably ; and that the King was frank in granting lands as he might be persuaded, being facile of his nature, and thereby he thought to make gain of a part of the offers to be made, *as it fell out indeed* ; and therefore he caused the Lords of the Articles to be sent for to the King's Palace [Holyroodhouse] where he himself, the Prior of Blantyre, and the Justice-Clerk Bellenden, persuaded them to grant that all the mails [duties] of Prelacies should hereafter appertain to the King and his crown. And because the King would deal liberally with them, he promised that how much their mails should extend to, so much they should have allowed back again of the thirds of their benefices wherewith the ministry was accustomed to be paid, whereunto they were not only persuaded, but were compelled to grant unto, before they came furth from the Palace. And this was so privately ended, that the [Presbyterian] ministers neither knew thereof, nor yet

suspected the like fraud to be wrought against them." The writer admits that if the Chancellor's scheme of investing those lands had been effected, it would have been of great pecuniary advantage to the King and his successors, but "the only profit and commodity that were obtained the Prelates got it, for whereas before they were called men of benefices, now they are called temporal lords, like to the rest of the common [lay] sort."^{*}

The excitement caused by the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, during which King James was quietly exercising his theological acquirements by writing a commentary on the Apocalypse, occasioned a General Assembly to convene by the royal command at Edinburgh on the 6th of February 1587-8. Mr Robert Bruce, who was some time afterwards installed minister of Edinburgh at the request of the Assembly, was chosen Moderator. A "remedy" was taken into consideration for purging "this land of papists and idolaters," and a strong determination was recorded, that "the laws of the country without delay be execute against all Jesuits, seminary priests, idolaters, and maintainers thereof." They indulged in their usual tilt with the Titular of St Andrews, who had offended them by collating a Mr Andrew Allan to the parish and benefice of Leuchars near St Andrews, without consent of the Presbytery and his assessors; for collating Mr Patrick Thomson to the parsonage and parish of Flisk, on the Fife side of the Tay in the same manner; and for presenting a boy of eleven years of age to a certain vicarage not mentioned, which was a benefice of cure, "expressly against the act made by his Majesty and General Assembly." Adamson obeyed their citation, and declared that in the case of Leuchars he collated with the advice of the majority of his assessors—that Mr James Martin, and Messrs James and Robert Wilkie, specially consented thereto, and produced a written document dated the 20th of the previous month of April to that effect. Wilkie and Martin denied the Titular's statement, and it was resolved farther to investigate the matter. As to Flisk and the vicarage, Adamson answered—"That both the one and the other were done before the Act of Conference, and that the Bishops of St Andrews are bound to the Earl of Rothes by an old indenture." This answer

* Historie of King James the Sext (Bannatyne Club), p. 231, 232, 233.

appears to have exasperated his enemies, who at the next meeting found that he ought to be deprived, but before pronouncing sentence they deemed it prudent to inform the King of their proceedings in the Titular's case. Nothing is recorded of the result.

But the great discussion was about the Roman Catholics. Messrs Robert Pont and James Melville drew up "the humble suit of the Kirk," which was ordered to be presented to the King by Pont, Andrew Melville, Patrick Galloway, Peter Blackburn, and David Lindsay. It consisted of fulminations "against Jesuits and other papists," two of the principal of whom they mentioned by name—Mr James Gordon and Mr William Crichton, who, they said, were then in Edinburgh ;—demanding that they might be imprisoned till they were sent out of the country in the first ships, and if they returned without the King's license, that "the law shall be executed against them to death, without any farther process." Certain country gentlemen and other "excommunicated papists" were requested to be summoned before the King and Privy Council, and the penalties of the acts of Parliament enforced against them. It was farther demanded that all who are "culpable of apostacy or papistry shall in no way be suffered," or pardoned, "and generally, that all noblemen whatsoever, known maintainers of Papists, or enterprizing any thing against the true religion, shall either be put presently in ward or exiled [from] the country."*

* The Roman Catholics, both at that time, and subsequently after the establishment of the Episcopal Church, made strenuous efforts, by taking advantage of the feuds engendered by the Presbyterian preachers, their extraordinary pretensions, and open resistance to the Sovereign, to regain the ascendancy in Scotland. "The Priests and Jesuits who had now (1587) arrived in Scotland to promote the designs of the King of Spain were Scotsmen, and some of them nearly allied to several of the Noblest Families in the kingdom. Among the Jesuits was Mr. James Gordon, uncle of the Earl of Huntly, and Mr. Edmund Hay, brother of Sir Peter Hay of Megginch in the Carse of Gowrie, allied to the Family of Erroll. Mr. Edmund Hay was a man of great learning and knowledge, Professor of Civil and Canon Law, and Rector of the College at Douay. His brother, Sir Peter Hay of Megginch, was father of George the first Earl of Kinnoull, also father of Peter Hay of Kirkland, of whom the present Family of Kinnoull are descended. The Earl of Erroll at this time was Francis Hay, ninth Earl, a young nobleman of great promise, who had succeeded to the estate and honours in 1585. Mr. Edmund Hay, in his assiduity to make conversions, had too much influence with the Earl, and gained him over to the zealous profession of the Roman Catholic religion, in which, notwithstanding what he suffered in his person and

This was followed by a long document, entitled “Griefs of the Kirk,” presented to the King on the 20th of February 1587-8, in which it was set forth, that it was “an exceeding great grief to all such as have any *spunck* [spark] of the love of God and his Kirk, to see Jesuits, seminary priests, and other teachers of papistry and error, so long suffered to pollute this land with idolatry, corrupt and seduce the people, and spread abroad their personable doctrine.” The Presbyterians complained that instead of being punished according to the laws, such persons were in “special credit, favour, and furtherance at Court, in Session [the Supreme Court], to burgh, in land, throughout the realm, in all their affairs ; and on the other part, to behold the true word of God contemptuously despised by the great multitude, his holy sacraments profaned by private, corrupt, and unlawful persons, the discipline of the Kirk disregarded, the ministers and office-bearers within the same invaded, struck, menaced, and shamefully abused, themselves beggared, and their families shamefully hungered.” They then proceed to describe the state of the districts, and if their own accounts are correct, it is evidently proved that they shamefully disregarded the improvement of the people by their seditious quarrels with the Court, and their wranglings about their humanly devised “policy” of Presbyterian parity. In the south about Dumfries, several ladies of rank, and a number of gentlemen, are mentioned as “papists, apostates, maintainers, and professed favourers of Jesuits”—no “resorting to hear the word—no discipline—superstitious days kept by plain command, and controlling of the deacons of the crafts [masters of the incorporated trades]—all superstitious riotousness at Yule and Pasch [Christmas and Easter]—no kirks planted sufficiently.” The North is represented in a fearful state, chiefly by the influence of the Earl of Huntly and sundry gentlemen—the town and neighbourhood of Aberdeen so completely occupied by the Romanists that “few or no honest men are in the

estate, he continued till his death, July 14, 1631. The Priests and Jesuits, the time they remained in Scotland, had great success in converting several persons to Popery, and of consequence to favour the invasion of England by the Spaniards.” Perth MS. Registers in Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, vol. ii. under date November 1587. “Though the King gave no encouragement to the invasion of England by the Spaniards, but on the contrary took measures to defeat it, yet did he use moderation in executing the penal laws against Papists for sundry political reasons.”

whole country"—that Cunningham, the titular Bishop of Aberdeen, compelled his future successor, Mr Peter Blackburn, to "desist from visitation," by authority of the King's letters—that several of the "ministers and readers" had been expelled from the parish churches, and that certain "chief and principal kirks" were "destitute altogether of pastors and provision [preaching]." As it respects Ross, the complaint was that Bishop Leslie, the celebrated defender of Queen Mary, had been restored to the See in the last Parliament; several persons are noticed as "contemners of the sacraments"—that there is a "great coldness among all, both gentlemen and commons, since the Jesuits had liberty to pass through the country in the time of the Earl of Huntly's lieutenancy"—and that "the kirks are everywhere demolished and ruinous, which is a grief through many parts of the land." In Caithness the Earl of Sutherland, his Countess, and retainers, are specially denounced—"very few ministers there, and all destitute of provision." In Mearns and Angus, now Kincardine and Forfar shires, Patrick Lord Gray, and a number of gentlemen and inferior persons, are mentioned either as "under process of excommunication," or "excommunicated" as "reasoners against the religion, defenders of papists, and receivers of Jesuits"—as "reasoners against the truth in every place," or as "trafficking in sundrie places to undermine the gospel, and blasphemously railing against the word and ministers thereof," besides acts of violence of which they are accused. In the quiet and decent county of Fife it is represented that there is "no resorting to the kirk in many places"—that "the kirks are ruinous and destitute of pastors and provision in many places"—that there is "superstitious keeping of Christmas, Easter, and other holidays—that the Abbey of Dunfermline was given to the Earl of Huntly, who brought with him thither "flocks of papists, Jesuits, and excommunicated papists"—and that the titular Archbishop Adamson "continues to give collation of benefices to unworthy persons." In Lothian sundry papists and seminary priests had been "set at liberty without any punishment or satisfaction of the Kirk"—that most of the parish churches in the vicinity of Dalkeith are "destitute of pastors and provision," into which "papists flock and resort"—and that "sundry of the ministers are bereft of their stipends by annexation," particularly the worthy Mr Andrew

Simpson, pastor of Dalkeith, whose stipend had been assigned to the neighbouring Abbot of Newbattle. In Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, after singling out Lord Home, Lady Minto, Lady Fernihirst, Lady Riddell, and various priests, it is stated that “the haill people are readie to revolt [from the Evangell] because they see the Prince careless thereof as they say”—that there are “many superstitious pilgrimages and keeping of holidays”—and that “the greatest part of the kirks want ministers, and the word altogether vilified by the gentlemen of the county.” No minister is resident in the town of Lanark, though it was then the “chief town of the shire.” In Stirlingshire the “Sabbath is everywhere abused and profaned; the kirks ill planted; scarcely three have ministers; superstitious pilgrimages to Christ’s well, fastings, festives, bonfires, girdles, carols, and such like.” At Dunblane the Titular Bishop “restored, and lately come here, accompanied by a stranger, Frenchman or Italian, supposed by many probable appearances by men of great judgment to be employed here in some strange turn; his coming hath encouraged all suspected papists, and brought the simple in great doubts, for by his authority he draweth all with him in the old dance; the ministers are hereby despised and troubled in their livings, and the kirks ruined and desolate.”* As it respects Glasgow, then little better than a village, though a royal burgh, the Abbot of Paisley and sundry of the citizens are mentioned as “receivers of Jesuits,” and the “ministers are disappointed of their livings” or stipends. At the town of Dunbarton “the Laird of Fintry [Graham] hath seduced the chief there, and stolen away the hearts of the commons by banqueting at Yule [Christmas], continuing three days, during which time all papistical ceremonies were used. Moreover, there are great rumours of suspicion of [celebrating] masses in many places in the county [of Dunbarton, then called Lennox], which have engendered in the hearts of the people contempt of the word and ministers, who, when they began to deal with them in discipline, contemptuously despise the same, proudly menace them, and boast them in their faces. There are in Lennox twenty-four kirks, and not four ministers among them all.” At Ayr, “persons re-

* A mistake probably occurs here respecting the proper individual to whom the above remarks apply. The titular Bishop of Dunblane, Andrew Graham, was noted for his truculent conduct towards the General Assembly.

fuse to communicate, pretending frivolous feuds." They next set forth that "the great dissoluteness of life and manners, with the ugly heaps of all kind of sin lying in every nook and part of this land, is most heavily regretted and deplored; for what part of this land is there that is not with a spot overwhelmed with abusing the blessed name of God, with swearing, perjury, lies, with profaning the Sabbath-day, with markets, gluttony, drunkenness, fighting, playing, dancing, &c.; with rebelling against magistrates and the laws of the country;* with blood touching blood, with incest, fornication, adulteries, and sacrilege, theft, and oppression, with false witness; and finally, with all kind of impiety and wrong? Lastly, what heart touched with a spark of natural humanity or godly charity can unbleeding behold the miserable state of the poor, wandering in great troops and companies through the country without either law or religion?"†

Such was the state of Scotland as represented to King James by those self-constituted preachers of the "true religion" who designated themselves the only "ministers of the Evangel," and such were the effects of the Reformation nearly thirty years after John Knox had excited the enthusiasm of a *pious* and grateful populace to put the former "rooks" to flight, and throw down their "nests." By the admission of those "pruners of the Lord's vineyard," all their endeavours to bolster up a "KIRK," which was their own hand-work, were unsuccessful; nor could it be otherwise when it is recollectcd that Melville, and the other turbulent disciples of Geneva, prepared in their Second Book of Discipline a kind of legislative creed and policy of their own invention for the multitude of their erring fellow-subjects. This General Assembly concluded its proceedings by appointing two fast days to be universally held on the first and second *Sundays* of July; among the reasons assigned for which are "the defection of multitudes from the truth," "the coldness of all," and the "abundance of all kind of iniquity."

In July and August 1588, the supposed Invincible Armada of Spain was dispersed, and a series of storms effected what the valour

* This complaint is rather amusing, when it is considered that the Presbyterian preachers set the most conspicuous examples of sedition, disobedience, and insubordination.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 715-724.

of man might have with difficulty achieved. The Presbyterian party in Scotland were relieved from their apprehensions, yet they deemed it expedient to keep up the clamour respecting the alleged increase of Jesuits. Their next General Assembly convened at Edinburgh on the 6th of August 1588, when the unfortunate Titular of St Andrews was again the object of their malignity. He had been censured, and deprived of his "commissionry" by the former Assembly until the present was held, and as they omitted no opportunity of harassing him, they took advantage of an occurrence to evince their personal antipathy. George sixth Earl of Huntly, the same nobleman who in 1591-2 killed the Earl of Moray* at Dunbrioste in Fife and burnt that mansion, married, in 1588, Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox. He applied to the preachers of the "Presbytery of Edinburgh" to have the ceremony performed, but they refused unless the Earl subscribed the Confession of Faith already mentioned. As the marriage could not be conveniently delayed, Adamson by command of the King officiated, and solemnized the nuptials on the 21st of July. The Titular's conduct was brought before this Assembly at their third sitting, and he was summoned to appear before them on the 12th of the month; and in the meanwhile Andrew Melville, Robert Bruce, and John Duncanson, were directed to "crave of the Earl of Huntly subscription to the Confession of Faith." The Titular on the 11th sent a certificate of his inability to attend from sickness, which in some degree disappointed them, and they decided that "although they find the testimonial not altogether sufficient, they gave commission to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to summon him to compear before them at such convenient times as they think expedient, to answer for the action contained in the said summons, and for such other complaints and accusations as shall be in particular given in against him." They authorized the said "Presbytery" to call before them "papists and apostates, who shall happen to resort to Court," among whom are mentioned the Earl of Huntly and Robert [sixth Lord] Seton, and to proceed against them.†

* Eldest son of Sir James Stewart of Doune, and known in history as the *Bonnie Earl of Moray*. He married Lady Elizabeth, elder daughter of the Regent Moray, and in her right assumed the title of Earl of Moray.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 731—738.

At the opening of the General Assembly held on the 17th of June 1589, James Melville was chosen Moderator. On the 20th King James delivered a speech, and “promised to hold hard to discipline,” for which the Assembly “by the mouth of the Moderator rendered his Majesty humble thanks for the beginnings he had made in suppressing the enemies of religion.” The proceedings of this meeting are very briefly recorded, and it is only noticed here as connected with Adamson. The “Presbytery of Edinburgh” reported, that as the Titular had not appeared to answer for solemnizing the Earl of Huntly’s marriage, they “deprived him from all functions in the Church” for contumacy, which the Assembly ratified, and “ordained it with other sentences that were recorded against him to be published in all the churches.”

The year 1589 is noted in the domestic life of King James by his marriage to the Princess Anne of Denmark. It was celebrated in Denmark in the month of August, the Earl Marischal being proxy for the King; but a succession of storms, superstitiously believed at the time to have been raised by the agency of witches in Haddingtonshire, for which several of them were burnt at the stake, retarded the arrival of the royal bride. Impatient to see his consort, and informed that the Princess had been driven back by a violent gale, James compelled the Magistrates of Edinburgh to furnish him with a secure ship, and he sailed from Leith for Denmark on the 22d of October. The Duke of Lennox, and Francis Earl of Bothwell, nephew of the notorious Earl of Bothwell, and subsequently a sore thorn in the King’s side, were constituted by James his Lieutenants of the kingdom during his absence; and it is singular that, notwithstanding Bothwell’s turbulence, he on that occasion conducted himself with great propriety, and so discharged the duties entrusted to him conjunctly with Lennox, that greater peace and harmony pervaded the kingdom than had been known for years. James was married in person at Upsal, and did not return with his Queen till 1590, when he landed at Leith on the 1st of May. Even the turbulent disciples of Calvin were quiescent, though the rebellious leaven was too deeply incorporated with their system of polity not soon to ferment in some way or other. In their General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 3d of February 1589-90, they resolved that a fast should be observed *every Sunday* till the King’s arrival, and a fierce pro-

clamation was issued against “ Jesuits, papists, and seminary priests.” A former bond for “ maintaining the true religion,” the Confession of Faith, and an act of the Secret Council in favour of both, which were to be subscribed *de novo*, were ordered to be printed. Nothing, however, occurred of importance till after the return of James with his Queen, who was crowned on the 17th of May in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, Messrs Robert Bruce, David Lindsay, Walter Balcanqual, and the King’s “ own ministers,” assisting at the ceremony. It is said that the scruples of the Presbyterian ministers, who alleged that the ceremony of unction was unscriptural, were overpowered by the King, who threatened to get one of the Titular Bishops to officiate if they refused.

The next General Assembly was held at Edinburgh on the 4th of August 1590, when Mr Patrick Galloway was chosen Moderator. In the list of names occur several who held the episcopal function when the Church was established after the accession of King James to the English Crown, and Calderwood carefully records them. After recording that an “ act” was passed for subscribing the “ Book of Policy,” or Second Book of Discipline, by “ whosoever hath borne office in the ministry within the Kirk of this realm, or presently bear, or shall hereafter bear office, therein”—the zealous Mr Calderwood states—“ Some ministers that were at this Assembly, notwithstanding this act, making defection afterward, either accepted Bishoprics, or *aspired* to the same, viz. Mr Neil Campbell, after[wards] Bishop of Argyll, Mr Peter Blackburne, after Bishop of Aberdeen; Mr George Gladstanes, after [Arch] Bishop of St. Andrews; Mr James Nicolson, after Bishop of Dunkeld; Mr William Cowpar, after Bishop of Galloway; Mr David Lindsay, after Bishop of Brechin; Mr John Spottiswoode, after [Arch] Bishop of [Glasgow and] St Andrews; Mr Patrick Lindsay, after Bishop of Ross; Mr George Graham, after Bishop of Orkney.” The *aspirants* to the episcopal office he enumerates thus—“ Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Cornwall, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Archibald Moncrieff, &c.”* The only matter of general importance was an amusing speech delivered by no less a personage than King James—at least it has been alleged that

* Calderwood, p. 257, 258. Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 762-766.

he so expressed himself. The Moderator [Galloway] proposed three articles to the King for his approval—1. That the “liberties of the Kirk” should be ratified ; 2. That the laws should be enforced against “Jesuits, papists, seminary priests, abusers of the sacraments ;” 3. That every parish church should have a “sufficient pastor and a sufficient living.” The King replied, that in all Parliaments the very first thing done was to “ratify the liberties of the Kirk”—that they knew well his sentiments respecting “Papists and Jesuits”—and that as to the “provision of kirks,” he had only his own portion, for many others were connected with them as patrons, but he requested the Assembly to appoint the Moderator, and Messrs Bruce, Lindsay, and Pont, to wait on the Council, and confer with them on the subject. This was done, and now came the royal oration.—“The King willed the ministers to purge themselves, and to be impartial in their own cause. It was his duty, he said, as well to see them reformed as it was theirs to urge him and the nobility to reform themselves. In no point was he so earnest as in this. In end, his Majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time, as in the end of the light of the gospel to such a place as to be King in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. ‘The Kirk of Geneva,’ said he, ‘keepeth Pasch and Yule [Easter and Christmas]. What have they for them? They have no institution [scriptural authority]. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, it is an ill said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same ; and I, forsooth, so long as I enjoy my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.’ The Assembly so rejoiced, that there was nothing but loud praising of God and praying for the King for a quarter of an hour.”* It must have been ludicrous to have seen the Presbyterian conclave so employed, lifting up their devout hands and eyes, groaning and singing at this ebullition of royal puerility. Their writers have carefully paraded it in their favour, and retorted it on the King, when in subsequent times he thought and acted differently. It is of course noticed by the very *impartial* Mr Neal to gratify the English Puritans, and by others of his principles. Even Dr Cook

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 771.

must bring a charge against Archbishop Spottiswoode, that the Primate “uncandidly suppressed the conclusion.” This refers to the sneer at the Liturgy of the Church of England, of which the King probably knew little or nothing, and of which ignorant Presbyterians in more enlightened times often express the same opinion. But how can it be proved that Archbishop Spottiswoode “uncandidly suppressed the conclusion?” He was present and heard the speech, and not the zealous Mr Calderwood, on whose authority it chiefly rests, for he did not appear in public life till 1604, when he became minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire. According to the Archbishop’s report of the royal speech, the King made no allusion to the Church of England at all, and the “conclusion” which the Primate is accused of “uncandidly suppressing” may as likely have been a gratuitous addition of Mr Calderwood on the authority of some of his friends, who in too many instances proved in after times that they were very capable of indulging in such liberties to serve their party purposes. But admitting that the King really so expressed himself, it was not the only inconsiderate observation which he uttered during his life, though he is entitled to a greater share of political sagacity and discernment than the Presbyterians have at any time awarded to him.

At this time the life of the Titular of St Andrews was drawing to a close. Harassed by poverty, persecution, and bodily infirmity, he had lingered out a truly uncomfortable life. In 1590, Adamson published the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah in Latin verse, which he dedicated to the King, and embraced the opportunity of complaining to James of the tyrannical treatment he had experienced from the Presbyterian party. James Melville, in the condensed report of the eccentric sermon which he delivered in his own ludicrous vernacular at the meeting of the General Assembly in August that year, from 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, alleged that Adamson was then engaged in writing a work entitled *Psyllus* against the Presbyterian discipline, and this very amiable and charitable pruner in the vineyard of the Genevan polity thus edified the “haill brethren” present:—“ We had lurking within our own bowels a poisonable and venomous *Psyllus*—a warlock, I warrant you, so poisoned by the venom of that old serpent, and so altered in his substance and nature, that the deadly poison of the viper is his familiar food and nurture, to-wit, lies, falsehood, malice,

and knavery, who has been long hatching a cockatrice egg, and so finely instructed to handle the whistle of that auld enchanter, that no Psyllus, Circe, Medea, or Pharmaceutrie, could have done better. This is Patrick Adamson, false Bishop of St Andrews, who at this time was in making of a book against our discipline which he entitles *Psyllus*, and dedicates to the King, the epistle-dedicatorie whereof is in my hand, wherein he shows his purpose to be to suck out the poison of the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, as the Psylli, a venomous people in Africa, suck out the venom of the wounds of such as are stung with serpents. But I trust in God (said I) he shall prove the fool as madly as did those silly Psyllis, of whom Herodotus in his *Melpomene* writes, that they perished altogether in this manner—when the south wind had dried up all their conservars and cisterns of water, they took counsel all in a mind to go against it in arms for avengement; but coming among the deserts and dry sands, the wind blew highly and overwhelmed them with sand, and destroyed them every man. Such, I doubt not, shall come of this obstinate, malicious fool [Adamson] while he intends not only to stop the breath of God's mouth, but also to be avenged upon it, because it has stricken him so that he is blasted therewith, and dried up, and made void of heavenly life. But alas! my brethren (said I), if ye would do that which I think ye both might and should do at this time, to-wit, to ratify and approve that sentence of excommunication most justly and orderly pronounced against that venomous enemy of Christ's kingdom, as I am assured it is ratified in the heavens, as clearly may appear by the effects thereof, no less than in the days of Ambrose, when Satan sensibly possessed such as were delivered to him by excommunication, he [Adamson] would feel better his miserable folly, and be won again to Christ, *if he be of the number of the elect.* The which if ye do not, my brethren, by a sore experience not long since past before, I may foretell you a thing to come, if God in mercy, for Christ's sake, stay it not, that ye will find and feel yet more perniciously the reserved poison of that Psyllus in brangling [shaking or menacing] the discipline of the Kirk, and punishing our undutiful negligence."*

This atrocious and disgusting address, delivered by the rabid

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 281, 282, 283.

nephew of Andrew Melville, is a fair specimen of the mode of preaching in which the Presbyterians indulged against their opponents, and after such a specimen of Calvinistic blasphemy and personal hatred, we need not be surprised at the odious calumnies, falsehoods, and infamous libels, continually uttered against one of Adamson's canonically consecrated successors to the Scottish Primacy—Archbishop Sharp. Meanwhile the unfortunate Titular published, about the end of 1590, a translation of the Apocalypse in Latin verse, which he also dedicated to James; but neither this learned production, nor some affecting Latin verses written during his deepest distress, and addressed to the King, procured for him any compassion and favour. According to Calderwood, the King, finding the Titular to be no longer useful to him, and " vexed with complaints upon Mr Patrick Adamson lying registered at the horn," became " so ashamed of him," that he most ungenerously deprived him of the small revenue he obtained from the Archbisporic, and granted the rents to the Duke of Lennox. This reduced the unfortunate Titular to such a state of poverty, in addition to his bodily sickness and mental suffering, that, if we are to credit the aforesaid James Melville, he was necessitated to apply to his relentless and inveterate enemy Andrew Melville for pecuniary relief. That person, probably feeling some compunction for his conduct, visited him, and now very generously supported him and his family for several months, until permanent assistance could be procured for him. Although labouring under severe bodily disease, his mind agonised by contemplating the necessities of his family, surrounded by personal enemies, and abandoned by the King, for whose interests he had sacrificed his worldly comforts, his opponents, while thus humiliated as low as they could wish him to be, neither spoke nor wrote of him with compassion. The following observations of James Melville illustrate this statement—" But he had feigned so often sickness," says this sour Presbyterian, " that none believed him till he was brought to such necessity that he was compelled to write to Mr Andrew my uncle, make confession of his offences against God and *him*, and crave his help, who readily visited him, and supported him, so that the space of divers months he lived on his purse. At last he besought him to get him some collection from the brethren in the town [St Andrews], and for their satisfaction pro-

mised to present [himself in] the pulpit, and make further confession : but whether he feigned the excuses, or that it was so ordered that God would not permit him, I know not, but he had never that grace to [appear in] the pulpit again."*

About this time Dr Richard Bancroft, then Prebendary of Westminster, and chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury, afterwards himself successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to the dying Titular, informing him that he had read with satisfaction his paraphrases of the Book of Job and the Apocalypse, and requesting him to take sanctuary among his friends in England, by whom, and especially by Archbishop Whitgift, he assured him that he would be hospitably received and munificently rewarded. Dr Bancroft's letters never reached Adamson. It will hardly be credited that they were intercepted by the General Assembly, who scrupled not to commit this act of consummate baseness and dishonesty. Calderwood says that Dr Bancroft advised Adamson to give Queen Elizabeth more honourable titles, and to praise the Church of England " above all other." Whether this is true or not, it is impossible to say, as the zealous Mr Calderwood's friends in the General Assembly *stole the letters*, but it may be safely inferred that Dr Bancroft would commit nothing to writing of which he might be ashamed before a Scottish Presbyterian. Adamson lingered till the 19th of February 1591-2, when he died, having personally, it is said, abjured his former principles in a written document. He was urged to do this rash act while in a state of suffering, which ought rather to have excited the sympathy of his persecutors, and when truly Christian principles would have prompted them to bury in oblivion the theological warfare in which he and they had been engaged. But the Presbyterians of that and the succeeding century cherished no feelings of compassion, or even of toleration, to those who thought differently from themselves. Adamson's " Recantation," as it is called, or submission to the dominant party, was received by them as a triumph over the supporters of the Titular Episcopacy. He was made to condemn the measures which he had some years before recommended to James in the production known as the King's Declaration, and to assert

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 289.

that “the establishment of Bishops had no warrant from the word of God, but is grounded upon the policy and invention of man, whereupon the Primacy of the Pope or Antichrist has risen.” Dr Cook’s remarks on this transaction, which, instead of being a triumphant testimony in favour of Presbytery, as Calderwood and James Melville consider it, was peculiarly disgraceful to their cause, are eloquent and just:—“Even upon the supposition that in all this the Archbishop acted a willing part, he should have been spared. He was so feeble that he was unable to write with his own hand, and the ministers might have been sensible that any declaration made by him under the langour of approaching dissolution, could not be regarded by those who opposed their principles as of the slightest importance, while it subjected themselves to the imputation of having embittered, by cruel importunities, the last moments of a man who, from the calamities which had befallen him, and the melancholy reverse of fortune which he had experienced, was in a high degree entitled to sympathy, even by such as reprobated the insincere policy by which through life he had been directed.”

The works of Adamson were published in a quarto volume in London, with a Life, in 1619, by his son-in-law Thomas Wilson, or, as he classically writes his name, *Volumenus*. The Titular is said to have written other pieces which were never printed, among which are enumerated Six Books on the Hebrew Republic, Translations of the Prophets into Latin verse, Prelections on St Paul’s Epistles to Timothy, Apologetical and Funereal Orations, and, what must ever be regretted, if now lost, a candid and impartial history of his own times. Adamson was one of the most learned men of his age in Scotland, and his abilities as a Latin poet were of a high order. He wrote some affecting verses immediately before his death, intimating the manner in which he had spent the end of his chequered life.*

* The following translation of Adamson’s verses alluded to is inserted in the “*Biographia Britannica*,” vol. i. p. 28—

“ O Soul ! long toss’d in waves of endless strife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life ;
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and speed thee from its snares.
Lo ! the great God, who every good bestows,
Bids thee forsake thy body and thy woes.

The following notices of the Titular's personal and family history, from the Perth Registers in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, may probably be interesting to some readers. It is already stated that he is sometimes called Constance, and that he was a native of Perth. "In looking into the charters of the altars and religious houses at Perth, I find the same persons sometimes called Constantine or Constance, and sometimes Adamson. In the charters, between the years 1491 and 1500, are thirteen in which the same person is mentioned, sometimes by the name of Dionysius Adamson, and sometimes of Dionysius Constantine or [Constance]. He was several times town-clerk, particularly in the year 1496, in which year he is called in one charter Dionysius Constantine, and in another Dionysius Adamson, and in both is designated common clerk of the burgh of Perth. There are several instances of persons in Perth bearing two surnames. I apprehend that Mr Patrick [the titular Archbishop] was a descendant of the above mentioned Dionysius Adamson alias Constance, and that John Adamson, Professor of Theology, and Provincial Prior of the Predicant or Black Friars in Scotland, who, according to Boece, accomplished a great reformation among these Friars about the year 1500, was a brother or near relation of the said Dionysius. I apprehend also that Mr Patrick's father was Patrick Adamson, who was frequently in the magistracy of Perth between the years 1540 and 1562. It might be owing to an affectation of singularity, to which some literary men are subject, that he chose for some time to take that

While the kind Author of our happier state,
His suffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haste thee, haste thee, to thy native sky ;
Leave here thy pains ; to endless quiet fly.
This breathless trunk, this putrid fleshly case,
Though worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear the angelic trump ; again arise,
And then resuming, bear it to the skies.
See the bless'd day, see how the Lamb appears,
Hard by his cross ! O how his bleeding cheers !
On these depending, speed thee in thy flight
In thy new friends how much wilt thou delight.
Dear God, in thee, in thee, O God most dear,
Whose name be mentioned still with holy fear,
My hope, firm fix'd, for ever shall abide ;
Living I trust, and dying I confide."

alternative of the family name which was most uncommon. His younger brother, or rather his nephew, James Adamson, was an eminent merchant in Perth, and was elected to the office of Provost. Mr Patrick Constance [or Adamson] was recommended to the General Assembly, December 20, 1560, as a young man fit to be called to the office of preacher, but whether he was immediately licenced to preach is uncertain. He seems to have taught grammar at St Andrews, or some neighbouring town. His poverty at this period, of which some writers speak, was no greater than that of a person bred to a literary profession, who has no great patrimony, and who had not yet been called to a benefice. In the month of August 1564, he published a book against the gross abuses and superstitious fooleries of the Roman Church. Though severals of the Church in Scotland treated him with rigour because of the opinions he entertained respecting ecclesiastical government, yet all parties in general commended his writings, and the Literati in Perth boasted that their town had given birth to a man of such eminent learning and genius.*

The Titular's relatives are often mentioned in the Perth Registers. Violet Adamson, his sister, married Mr Andrew Simpson, Master of the Grammar School of Perth, who conformed to the Reformation, became Rector of the Grammar School of Dunbar, and minister of that town. Two sons of this marriage were Mr Patrick Simpson, minister of Stirling, born at Perth in 1556, and Mr Archibald Simpson, minister of Dalkeith. The Titular had a brother named James Adamson, merchant, and Provost of Perth, who married Margaret, daughter of Mr Henry Anderson, a poet of considerable talent, several of whose productions are inserted in the *Deliciae Poetarum Scotorum*. Two sons of this marriage were Mr John Adamson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr Henry Adamson, author of the well-known local poem on the history of Perth, ludicrously entitled “Gall's Gabions.” The Titular had another brother named Henry, who was Dean of Guild in Perth. He was murdered at the market-cross of that town on Good Friday, April 18, 1598, by a certain Thomas Peebles. This Henry Adamson had an intrigue with the wife of Mr Oliver

* Perth MSS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Register of Children baptised in Perth, in the hand-writing of Mr Scott, Established Presbyterian minister in Perth.

Peebles of Chapelhill, a citizen of Perth, but the relationship between him and Thomas Peebles is not stated. Peebles fled after the murder, but he was apprehended, tried, and condemned by the Magistrates of Perth, and executed on the 30th of May. He had been previously excommunicated at the instance of Helen Orme, Henry Adamson's widow, and on the 22d of that month Mr William Cowpar, then one of the ministers of Perth, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, gave him the "first admonition or summons from the pulpit before excommunication for the murder."^{*} Little is known of the Titular's children. In 1594 an act was passed by the Parliament, declaring that the "alienations, resignations, and other dispositions, made by the wife or bairns of umquhile Mr Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews," are pronounced to be "good, sufficient, lawful, and available," notwithstanding the "minority and lesser age of the bairns of the said umquhile Bishop."[†] The Titular married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthur and his wife Margaret Martin, and three of his children, are mentioned—James the eldest, Patrick the second son, and his daughter, who married Mr Thomas Wilson, an advocate, the editor of the collection of the Titular's Works, with a Life published in 1619.

A few months after the decease of Adamson occurred the death of John Erskine of Dun, which took place in March 1591-2, at the advanced age of eighty-two. He was among the first of his station in life as a gentleman of ancient family, rank, and fortune, to conform to the Reformation, and as Superintendent of Angus and Mearns he constantly appears in the proceedings of the General Assemblies, of which he was five times elected Moderator. His assumption of the clerical function must be severely censured, but in other respects the Baron of Dun, as he is called, was an honour to his country in an age noted for the fierceness and turbulence of his religious coadjutors. He was always the adviser of moderate and conciliatory measures, and Queen Mary truly described him as a "mild and sweet natured man, with true honesty and uprightness."—"He was a man," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, "famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the

^{*} Perth MSS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

[†] Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 74.

Church, which out of the zeal he had for the truth he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. A Baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage, who for divers resemblances may well be said to have been another Ambrose."*

The recorded proceedings of the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 2d of July 1591, are of no great interest. Allusions occur to those who "usurp the names of Bishops, and have been sometime in the ministry, and now neither will serve the Kirk themselves, whereof they take up the fruits, nor pay the stipends of them that serve as they are appointed by the plat," but "spend the same in profane uses." It was decided that they ought to be "censured by the Kirk, and if they amend not, to be excommunicated." A petition was transmitted to the King and Privy Council, praying that the acts of Parliament might be enforced against "Jesuits, and the receivers of them, and of the excommunicated, profaners of the sacraments, private men and women givers thereof, idolaters, pilgrimagers, papistical magistrates, sayers and hearers of the mass, givers of the sacraments according to the papistical form, and receivers of the same ; committers of apostacy, public markets upon the Sabbath day, violent invaders of ministers by striking them, or shedding of their blood, profaners of the Sabbath-day by Robin Hood plays, murderers and blood-shedders who overflow the land."†

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 3d of April 1592, at which the only Titulars present were old Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, and the Commandators of Culross, Melrose, and Kinloss. The Parliament was adjourned to the 25th of May. On the 22d of that month the General Assembly was held, but its proceedings are meagre and uninteresting. The Lords of the Articles for the Parliament were chosen on the 29th of May, and among them were the Titulars of Orkney and Dunkeld, and the Commandators of Culross, Lindores, Tongland, Kinloss, Blantyre, and Inchaffray. This Parliament is of importance in the annals of the Presbyterians as the first which ratified their system as an Establishment and abolished the Titular Episcopate. This was done on the 5th,

* The estate and mansion of Dun, in the parish so called, county of Forfar, near Montrose, are still possessed by his family, the Erskines of Dun.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 784.

by the act entitled “Act for abolishing the acts contrair to True Religion.” It ratified and approved the “General Assemblies appointed by the Kirk,” and declared that it shall “be lawful to the Kirk and ministry every year at the least, and oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, to hold and keep General Assemblies; providing that the King’s Majesty, or his commissioners with them, to be appointed by his Highness, be present at each General Assembly before the dissolving thereof; nominate and appoint time and place when and where the next General Assembly shall be held; and in case neither his Majesty nor his said commissioners be present for the time in that town where the said General Assembly is held, then, and in that case, it shall be lawful to the said General Assembly by themselves to nominate and appoint time and place where the next General Assembly of the Kirk shall be kept and held as they have been in use to do these times by past.” The act also “ratified and approved the Synodal and Provincial Assemblies to be held by the said Kirk and ministry twice each year, as they have been, and are presently in use to do within every province of this realm.” The acts of the Parliament of 1584, granting “commissions to Bishops and other judges ecclesiastical to receive his Highness’ presentation to benefices,” were abrogated; and it was ordained that all such presentations were to be “directed to the particular Presbyteries in all time coming, with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the Kirk, providing the foresaid Presbyteries be bound and astricted to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister is presented by his Majesty or other lay patrons.”*

This act undoubtedly ratified and established Presbytery, yet nothing is stated in it declaring the Titular Episcopacy illegal. On the contrary Cunningham, the titular Bishop of Aberdeen, and

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 541, 542. The passing of this act, and the sentiments of the Presbyterians on it, are intimated by James Melville:—“This act is maist remarkable, for the passing thereof was flatly denied till it was extract, and being extract, and found to have been published and given out with the rest, it was meikle rued [lamented] and detested in 1596. And indeed the Kirk is addebtid to Mr John Maitland [Lord Thirlestane], Chancellor for the time, for the same, who induced the King to pass it at that time.” Diary, (Wodrow Society), p. 298.

Campbell, Titular Bishop of Brechin, continued to attend and vote in the Parliaments, along with the commendators or lay abbots, as representing the Spiritual Estate. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 3d of April, the Titulars of Aberdeen and Brechin, and six lay abbots, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles, and an act passed in favour of the former, securing him in possession of the temporalities, expressly recognised him as “Bishop of Aberdeen.”* Acts were also passed in favour of the Titulars of Aberdeen and Dunkeld in the Parliament of 1594, in which they are styled “Bishops,” and they, with the Titular of Brechin, were then chosen among the Lords of the Articles. Their names appear among those who were entitled to attend the occasional Conventions of Estates. In short, although Presbytery was in a certain sense established in 1592, that circumstance had no effect on the constitution of the subsequent Parliaments, in every one of which the Titulars and lay abbots appeared as the Spiritual representatives.

Another fact remains to be noticed, which proves that the King and Council, though they were pleased to confer on Presbytery the advantages of an establishment, had not the least intention of relinquishing or repressing the Titular Episcopate as one of the Three Estates. In 1597 an act was passed declaring that “all ministers provided to prelacies should have votes in Parliament.” This act sets forth that his Majesty, with advice and consent of the Estates, “decerns and declares that the Kirk within this realm, wherein the same religion is professed, is the true and holie Kirk, and that such pastors and ministers within the same as at any time His Majesty shall please to provide to the office, place, title, and dignity, of a *Bishop*, *Abbot*, or other *Prelate*, shall at all time hereafter have vote in Parliament, such like and freely as any other ecclesiastical prelates had at any time bygone; and also declares that all and whatever Bishoprics presently vacant in his Highness’ hands, which as yet are undisposed to any persons, or which shall happen at any time hereafter to be vacant, shall be only disponed by his Majesty to actual preachers and ministers in the Kirk, or to such other persons as shall be found apt and qualified to use and exercise the office and function of

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 32.

a minister or preacher, and who in their provisions to the said Bishoprics shall accept in and upon them to be actual pastors and ministers.”* This was in direct opposition to one of the demands of the General Assembly in 1592, that “ Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates, pretending the title of the Kirk, and voting for the same, without their power and commission, be not suffered in time coming to vote for the same either in Parliament or other Convention.”† In 1597 it was farther provided, concerning the persons to be presented to the Bishoprics, that the King would consult with the “ General Assembly of the ministers at such times as his Majesty shall think expedient to treat with them thereon, without prejudice always in the meantime of the jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk established by acts of Parliament made in any time preceding, and permitted by the said acts to all General and Provincial Assemblies, and other whatsoever Presbyteries and Sessions of the Kirk.” These proceedings of the Parliament excited the more violent of the Presbyterians, but they took place about the time when Calderwood dolefully acknowledges that they were “ hatching this woful Episcopacy.”

It is unnecessary to narrate the personal history of most of the persons who figured as preachers and leaders in the drama acted in Scotland after the Reformation. Some of them were able men, but many became prominent merely by circumstances and the events of the day. Many of the original heroes of the Reformation died before the ratification of Presbytery in 1592, and not a few of those who succeeded them subsequently conformed to the Episcopal Church, and renounced all their Presbyterian opinions, if indeed they were ever much disposed to cherish such principles. As it was, however, the Titular Episcopate was a matter of mere indifference—a worldly arrangement for political purposes, the loss of which involved nothing of importance, and utterly indefensible by any arguments—opposed to scriptural authority, apostolical practice, and primitive antiquity.

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 130, 131.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part Second, p. 787.

CHAPTER IX.

OPINIONS AND PRACTICES OF THE PRESBYTERIANS OF SCOTLAND AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THEIR NOTIONS OF ORDINATION—MODE OF EXERCISING DISCIPLINE—FONDNESS FOR TRYING AND PUNISHING CASES OF SCANDAL AND LICENTIOUS OFFENCES—THEIR TYRANNICAL PROCEEDINGS.

THE period from 1592 to 1603, when King James succeeded to the English Crown, may be safely left to be described by the Presbyterian writers. It was noted for the numerous brawls, tumults, and political intrigues among the nobility, the extraordinary episode in 1600 of the Gowrie Conspiracy, and the usual squabbles between the King and the Presbyterian preachers on the old theme of contention—the constitution of the Church. Before entering on the history of the Scottish Church during the reign of James in England, a view of the state of Scotland may not be uninteresting.

“ For a long time after the Reformation,” says the industrious and candid transcriber of the Perth MSS., alluding to an entry in the Register of Baptisms under date 1579-80, “ the people in general were very ignorant. There were very few who could read, and many families had no Bible. It seems to have been a practice that such parents as were ignorant, before they could obtain baptism, were obliged to procure some person to engage for them under a penalty that they would do their endeavour to acquire more knowledge. The Scriptures were publicly read morning and evening in the Church, that the people might become better acquainted with what they contain. It was customary also to administer baptism after the morning and evening prayers, which

accounts for the great variety of dates in the Register."* According to the form prescribed in the "Book of Common Order," known as John Knox's Liturgy, the child was to be presented for baptism by one of the parents and a *godfather*. Two godfathers were usually produced, who in the Perth Register are entered as *witnesses*, but at Aberdeen and other places in the North of Scotland the name *godfather* is retained.†

The Lord's Supper was received in a sitting attitude, as still practised by the Presbyterians and the sectaries generally. But the mode of celebrating it differed in details from the practice of the Scottish Presbyterians, whether Established or Dissenting, since the Revolution. The transcriber of the Perth MSS. observes, under date 1593—"The Lord's Supper, especially in large congregations, was generally administered two several Sabbaths, the one-half of the communicants being admitted to the table on the first and the other on the second day. By this practice the service was not protracted to a tedious length, and the minister of the parish, without having any of his neighbours to assist him, could go through the whole work of administering. The old Book of Common Order recommended that the Lord's Supper should be dispensed in every congregation once every month. On the day of the communion the minister was to recite the words of institution as contained in the 11th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and then to FENCE (!) the *tables* in much the same manner as is now done. Afterwards coming down from the pulpit he was to take his place at the table, where, taking the bread into his hands, he was to give thanks, as is now done; after which, having broken the bread and given it to the people, and also the cup, he and they were to communicate with one another, and during the time of communicating some suitable passages of Scripture were to be read, probably by the reader, where the congregation was furnished with one in that office. Then the minister was to pray, and the whole action was to be concluded with singing the 103d Psalm, or some other such Psalm of thanksgiving." Persons who refused or wilfully delayed to communicate were prosecuted, and denounced by the respective preachers, and their courts called the

* Perth MSS. Register of Baptisms at Perth, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

† *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii.

kirk-sessions. All persons who were avowed or suspected Roman Catholics were expected to be punished by exile and forfeiture of their property. The Presbyterians of that period had no idea of toleration, and we accordingly find, in all the proceedings of the General Assemblies, that they spoke and acted on the assumption that no other religion was ever to be allowed in the kingdom except their own. Whoever was not of their way of thinking was either branded as an enemy of the "Evangell," or they brought forward the usual and to them very convenient charge of Popery. It would have astonished those men if they had been told that within three centuries after the Reformation, under their beloved Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, not only would stately fabrics of the Episcopal Church, or, as they called it, Prelacy, be erected in several of the cities and towns, but even a Roman Catholic Bishop would be seen driving every Sunday morning through the streets of the Scottish metropolis in his carriage, to celebrate that Mass which they so vehemently denounced, and all this in defiance of the General Assembly, who dare not utter even a whisper of opposition.

Of the doctrine inculcated upon the people by the Presbyterians of James VI.'s reign little is comparatively known, but there is no doubt that it would be rigidly Calvinistic. The sermons of the leading preachers were very often political, full of invective, and personally abusive. Several instances of this are already given in the present volume. The intolerable freedoms which the preachers chose to indulge are sufficiently indicated by eleven Articles which were proposed by King James to the General Assembly held at Perth on the 1st of March 1596-7, and the answers they thought proper to return. One of the Articles was, that "no minister shall hereafter at any time meddle with matters of state in the pulpit, or with any of his Majesty's laws, statutes, or ordinances, but if any of the ministry shall think any of them hurtful to the religion, or contrary to the word, they shall privately complain thereupon to the King or his Council." The reply to this was that they would first take the advice of their Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies. Another Article was, that "it shall not be lawful to the pastors to *name any particular men's names in the pulpit*, or so vividly to describe them as may be equivalent with their naming, except upon the notoriety of a crime;"

and the answer was, that “ no man’s name should be mentioned to his rebuke in the pulpit except the fault be notorious and public, which notoriety is defined if the person be fugitive, convicted by an assize, or excommunicated for contumacy after citation or lawful admonition.” The King farther demanded that “ every minister in his particular application shall have only respect to the edifying of his own flock and auditory present, without expatiating upon other discourses no way pertinent for that congregation.” Other articles relate to what they were pleased to call excommunication, which it appears they wielded in such a tyrannical manner that all the intolerance of Rome was exercised in Presbyterian form.

As it respects ordination, we have seen that in the First Book of Discipline it was very consistently in their case rejected as unnecessary and superfluous, and it was never practised by Knox and his coadjutors. Melville, however, got it inserted in his Second Book of Discipline, and the power of it was invested in the Presbyteries. It seems thereafter to have been adopted. In a local chronicle it is stated—“ Nov. 7, 1591. The admission of Mr John Malcolm, Principal of St Leonard’s College in St Andrews, to be minister at Perth by *imposition of hands* of Mr William Rhynd, minister of Kinnoull, Mr Archibald Moncrieff, minister of Abernethy, and Mr James Abercrombie, minister of Sccone. Mr Patrick Galloway preached that day.” The ordination of the future Bishop of Galloway is recorded in the same Diary—“ October 5, 1595. Mr William Cowper admitted to be minister of Perth by *imposition of hands* of Messrs Rhynd, Moncrieff, and Herring, the minister of Methven.”* Nevertheless the ceremony was not considered of any consequence. According to Calderwood’s version of the fifty-two Articles† submitted to the Perth Assembly already mentioned on the last day of February 1596-7, one query was—“ Is he a lawful pastor who wanteth *impositionem manuum*? ” They decided in reply, that “ imposition or laying on of hands is not essential and necessary, but ceremonial and indifferent, in

* Mercer’s Chronicle of Perth, MS. in Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, edited for the Maitland Club, by James Maidment, Esq. Advocate.

† The “ Articles” embody the great points of dispute between the King and the Presbyterian ministers. James Melville says—“ Mr John Lindsay was suspected to be the author of these questions. I wot he was chiefly on the counsel of them, both in desyring and following furth of them.” Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 390.

admission of a pastor." Calderwood gives a curious account of a discussion on this subject at the admission of Mr Robert Bruce as minister of Edinburgh in 1598, and of Mr Robert Pont's zealous advocacy of it, though the same Mr Pont had never got the *imposition* himself. "It is to be observed," says Calderwood, "that this *imposition of hands*, whereabout this business was made, was holden for a ceremony unnecessary and indifferent in our Kirk, while that now, when they are laying the foundation of the Episcopacy, it was urged as necessary. For it being laid as a ground that none can receive ordination to the ministry without imposition of hands, and that the ceremony is proper to Bishops, it behoved to follow that none could enter in the ministry without imposition of hands by Bishops; and yet did they even then stiffly, or I may say impudently, deny that they were hatching this woful Episcopacy."*

In matters of discipline it is singular that the Presbyterians always manifested a peculiar delight to investigate cases of scandal, and to "deal" with offenders against morality. This was the privilege of the minister and the kirk-session, who sat in judgment on delinquents, and pronounced sentence both of bodily punishment and excommunication. A proper investigation of their Presbytery and Kirk-Session records would reveal thousands of odious and disgusting cases of licentiousness which they discussed with the utmost gravity at their meetings. If, however, the numerous severe acts passed by the Scottish Parliaments against violation of the seventh commandment may be considered as affording an indication of the state of Scotland, the morals of the people must have been dreadfully corrupted and depraved after the Reformation. It is clear that the Presbyterian ministers in their zeal for their favourite "Policy," and their feuds not merely with the Titular Bishops, but with the episcopal function and office in general, neglected the weightier matters, the instructing of the people in "really useful, religious and practical knowledge," preferring abstract discussions and brawls in their General Assemblies.

But while it cannot be doubted that the morals of the Scottish people were most debased and vicious under the preaching of

* Calderwood, p. 383, 423, 424, 425.

the Presbyterian ministers, it must be admitted that the punishments devised and inflicted by the said ministers and their kirk-sessions were very severe, especially in the cases of those who refused to submit to their authority. Those punishments indeed might and probably did terrify, but they neither prevented back-slidings, nor tended to reformation of life and manners. The civil punishment of those guilty of fornication was a fine of L.40 Scots, or imprisonment eight days, their food to be bread and small beer. They were then to be taken to the market-cross, and compelled to stand fastened for two hours uncovered. The punishment was made more stringent at repetitions of what Calderwood calls “failings of the flesh.” In addition to the above exposure and degradation, offenders were compelled to appear in the parish church before the congregation, and occupy an unenviable seat on what was called the “*stool of repentance*,” their heads shaven, and there rebuked by the preacher, confess their fault, and declare their contrition in an audible voice. We are told that the Kirk-Session of Perth, under date 1575–6, paid a weekly salary to a man whose vocation was to shave the heads of such offenders against morality.* With some, however, the “*stool of repentance*,” or in Scottish vernacular the *cutty-stool*, had no terrors, but their bad behaviour while on it was certain to aggravate their punishment. As it respects violators of the seventh commandment, the compilers of the First Book of Discipline demanded that all such should be put to death. This request was not granted, yet by certain acts of Parliament those who were considered *notour* offenders were punishable with death, and the birth of a child was held to be a complete proof of *notour* adultery. The acts were not indeed rigorously enforced, but very heavy censures were inflicted by the ministers and kirk-sessions.†

The discipline of the Presbyterian system accomplished little to remedy those wretched immoralities. This is in some degree admitted by those connected with that system.—“The great licen-

* Perth MSS. Register of Children baptized in Perth, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

† Mr. Scott mentions two persons who were executed in Perth “on the gibbet below the Cross for manifest adultery on the 12th of January 1584–5.” Extracts from the Register of the Kirk-Session of Perth, MS. in Advocates' Library. See also various cases in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials before the High Court of Justiciary, 4to. vols. i. and ii.

tiousness practised in the popish times," says Mr Scott, "could not in any considerable degree be cured till long after the Reformation. Marriages also were too seldom contracted. The popish notion of marriage being a sacrament, could not all at once be banished from the minds either of ministers or people. It was called a *kirk-benefit*, and was therefore not to be conferred on persons of every character. I find that the following acts were made by the Kirk-Session of Perth :—‘ July 7, 1578. The which day the minister and elders perceiving that those who compear before the assembly* [Kirk-Session], to give up their banns to go forward to marriage are almost altogether ignorant, and misknow the causes why they should marry, therefore the assembly ordains all such first to compear before the reader for the time, whosoever he be, to the effect that he may instruct them in the true knowledge of the cause of marriage before they come in before the assembly.’ Also, ‘ April 17, 1581. The assembly, viz. the Kirk-Session, ordains that the persons to be married come to the kirk the night before, to be tried of the ministers and some elders.’ ‘ December 6, 1591—Forasmeikle as the benefit of the Kirk should not be given to infidels, ordains all that are [to be] contracted to give the confession of their faith before they be contracted ; and in case they cannot, not to be married until they learn to do the same !’ This last can only be vindicated on the supposition that it was found necessary to use every possible method to compel the ignorant people to seek after knowledge.”†

It is clear that this excessive rigidity in refusing to marry parties who were *ignorant*, or were considered to be so, must have been attended with the very worst consequences to the morals of

* “ The Session, as in the beginning, still bore the name of the *Assembly*. It was sometimes called the *Consistory*, which was the name given to the parochial meeting of the Church of Geneva, and sometimes the *Particular Assembly*. The Provincial Synod was called the *Synodical Assembly*, and the national meeting of the Church was called the *General Assembly*. Presbyteries had *no existence* in Scotland till about 1580. Before that time there was in many places of the country a weekly or monthly meeting of a few ministers whose parishes adjoined to each other, which they called the *Exercise*. They met chiefly for the purposes of devotion, for trying one another’s gifts, and to have the benefit of mutual advice and exhortation. After these meetings became Presbyteries, or were constituted ecclesiastical courts, they still frequently bore the name of the *Exercise*, especially during such periods as Episcopacy predominated in Scotland.” Perth MS. Registers in Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, vol. iii.

† Perth MS. Registers in Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh.

the people, in an age when the whole nation were scarcely half civilized. The absurd extreme to which Knox and his associates, and their Presbyterian successors, carried this tyranny, extended to the Roman Catholics, many of whom avowed to their own religion. Their marriages were declared to be invalid if celebrated by any of their own clergy who still lingered in the kingdom ; they were cited before the newly constituted Kirk judicatures, and their priests denounced to the civil power. We have seen in the case of the unfortunate Titular Adamson of St Andrews, that he was summoned before the General Assembly, in 1588, for an *offence* which will excite the surprize of any Presbyterian of the present day—marrying the Roman Catholic Earl of Huntly to the Protestant Lady Henrietta Stuart, daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox, without first obliging the said Earl to renounce his religion, and subscribe their Confession of Faith. For this, and other alleged *crimes*, the Titular was deposed and actually excommunicated. It is doubtless true that in this instance they revenged themselves chiefly on Adamson, as the only individual whom their censures could affect ; yet if they scrupled not to interfere where such a powerful nobleman as Huntly was concerned, we may easily conceive in what manner they would domineer over the common people. This charge of “ignorance” was most convenient, as it could be applied to any individuals with whom the Presbyterian ministers were at feud, and there is little doubt that much of the subsequent licentiousness and immorality of the people was caused by this tyrannical procedure of refusing to celebrate marriages except on certain conditions, which, in not a few cases, might be considered matters of opinion, and generally could not at the time be fulfilled by the individuals, who had neither opportunity nor leisure to qualify themselves.

The acts of the General Assemblies after the Reformation, as recorded in the “Booke of the Univesall Kirk of Scotland,” contain numerous instances of the extraordinary discussions in which the Reformers and their Presbyterian successors indulged respecting what the zealous Mr Calderwood innocently terms “failings of the flesh.” If those disgusting questions had been limited only to that age, the grossness, rudeness, and barbarism of the times might have been held as a sufficient palliation, but when it is recollected that similar investigations took place in the eighteenth century, and

that there is not a Presbyterian parochial register in Scotland which does not abound with them more or less, the case is very different. In the very first General Assembly, under date December 27, 1560, it is recorded, that “the Kirk appointed that to the punishment of fornication the law of God be observed; public repentance to be made by them that shall use carnal copulation betwixt the promise and solemnization of marriage.” But this is the language of modesty when compared to what the Presbyterian ministers subsequently discussed, not to allude to the instances of ante-nuptial intercourse which occurred among their own adherents, whom they allowed to escape easily by marrying the females, making “public repentance,” and “satisfying the Kirk.”* Certain persons called “commissioners appointed by the Kirk for the decision of questions” reported the result of their deliberations in those cases. In 1565 a person was mentioned who had cohabited with his cousin-german seven years, and, having children by the woman, wished to marry her. The question in the General Assembly was, whether the parties could marry; and it was decided that they may “be joined in marriage after their public repentance for the offences bygone, without any hope that others have the like licence, until farther order be taken by the civil magistrate.” It was resolved that those who cohabit and delay their marriage, “as well the man as the woman, should publicly in the place of repentance likewise satisfy on ane Sunday before they be married.” Many of the questions discussed at subsequent meetings of the General Assemblies are too gross to be transferred to these pages, yet a few of the less indelicate may be selected as examples. In 1569 we find them debating the following points—“If two parties be contracted, the banns proclaimed, and the day appointed for solemnization of marriage before the minister and congregation, the woman refuse allutterly to take the man, whether she shall be compelled or not, and what shall be the minister’s part in this case?—Shall the single woman committing adultery with a married man be equally punished with the man, and compear before the General Assembly?—A woman divorced for adultery committed by her, contracting marriage with another, beareth a child to him, and desireth to proceed to the solemnization of marriage, whether shall the man be permitted to marry this

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 5.*

woman?—Two men having lain with two sisters, if any of them may marry the daughter of the other man by another woman, and not by any of the two sisters before mentioned.”* In 1575, several other subjects, most offensively indelicate, were discussed in the General Assembly.†

Most of the parochial registers, in which were delineated the moral and religious state of Scotland, the manners, customs, and superstitions of the people, after the Reformation to about the middle of the subsequent century, are either lost or destroyed, and it is to be regretted that those still existing are likely soon to be unintelligible from the careless manner in which they are kept, being in many instances torn or otherwise seriously injured, or unbound, and stained with damp. By the industry of the late Mr James Scott, one of the Established Presbyterian ministers of Perth, a selection from the Kirk-Session Register of that city, cited in the preceding pages, is preserved, and the facts therein recorded by him may be received as specimens of what was done in other parts of the kingdom, more especially as Perth was at that time entitled to rank next to Edinburgh in point of importance and population.

The extracts in the first volume commence under the date May 1577, and end at June 27, 1586. At the former date a person named John Swinton was brought before the Kirk-Session of Perth accused of light life and conversation with one Marion Whyte, the result of which intercourse was the birth of a child. The woman appeared, confessed her fault, and “submitted herself to the discipline of the Kirk and civil punishment;” but the man denied the paternity, alleging that there had been no criminal intimacy between him and the woman for “two years bygone.” He was ordered to be put on his oath, to which he refused to submit, and the Kirk-Session “ordains the kirk to proceed against him by admonitions, under the pain of the censures of the kirk, to depone his oath either negative or affirmative.” In June following the Kirk-Session compelled him to confess, “submit himself to the discipline of the Kirk and the civil punishment.”—“It would appear from the above,” observes Mr Scott, “that the man was obliged to give

* Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part First, p. 171, 172.

† *Ibid.* p. 344, 345, 346.

his oath upon the woman referring the matter to his conscience, and that the Session insisted on his swearing—a practice which has been long in disuse in our [Presbyterian] church courts, who are tender of administering an oath of purgation to persons unless there be some presumptive evidence of their innocence, and ground to believe that their taking the oath will free them in the minds of the people from all suspicion of having been guilty. With regard to the civil punishment above mentioned, its severity was such as that in time it came to be seldom or never inflicted by the magistrate, in lieu of which a pecuniary fine came to be paid by the delinquent to the kirk for the behoof of the poor.*

“ December 9, 1577. Because that Thomas Paterson and Catherine Culbert contracted marriage, and the said Catherine will not accomplish the same, therefore [the Kirk-Session] desires the Bailies to poind John Wood who was cautioner for the said Catherine for L.10 according to the act.”—“ It was a long practice,” adds Mr Scott, “ that the man and woman who proposed to be married appeared in presence of the Session, and gave mutual promise to accomplish their marriage within a certain time. They either gave money into the hands of the Session by way of pledge, or each procured a cautioner liable to pay a fine for him or her who should fail of performing the promise.”

The minister and kirk-session took cognizance of almost every matter, whether frivolous or important. Those who played games on certain long observed holidays were summoned before them, and imprisoned for contumacy at their instance if they refused to appear. “ It came to be a general practice,” says Mr Scott, under date 1578, referring to the case of a certain George Meek, who was ordered to be put in ward, “ that persons corrected by the Session of any scandal were immediately committed to prison, from which they were brought every Sabbath under a guard to the place of repentance in the church, till they were absolved from the scandal, and of consequence also released from prison.” But this punishment sometimes failed, for “ in those days of great rudeness many persons behaved in a disorderly manner in the public place of repentance ;” and accordingly, on the 27th of July 1578, Thomas Monypenny, younger, was ordered to “ come this day

* Extracts from the Registers of the Kirk-Session of Perth, vol. i. MS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

eight days, and ask God and the congregation forgiveness for his fornication, and chiefly for his contempt and slander offered to the kirk in the place of repentance." Scolding and malicious scandal were also cognizable. On the 4th of August that year the Kirk-Session ordered the magistrates to fine a man and a woman each half a merk to the poor for *their flying*; and one John Boyd was mulcted in a similar sum, compelled to stand in the irons two hours, and ask Margaret Cuninghame's forgiveness, for slandering, which slander he confessed." Even absence from preaching was punishable, and on the 22d of September that year three men were fined six shillings each, "because according to their own confession they were from the sermon on Sunday was eight days." On the 25th of May 1579 the Kirk-Session enjoined the magistrates to put a termagant "upon the Cross-Head for the space of an hour, and to pay half a merk before she came down, for the slandering of Thomas Brown." The said Thomas convicted Thomas Malcolm before the Kirk-Session of calling him *loon* and *carl*, and the worthy Mr Malcolm was imprisoned in the Tolbooth two hours, and fined 6s. 8d. for the poor.

"August 10, 1579.—The Kirk-Session ordains that such as are nonsuited of slander, and will not willingly pass to the Cross-Head, according to the act passed before, that they pay half a merk money to be given to the poor, for the Cross-Head, besides that other half merk mentioned in the act." About a month afterwards the said Kirk-Session ordered a man, for causing a disturbance in the congregation during the administration of baptism, to "pass about the Cross in linen cloaths, bareheaded and barefooted, on Thursday and Sunday next, and thereafter to come to the public place of repentance the time of the sermon, there publicly to confess his offence, and to pay half a merk money to the poor instantly, or then to pass to ward aye until it be paid." Sometimes the occupation of the stool of repentance was accompanied by a little ceremony, as in the case of a certain Alexander Finlayson on the 9th of November 1579, who was ordered to "compear on Sunday next in sackcloth from the [tolling of the] first bell to the sermon unto the hindmost [last bell], and ordain Mr John Mitchell and John Weston, elders, to stand with him at the north kirk door with their staffs in their hands, and to convey him to and from the stool of repentance."

Every one who has visited the “ Fair City” of Perth must have admired the beautiful Hill of Kinnoull in the immediate vicinity, rising from the river Tay. In the front of that Hill is a large cave of very difficult and dangerous access, known as the *Dragon’s Hole*, with which a very absurd tradition is connected. The Kirk-Session extended their superintendence to this natural cavity. They ordered the minister to concoct an act against the Dragon’s Hole, which was to be published first from the pulpit, and afterwards at the Cross by the magistrates, who, it appears, were at that period compelled to do every thing which the Kirk-Session enjoined :—“ Because that the assembly of ministers and elders understand that the resorting to the Dragon Hole, as well by young men as women, with their piping and drums striking before them through the town, has raised no small slander to the congregation, not without suspicion of filthiness after to follow thereupon ; for avoiding whereof in times coming the said assembly, with consent of the magistrates of this town, has statute and ordained that no persons hereafter of this congregation, neither man nor woman, resort nor repair hereafter to the said Dragon Hole, as they have done in times bygone, namely, in the month of May ; neither pass through the town with piping, striking of drums, as heretofore they have done, under the penalty of twenty shillings to the poor, from every person, as well man as woman ; and also to make their public repentance upon ane Sabbath-day in presence of the people.”

The inquisitorial tyranny exercised over the people may be inferred from the following notices :—“ June 14, 1580. The Assembly think it expedient that the bailies, according to their quarters, pass through the town together with the elders, and to take up the names of *those that are to be excommunicated*. Aug. 15.—The Assembly has ordained that Violet Paterson is to be *banished the town* because of her open blasphemy of the ministers and elders, stubborn inobedience to the Kirk, and slanderous life and conversation in many ways, as is proven before the minister and elders by famous witnesses. Aug. 22.—Because that persons being put in the Tolbooth oftentimes come not immediately thereafter to their *repentance*, but absent themselves, whereof great confusion follows, and also great molestation in bringing them to their repentance ; therefore the assembly, with the advice of the bailies,

statutes and ordains, for avoiding this inconvenience, that cautionary be taken for such persons as enter to the Tolbooth before they come forth, to come on the next preaching day to the stool of repentance, under the pain of forty shillings to the poor, and to continue without intermission. Jan. 1580-1.—It is ordained that no *vicious persons* that pass to the Cross-Head or stool of repentance cover their faces or head, with certification it shall serve for nothing unto them so oft as they do it."

A case of suicide occurs under date December 3, 1582. The friends of a man who drowned himself in the Tay, near the common known as the South Inch, requested liberty to inter the body in the Greyfriars' burying-ground. The minister and kirk-session decided that the said cemetery was exclusively "for the faithful who depart in the fear of God;" and farther, that "they would not suffer [the body] to be brought through the town in day-light, neither to be buried among the faithful in the place appointed for their burial; but ordains that he be buried in the Little Inch [island] that is within the water; and this to have the strength of an act to all such like persons in time coming; and assuring all, that if any contravene the same, the dead shall be taken up, and the contraveners hereof shall make their repentance in the seat, and thereafter shall pay L.10 to one of the deacons, that they may distribute it to the poor."

Perth was visited by an alarming epidemic about the end of 1584, and huts were constructed on a muir near the town for the reception of infected persons. Both sexes were huddled together indiscriminately, and their licentious intercourse caused the Kirk-Session no little trouble in awarding punishment. The huts are called *lodges* in the Register, and Mr Scott very piously moralizes respecting the offenders—"It is surprising that the above-named persons should have had so little of the fear of God before their eyes as to be guilty together, considering their situation while in these lodges." He properly observes that notwithstanding the strict order taken with such offenders in general, "their number was amazingly great, the common prisons must have been often filled with them, when no doubt revellings and other indecencies would be committed. It would seem that the session officer came at length to have it in charge to provide other fit places for their confinement." The following entry shews that

domestic disputes were considered within their jurisdiction, as in the case of a troublesome virago :—“ March 29, 1584-5. Compeared Isabel Wenton, and found John Wenton cautioner under the pain of L.100 Scots money that she should keep preaching and prayers [attend sermons] in all time coming, especially on Thursday and Sunday ; next, she should live in peace with her neighbours, especially with Walter Elder and his servants ; thirdly, that in all time coming she should be obedient to her husband, according to God’s commandment ; and John Elder her husband received her again, and obliged himself to relieve the said John Wenton.”

A large volume could be produced from the Perth Registers illustrative of the discipline enforced by the Presbyterian Kirk-Session on real or alleged offenders, but the examples already laid before the reader will suffice as a faithful delineation of the state of the people. At this period witchcraft and other imaginary superstitious practices came also before the kirk-sessions, and formed ample scope for investigation and summary punishment during the subsequent century. “ Once for all I shall observe,” says Mr Scott, “ that even about that period [referring to 1606] persons were convicted and censured ; some for staying at home from the preaching on the Sabbath ; some for not only staying at home, but for drinking in time of preaching ; some for travelling to markets which were to be held on the Monday ; some for carrying loads of victual or merchandise out of the town on that day ; some for breaking and selling meat ; some for having their mills going ; and some for being employed in their bakehouses on that day. Some of those persons were only rebuked by the Session on their humiliation and repentance ; some were not only rebuked, but also fined by the Session ; some were not only rebuked and fined, but ordained also to make their repentance publicly in the church ; and others were remitted to the magistrates, to be punished according to the act of Parliament. It is to be noticed, however, that putting such persons into the hands of the magistrates was the severest censure which could be inflicted, for by the law of the land a person three times convicted before a magistrate of breach of the Sabbath forfeited all his goods and estate. On the whole, it was a work of much time and of much labour to bring even the people of Scotland to such a strict observance of the Sabbath as they were remarkable for some years ago. To whatever cause it may be

owing, as it is well known that for some time past they have been gradually degenerating from their former strictness."*

This is the certain consequence of excessive rigidity of decorum when enforced merely by the terrors of punishment, and of that inquisitorial spirit which animated the Presbyterian preachers in investigating all the private affairs of life, and exercising a tyranny which the people were certain eventually to resist. It may be conceded that as it respects gross and licentious offences they were incited by a sincere desire to reform and amend the morals of the people generally, and of individuals in particular ; but they appear to have had no notion of the proper method of accomplishing that desirable object, and they continually interfered in matters with which they could have no connection except to display their power. An instance occurs in this very Register of a frolic or street riot, and it would cause considerable astonishment if any Presbyterian kirk-session in Scotland at the present time hazarded public ridicule by taking cognizance of a similar occurrence, though such exhibitions are not unfrequent in the cities and large towns. On the 6th of February 1609, it was reported to the Kirk-Session that six persons, two men and their wives, and a man and a woman, on a certain evening " went through the town disguised with swords and staves, molesting and hurting sundry persons." This was clearly an offence punishable by the civil magistrate, with which no religious body called a kirk-session had any right to interfere, yet the delinquents were ordered to appear, which they did a week afterwards :—" February 13, 1609. Compeared Andrew Johnston and Janet Cunningham his wife, James Jackson and his wife, David Jackson and Helen Hynd, all warned to this day, and being inquired why they went out disguised on Tuesday last, at ten and eleven hours at evening with swords and staves, troubling and molesting their neighbours on the streets whom they met : Answered, that after they had all supped together they had resolved to go about the town for no evil purpose or intention, but of merriness, and denied that they molested any. They being removed, it was certainly found that they were disguised, namely, Andrew Johnston's wife having her hair hanging down, and a black hat upon her head ; her husband with a sword in his hand, David Jackson having a *mutch* [woman's cap] upon his head, and a

* Perth Registers, MS. Advocates' Library.

woman's gown.—The Session finds their doing to be slanderous, and that because the pestilence yet continues amongst us, and all those persons lately came in from the fields, where the botch and boil were on their persons, and has ordained them to be condignly punished ; first, to be put in ward presently, therein to remain all together until the Sabbath ; and next, because their fault is public and notorious, to come all together the next Sabbath in linen clothes to the place of public repentance, therein to confess their heinous offence, and to be rebuked as dissolute and licentious persons in presence of the whole congregation."

These examples sufficiently shew the moral condition of Scotland at that time, and the severities to which the people were compelled to submit, under penalty of fines, imprisonment, excommunication, and banishment from their native towns. It is not surprizing, therefore, that multitudes even of the peasantry saw the suppression of Presbyterianism after the accession of King James to the Crown of England without regret, and evinced no opposition to the establishment of the Episcopal Church, though after that period the discipline was often rigidly enforced. The chief disaffected parties were the Presbyterian ministers, who could not endure the salutary restraints which the submission to a proper ecclesiastical constitution would impose upon them. The proceedings of the Presbyterians from 1593 to 1603 resemble so much the details already given, that it is unnecessary to lay them before the reader. In the following divisions of the history of the Episcopal Church of Scotland during the two periods of its legal establishment, it is the object of the present writer to develope, as far as possible, the views of the Government of the time, the struggles of the Bishops and clergy, the principles they inculcated, the condition of the Church, and the statements of the Presbyterians on public men and measures previous to what they are pleased to call the *Second Reformation*, by which they mean the overthrow of the Church by the revolutionary violence of the noted General Assembly of 1638, when they obtained a temporary triumph at the fearful cost of proceedings which caused the murder of their sovereign and the prostration of the monarchy, until Cromwell found it necessary to keep them under strict military domination.

As much is said in the preceding narrative of " excommunication," and its frequent infliction on those who incurred the dis-

pleasure of those self-constituted preachers, to say nothing of holding it in terror over others, it may probably be considered interesting to lay the form of it, as preserved by the industrious transcriber of the Perth Registers, before the reader. Mr Scott observes, on the authority of Bishop Keith, that the General Assembly held at Perth in June 1563 requested John Knox to put in order the form and manner of excommunication. This form was ratified, commanded to be printed, and inserted in the Book of Common Order, by the General Assembly in 1571. It was observed during the time of the first establishment of the Episcopal Church, and at least till 1645. The sentence was pronounced in the midst of prayer, the minister and all the congregation kneeling. The following is the form as drawn up by Knox.

“ O Lord Jesus Christ, the only and eternal King of all the chosen children of thine Heavenly Father, the Head and Law-giver of Thy Church, who by thine own mouth hast commanded that such offenders as proudly contemn the admonitions of Thy Church shall be cast out from the society of the same, and shall be reputed by Thy professors as profane ethnicks : We, willing to obey this Thy precept, which we have received by institution of thine Apostle, are here presently convened in Thy name to excommunicate and cast forth from the society of thine holy body, and from all participation with Thy Church in sacraments or prayers, N., which thing we do at Thy commandment, and in Thy power and authority to the glory of Thy holy name, to the conversation and edification of this thy Church, and to the extreme remedy of the stubborn obstinacy of the before-named impenitent.

“ And because Thou hast promised thyself ever to be with us, but especially with such as uprightly travel in the ministry of Thy Church, whom also Thou hast promised to instruct and guide by the dictation of thine Holy Spirit, we most humbly beseech Thee to govern and assist us in the execution of this our charge, that whatsoever we in thy name do here pronounce on earth, Thou wilt ratify the same in Heaven.

“ Our assurance, O Lord, is thine expressed word, and therefore in boldness of the same, here, in Thy name, and at the commandment of this Thy congregation, we cut off, seclude, and excommunicate from the body, and from our society, N., as a person slanderous, proud, and a contemner, and a member for this pre-

sent altogether corrupted and pernicious to the body, and this [his or her] sin, albeit with sorrow of heart,* by virtue of our ministry we tried, and pronounce the same to be bound in Heaven and on earth.

“ We farther give over into the hands and power of the devil the said N., to the destruction of [his or her] flesh, straitly charging all that profess the Lord Jesus, to whose knowledge this our sentence shall come, to repute and hold the said N. accursed, and unworthy of the familiar society of Christians; declaring unto all men that such as before [his or her] repentance shall haunt or familiarly accompany with [him or her] are partakers of [his or her] impiety, and subject to the like condemnation. This our sentence, O Lord Jesus, pronounced in Thy name, and at Thy commandment, we humbly desire Thee to ratify according to Thy promise.

“ And yet, Lord, Thou who camest to save that which was lost, look upon [him or her] with the eyes of Thy mercy, if Thy good pleasure be, and so pierce Thou [his or her] heart, that [he or she] may feel in [his or her] breast the terrors of Thy judgment, that by Thy grace [he or she] may fruitfully be converted to Thee, and so condemning [his or her] impiety, [he or she] may be with the like solemnity received within the bosom of Thy Church, from the which this day with grief and dolor of our hearts [he or she] is ejected. Lord, in Thy presence we protest that our own affections move us not to this severity, but only the hatred of sin, and obedience that we give to thine commandment. And, therefore, O Heavenly Father, we crave the perpetual assistance of Thine Holy Spirit, not only to bridle our corrupted affections, but also to conduct us in all the course of our whole life, that we never fall to the like impiety and contempt; but that continually we may be subject to the voice of Thy Church, and unto the ministers of the same, who truly offer to us the word of life, the blessed Evangel of thine only beloved Son Jesus Christ; to whom with thee and with the Holy Spirit, be all praise, glory, and honour, now and ever. So be it.”

This form was altered in several important particulars by the well known Westminster Assembly. It was ordered that the

* This affectation of grief was in most of the principal cases gross hypocrisy. The excommunication was often pronounced to gratify personal revenge.

minister should include the congregation not as joining in the form, but merely as witnesses, saying—"Whereas thou, N., hast been by sufficient proof convicted of [here the crime was to be mentioned], and after due admonition and prayer remainest obstinate, without any evidence or sign of true repentance ; therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, *and before the congregation*, I do denounce and declare thee, N., excommunicated, and shut out from the communion of the faithful." This form, however, was not ratified by the General Assembly in 1645, as it is not printed with other documents then sanctioned.

The extraordinary custom of appointing *fast days* to be held on Sundays, though occasionally imitated by the Episcopal Church from 1610 to 1638, was nevertheless peculiar to the Presbyterians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This uncanonical and indeed unscriptural habit of changing by whim or caprice the divine appointment of the first day of the week as a day of thanksgiving into one of fasting, was attempted to be abolished in Scotland by Charles I. before the commencement of the Rebellion. Instances occur of celebrating the communion on days of fasting and humiliation," "than which," Mr Scott admits, "nothing certainly could be more improper."—"During the years 1644 and 1645, the General Assembly made several attempts to appoint other days of fasting besides the Sabbath ; but these days were badly kept, the people could not be restrained from labour, and a bigotted party thought the [Presbyterian] church assumed too much power when it pretended to make an ordinary day holy, and that it was a dangerous precedent, for thereby the [Presbyterian] Church of Scotland might come at length to appoint those anniversary holidays which were kept by other Churches. The old practice was therefore again revived of *fasting on the Sabbath !*"

BOOK II.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1606 TO 1639.

CHAPTER I.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

THE accession of James VI. of Scotland to the crown of England, on the 24th of March 1603, completely changed the relative position of the two kingdoms. The Scottish King succeeded not only in accordance with the known wishes of Elizabeth, but in consequence of his own recognized right as the grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.—“ It is difficult to say which of the two nations most rejoiced at the accession of the King of Scotland to the throne of England. The English felt unbounded satisfaction in receiving a Prince whose title was undoubted, descended from the union of those two great families, and whose reputation for learning and experience ranked him with the most gifted of men. The Scots were filled with exultation in the triumph they experienced of giving a race of kings to their more powerful neighbours, whose encroachments on their independence they had hitherto resisted with success. It was well that the Scots did not perceive the disastrous consequences which followed this union, and which arose not from any essential evil in the union itself, but from the state of their own country and government at that period. The union of the two crowns was to be for their ultimate advantage, but not for their immediate happiness. *Their national crimes and barbarity required a long and tedious remedy.*”*

* The Theocratic Philosophy of English History, by the Rev. J. D. Schomberg, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, late Master of Stoke Grammar School, Leicestershire, and Vicar of Polesworth, 8vo. 1842, vol. ii. p. 2.

The King soon intimated in the most decided manner his determination to discourage the Puritan party, and to maintain the Church of England against all innovations. He early made known what were his favourite opinions on ecclesiastical matters, which were directly opposed to the maxims which Buchanan had endeavoured to instil into him, and the Hampton Court Conference farther indicated the determination of the sovereign. At that Conference he declared his conviction of the apostolical constitution of Episcopacy, and he congratulated himself on the different situation in which he was now placed—that he was in England, where religion was professed in its purity, and where he was surrounded by learned, grave, and reverend men ; and that he was no longer, as in Scotland, a King without state and honour, in a kingdom where the laws were disregarded, order set at defiance, and where he was often insulted by turbulent preachers and beardless youths. In the course of the discussions in that celebrated Conference, James expressed his dislike to Presbyterianism, and he is alleged to have exclaimed, in reply to the request of Dr Reynolds, the eminent leader of the Puritans, who insisted upon the propriety of the clergy holding occasional meetings—“ You aim at a Scotish Presbytery, which agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, will meet and censure me, my council, and my proceedings. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand this of me.”

This language is coarse and undignified, but it contains much truth, at least as it respects the King’s previous experience of the Scottish Presbyterians. Their pretensions were of such a nature as seriously to interfere with the government of the country. Their claims to spiritual independence were as extravagant as those of their papal predecessors. This is admitted by men of their own party. “ The warmest friends of the Presbyterian form of church government,” observes Mr Scott of Perth, “ must allow, who know any thing of the history of our Church, that the indiscreet zeal of some particular church judicatories, who aimed at supreme and universal dominion, gave frequent and just offence to those who were in civil offices, and provoked the overthrow of the Presbyterian Church, first in the year 1606, and next in 1661. After the Revolution, in the year 1689, our [Presbyterian] Church was more deserving of the name of that spiritual kingdom which is

not of this world. Let kings and rulers be as nursing fathers to the Church, *but let not the Church usurp the direction of civil government.** In defiance of acts of Parliament, passed from time to time to restrain the preachers from attacking the King, his progenitors, and the Privy Council, in their sermons, they persisted in their freedoms, and though some of them were prosecuted, they “generally declined the judgment of a civil court, and asserted that for matters delivered in the pulpit they were accountable only to the judicatories of the Church.”† Those “judicatories” mean the General Assemblies, of which they were members, and would be certain to decide to their own advantage.

The state of his native kingdom occupied the attention of James immediately after his accession to the English crown, and he resolved to introduce something like ecclesiastical order among a rude and hitherto wretchedly instructed people. Of all the former Titular Bishops, Campbell of Brechin was the only one alive, and though he continued to exercise the function of a preacher at Brechin till his death in 1606, he also retained his seat in the Parliaments. In 1600, George Gladstones, a native of Dundee, and successively minister of Arbirlot in Forfarshire and of St Andrews in Fife, was nominated to the Titular Episcopate of Caithness, from which he was removed to the Archbishopric of St Andrews in 1606.‡ When James VI. obtained an act of the General Assembly in 1600, sanctioning certain of the Presbyterian ministers to sit and vote in Parliament as representing the ancient Spiritual Estate, Mr David Lindsay of Leith was nominated titular Bishop of Ross, and as such sat and voted in the Parliament of 1604. Although he had been a prominent leader among the Presbyterians ever since the introduction of their system by Andrew Melville, the change of his principles could be actuated by no worldly motives, for in 1600 he was verging towards seventy years of age. He had previously rendered the King some services in his disputes with the Presbyterian party, and when their ministers in Edinburgh refused to return public thanks at the Cross for the delivery of

* Extracts from the Registers of the Kirk-Session of Perth, MS. in Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh.

† Perth MSS. Registers.

‡ In 1597, this Prelate is mentioned as preaching a sermon previous to the release of the Earl of Huntly from presbyterian excommunication. Peter Blackburn, Robert Pont, and others, were present, assisting the titular Bishop Cunningham on the occasion.

James from the Gowrie Conspiracy, Lindsay discharged that duty. Cunningham, the titular Bishop of Aberdeen, died in 1603, and Mr. Peter Blackburn, called rector of St Nicolas' church in New Aberdeen, was appointed his successor.* Mr Peter Rollock was nominated titular Bishop of Dunkeld. Keith assigns the date 1603, but his name occurs in the records of the Parliament as Peter Bishop of Dunkeld three years previous. He and Titular Lindsay of Ross accompanied the King to England, when he ascended that throne. The Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow became also literally vacant in 1603, by the death of Archbishop Beaton in Paris—the last survivor of the old Roman Catholic Prelates.†

Blackburn continued Titular till 1611, when he was consecrated. He was appointed to the cure of Aberdeen in 1582. In the "Chronicle of Aberdeen," by Walter Cullen, from 1491 to 1595, it is stated that he came to Aberdeen on the 21st of November, preached on the 22d, and was admitted minister of the town and congregation. "Spalding Miscellany," vol. ii. p. 55. His conduct during his episcopate, till his death in 1616, seems to have been disliked by both the Church and Presbyterian parties, whom he in vain attempted to conciliate. A letter which he wrote to King James is still preserved, without date, vindicating himself from certain imputations, and probably explains the quotation of Bishop Keith from the Spottiswoode MS. — "Mr Peter Blackburn was a man of good parts, but whilst he studied to please the opposers of the episcopal state, he made himself ungracious to both." Keith's Scottish Bishops, edition of 1824, p. 131. Spalding Miscellany, vol. ii. p. lxi. lxii. 158.

† It is already stated that this Prelate carried with him all the documents connected with his See, and that many of them were returned to Scotland in 1841. In May 1738, the Professors of the University of Glasgow wrote to the Superiors of the Scottish College at Paris for a notarial copy of the chartulary of Glasgow, and of the charter of Robert II., confirming the legitimacy of the Royal Family of Scotland. The celebrated Father Innes in his reply gives an account of the state of the records, which he says were deposited partly in the above named College, but chiefly with the Carthusians, after Archbishop Beaton's death in 1603, with some old silver statues and the Archbishop's own papers. "These records," says Father Innes, "remained many years in great confusion, locked up in the trunks in which they were brought over. Our predecessors looking on them barely as they related to the ancient privileges, rights, and possessions of the church of Glasgow, saw little or no use of them, since the exercise of the Catholic religion, for the maintenance of which they were all at first intended, was more strictly interdicted by new laws in Scotland, and these laws more rigorously put in execution in Glasgow than in any other city of the kingdom; so our predecessors contented themselves to take great care of the preservation of these records for better times, according to the good Frelate's intentions; but it appears that they were not at any pains to look into them, which indeed was not easy for them to do, not being acquainted with the ancient unusual character in which they were most part writ. It was only since my brother, our late Principal, came to be in place, that the remains of the Archbishop of Glasgow were more carefully looked into, examined, and digested into better order.—What he saved of the records, and some old silver statues (of which

The celebrated John Spottiswoode, eldest son of the Superintendent Spottiswoode, who was the associate of Knox, of Winram, Erskine of Dun, and others, repeatedly mentioned in the preceding narrative, was appointed to the Archbishopric. As this great and distinguished man occupies a prominent place in the history of the Episcopal Church of Scotland as its subsequent Primate, some details respecting him are given in the sequel. He was nominated to the See of Glasgow in 1603, and not in 1610, as Bishop Keith states, which was the year of his consecration at London, so that he sat as Titular seven years.

The first grand project of James after his accession in England, was the union of the two kingdoms under one government. To accomplish this, the Scottish Parliament was summoned in 1604, to choose a certain number of commissioners ; and that no obstacles might be raised by the Presbyterian party, their General Assembly, which had been fixed for the end of July, was ordered to be postponed till the ensuing year.

It is not the intention of the present writer to follow the Presbyterian historians in all their reasonings, conjectures, and speculations, on the public measures of this particular period, the motives they ascribe to the King, and their fierce declamations against his measures. Their abstract statements may be correct or erroneous, but they can be received in no other manner than as matters of opinion. James was anxious to accomplish the political union of the two kingdoms as well as of the crowns, and though national jealousies prevented him from effecting such a desirable project, he is not the less entitled to credit on that account. But another and more important matter than mere worldly polities presented itself to James I. He was convinced of the collision which might occur by the existence of two different ecclesiastical establishments in Britain, in the event of the accomplishment of

you'll find account in the third volume of Dr Mackenzie's History of our Writers), was preserved from the fire and rapacious hands of the time, by some of the canons who remained faithful to him ; but as to the College the Friar Willox, with those of his gang, possessed themselves of it, whilst the good Archbishop (by the hatred that the leading men of those times had against him for his attachment to the old religion and the Queen Regent) was the only Bishop of Scotland who was not allowed so much as to return to take leave of his flock and his church, but forced away to France in July 1560, with the French soldiers." Papers by Father Innes in "The Spalding Miscellany," vol. ii.

the Union, and knowing too well the turbulence and ungovernable tempers of the supporters of the Presbyterian system, it was a wise and prudent resolution to attempt to amalgamate Scotland as a sister Church with the Church of England. As to the alleged conduct of the English Bishops, it may merely be stated that they were bound as conscientious churchmen to extend the episcopal order wherever it could be carried, in opposition to sectarian and puritanical novelty of every description. The validity of the episcopate is of the most essential importance, for it is connected with the canonical and apostolical functions of the Christian ministry. Every man, therefore, is bound, if he believes the Church to be of divine origin—a visible society united together by the laws and precepts of its Head, most earnestly to pray for the extension of the episcopate, in opposition to all “false doctrine, heresy, and schism.”

The first Scottish Parliament after the King’s accession to the English Crown was summoned to be held at Edinburgh on the 10th of April 1604, and John third Earl of Montrose, grandfather of the great Marquis of Montrose, was constituted Lord High Commissioner. This nobleman was then also Lord Chancellor—an office which he held till December that year, when he was appointed Viceroy of Scotland, the highest honour which a subject could enjoy. The Parliament was adjourned to the 24th of April, when the titular Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, and Bishop Gladstones of Caithness, two of the commissioners appointed for conducting the Treaty of Union, were present. On the 26th the Lords of the Articles were chosen, among whom were the five Titulars of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Ross, Brechin, and Caithness. The Parliament was prorogued till the 3d of July, when it met at Perth, on account of an alarming pestilence which prevailed in several districts of the kingdom, and which ravaged to an alarming extent the Scottish metropolis. The five Titulars were present, and, with the commendators of Holyroodhouse, Blantyre, and Tongland, represented the Spiritual Estate. On the 11th of July a Commission was issued for the Union, consisting of “John, Archbishop of Glasgow ; David, Bishop of Ross ; George, Bishop of Caithness ;” the Earls of Montrose, Erroll, Marischal, Glencairn, Linlithgow ; the Prior of Blantyre, created in 1606 first Lord Blantyre ; Lords Glammis, Elphinstone, Fyvie, Roxburgh, Abercorn, Balmerino, and Seone ; and fifteen gentlemen, or any twenty

of them, to convene for the purpose specified, and to report first to the King, and then to the Parliaments of Scotland and England. This was followed by a short "Act in favour of the Kirk," which merely ratified all former acts "in favour of the Kirk and religion presently professed and established within this realme of Scotland," confirming the acts against all "Jesuits, papists, seminary priests, and their resetters," and prohibiting the Commissioners for the Union from deliberating on any thing "prejudicial to the religion presently professed in Scotland" and "discipline established and observed."* The Presbyterian writers allege that the Earl of Morton and several members inserted a clause in the commission for the Union, expressly securing, in the event of its accomplishment, their system in doctrine and discipline; but that this was successfully resisted by several of the nobility, who were anxious to promote the views of the sovereign. It is of little consequence whether this is correct or not. The more zealous Presbyterians, alarmed at their peculiar position, renewed their subscription of their then Confession of Faith, and their preachers held meetings first at St Andrews, and afterwards at Perth, the latter of which was attended by some of the Titular Prelates, who not only conducted themselves with great moderation, but even joined in a petition to the King that a General Assembly might be allowed.

The Union projected by James I. was defeated. In June and November 1605 meetings of the Parliament were held, and again in January, March, May, and June 1606; but nothing of importance was brought forward. Meanwhile a kind of General Assembly was held at Aberdeen on the 2d of July 1605. This was in direct opposition to the royal instructions communicated by Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, who now represented the King in those meetings, and who assured them that no Assembly would be allowed to meet until the Parliament was again summoned. Several of the preachers, however, had resolved to disregard this intimation, though the Privy Council had prohibited the meeting of the Assembly. It is said by the Presbyterian

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 264. Dr. George Cook very strangely says that this Act is "not among the printed Acts." (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 156). The reader will find it prominent in the second column of the above reference.

writers that Mr John Forbes, minister of Alford, consulted with the Earl of Dunfermline,* who had succeeded the Earl of Montrose as Lord Chancellor, and that Forbes had persuaded his Lordship to recal the prohibition, on the stipulated promise that the meeting was to be immediately adjourned. Though thus apparently encouraged, only nineteen Presbyterian ministers resorted to Aberdeen, elected by nine out of fifty Presbyteries, and those were chiefly from the county of Aberdeen. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Straiton of Lauriston, who refused to attend at the election of their moderator and clerk, and who declared to them that their whole proceedings were illegal, commanding them by proclamation to leave the town, they framed an act of adjournment till the 5th of September, and addressed a letter to the Privy Council explaining their motives. Forbes was chosen their moderator, and as he thought proper subsequently to declare that the meeting was held with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, his Lordship in a letter to the King, dated May 25, 1606, asserts that this was a "*manifest lie.*" In this letter, after some pedantic display of learning, the Lord Chancellor states to James—"Master John Forbes, a condemned traitor for his rebellious and seditious conventicles, holden as General Assemblies against your Majesty's authority and command, accuses your Majesty's Chancellor to have given advice, counsel, or consent, to the holding of the said mutinous Assembly. Your Majesty's Chancellor says it is a manifest lie, and if it might stand with his honour and dignity of his place to enter in contestation with such a condemned traitor, could clearly verify the same. Master John Forbes and all his colleagues abide still at the maintenance of that their Assembly as a godly and lawful proceeding. Your Majesty's Chancellor, by his public letters, discharged and countermanded the said Assembly; he has since condemned the said Assembly as a seditious and unlawful deed, and all the partakers and maintainers of the same as mutinous

* Alexander Seton, third son of George, sixth Lord Seton and brother of Robert first Earl of Winton. In 1585, he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session, and took his seat on the bench by the title of Prior of Pluscardine. About two years afterwards he became an Ordinary Lord, and assumed the title of Lord Urquhart, and in 1593, he was promoted to be Lord President of the Supreme Court. He was one of the Commissioners for the Union in 1604, and during that year was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dunfermline, having been created Lord Fyvie in March 1597-8.

and seditious persons. Your sacred Majesty has to judge whilk of the two [Forbes and himself] is maist worthy of credit."*

Some misunderstanding had existed among the leading Presbyterian preachers in several districts about the day of the meeting of this self constituted assembly at Aberdeen, and several of them arrived after it was dissolved. One of those was Mr John Welsh, the son-in-law of John Knox, a man who is always mentioned as an extraordinary saint by the Presbyterian writers. The result of this defiance of the royal authority might have been anticipated. The parties implicated were prosecuted in the civil courts. Forbes, the moderator, when he arrived in Edinburgh, was cited before the Privy Council, and as he persisted that the Assembly was lawful, he was sent to the Castle. On the following day Welsh and four others were brought before the Council, and they were all, including Forbes, sent to Blackness Castle on a charge of rebellion. They now aggravated their former offences by declining the authority of the Privy Council, on the very convenient allegation that the matters of which they were accused were purely ecclesiastical, and ought to be decided by their "judicatories." But the Government were too cautious to recognize this subterfuge. Forbes, Welsh, and four others were brought before Sir William Hart, the Lord Justice Depute, and several Noblemen and Lords of the Privy Council, for high treason on the 10th of January 1606. A majority of the jury found them guilty, and they were ordered to be detained in prison till the King's pleasure should be ascertained.

The pretended General Assembly at Aberdeen, composed of only nineteen Presbyterian preachers, was altogether an insignificant affair, which in other circumstances, and in other times, would have been treated with contempt. As to those who resorted to it, their proceedings were harmless, but by the very act of meeting they were guilty of rebellion against the Government.†

* Selections from the Wodrow MSS. Earl of Dunfermline to James I., in "The Spalding Miscellany," vol. ii. p. 151, 152.

† The meeting at Aberdeen is thus noticed by a contemporary writer—"In the month of July the King discharged any convention or assembly of ministers to be held at any part or place in Scotland without his Majesty's permission ; notwithstanding whereof, they held Assembly at Aberdeen with very few in number, where they were discharged by a gentleman, commissioner for the King ; and the same discharge publicly proclaimed at the market-cross there ; for the whilk cause some of them were

The interests of true religion require no such meetings as General Assemblies, and it is a fact undoubted that vital Christianity increases and flourishes better without such arenas of partizanship, debate, and strife. The Scottish General Assemblies of those times, as has been the case under the Presbyterian system from 1833 to 1843, were altogether influenced by human passions, prejudices, and errors. Their leaders asserted claims which were utterly incompatible with good order, liberty, and religion. This fact is not denied by men of their own party. “The [Presbyterian] Church of Scotland,” says Mr Scott of Perth, under date 1596, but referring to proceedings of the General Assembly in 1592,* may be said to have been twice severely chastened *for exalting itself above the civil power*, first with the rod of Episcopacy at this period, and next with the same rod, as with a rod of iron, in 1660.” Though not admitting this peculiar notion about the “rod of Episcopacy,” for the rod of Presbyterianism was more galling than even that of Rome, there is no doubt that this “exalting itself above the civil power” was the cause of innumerable crimes, discords, and rebellions in the seventeenth century. But this General Assembly brought to the service of religion, and of the Church, of which, subsequently as Bishop of Aberdeen, he became one of the most illustrious ornaments, a man whose name will ever hold the first rank in the theological literature of his country. This was Patrick Forbes of Corse, the proprietor or Baron of the estate in Aberdeenshire so called, who in the subsequent narrative occupies a prominent place. We are told—“He seems to have considered it his duty, though a layman, to imitate the conduct of Erskine of Dun during the Titular Episcopate, and became a preacher. The proceedings which were instituted in the civil courts against the ministers who attended the forbidden Assembly at Aberdeen, terminated in the imprisonment, among others, of Mr John Forbes of Alford [already mentioned as moderator], Mr William

banished, and a strait [strict] command given to magistrates, and other officers of burghs, that in case any preacher should speak openly against that banishment, or for defence or maintenance of that Assembly, or pray publicly for their safety, that they should be noted and manifested to the Secret Council, and corrected for their fault.” Historie of King James the Sext, printed for the Bannatyne Club, 4to. Edinburgh, 1825, p. 379, 380.

* Extracts from the Records of the Church of Perth, from 1591 to 1596, in Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh.

Forbes of Towie, and Mr. James Irvine of Tough. These parish churches were several years vacant, and many others in that and the neighbouring Presbytery had never been filled since the Reformation. In this great dearth of pastors the brethren of the Presbyteries requested the learned Patrick Forbes of Corse, whose paternal mansion was in the close vicinity of the churches of the three imprisoned ministers, to officiate, although unordained, in one of them. He complied with their request, and having been subsequently censured by the Archbishop of St Andrews (Dr George Gladstone), he addressed the King in vindication of the course which he had pursued. His letter is dated in February 1610. It is unnecessary to add that he afterwards entered into orders [in 1612], and was, in 1618, preferred to the See of Aberdeen, in which office he died upon Easter Eve, 1635, in the seventy-first year of his age.*

The narrative which Forbes of Corse transmitted to James I, assigning his reasons for assuming the functions of a preacher, and the manner in which he discharged his duty, is interesting, as a very satisfactory defence of his conduct, and as explaining the state of the district in which he resided. "Being cast in these parts," he states in his letter to the King, "where within the precincts of two Presbyteries, at least twenty and one churches lay unplanted [without ministers], whereby our state were little from heathenism, I began in a simple and private manner, necessarily enforcing it on my conscience, to catechise my own family. Thereafter the churchmen of that province dealt earnestly with me to accept some public charge in the ministry of the Church, which upon diverse respectful considerations I could not as then yield to, they next with all instance requested that, at least for the good of others, I would be content to transfer my domestic pains [or exertions] to a vacant church now joining to my house; whereunto having for a space condescended, they afterwards, by their commissioners from their Synod directed to me for that effect, yet more earnestly entreated that I would still hold on that course which, as they judged, had been in some degree faithful. Now, Sir, as this made my voice to be heard in any public place, so all carriage therein, if either they did inform who know it, or know it

* Editor's Preface to "Spalding Miscellany," vol. ii. p. lvii.

who inform, hath been such, both in respect of the place—an obscure corner of any in all your Majesty's dominions, and in respect of my quiet manner, so far from all pretences, as I never opened my mouth in any other part (albeit oftener than once either seriously entreated or curiously tempted), and except an ordinary lecture on the Lord's Day never meddled with any part of that calling in public or private assembly,* as I now well perceive (I will not say the envy) but the misconstruing thereof hath passed ; and that (if your Majesty were not as an angel of God) to overthrow me in your Majesty's favour, whom nevertheless if any approved Christians let be [apart from] your Majesty had found themselves justly offended, what upon request I was moved to do, being admonished, I was always ready to forbear. So far have I always been, and hope in God still to prove, from all busy and turbulent dealing ; and yet for such an one am I content to be accounted of your Majesty, and demeaned accordingly, if, before I heard it from your Majesty, it was ever signified to me by any that my doing was in any respect offensive."

In February 1606 the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen sent a representation to the King, signed by the Titular Bishop Blackburn, of the distressed state of the district both in ecclesiastical and civil matters. They complained that as it respected religion they were vigorously assailed by Jesuits and other emissaries of the Church of Rome ; and in reference to civil affairs, the district was rent by the deadly feuds existing between rival families and their retainers. At the head of the Jesuits was the undaunted John Hamilton, a secular priest, whose chequered life is sketched by the celebrated Lord Hailes. He was the second son of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, and brother of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, the father of the first Earl of Melrose and Haddington. He left Scotland when young on account of his religion, and fixed his residence at Paris in 1573, where he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the College of Navarre. After various promotions and vicissitudes, he ventured to revisit his native country after 1601, and his zeal induced him to resort to the county of Aber-

* From this it appears that the worthy and pious writer of the above somewhat confused letter did not assume or usurp the clerical office. He merely gave " an ordinary lecture on the Lord's Day" in the particular locality near his patrimonial mansion, but never administered the sacraments before he received episcopal ordination.

deen, in which the members and adherents of the Roman Church were numerous and powerful. He was at length apprehended by a party of Life-Guards in 1609, conveyed to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he died in 1610. He wrote several controversial works, to one of which the Synod of Aberdeen referred in this letter to the King, describing it as “ Hamilton’s blasphemous new book.” This is supposed to have been a production which appeared in 1600, entitled, “ A Catalogue of an Hundred and Sixty-Seven Heresies, Lyes, and Calumnies, teachit and practisit by the Ministers of Calvin’s Sect, and Corruptions of Twentie-Thrie Passages of the Scripture by the Ministers’ adulterate Translations thereof.” During the commencement of the seventeenth century, and especially after the accession of Charles I., the Church of Rome was apparently regaining its lost dominion in Scotland, especially in the northern counties. It was considered necessary by the Bishops and clergy, at the instance of the King, to pass sentences of excommunication and forfeiture against them, followed in some cases by imprisonment, and banishment from the kingdom.

In May 1606, King James summoned eight of the most noted Presbyterian ministers to London, to a conference on the state of religion in Scotland. Among them were Andrew and James Melville, and they were all ordered to London before the 15th of September, with sundry others of their party. But the King in the meanwhile proceeded in his determination to curb the Presbyterians in their attempts to “ exalt themselves above the civil power.” In 1606, Gavin Hamilton, minister of the town and parish of Hamilton, was nominated to the Bishopric of Galloway, and James Law, minister of Kirkliston, to the See of Orkney. They were chosen, with some other Titular Archbishops and Bishops, among the Lords of the Articles, in the Parliament held at Perth on the 1st of July 1606, in which the Earl of Montrose presided as viceroy of the kingdom ; but George Home, first and only Earl of Dunbar of the Home Family, was sent as the royal commissioner.* On the 11th of July an act was passed,

* This nobleman, who is mentioned as “ the person on whom the King most depended for the restoration of the episcopal order in Scotland,” was the third son of Alexander Home of Manderston, of the family of Home of Wedderburn. He was early introduced to King James, from whom he received considerable preferments. In

declaring the King's prerogative and supremacy "over all Estates, persons, and causes whatsoever, within his said kingdom." This was followed by an act "anent the restitution of the Estate of Bishops," in which the Episcopal Church was solemnly declared to be the national establishment. The "said Estate of Bishops" were restored to their "ancient and accustomed honour, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, livings, lands, teinds, rents, thirds, and estates, as the same was in the Reformed Kirk most ample and free at any time before the act of annexation." The only limitation was, that "his Majesty's intention is only to restore the Bishoprics which are benefices of cure, and no way to alter any thing done in other benefices which are not of cure." As it respected the temporalities, the castle and castle-yards of St Andrews, dispossed to George Earl of Dunbar on the resignation of George [Gladstones] Archbishop of St Andrews, were exempted from the provisions of the act; and the feuars of the Archbishopric of Glasgow were, on account of their numbers, and poverty of many of them, "to be at no other expense than merely to obtain ratifications of their property from the Archbishop."* Most of the old abbey lands were constituted temporal lordships, and their possessors or commendators created Peers.

The observations by Mr Scott of Perth on this Parliament are interesting:—"Several of the Presbyterians sent commissioners to Perth at this time, to endeavour that something might be accomplished in the behalf of the [Presbyterian] Church. The

1604 he was sworn a Privy Councillor of England—created an English Peer by the title of Baron Home of Berwick, and in the following year Earl of Dunbar, in the Peerage of Scotland. It is said that he so "skillfully managed" in this Parliament of 1606, that he "carried through the Act for the restitution of Bishops;" but he was ably supported by the Earl of Montrose, who presided in the Parliament, and others of the nobility. The Earl of Dunbar married Catherine daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Gight, by Mary daughter of Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, and left issue two daughters. He died at Whitehall on the 29th of January 1611, and was buried in the old parish church of Dunbar. "A splendid marble monument, superior, it is said, in sculpture to any thing of the kind in Scotland, was erected to his memory; it is still preserved in the present church, and is twelve feet broad, and twenty-six feet high.—He is represented at full length, clad in armour, kneeling on a cushion, with his prayer-book laid before him. His supporters are two knights in armour, and above, on one side stands Justice, and on the other Wisdom. There are other appropriate figures and devices, and the whole is crowned with the arms of Home."—New Statistical Account of Scotland, Haddingtonshire, p. 76.

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 281-284.

Bishops, who had resorted as usual to take their seats in Parliament, in vain endeavoured to get this convention of ministers discharged. The two acts contained the establishment of the Episcopal Church on the one hand, and the total overthrow of the Presbyterian church government on the other. The ministers convened, understanding what was going on prepared a long protestation, which was signed by a great number of them. They gave it to certain commissioners of the General Assembly, who by a former innovation in the Church had been appointed by the General Assembly to sit and vote in Parliament. Those commissioners having in vain tried the Lords of the Articles, gave in copies of the protestation to every several Estate of Parliament, and to some of the chief noblemen. Among the subscribers were the two ministers of Perth.* On the last day of the Parliament a public protestation, drawn up by Andrew Melville and others, was sent to the Estates. Melville obtained admission with some difficulty into the place of meeting, and stood up to enlighten the members with a speech. As soon as he was recognized he was ordered to be expelled, but this was not effected before he "made his mind known."

The summons to the Conference at Hampton Court was reluctantly obeyed by the two Melvilles and the other Presbyterian ministers. They appeared on the 20th of September 1606, and Calderwood admits that they were favourably received. On the side of the now established Episcopal Church, though its Bishops were not yet consecrated, were summoned Gladstones of St Andrews, Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Law of Orkney, Lamb of Brechin, afterwards of Galloway, Nicolson of Dunkeld,† and two ministers of the anti-presbyterian party, accompanied by the Earls of Dunbar and Orkney, Lord Fleming, Straiton of Lauriston, Sir Thomas Hamilton, the King's Advocate, afterwards Earl of Melrose and first Earl of Haddington, and some others of inferior station. As this Conference, which is fully narrated by Calderwood,‡ who gives

* Mr William Cowpar, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, and Mr John Malcolm. Extracts from the Register of the Kirk-Session of Perth, vol. i. MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

† James Nicolson, minister of Meigle, was nominated Bishop of Dunkeld in 1606, at the death of Peter Rollock. Nicolson, like Rollock, was only Titular, and died in the following year.

‡ History, p. 537-548.

very graphic details of the several meetings, had little or no connection with the Episcopal Church of Scotland, it is unnecessary to introduce it into this narrative. The rudeness, insolence, and vulgarity, which Andrew Melville thought proper to exhibit may gratify some Presbyterian writers, who consider his conduct as a noted example of courage and independence. His presbyterian intolerance was offended at the sight of the ornaments on the communion-table in the Chapel-Royal. It was St Michael's Day, and the said "ornaments" merely consisted of two copies of the Liturgy, two chalices for the celebration of the holy communion, and two candlesticks. He expressed his opinion in six lines of Latin verse, in which he impertinently identified the ritual of the Church of England with that of Rome—a notion which, by some unaccountable obstinacy or curious perversion of intellect, was long, and indeed to some extent still is, seriously believed by the Scottish Presbyterians. His verses transpired, and his puny satire on the ritual of the Church elicited strong disapprobation. At a meeting of the Privy Council he gave scope to his angry passions by personally insulting Archbishop Bancroft of Canterbury in the most indecent manner in the presence of the King, falsely accusing the English Primate of "profanation of the Sabbath, imprisoning, silencing, and bearing down faithful preachers," as he designated the Brownist or Independent sectarians, and "holding up an anti-christian hierarchy and popish ceremonies."* Bishop Barlow, then of Rochester, afterwards of Lincoln, who wrote the account of the Hampton Court Conference held in 1603-4, was honoured with a due share of this person's virulent abuse, and it was in vain that the Lord Chancellor Egerton admonished him, as Calderwood admits, to "join modesty with his years." He was delivered to the custody of Dr Overall, then Dean of St Paul's, and after an imprisonment of four years in the Tower he was released, on the condition that he was to retire from the kingdom. James Melville, his nephew, was confined for life to the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the rest were located in remote districts of Scotland. Forbes, Welsh, and four others, concerned in the illegal General Assembly held at Aberdeen, if such a paltry meeting and display had any pretensions to be considered a General Assembly, were tried at Linlithgow before Hart, the Justice-Depute, for

* Calderwood, p. 548.

treason, inasmuch as they declined the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and had held a General Assembly of the Kirk in “contempt of his Majesty’s authority.” They were all brought up from Blackness Castle, and having been found guilty on the 23d of October 1606, in virtue of a warrant signed by the King at Hampton Court on the 26th of September, they were ordered to be banished “during all the days of their natural lives, under pain of death,” with the recorded declaration that future offenders would be “proceeded against with all severity, and that the death due unto traitors shall be inflicted upon them with all rigour.”* They embarked at Leith in terms of the sentence on the 6th of November, but as their prosecution was not caused by the Episcopal Church, their future wanderings have no connection with its history, to which they were decided enemies.

A General Assembly was ordered by the King to be held at Linlithgow on the 10th of December 1606, for “suppressing of papists and removing of jars [contentions] from the Kirk.”† This meeting was elective or rather representative, though James Melville asserts that “out of some Presbyteries were named none, out of the most part three, out of some four or five, out of some six [members], according as they were made to favour the purpose.” About thirty-three noblemen and official persons, and one hundred and twenty-nine ministers, attended. Patrick Galloway, the moderator of the former legally convened General Assembly, was requested to preach a sermon on the occasion, but he excused himself on the ground that the unexpected summoning of the Assembly had prevented him from a due preparation, and Bishop Law of Orkney performed that duty. After prayer by Mr Galloway, he produced a leet of four ministers sanctioned by the King, one of whom was to be chosen moderator, and Bishop Nicolson of Dunkeld was elected. In those times, when the Presbyterians were continually struggling with the civil power for the mastery, under the pretence that they were contending for Christ’s crown and kingdom, the person elected moderator of the Assemblies invariably indicated the feelings and dispositions of the majority. If he was known as a restless, turbulent, and officious preacher, it was certain that the proceedings would be sufficiently stormy and

* Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 494-504.

† James Melville’s Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 683.

offensive to the Government ; but if, on the other hand, he was a prudent and peaceful individual, the business discussed was in accordance with his principles. The meeting at Linlithgow was merely a convention to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and the several Presbyteries were ordered to send a certain number of representatives. After the titular Bishop Nicolson had been elected moderator, the Earl of Dunbar produced a letter from the King, in which it was recommended in the then unsettled state of the Church that one minister of acknowledged ability should be chosen to preside as constant moderator in each Presbytery, and that this office should appertain to the Bishops in those Presbyteries within the bounds of which they resided. The same was to be arranged in the case of the Provincial Synods. To enter into all the discussions which this proposal excited would be tedious and uninteresting. Many of the Presbyteries agreed to the arrangement, but it was different with the Provincial Synods, only one of which, that of Angus and Mearns, consented to sanction a perpetual moderator.

It appears surprising at the present day that the Presbyterians of that time should have kept the kingdom in a ferment by their dry, frivolous, and captious discussions about their Presbyteries and Moderators. Archbishop Bancroft's sentiments on this subject, as expressed to James Melville personally, are worthy of notice. He and the other Presbyterian ministers detained in London gave in a supplication to the English Privy Council, dated the 8th of March 1607, beseeching the Council to intercede with the King for leave to return to Scotland, declaring—“ If it please your Lordships, we would most gladly understand what are those opinions we hold repugnant to the good government of the Kirk of Scotland, to the end that if there be any such, whereof we know none, at his Majesty’s command we may abandon the same, and not trouble the Lord Bishops of England.” This supplication, written in the most sycophantish and submissive language, was sent by the Privy Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with an order to answer it at his convenience. The Primate summoned two of the Presbyterian petitioners to an interview, and James Melville, accompanied by a Mr William Scott, attended his Grace at Lambeth. The Archbishop received them courteously, ordered his friends who were in the apartment to retire, retaining only his

page in attendance, and informed Melville and his companion that the King had intimated to the Privy Council his refusal to allow them and their friends to return to Scotland, but that they would be hospitably entertained in the meantime, and lodged with some of the principal clergy recommended by the Bishops, as the most suitable persons to receive them. The Primate farther informed them that the persons appointed to convey them to the several places where they were to reside were not legal officers, but servants of the King and Privy Council, and that if they experienced any incivility he would remedy it whenever they complained to him. Some conversation ensued about their peculiar situation and ecclesiastical affairs. In reply to an observation of James Melville, the Archbishop said—"I know your meaning, Mr Melville, by the letter sent to Mr Ashley,* which I have in my pocket now, but we will not reason that matter. I am sure we both hold and keep the true grounds of religion, and are brethren in Christ, and so should behave ourselves one towards another. Our difference is only in the governing of the Church and some ceremonies; but I understand, since you came from Scotland, your Kirk is almost brought to be one with ours in that also, for I am certain that there are constant moderators appointed in your General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries, even as I am highest under the King in this Church, and yet am nothing above the rest of my brethren the Bishops but in pain and travel; so that I was in a better estate when I was but Richard Bancroft, even as a standing moderator of that General Assembly, or as Mr Patrick Galloway, or such others are in Scotland; and in every Province and Diocese there is a Bishop, a moderator of a Chapter, or a Presbytery, answerable all to the King." Mr William Scott began to argue with the Primate, and introduced their usual topic, which has many definitions, of their "duty to Christ and a good conscience." The Archbishop smiling, and gently patting his arm,

* Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of the Privy Council. The letter was a complaint by James Melville, that he was ordered to reside in the house of the Bishop of Durham, who was to give him "good and kind entertainment;" and the writer wondered "what this matter should mean," he "not being accused of any misbehaviour or crime, to be charged to become a domestic to a Bishop in England, known to be of a contrary affection and opinion of the government of the Kirk and discipline thereof, which," says he, "I take to be a harder punishment than imprisonment or banishment." Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 689.

said—" Tush, man, take here a cup of good sack." Melville continues—" Filling the cup, and holding the napkin in his hand himself, he made us drink, and it being now late, and near six hours of the clock afternoon, after many good words and fair offers of all he could do at the King's hand for us to obtain our liberty he sent us away, and we were no more troubled with that matter of going to Bishops again."* Letters from the Privy Council of Scotland were issued after the meeting of the General Assembly at Linlithgow, ordering every Presbytery to sanction a constant moderator. James Melville has preserved a copy of one, dated 17th February 1606-7, referring to those Presbyteries which refused to comply. It is therein stated, that " with the uniform consent of the Assembly, for the welfare of the Kirk, and staying of the number and growth of Papists in this our kingdom, there should be a constant moderator for a certain space nominated in every Presbytery, who should have the charge to inform the Lords of our Secret Council of all papists, recusants, and contemners of discipline in this land, and to seek the execution of our laws against them, as in the act thereanent at more length is contained." It is next stated that if the recusant Presbyteries refused to accept the constant moderators, and to " receive and reverence them in all things due to the privilege of that office," within twenty-four hours after they received the said letters they were to be put to the horn, or denounced as rebels, and all their moveable goods forfeited. This stringent epistle from the Privy Council had a due effect with the refractory Presbyteries, of which it is not stated there were many, and all accepted the constant moderators to preside over them, while it was arranged that the Bishops were to sit as moderators of the Provincial Synods in their respective Dioceses. The constant moderators of the Presbyteries were to be responsible to the moderators of the Synods, and to the whole Synod. If guilty of any offence, the former were to be removed after a lawful trial, and the worthiest member of the Presbytery was to be preferred to his place. Every Presbytery was entitled to elect two members or commissioners to the General Assemblies ; and it was even conceded that in the case of the moderators the Presbyteries were not compelled to accept any particular individual, if they had objections to his life and doctrine.

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 694-700.

It appears that this last concession to the Presbyterian party displeased the King. About the end of December 1606, Bishop Law of Orkney, and Lord Holyroodhouse (the son of old Bishop Bothwell of Orkney celebrity), were sent to London to inform James of the business of the Assembly at Linlithgow. We are told by James Melville that "the King was little content because they proceeded not freelier," and Lord Holyroodhouse blamed the Bishops for having by some mistake made a kind of voluntary submission "of new to the Presbyteries." Bishop Law was reproved for this strange position into which he and his brethren had placed themselves, but he promised that it would be rectified in a proper manner. When in London he visited Melville and the other preachers detained there, on whom he made no impression, though he laboured to convince them that "he knew nothing of any purpose the King had to alter the discipline and government of the Kirk of Scotland, but only to seek the provision and estimation thereof, vindicating the same from contempt and poverty." In reference to some cognizance taken of the Roman Catholics at the Assembly held at Linlithgow, which Bishop Law explained to James Melville and his friends, one of them named Balfour exclaimed—" *In nomine Domini incipit omne malum!* This is pretended, but the dint [trouble], as yet has been a long time, will alight on the Kirk, discipline, and standers by the same." "They shall call me false knave," replied Bishop Law, "and never to be believed again, if the papists be not so handled as they never were in Scotland." "That may well be," observed Balfour. Bishop Law stated that it was unjust to suspect the King, or the proceedings of his own brethren in Scotland. "Nay," replied Melville sullenly, "the King both by word and writing hath uttered his mind plainly, but ye deal deceitfully, deceiving yourselves and others, but God by time will make all manifest one day."*

Though the Presbyteries accepted the constant moderators, the rebellious leaven threatened to ferment in some of the Provincial Synods, and in that of Perth an uproar occurred which strikingly illustrates the sentiments of the parties. It is described both by Calderwood and James Melville, but the following—a condensation of both, is also a Presbyterian account of it from the Perth Regis-

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society,) p. 687, 688.

ters, and is more luminously expressed. David Lord Scone, who figures in it, was the second son of Sir Andrew Murray of Arn-gask and Balvaird, by Janet daughter of William second Earl of Montrose. His first title was Sir David Murray, and the proximity of his mansion of Scone, about two miles from Perth, of which he was Lord Provost at the time, enabled him to take a deep interest in the public affairs transacted in that city. The forfeited and attainted Earls of Gowrie had been commendators of Scone, and held the temporal lordship, into which that ancient religious establishment was erected, at the time of the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy concocted by John third Earl, his brother, and Logan of Restalrig. Sir David Murray was created Lord Scone in 1605, and Viscount Stormont in 1622. His Lordship was a zealous supporter of the Episcopal Church, and a devoted determined opponent of the system, pretensions, and claims of Presbyterianism. He is consequently the subject of the bitter vituperation of its adherents.

"In the Provincial Synod which met at Perth the last day of March 1607," observes Mr Scott, "there was no business done. Sir David Murray, Lord Scone, produced two commissions, the one from the King and the other from the Privy Council, directing him to charge the members of the Synod to restrict themselves in the choice of a moderator to one of the four ministers who had been appointed by the last Assembly at Linlithgow perpetual moderators of the four several Presbyteries of which the Synod at that time consisted. The members replied, that they had never seen the act of last Assembly relating to perpetual moderators either of Presbyteries or Synods—that they had only heard confused and contradictory accounts of it^{*}; and they desired my Lord Scone to show them a copy of it, which, however, he either could not or did not choose to do. They alleged farther that they could not elect one of those four ministers, even though that act should be as he represented it, for that one of those ministers was now dead; another of them lay at the point of death; a third had refused to accept the office of perpetual moderator; and that the fourth, Mr Alexander Lindsay [a few months afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld], minister of St Madoes,*

* A small parish near Perth, locally termed *Semmidoes*!

had violently intruded himself into the office of perpetual moderator in the Presbytery of Perth, for that the brethren of the Presbytery had protested against his admission.

" All the members of the Synod, except Mr Alexander Lindsay himself, voted that there should be a free election of a moderator according to the usual manner. Lord Seone threatened that he would discharge or dissolve the Synod. The Synod commanded Mr William Row, minister at Forgandenny, their former moderator, to call the roll in order to a free election. At last both Lord Seone and Mr Row requested the Synod to adjourn, and delay the affair till next day. On the morrow Mr Row, in name of the Synod, earnestly entreated my Lord Seone and some others who were joint commissioners with him, not to hinder the Synod from having a free election of their own moderator. He mentioned the example of some noblemen who had been sent commissioners to other Synods, who for such reasons as had been urged had yielded that point. But Lord Seone in a peremptory manner demanded their obedience ; and his passion being roused, threatened, and gave abusive names to several of the ministers. Mr Row exhorted him to ' speak with reverence and reason.'

" The Synod having taken the depositions of such of the members as were at the last Assembly, and having thereby got no better information concerning the act which was now enforced upon them, urged Mr Row to proceed to the election without farther delay. The ministers whose names had been mentioned in the leets given in by several Presbyteries being removed, Mr Row, holding the synod list in his hand, as he had done the day before, to ask the votes of the members, the commissioner [Lord Seone] raged, and attempted to pull the list out of his hand. But Mr Row, holding the paper in his left hand, and with his right keeping down the commissioner in his chair, finished the list, when Mr Henry Livingstone was declared to be chosen moderator, was called in, and commanded to take his place [seat]. When the Commissioner saw him coming forward to the moderator's place, he rose from his seat to stop him, and said in a threatening manner—' Let no man be so bold as to come there.' Mr Livingstone stopped at the middle of the table. ' Let us begin,' said he, ' at God, and be humbled in the name of Jesus Christ ;' and immediately kneeled down on the floor, as did all the ministers

along with him.* The commissioner in a great rage clapped on his breast, and said—‘ The devil a Jesus is here.’† When he saw that the moderator, notwithstanding, was proceeding in his prayer, he overturned the table with the green-cloth upon him [moderator Livingston], and the rest who were upon the south side of the church, all humbled upon their knees, but they never stirred, nor seemed at all to regard his violence. He caused some of the guard to remove the table, and called out for some of the Bailies. The ministers continued their prayer, beseeching the Lord, says Calderwood, to be avenged of the blasphemy of his name, and of the contempt of his glory, which was now trampled under foot by profane men. All the time of the prayer, the commissioner [Lord Scone], or the comptroller, as Calderwood calls him, seeing he long enjoyed the comptroller’s office, never uncovered his head. Protestations and instruments were afterwards taken by both parties. When the Bailies came, he [Scone] commanded them to ring the common bell, and to remove the rebels. They pretended that it behoved them first to convene the [Town-]Council. They went away, and returned not again, though he himself was at that time Provost of the town. After the Synod had gone through some of the usual forms, they adjourned for a

* Are we to infer from this that the Presbyterian ministers were then in the habit of *kneeling* at prayer, instead of *standing*—the indecent posture of their representatives, both the Established and Dissenting Presbyterians, in subsequent times?

† This very irreverent expression, which can scarcely be palliated by the provocation Lord Scone received from those men, is not mentioned by James Melville in his Diary. His version of the story is—“They gravely charged Scone, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whose power and authority they were [as they pretended] convened, not to trouble that meeting, appealing him before the tribunal of God, and remembering him what judgments of God had lighted on those who had been disturbers and troublers of the kirk in times bypast, naming to him diverse whom he knew; but he in a fury knocking on his breast, exclaimed—“*There is no Jesus here.*” For the which, either his miserable confession, if he meant of himself, or blasphemy, if he spake of the Assembly [Synod] convened and fenced in the name of Jesus Christ by the word and prayer, they with power rebuked him every one, as God ministered grace, that he was so perplexed and dashed [ashamed] that he had not a word to speak. At last he began to use violence, and to pull the catalogue out of the moderator’s hand, who said to him, ‘Cease, my Lord, we will not be prohibited from doing our office under the Lord Jesus Christ, for we are his servants and good fellows too. Think not your terrors will move us.’ Those men made as familiar use of our Saviour’s name as the Non-Intrusion Presbyterians are noted for having done in their numerous mob meetings from 1834 to 1843. Lord Scone’s principles could not allow him to recognize their Synod as an ecclesiastical court at all. Melville’s Diary (Wodrow Society,) p. 703.

little, but when they returned, they found the doors of the church locked. Some of the Town-Council were sent to the commissioner to crave the keys, but were refused. The Bailies offered to break open the doors. The citizens were enraged, but the ministers forbade all kind of violence. A great concourse of people gathered around them, shedding many tears, and lamenting the rude treatment they had received. At length the ministers resolved to hold their synod in the church-yard, before the south door of the church. Immediately on intimating their resolution, the people weeping, and cursing the instruments of that day's disturbance, ran with all speed, and brought tables, forms, and stools, for the use of the ministers, and then the ministers, in the presence of all the people, having kneeled down and prayed, proceeded to agree on such measures as were proper and necessary for them to take after what had happened. Spottiswoode relates that they were afterwards called before the Privy Council, and forbid to have any provincial meeting in time coming ; but it would appear that this prohibition was of short continuance, as in the Session Register, under the date of 17th August 1607, it is said that ' there was no meeting of session that day, because the ministers were at the Provincial Assembly holden at Stirling.' Indeed, Mr William Row, who had acted with so much boldness and zeal, was, Calderwood says, ' put to the horn, and search was made for his apprehension, so that he was forced to lurk among friends a great while after.' **

Such was the " scene " exhibited in the Provincial Synod held at Perth, which nearly ended in a riot. The part which Lord Scone sustained in this meeting does not place him in a favourable light, inasmuch as he conducted himself with violence. Although his irreverent exclamation connected with our Saviour's name cannot be palliated, his Lordship was a religious man, and this is not denied by some of his traducers, while they admit that " he was very useful to King James in carrying on matters with violence against the Presbyterian party." Lord Scone's character is thus delineated

* Extracts from the Register of the Kirk-Session of Perth, MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, vol. i. In Mercer's Chronicle this affair is briefly noticed—" A Synodical Assembly of [Presbyterian] ministers was holden in the New [West] Kirk of Perth. My Lord Scone came in, and discharged them. He threw over the table, and put them forth ; but they yet held their Assembly at the kirk door, with joy that the people were so well affected to them. Mr Harry Livingstone was moderator."

by his friend Bishop Cowpar of Galloway, in his admirable commentary on the 119th Psalm, delivered in the course of week-day evening lectures in St John's church at Perth, published in 1613, and dedicated to his Lordship. The Bishop compliments Lord Scone on "the pleasure he took in building, planting, and other such matters, wherein he was an example to all around him; but he exhorts him to the practice of several duties, of daily prayer, of charity to the poor, of honouring and making welcome to his company the servants of the Lord, of guarding against covetousness, or a love of the world. He says that he had known the seed of godliness in him these many years, breeding spiritual remorse with tears, and godly holy desires; and that he had presented this book to him, to the intent that these might at length be cherished and brought forward both to the flourishing and further fructifying."—"There are none," observes Bishop Cowpar, who evidently cherished a great regard for Lord Scone, and was his intimate friend, "who know your Lordship, but have marked an affection towards religion so indivertible, that no man contrary minded durst ever attempt to alter it, which in this declining age deserves no small commendation. A heart in like manner toward execution of justice so inflexible, that ye have preferred the law [of God] to the love of men who otherwise have been most dear to you, for the which, howsoever ye have been misliked of many, yet have you proved a profitable servant to your master in most difficult times, for by justice is the throne established." This is not the servile language of flattery, but "things" in Lord Scone's character, which, Mr Scott confesses, "deserve commendation." Bishop Cowpar was minister of Perth at the time, and was so far a Presbyterian, that Calderwood inserts a letter alleged to have been written by him to George Graham, minister of Scone, who had accepted the Bishopric of Dunblane in 1606, in which he disapproved of the episcopal office.* If this letter is genuine, of which there are some doubts, we may observe with Mr Scott, that "it was not long till he came to alter his opinion of the mode of church-government."†

It appears from James Melville's Diary that the titular Bishop Nicolson of Dunkeld was associated with Lord Scone in the King's

* History, p. 549, 550.

† Extracts from the Registers of the Kirk-Session of Perth M.S. vol. i.

commission to the Provincial Synods of Perth. Although this “Reverend Father,” as his Lordship styled his colleague, took no part in the proceedings on account of bodily troubles, which soon after caused his death, and although he seems to have been a man of great prudence, he was not allowed to escape without his share of Presbyterian abuse. When his name was mentioned, they indignantly exclaimed—“ It was not credible that such a man, who had been so far against that corruption all his time, and uttered himself so to be at the Convention of Linlithgow last past, where he was moderator, should carry that title and style ; or, if he did, it did not become a Reverend Father to reverence the King’s commandment in assisting and overseeing that Assembly.”* This was an ebullition of sheer malevolence, in accordance with their usual conduct towards those whose opinions were different from their own.

In the General Assembly held at Linlithgow in 1606, the next meeting of that association was appointed to take place at Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh on the last Tuesday of July 1607. But the disorderly and illegal conduct of the Presbyterian ministers at the Synod of Perth, and their avowed sentiments, induced the King to issue a proclamation on the 24th of May, proroguing the Assembly till the 24th of November, and ordering it to be held in Dundee. The proclamation refers to the General Assembly held at Linlithgow in the most approving manner, declaring that it consisted of “ a great number of the most godly, zealous, and well affected of the nobility, council, and small barons, from all parts of the kingdom, as also the most learned, experienced, wise, godly, and discreet of the ministry from all the Presbyteries in great number, by whose travels [exertions], cares, and wisdom, every occasion and pretext of grief was in such moderation and godliness removed, that as the same did yield us [the King] contentment, so every thing [was] done in that Assembly with a great and general applause of all, giving great hopes that nothing from that time forth should be found but unity and concord in the Kirk, and that all their meetings thereafter should be full of peace and love. But we now perceiving that, by the means of those evil disposed, turbulent, and contentious spirits, all the proceedings in

* James Melville’s Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 702

that General Assembly are brought in question and traduced by some, no obedience given, and by others direct opposition made, to the acts concluded at that time, and therethrough among the brethren such distractions of mind, and bitter exasperations one against another ; and howsoever the meeting of the brethren, if it were in love, peace, and charity, no doubt would do good in the Kirk, so there is no question but their convening with pre-occupied mind, fraught with envy and malice, would give the enemy too much advantage to enter by that breach of their discord and division, to make themselves odious, and so weaken them." For these, and other reasons set forth in this racy and characteristic proclamation, all the Presbyteries were ordered to meet on the 4th of August, and two of the " most godly, peaceable, wise, and grave" of their number to be chosen by each Presbytery to attend the General Assembly at first appointed to be held at Holyrood-house on the 2d of August, but now prorogued to the 24th of November, and to be held at Dundee.*

The Presbyterian ministers in the Provincial Synod of Fife were resolved to imitate their brethren in the Synod of Perth, but Archbishop Gladstanes prohibited their meeting, and ordered it to be delayed till the first Tuesday of June 1607. In defiance of the Archbishop, however, a considerable number of them thought proper to convene at the little seaport burgh of Dysart, on the south shore of Fife ; but the chief magistrate prevented them from entering the town, and they congregated on the beach immediately west of the harbour, under the now ruinous castle of Ravenseraig. Although the rain poured in torrents, " laying on about their ears," in James Melville's phraseology, they occupied two hours in discussing the state of their affairs. A majority of them voted for proceeding to business in their usual way, but a serious defection was threatened, the minority declaring that they would retire from the meeting ; and as James Melville admits, " the brethren, considering that the number would not be sufficient, in case so many left them, as also there were among them very many good upright brethren," they unanimously concluded to adjourn their meeting to the second Tuesday of June, the day specified in Archbishop Gladstanes' public notice,

* Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society, p. 711, 712, 713.

when they resolved to convene, and proceed with their ordinary affairs, whatever might be the consequences. They accordingly congregated on that day at Dysart, when three commissioners appointed by the King appeared, and insisted that, in accordance with the Act of the General Assembly of Linlithgow, they should sanction Archbishop Gladstones as their constant moderator. This was peremptorily refused, and a certain Mr William Cranstoun acted a conspicuous part. According to the gossipping narrative of James Melville, the Archbishop jocularly said to the Council and the King's commissioners, that all would "be chewed meat at their coming," probably meaning that he would be able to arrange matters peaceably, conform to the act of the Linlithgow Assembly. But the opposition to his election as constant moderator was so great, that Lord Holyroodhouse exclaimed to him—"Bishop, is this your chewed meat? Methinks that ye and we both are like to choke on it." They denied that any act agreeing to constant moderators was ever sanctioned at Linlithgow, and that they would not believe it till they saw a copy of it regularly certified by Bishop Nicolson, the Moderator of that Assembly, and by the clerk. After considerable wrangling they agreed to adjourn the synodal meeting to the last day of September. They were threatened that letters of horning, or declaring them rebels, were in readiness if they refused to obey; but, says James Melville, "the Bishop was plainly told that if he *horned* them, they would try whose sword was sharpest, and excommunicate him." Archbishop Gladstones cared little, however, for this threat. Letters of horning were now more serious affairs than Presbyterian excommunications, the terrors of which had almost disappeared.

In the meanwhile the Government proceeded without any reference to the Presbyterian preachers. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 3d of August 1607, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Orkney, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles, and on the 11th, after the act for the treaty of the union of the two kingdoms was produced, and another passed against the "sayers and wilful hearers of mass," an act was ratified, empowering the Archbishop of St Andrews to have "a constant Chapter, according to the ancient policy of the Kirk and fundamental laws of this

kingdom," giving, granting, and committing "full power and commission to George, Archbishop of St Andrews, to elect and nominate seven qualified persons of the clergy at least, dwelling and having charge and administration within his Diocese, to be the perpetual convent, council, and Chapter, of the said Archbishopric in all time coming." This was followed by an Act annexing the temporalities of the parish church of Meigle, in the county of Perth, to the Bishopric of Dunkeld, "the rents thereof to be specially appropriate to the Bishop's own use, he always providing the minister serving the cure thereat of a good sufficient local stipend."^{*} A commission was also appointed to "modify, decern, and declare the yearly dues" to be paid to the Crown from benefices, and to regulate the stipends of the parish incumbents under the controul of the Bishops.[†]

Archbishop Gladstones returned to St Andrews after the Parliament, and by authority of the King summoned the Provincial Synod of Fife to meet at Dysart on the 18th of August. On that day four commissioners, three of whom were Lords Lindsay, Seone, and Holyroodhouse, were appointed by the King to see Archbishop Gladstones instituted as constant moderator, having obtained a certified copy of the Act of the Linlithgow Assembly. The noblemen, at the recommendation of the Archbishop, had nominated a person to preach the sermon at the opening of the Synodal meeting. On the day appointed they all attended, but they neglected to take measures to prevent Mr William Cranston the Presbyterian moderator, from intruding himself into the pulpit. It seems that Mr William had ordered the congregation to commence their devotions by singing, while he paced the session-house, or vestry, of the parish church, cogitating his extempore sermon, and "desiring to have his spirit and affection stirred up, by hearing the psalms sung by the people within the kirk," not aware that another person had been selected to preach. He soon went into the pulpit, and while sitting in it during the psalm-singing a letter was handed to him, which he put in his pocket without examining the contents. The difficulty now was how to get him out of the pulpit. Another messenger was sent to him, tell-

* This was probably to favour Mr James Nicolson, the Titular of Dunkeld, who officiated as parson of Meigle, and who died shortly after the meeting of this Parliament.

† *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 572.

ing him to come down in the name of the lords present. He answered that he was there in the name of a greater Lord than any of them with a message which he had not yet delivered, and perceiving the congregation surprised at this scene, he ordered them to sing another psalm. One of the magistrates next approached, and whispered in his ear that the Lords of the Privy Council insisted that he should leave that place—"And I," he replied, "command you in the name of God to sit down in *your* place, and hear what God the Lord will say unto you by me." It is recorded of the Bailie that he "most reverently obeyed." Before Mr William commenced his extemporary prayer, a functionary long known in Scotland as the Conservator of the Scottish Privileges at Campvere, or of the merchants in the Low Countries, and who in this individual instance was a member of the Privy Council, went to the pulpit, and civilly asked him to desist, as their Lordships had appointed another to preach. "The Lord and his Kirk," was the reply, "appointed me; therefore beware to trouble his work." He was then allowed to proceed in his own way. The Archbishop and the Commissioners, with the exception of Lord Lindsay, were purposely absent. After the sermon the preachers constituted their Synod without sending intimation to the King's commissioners, this being intended as a reproof for their absence, and we are told that Mr William "conceived the prayer most pithily." A Mr Gordon occupied the moderator's chair, until Mr William was "cleared of his doctrine," or certified that he had advanced nothing erroneous in his sermon. This of course was done, and Mr David Lindsay, one of the ministers of St Andrews, when called upon to vote, "glorified God exceedingly for the notable, sound, pertinent doctrine, and mighty exhortation;" while Archbishop Gladstones, whom they designated simply "the minister of St Andrews," was sharply censured for his absence from the sermon, and was insultingly told by Gordon that "an atheist could not have done worse." This enraged the Archbishop, who expressed himself in no gentle language at their conduct, but the noblemen present persuaded him to desist. The noblemen deputed by the King then exhibited their commissions, to the effect that they were enjoined to see the Archbishop of St Andrews perpetual moderator in all meetings of the Provincial Synods of Fife, according to the Act of the Linlithgow General Assembly. The Presbyterian

moderator desired the Act to be produced, which was done and read, signed by James Nicolson, the Moderator of that Assembly, and by the clerk named Philip. They denied the validity of the act, or the interpretation put upon it—that in fact they had been assured by several of their brethren present at that Assembly that no such Act was proposed therein—and that as Nicolson was now dead, they must know the sentiments of the other Provincial Synods, insisting that a copy of it should be sent to each of the Presbyteries. This in turn enraged the King's commissioners, who stated to them that the letters of horning against them had been too long neglected, and that their conduct annoyed his Majesty. They summoned a messenger-at-arms, who had the letters of horning in his possession, to the meeting, and calling the list of the preachers, they asked every one severally if he would accept the Archbishop to be constant moderator. They answered in the negative, and the officer was ordered to the horn. They declared—" We will rather abide horning, and all that can follow thereon, before we do against our Kirk. The office is unlawful; the man is unworthy." They were then ordered to be denounced as rebels, but the Archbishop interfered, and after a private conversation with them said that such proceeding was unnecessary, as he would on his responsibility satisfy the King. The commissioners assented, observing—" It was his own cause, and do therein what he pleased, they would lay all the blame on him if the King was offended." The Synod was then dissolved, and prohibited from again meeting without warrant from the King. The Archbishop wrote a full account to the King, the result of which was, that Cranston the intruding preacher was declared a rebel, and other three, one of whom named Dykes, was the Archbishop's brother-in-law, were ordered to be confined to their own congregations for their " insolent carriage and behaviour."*

Such was the meeting of the Synod of Fife, in which the royal authority was defied by pretensions and claims as extravagant as were ever asserted by the Church of Rome. It is lamentable to find the Presbyterians occupying themselves in such unseemly wranglings. In their view, every thing which they said or did was exclusively scriptural, right, and sanctioned by our Saviour; while all the proceedings of those whom they opposed was essentially

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 714-720.

wrong. They claimed a direct monopoly of truth in the most dogmatic manner, and their violent tempers caused them to evince the fiercest uncharitableness, incompatible with good subjects and peaceful citizens. They had no more right to insist that their system should be considered the legal establishment than had the Roman Catholics to demand that all the Acts of Parliament passed since the Reformation should be rescinded, and their Church restored to its ancient position. The Presbyterian writers assert that their “discipline” was popular, and in accordance with the inclinations of the mass of the people; but although this statement is merely matter of opinion, and remains to be proved, it is of comparatively little importance, when we recollect the extraordinary ignorance and fanaticism which then prevailed in Scotland. The Presbyterian preachers in reality would not allow the people to think for themselves, and assumed it as an undoubted principle that all were bound to conform to their opinions. By the misrepresentations which they carefully circulated in an age deficient of channels to indicate the public sentiments on any ecclesiastical or civil matter, it is obvious that their opponents are as much entitled to credit for authenticity as themselves. They inveighed about the salary of L.100, as a bribe allotted by the King to the constant moderators, on the “ostensible pretext that their attention might not by secular care be distracted from the affairs of the Church.” But the reader must be reminded that this sum of L.100, to be paid to each of those functionaries, was only Scottish money, or L.8 : 6 : 8 sterling—a pittance which even in those days would scarcely defray their travelling expences to the towns in which they held their meetings.

Yet notwithstanding the violent and inflammatory harangues which many of the Presbyterian preachers delivered to the people, the Episcopal Church at that period was not unpopular, even although it was merely a nominal Episcopal Church, for its Bishops were not then consecrated, and the ministers were unordained. The titular Bishops conducted themselves with great prudence, carefully abstaining from giving any unnecessary offence, and zealously discharging their several duties. Dr Cook admits this fact in a manner which is sufficiently understood:—“Whilst the conduct of the Synods,” he observes, “and the sentiments expressed by many of the ministers, showed that the ecclesiastical innovations were contrary to the wishes and feelings of the people [as Dr Cook thinks], the Bishops possessed many advantages for in-

fluencing the public mind ; and it soon became apparent that numbers were inclined to relax their opposition, and even to support what they had personally condemned. Although the Prelates had been furnished by the King with the means of crushing, by the intervention of the civil authority, all who resisted their pretensions, they seem, except in a single instance, to have avoided the use of this hazardous expedient, resting their hopes of success upon the application of motives, the force of which, when acting on a great body of men, they readily appreciated. Possessed of the privilege of regulating the stipends of the clergy, all who, from the severity of poverty, or the feelings excited by the distress and want of those who were most dear to them, looked anxiously towards independence in their pecuniary supplies, naturally sought their countenance ; and when interest or inclination guides the mind, the understanding not unfrequently becomes subservient, and exhibits in a favourable light what, under other circumstances, would have been rejected and condemned. The Bishops also visited their Dioceses, and in the private intercourse which they thus had with the ministers, they convinced many of them that it was foolish and dangerous to resist the King ; assured them that his intentions had been misrepresented, and that if they would quietly listen to what should be proposed, they would be satisfied that nothing was in agitation hostile to the liberties of the Church. The effect of these representations was very great. Even Calderwood acknowledges that through policy or terror the Bishops got too much advantage over the weaker men of the ministry, and prevailed on them to choose, as their commissioners to the next General Assembly, such as were friendly to the designs of the Court." Dr Cook assigns " another cause which probably was very effectual in disposing the ministers to check dissensions among the friends of the Reformed religion." This was the efforts of the Roman Catholic nobility in the North, at the head of whom was the powerful Earl of Huntly, to restore the former Hierarchy. " The Prelates," says Dr Cook, " wisely availed themselves of what all considered as so formidable, to inculcate harmony and moderation ; they represented the importance of summoning a General Assembly to devise the most effectual means of resisting Popery ; and they recommended that, previous to its meeting, a conference should be held with the view of forming an agreement respecting the discipline and order of the Church."

CHAPTER II.

INTERNAL STATE OF THE CHURCH—TRIAL OF LORD BALMERINO
—THE HIGH COURT OF COMMISSION—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—
SYNODS OF FIFE AND LOTHIAN—CONSECRATION OF THE SCOT-
TISH BISHOPS.

AN amicable conference to form an “agreement respecting the discipline and order of the Church,” was held between the Bishops and sundry of the Presbyterian leaders at Falkland, in Fife, on the 15th of June 1608, and a General Assembly was held at Linlithgow instead of Dundee on the 26th of July. The Earls of Dunbar, Winton, and Lothian, represented the sovereign, attended by about forty noblemen and gentlemen, whom the King ordered to be present, and who claimed the right of voting, which was allowed after a feeble opposition. In calling the roll, the names of the two Archbishops and the Bishops were read, for the first time since the introduction of Presbyterianism, before the other members. It is needless to narrate the proceedings of this Conference, or of the General Assembly at Linlithgow, as the subjects therein discussed are familiar to the reader. Suffice it to say that in the former mutual forbearance till the meeting of the Assembly was sanctioned, and it was resolved that they should unite in a common warfare against the Roman Catholics. In the General Assembly of which Bishop Law of Orkney was chosen moderator, after some discussion in favour of Mr Patrick Simpson, who was then in ill health, much zeal was manifested against the “increase of the Popish faith,” and the Earl of Huntly was excommunicated; but the preachers were truly reminded by the King in his letter, that the alleged spread of the Roman Catholic religion was partly caused by their own wranglings and disputations. The episcopal function was not discussed, and the Bishops gained sundry advantages by

the harmony which seems to have prevailed. A commission was given to certain members, including all the Bishops, to correspond with the King, which was a severe blow to the Presbyterian party, who, however, offered little opposition. When James Melville was informed of the proceedings of this Assembly, he saw at once that Presbyterianism was on the wane, and in a letter to one of his friends he stated his conviction that his favourite system would speedily be frustrated.

Meanwhile King James proceeded steadily, and without any opposition by the people, to settle the episcopal constitution of the Scottish Church. The nomination to all the Sees occurred in 1608, for we find the two Archbishops, and all the Bishops, with the exception of Moray, present at a Convention of the Estates held at Edinburgh on the 27th of January 1609. In that Convention the proceedings of the General Assembly “for suppressing of papists and papistry” were ratified, and every Archbishop and Bishop was enjoined “within the bounds of his own Diocese,” once every year to report to certain functionaries of the Government “the name of all such persons within his diocese who are excommunicated for religion and who are apostates.”*

Several of the Prelates, all of whom were still unconsecrated, are already mentioned. Archbishop Gladstanes filled the See of St Andrews, and Archbishop Spottiswoode that of Glasgow. Blackburn was in Aberdeen, and Alexander Douglas, who had been incumbent of Elgin for seventeen years, was nominated to Moray. Andrew Lamb, minister of Burntisland in Fife, and afterwards of Leith, was appointed to Brechin, and George Graham, minister of Sccone, was in Dunblane. The two latter Bishops were nominated to their respective Sees in 1606, as were also some of the others. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, was still Bishop of Ross; and Alexander Forbes, rector of Fettercairn in Kincardineshire, was appointed to Caithness, at the translation of Archbishop Gladstanes to St Andrews, in 1606. James Law is already noticed as Bishop of Orkney, which he held till 1615, when he succeeded Archbishop Spottiswoode in Glasgow. Alexander Lindsay filled the See of Dunkeld; Gavin Hamilton had been nominated to Galloway; John Campbell, son of the titular Bishop Neil Campbell, succeeded his father in the See of Argyll in 1608; and Andrew Knox,

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 406, 407.

successively minister of Lochwinnoch and Paisley, of the family of Knox of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, subsequently raised to the Peerage by the titles of Viscounts Northland and Earls of Ranfurly, was appointed Bishop of The Isles—a See which he held till his translation to Raphoe in Ireland in 1622. “Several of the Bishops,” as Mr Scott observes, “retained their parishes after they became Prelates, some of them during their whole lives;” and he quotes with approbation the statement of Henry Guthrie, in his Memoirs of Scotland, that the Bishops above enumerated, as the first Bishops of Scotland consecrated after the Reformation, “*were prudent and humble men, and gave respect to all honest and discerning ministers as their brethren.*”

The stringent enactments passed by the Convention of Estates on the 27th of January 1609 against the Roman Catholics, may partly be explained by an affair in which King James was seriously implicated. This was the unfortunate affair transacted by Sir James Elphinstone, third son of Robert third Lord Elphinstone. Sir James was created Lord Balmerino, and the lands of the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino in Fife were constituted a temporal lordship in his favour by charter under the Great Seal on the 20th of February 1603-4; he was one of the commissioners to effect the treaty of Union; and on the 1st of March 1605 he was appointed Lord President of the Court of Session. He was in such favour with King James, that it was intended to nominate him English Secretary of State, when the circumstance occurred which annihilated his Lordship’s career of preferment.

This affair, which is narrated by all historians, and by the Presbyterian writers generally to the disadvantage of the King, forcibly illustrates the feeling of the times. Sir Edward Drummond, Lord Balmerino’s near kinsman, whose mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry,* intimated that their relative, Chisholm, Bishop of Vaizon,† was desirous to

* Marjory, second daughter of Alexander second Lord Elphinstone, and paternal aunt of Lord Balmerino, married Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, and Sir Edward Drummond was her son. He was the cousin-german of Lord Balmerino.

† This Bishop of Vaizon is designated *Drummond* by Robertson, in his History of Scotland, and by Wood in his edition of Douglas’ Peerage of Scotland, but Sir James Balfour corrects this mistake. Although he may have been a relative of Lord Balmerino and Sir Edward Drummond, the consanguinity of which is not known, his real name was William Chisholm, a nephew of William Chisholm, who sometime after

obtain a Cardinal's Hat from Pope Clement VIII, which could be procured by a letter from King James to the Pope. It was farther suggested that the promotion of a Scotsman to the cardinalate would be of some advantage, as he would look after the interests of his sovereign at Rome. Lord Balmerino proposed the matter to James, who declined to interfere, on the principle that such an accredited representative at Rome was unnecessary. His Lordship drew up a letter to the Pope, requesting the said Cardinal's Hat for the Bishop of Vaizon, and concluding with expressions of regard for the Church of Rome, and of personal esteem for Clement VIII. This letter, dated Holyroodhouse, 24th September 1599, was craftily intermingled by Lord Balmerino with other papers for the signature of the King, who subscribed it without the least suspicion of its contents, though in his Lordship's own account, as preserved by Calderwood—for the truth of which he appeals to Lords Burleigh, Sccone, and other noblemen—he asserts that James was not averse to correspond with the Pope, but scrupled to recognize the titles assumed by the Bishops of Rome. Sir Edward Drummond was sent with the letter to Rome, but it happened that Patrick, Master of Gray, afterwards seventh Lord Gray, who was banished from Scotland in 1587, and who resided in Italy as a spy of Queen Elizabeth, procured a copy, which he forwarded to the English Court. Elizabeth, who had received some imperfect intelligence of the affair, was astonished at the contents, and sent a messenger to Scotland to reproach James for his duplicity. The King solemnly declared that it was a design of his enemies to make his religion suspected. Lord Balmerino, then Secretary of State, also denied all knowledge of the epistle. Elizabeth was satisfied with these declarations, and it was soon apparently forgotten.

In 1607, King James published a controversial book against the two Briefs of Pope Paul V. and a letter of the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine to Blackwall, whom he designates the "Arch-

1561 was nominated Bishop of Dunblane by Papal Brief as the successor of his uncle, also William Chisholm, the previous Bishop, who had succeeded his elder brother, James Chisholm, in that See. This Bishop William Chisholm, the second of the name, when he was compelled to retire from Scotland, was appointed Bishop of Vaison in France, which he resigned, when in his old age he became a Carthusian Friar of Grenoble, in favour of William Chisholm *tertius*, the Prelate in question. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 569.

Priest."* This provoked a reply from Bellarmine under the name of Matthæus Tortus, in which he accused James of having changed his favourable sentiments towards the Church of Rome, and he published in proof the alleged letter to Clement VIII. Inquiry was now considered necessary, and the King summoned Lord Balmerino to England, carefully concealing the cause. His Lordship appeared at the English Court, then at Royston, in the beginning of October 1608. He now admitted his sole responsibility, but contended that he had been actuated by zeal for the King's interest to conciliate the English Roman Catholics.

Balmerino was sent to Scotland under an armed escort by land to be tried for his rash proceedings. He was first imprisoned in Falkland Palace in Fife, and brought to trial at St Andrews on the 10th of March 1609, before Sir William Hart, now of Preston, the principal Justice-Depute. The assessors were the Earl of Dunbar, the Earl of Montrose, President of the Council, and Robert second Earl of Lothian; John Preston of Penicuik, Collector; Sir John Skene of Curriehill, Clerk Register; Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, Lord Privy Seal; Sir Lewis Craig, one of the Ordinary Lords of Session; and Sir Robert Murray of Murdochairnie, or of Bruntisland, an Extraordinary Lord of Session. Balmerino was accused of the "treasonable, fraudulent, and surreptitious procuring of ane letter passed by his Majesty's hand, without his Highness' knowledge direct to Pope Clement the Aucht, in the year of God 1598, treasonably adding, after the subscription of the said letter, the styles of *Sanctitas* and *Filius* to the said letter;† The Jury consisted of the Earls of Crawford, Marischal, Wigton, Kinghorn, and Tullibardine; Lords Catheart, [Abernethy of] Saltoun, Sccone, Garlies; the Master of Tullibardine, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, Sir John Houston of that Ilk, and Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth.‡ Balmerino plead guilty to the

* The title of the King's Book is—" Triplici nodo Triplex Cuneus, or an Apology for the Oath of Allegiance against Two Brieves of Pope Paul V., and the late Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to Blackwall the Arch-Priest."

† " And such others," it is said in the indictment, " as ye thought proper for the letter to the Pope, which very twa words of *Sanctitas* and *Filius*, his Majesty had often before forewarned you that he would rather lose his life than write any of them to the Pope." Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 571.

‡ Walter Lord Buccleuch, Walter Lord Blantyre, Sir James Hay, Comptroller, and

charge, and he was so declared by the Earl Marischal, Chancellor or Foreman of the Assize, on his own confession. He was detained a prisoner in Falkland till the King's pleasure was known, with a significant intimation to prepare for the worst. He was conveyed from Falkland to Edinburgh, and on the 1st day of April sentence was pronounced against him in the Tolbooth by warrant from the King, ordering him to be beheaded at the common place of execution, his estates forfeited, and himself to be attainted. He intended to have made a speech, but failed in the attempt. The Earl of Dunbar ordered him to be immediately removed, and after dining he was carried to the lower end of the steep alley called Leith Wynd, then one of the principal entrances to the city, and delivered to the custody of the Sheriff of the county. Many persons were surprised that, though condemned to die as a traitor, his Lordship was still allowed to wear his sword, and concluded that he would be pardoned ; others thought that he was to be carried to Falkland, and there executed ; but the sentence was never inflicted. On the 1st of October the King issued a warrant, allowing his Lordship to enjoy what was called "free ward" in Falkland Palace, and within one mile round, on finding security to the amount of L.40,000 Scots that he would not escape. After enduring this nominal restraint for a short period, he was permitted to return to his own estate of Balmerino, about fifteen miles north of Falkland, where he lived in seclusion, and died of a broken heart in 1612. A fragment of the mansion in which this unfortunate lawyer and statesman died existed in 1843, about twenty yards north-east of the ruins of the Abbey of Balmerino. His son, the second Lord, who experienced a similar vicissitude, was restored to the dignity of the Peerage by writ under the Great Seal in August 1613. It is said that Lord Balmerino, to exonerate the King, confessed *more* than the truth, and thus fell into the snare, in the hope that his life and fortune would be spared according to the royal promise, and that after a short retirement from the Court he would be reinstated in his former honourable offices. There is force in the observation of Mr. Malcolm Laing, that "if Balmerino deceived his master, it was neither with a criminal intention, nor to a treasonable extent." This writer alleges that

Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, were marked as assessors and assize, but they probably were purposely absent.

Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Earl of Dunbar, and the great Cecil Lord Burleigh, were his implacable enemies. His political opponents, and no statesman was then, as now, without them, doubtless took advantage of the unhappy affair in which he was implicated, and accelerated his misfortunes, but the part which Archbishop Spottiswoode took in the prosecution is not so apparent. We have chiefly the authority of Calderwood on this point, and he expresses himself in the true spirit of malignity towards those whom he chooses to vituperate. Even Dr Cook, while lamenting the treatment and fate of Balmerino, acknowledges that “the condemnation had the effect of convincing the great body of the people of Scotland, who could not penetrate into the intrigues of the Court, that their sovereign had been calumniated, and that he was sincere in his professions of attachment to the reformed Religion.” Bishop Burnet, followed by the Presbyterian writers, alleges that Spottiswoode felt no pity towards Balmerino, regarding him as an enemy to the Episcopal Church. This is merely an opinion to which any importance or none may be attached as the reader may be inclined.

Another conference was held at Falkland, on the 4th of May 1609, between a certain number of the Bishops, Privy Council, and the Presbyterian ministers. The points discussed were whether a constant moderator should be in each Synod and Presbytery, and whether the limitations of the episcopal authority should be observed? Their resolutions were deferred for a few months, and a conference was appointed to be held at Stirling in August, but it does not appear to have taken place, though Neal, in his History of the Puritans, states that the Bishops were successful on that occasion. The meeting of the Parliament soon after the conference at Falkland probably rendered it unnecessary. James Melville admits that by the former conference “the Bishops gained thus much, that no opposition was made against them in the Parliament;” and states his sentiments on the whole matter in a lugubrious letter to one of his friends, which is preserved in his Diary, denouncing the opponents of his Presbyterian “Zion,” and reviling those of the ministers who were disposed to peace, as so many Balaams, Judases, Esaus, and Shemeis.*

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 17th of June 1609, the Earl Marischal, Lord High Commissioner, when the Arch-

* James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 780, 782-784.

bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Galloway, Orkney, and Caithness, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles. On the 24th the Acts were ratified against those who "became papists when out of Scotland," and against "Jesuits, seminary priests, and the resetters of them." Those Acts were followed by "an act of the Commissariats," and jurisdiction given to Archbishops and Bishops, restoring them to the civil jurisdiction which their predecessors possessed before the Reformation in cases of divorce, and in all cases spiritual and ecclesiastical within their several Dioceses authorising them to appoint commissioners and deputies. It was enacted that four Commissaries were always to be resident in Edinburgh, two to be nominated by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and two by the Archbishop of Glasgow. Yet the act limited the restoration of the episcopal jurisdiction so far, by declaring that "in case the said commissaries, to be appointed by the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow as said is, perform not their duty, the Lords of Session shall determine in the same, and shall judge upon all decrets and sentences alleged to be wrongously pronounced by them." Another act regulated the "apparels of Judges, Magistrates, and Kirkmen." As it respects the "Kirkmen," or Churchmen, it was enjoined that "every preacher of God's word shall hereafter wear black, grave, and comely apparel, becoming men of their estate and condition; as likewise that all Priors, Abbots, and Prelates, having vote in Parliament, and especially Spiritual Bishops, shall wear grave and decent apparel, agreeable to their function, and as appertains to men of their rank and place." The act was followed by one against scandalous speeches and libels, those convicted of which were to be punished "in their persons and goods by imprisonment, banishing, fining, or more rigorous corporal pain," by judgment of the Privy Council. An act was passed in favour of the University of St Andrews, constituting the Archbishop, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, Ross, Caithness, Orkney, with sundry noblemen and gentlemen, "to take account of the administration of the rents of the three Colleges, and in case of unrighteous and partial disposition thereof, to set down order for amendment and reparation." By another act the Abbey of Fearn was annexed to the Bishopric of Ross. If James Melville is to be credited, the munificence of the King was considerable in

these arrangements. He states that the Bishops had formerly been “Bishops of Bain,” or unbeneficed Bishops, in allusion to the customs still observed in many parts of England of choosing a King, Queen, Bishop, and others, for regulating the festivities at Twelfth-Night, when the chief person is called the *Bishop of Bain* or *Beane*; but that now the Scottish Bishops “became rich and honourable Prelates;” and he adds—“All this, acquired unto them upon the King’s great charges for the erecting of these Bishoprics and Bishops of new again, was estimated by the wisest who were actors therein to have cost the King above L.30,000 sterling.”

Melville ascribes the prohibition of the conference at Stirling to a proclamation by the influence of the Bishops, who, according to him, “now being fortified with riches and honour,” saw no occasion for such a meeting. The “riches and honour” he specifies are absurd. Their revenues were still so small that many of them retained their benefices, and continued to officiate as parish ministers; and as to the honour, “it was merely that derived from their legal recognition as the Spiritual Estate in Parliament.” Another reason which he assigns is more plausible:—“The fathers of the Kirk, the Reverend Prelates and Bishops, and the inferior ministers, could not sort and agree well together, so that their meetings could serve for none effect but contentions, scandalous to the godly, and delightful to the papists and other enemies.”*

The part which Archbishop Spottiswoode sustained in public affairs at this period exposed that distinguished man to the bitter indignation and hatred of the Presbyterians, who ever considered him one of the great opponents of their system. On the 30th of January 1610 he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session in place of the Earl of Lothian, and Dr Cook forgets his usual candour in noticing this preferment. But he does not recollect two facts, the one that the original constitution of the Supreme Court, which authorized one half of the judges to be of the clergy, had never been legally altered, whatever that which he calls the “*Church*” or its laws may have done; and the other that the Archbishop was merely an Extraordinary Lord. Now, the Extraordinary or Supernumerary Lords, though expected to attend with the ordinary judges at the discussion of all cases in the Court, resorted to it only at such times as they thought proper. They were removeable

* Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 786.

by the mere will of the sovereign, with or without cause assigned, and they derived no emoluments, except the opportunity of obliging themselves and their friends.* But Dr Cook ought to have recollect ed the case of Mr Robert Pont, one of his own party, who sat as an Ordinary Lord or Judge from 1572 to 1584, with the consent and approval of the General Assembly, while successively minister of Trinity College Church and St Cuthbert's Church at Edinburgh. The Archbishop held this appointment till 1622, when he resigned in favour of his son Sir Robert Spottiswoode, who, in February 1626, was nominated an Ordinary Lord.

Shortly after the appointment of Archbishop Spottiswoode as an Extraordinary Lord of the Supreme Court of Scotland, the High Court of Commission was instituted by proclamation dated the 15th of February 1610. As to the necessity of erecting such an arbitrary Court there cannot fail to be differences of opinion, but the peculiar circumstances of the times must always be taken into account in any impartial judgment. This Court was evidently modelled on that of England, which was placed under the controul of the sovereign by statute in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, superseding the more extensive jurisdiction previously exercised under the Papal authority. The English High Court of Commission was intended to vindicate the dignity and preserve the peace of the Church, by reforming, ordering, and correcting the ecclesiastical state, and all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempt, and enormities. The High Commissioners were subsequently vested with the power of fining and imprisonment, and it is not denied that they occasionally decided in cases which where not apparently of spiritual cognizance. As to the Scottish High Court of Commission, however objectionable it may have been, it was at least no more despotic or intolerant than were most of the Presbyterian General Assemblies after the Reformation. The act of Council constituting the Court is preserved,† and although Dr Cook asserts that “ he who can read it without honest indignation is prepared for the most tyrannical oppression,”

* Historical account of the Senators of the College of Justice, Edinburgh, 8vo. 1832, p. xlvi. By the statute Geo. I., c. 19, it was enacted, that any vacancy which thereafter occurs among the Extraordinary Lords, was not to be filled up, and the last was John Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, who died in December 1762.

† Calderwood's History, p. 616-619. James Melville's Diary (Wodrow Society), p. 787-792.

it is really not such an appalling document, considering the time when it appeared and the state of society. Whether King James acted constitutionally by erecting this Court without the sanction of the Parliament is another question, but as a considerable leaning to sedition characterized all the religious orations of the disaffected party, he had very substantial reasons for using every means to keep them under salutary restraint. It is also very unfair to impute the origin of the High Court of Commission solely to the Scottish Bishops. The deed certainly authorized the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow with certain other persons, five of whom, including the Archbishops, were competent to act, to take cognizance of offenders in morals or religion in their respective Dioceses, and if they found them obstinate and insolent, the said Archbishops were empowered to issue a mandate to the parochial incumbents to excommunicate them. If the incumbents refused to comply, they were liable to suspension, deposition, or imprisonment. Ordinary offenders were also liable to fines and imprisonment, and in cases of contumacy the Privy Council were enjoined to see the sentences of the Court enforced, and denounce the obstinate as rebels and enemies of the state. But it ought to be recollected, that though the two Archbishops and all the Bishops were enumerated, many of the most distinguished of the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom were nominated members of the Court. The Commission was most extensive, and shews that some such proceeding was necessary in the exigencies of the times. They were empowered to "take trial of all such persons that have made defection, or are suspected in religion," and to investigate "whatsoever they shall learn or understand of any ministers, preachers, or teachers of schools, or colleges, or universities, or of exhorters or lecturers, being readers within these bounds, whose speeches in public had been impertinent, and against the present established order of the Kirk, against any of the conclusions of the bypast General Assembly, or in favour of any of those who are banished, warded, or confined for their contemptuous offences, which being no matter of doctrine, and so much idle time spent without instruction of their auditors in their salvation, ought so much the more to be severely punished ; and in regard that they are ministers, who of all others should spend least idle talk, and especially in the chair of verity."

The next public affair was the General Assembly held at Glasgow on the 8th of June 1610. The King, it is said by the suggestion of the Bishops, though that is of little consequence, had addressed a letter to the different Presbyteries, requiring them to choose the wisest, most discreet, and peaceably disposed ministers, to attend the Assembly, and that he had intimated to the Archbishop of St Andrews the persons whom he expected them to elect. The Archbishop, in terms of the King's letter, wrote to the several Presbyteries, enclosing the list of ministers to be chosen, and warning them of the consequences if they offered any opposition. It is said that money was also distributed to secure the disaffected ; but be this as it may, the Assembly met at Glasgow on the appointed day, and the Earl of Dunbar represented the sovereign, who was attended by Doctors Hampton, Myreton, and Hunsdon or Hudstone, clergymen of the Church of England. The account of the proceedings is worth narrating. The first day of the meeting was observed as a fast, when three sermons were preached. The first was by Archbishop Spottiswoode in the morning, in the Cathedral Church. His discourse, according to James Melville, was against sacrilegious persons, and he is said to have thus concluded—" You look that I should speak something of the purpose for which this Assembly is convened. I will say no more than this, that religion must not be entertained after the manner it was brought into the land [the Reformation]. It was brought in by confusion, it must be entertained by order ; it was brought into the land against authority, it must be entertained by authority." Bishop Law of Orkney preached in the forenoon on peace, which he maintained could only be secured by adherence to the truth, and then discussed the episcopal government of the Church on the principles of antiquity, universality, and perpetuity, which James Melville sapiently designates " papistical arguments," and " so concluded," says the same veracious Diarist, " the verity of the question for episcopal government with a solemn oath and protestation of his conscience in that matter ; little remembering what he had publicly preached at Synods concerning that matter, and what they had sworn and subscribed before the Bishopric moved his conscience." In the afternoon Dr Hudstone preached on the same subject.

Archbishop Spottiswoode was chosen Moderator, and the principal points decided to be observed in all time coming were—

1. That the Bishops were to be moderators in all Diocesan Synods, and those were to be held in April and October annually, or oftener, at convenient places in the large Dioceses. 2. No sentence of excommunication or absolution was to be allowed without the knowledge and approval of the Bishop of the Diocese, who was to be answerable to the King for his proceedings in such matters of discipline; and any complaint against whom, if proved in the General Assembly, was to be transmitted to the King. 3. In the cases of presentations to vacant parishes the Bishop was to receive letters-testimonial of the "conversation, ability, and qualification," of the candidates, and if these were satisfactory, the Bishop, "assisted by such of the ministry of the bounds as he will assume to himself, and as he will be answerable, to perfect the whole act of ordination." 4. The Bishop to have the sole power of deposition. 5. An oath of supremacy and allegiance, and obedience to the Ordinary, to be taken by every person admitted to a cure and benefice, according to the form authorized in 1571. 6. The visitation of the Diocese to be performed by the Bishop, who was empowered to appoint a visitor in the large Dioceses, if he was unable to overtake the whole duty, and all incumbents who were wilfully absent from the diocesan meetings were to be suspended, and deprived if contumacious. 7. The weekly devotional exercises were to be continued at the usual meetings, the Bishop to preside, if present, or any other person appointed in the Diocesan Synod. 8. The Bishops were to be subjected "in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice," to the censure of the General Assembly, and if found guilty, to be deprived by advice and consent of the King. 9. That every person elected a Bishop shall have completed the fortieth year of his age, and shall have been "an actual teaching minister for the space of ten years at least." No General Assemblies were to be allowed without permission of the King, and no minister was to speak either publicly or privately against the resolutions of that Assembly under pain of deposition.

All these articles were read several times in the General Assembly, and were approved by the nobility, gentlemen, and ministers present, with the exception of five who voted against them, and seven who refused to vote. Thus the Presbyterian system was overthrown in one day—"ane work," says James Melville,

"seventy years in building, and above twenty-four years spacious and profitable standing." "Calderwood," observes Mr Scott, "pronounces this Assembly at Glasgow a *woful Assembly*. It was indeed so with regard to Presbytery, and was therefore condemned by the famous Assembly which met afterwards at Glasgow in 1638."^{*} "Among the other directions," says this Presbyterian annotator, "which the King, by virtue of his assumed supremacy, sent to the Church, this was one—' Considering that lay elders have neither warrant in the Word [of God], nor example of the Primitive Church, and that nevertheless it is expedient that some be appointed to assist the minister in repairing the fabric of the churches, providing elements to the holy communion, and collecting the contributions for the poor, with other necessary services, the minister is to make choice of the most wise and discreet persons in his parish to that effect, and present their names to the Ordinary, that his approbation may be had thereto.' Also—' That the ministers of the parish be authorized to call before them, and their associates so allowed, all public and notorious offenders, according to the canons of the Church, or if they be obstinate and contumacious, declare their names to the Bishop, that order may be taken with them.'"

It is not to be supposed that a change so important in the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom would be tacitly acknowledged, yet the wonder is, that it excited so little opposition from the people. The Presbyterian preachers, as most materially affected by the establishment of the Episcopal Church, were loud in their clamours, and some of them freely expressed their opinions. Mr Patrick Simpson lifted up his testimony against the proceedings of this Glasgow Assembly in a sermon preached at Stirling to certain of the "Nobility, Bishops, and ministers," which James Melville designates "a great and solemn audience," but his sentiments were allowed to pass unnoticed. Mr Walter Balcanqual comported himself similarly in Edinburgh, for which he was summoned before the Council, and though he bitterly assailed Bishop Law of Orkney for what he called "apostacie and perjurie," he escaped with a simple admonition. A certain merchant in Edinburgh, named William Kemp, who had made himself conspicuous

* Extracts from Kirk-Session Records of Perth, in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, MS.

by his inflammatory speeches, was in danger of a severe punishment, but Archbishop Spottiswoode interfered, and after an imprisonment of a few days, he was admonished and set at liberty.

Archbishop Spottiswoode and Bishop Lamb of Brechin soon afterwards repaired to the Court, followed by Bishop Hamilton of Galloway, to lay before the King a statement of their proceedings. According to James Melville the three hitherto titular Prelates remained in England till after their consecration on the 21st of October 1610. Although they were not Bishops till that investment of the episcopal authority, up to that period they are mentioned in the present work as such, because they were then duly consecrated. While Archbishop Spottiswoode and Bishops Lamb and Hamilton were in England, the following discussion occurred in the Diocesan Synod of Fife, held at St Andrews, by Archbishop Gladstones on the 9th of October. It is related by Calderwood, but Mr Scott in his extracts from the Perth Kirk-Session Registers adds some particulars which entitle his account to the preference. “The Synod met in the aisle of the church of St Andrews. On the east side of the aisle was set a table covered with a green cloth, and a green velvet cushion upon it before the Archbishop. A stool was placed beside it for the Clerk of Court. After prayer, and the choosing of the clerk, the Archbishop, still acting as moderator, proposed that according to custom some ministers should be nominated as members of the private committee. Then Mr John Malcolm, minister at Perth, spoke after this manner—‘ Seeing we are here convened to see what shall be done to the glory of God and well [being] of his Kirk, we should know by what authority, and upon what ground, the order of our Kirk established by so many famous General Assemblies, and ratified by Acts of Parliament, was altered ; for we cannot see that order altered but with grief of heart, seeing we acknowledge it to be the only true form of government of Christ’s Kirk.’ The Archbishop in rage, and with contempt, answered—‘ That he would not have believed that such an aged man would have uttered such foolish talk. Could he be ignorant of the Acts of the Assembly of Glasgow ? He [the Archbishop] would be moderator according to that warrant ; and he was persuaded that none there present, except Mr Malcolm himself, was of a contrary judgment.’ Mr William Erskine, minister, said—‘ My Lord, our reverend brother

and aged father hath not spoken without reason, for suppose we be come here thinking it is his Majesty's will, yet we are not minded to do any thing, by God's grace, against our conscience. We would first see the warrant of your moderatorship, otherwise if you do any thing tyrannically, it would be better for us to be absent than present.' The Archbishop answered—' Who should inform you of the Acts of the Assembly ? I will not satisfy any of your hearts that way. If ye will depart, on your own peril be it. If there were but three or four to remain, I shall do my duty and service to the King's Majesty.' Mr John Kinnier, minister, said —' Think you that this can be a meeting to God's glory, or to do any good, when you will sit to do as you please, and will not with patience hear the brethren ? You will find discontentment in more here convened, if you give us not some warrant.'

"The Archbishop became more calm, and said—' It is strange, brethren, that you are so much about an indifferent matter. What avails it who be moderator, if nothing be done but to the contentment of you all ? I shall promise before God that nothing shall be done but with the consent of the whole or greater part of the Assembly.' Mr William Cowpar, minister at Perth [afterwards Bishop of Galloway], said—' My Lord, it were well done to go to the matter in hand, and then to let the brethren receive contentment.' Without farther opposition the Archbishop proceeded, and the private committee was chosen. After the Synod had gone through some other business, the Archbishop intimated to all present that if any man should speak against the acts of the Assembly of Glasgow he should be deposed, and farther punished according to his Majesty's pleasure. The Acts of the Glasgow Assembly were then read, with the hearing of which the brethren were much moved. After some had delivered their opinions, Mr William Cowpar said—' My Lord, hear me ; and, brethren, I beseech you in Christ, remember that these things are not such essential points as to rend the bowels of the Kirk, or to cast your ministry in hazard for them. What joy can you have in your suffering, if ye suffer for matters so indifferent as who shall be moderator, or who shall have imposition of hands ? Wherefore serveth it to fill the people's ears with contentious doctrine concerning the government of the Kirk ? Were it not far better to preach Christ sincerely, [and] to wait on and see what the Lord

will work in these matters?" Some more of the brethren having delivered their opinions, Mr David Mearns, minister, said—"We can do no less than testify our discontentment, and protest before God that we are not satisfied, and therefore will wait till the Lord grant a better time." "Then do so," said the Archbishop, "and let us conclude." ^{*}

A somewhat similar scene occurred in the Diocesan Synod of Lothian, which was then in the Archdiocese of St Andrews. Archbishop Gladstones, in his missive summoning the Synod to meet at Haddington on the 1st of November, required so many of their number in that Synod to be present, attended by two or three commissioners from every parish, assuring them that if they refused, he would consider it his duty to enforce the penalty enjoined by the Glasgow General Assembly, which would be at least suspension from the ministerial office. This intimation was the more necessary, as he anticipated some opposition in that quarter, but he was a man of firm determination, and was resolved to assert his authority. On the appointed day the Archbishop opened the Diocesan Synod by preaching a sermon on the passage, Judges xi. 12, and then took his place as Moderator. The discontented preachers had instructed a certain Mr James Carmichael, who is described as moderator of the Presbytery of Haddington, to organize the opposition, which in the end was a complete failure. The Archbishop stated that they must elect a clerk, and requested Mr John Ker, minister at Prestonpans, whom he designed for the office, to give his vote. That individual replied—"Sir, there is another matter which must go before the choosing of a clerk." "What is that?" enquired the Archbishop. "The Presbytery," said Ker, "had given commission to Mr James Carmichael, their moderator, to present some few lines in their name, which I trust the Synod will find reasonable." "Nothing," replied the Archbishop, "can be received conveniently either by word or writing

* Calderwood could not resist inserting the following accident, with which, if it really happened as he represents, it is evident Archbishop Gladstones had nothing to do, and it might have occurred in the house of a Presbyterian minister.—"Upon the Sabbath-day after this Diocesan Synod, Bishop Gladstones, reposing himself in his bed in time of the afternoon's sermon [at St Andrews], was wakened, and all the people in the kirk raised with a cry of blood and murder; for his sister's son killed his cook with a throw of his dagger, just under the left pap [breast], while he was beginning to prepare the supper."

without a clerk, and I therefore request you to vote." "I will now," said Ker, "stand to give my vote under protestation, that it shall not be prejudicial to that which shall be said or done by me, or by my brethren afterward." The clerk was then chosen, and after some uninteresting discussion, a Mr Archibald Oswald commenced a speech. The Archbishop soon saw that he intended to decline his episcopal authority, and rising in an angry tone said—"What is that I am doing? I am not come here to reason, or contend with words, but to execute laws; and therefore I will not hear you, nor any man speak more so in public. I order you to be silent." "If you will not hear me, but command me silence," replied the said Mr Archibald, "I shall be always silent." "I mean not to hinder you," observed the Archbishop, "to speak in right time and place. You shall be heard in the Privy Conference with your bills and protestations; and if they be reasonable they shall have a reasonable answer." The Archbishop then commanded silence till the votes were taken, and the committee was appointed. Calderwood observes at this stage of the proceedings—"None *well affected* [as he designates the Presbyterians] were chosen, one excepted. The three brethren above named found no assistance, as was pronounced both by their own brethren and the Presbytery of Dalkeith."*

The discussion was resumed in the afternoon, the Archbishop exhorting them to be peaceable, and promising that he would concede every prudent demand. "But as for myself," he stated, "I dare not, nor will I, exempt you from obedience; but will be content to communicate my light to you, whereof I am well assured." "We," replied Mr John Ker, "are as willing to communicate our light to you, whereof we are as well assured;" and he insisted that the Archbishop ought not to exercise jurisdiction over them. The before-mentioned Mr Oswald declared—"I will not refuse to obey any law of the Kirk, so far as my weak body and tender conscience suffers me, but as concerning this matter that we have now in hand, I am resolved not to obey, because my conscience will not

* Mr Calderwood records an accident which any man of common sense will at once admit might have happened to any Presbyterian minister as well as to Archbishop Gladstones. "While the Bishop was going to dinner he had almost broken his leg, for a great stone at the entrance of the kirk door, almost six quarters every way broad and long, steeped within and fell down with him, howbeit two or three hundred had gone out before him; whereupon was made a pretty epigram in Latin." History, p. 643.

suffer." "I hope we are all of this mind," said Mr John Ker. The Archbishop replied—"Obey it, or not obey it, upon your own peril, for ye know it." A trifling discussion ensued on the following day, apparently on local matters, and Calderwood admits that there was no more opposition in this Synod. He further states—"What opposition was made in other Synods by some of the best sort, I have not enquired. Howsoever it was, the Bishops were become so awful with their grandeur and the King's assistance, that there was little resistance, howbeit great murmuring and malcontentment, so that their possession was violent." Even from this statement by a Presbyterian enemy the real truth is easily deduced.

We now come to that event which imparted to the Church of Scotland its episcopal constitution, which it had previously been merely in name. This was the consecration of Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Bishop Lamb of Brechin, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway. Archbishop Spottiswoode's own account of this event, in which he was personally interested, is worthy of notice. He and his two diocesan colleagues went to London in the middle of September by royal command. "At their first audience," says the Archbishop, "the King declared what the business was for which he had called them, speaking to this purpose—'That he had to his great charge recovered the Bishoprics forth of the hands of those that possessed them, and bestowed the same upon such as he hoped should prove worthy of their places; but since he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter charge by consecration, he had called them to England, that being consecrated themselves, they might at their return give ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries' mouths be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create Bishops, and bestow spiritual offices, which he never did, nor would presume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Christ alone, and those he had authorized with his power.' The Archbishop [Spottiswoode] answering in the name of the rest—'That they were willing to obey his Majesty's desire, and only feared that the Church of Scotland, because of old usurpations, might take this for a sort of subjection to the Church of England.' The King said—'That he

had provided sufficiently against that ; for neither should the Archbishop of Canterbury nor York, who were the only pretenders [asserters of metropolitan jurisdiction], have hand in the business, but consecration should be used by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath. The Scottish Bishops thanking his Majesty for the care he had of their Church, and professing their willingness to obey what he would command, the 21st of October was appointed to be the time, and the Chapel of London-House the place of consecration. A question in the meantime was moved by Dr Andrews, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, must first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Bancroft, who was by, maintained ‘ that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.’ This applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at [on] the day and in the place appointed the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated.”

Thus far our venerable Archbishop describes the first consecration, or extension of the episcopal succession into Scotland. With all due deference to Archbishop Bancroft, whose observations Dr Cook *very naturally* considers “ judicious,” in overruling the objections of the Bishop of Ely, it cannot be doubted that this consecration, though valid, would have been thoroughly canonical, if the Archbishop and the two Bishops had been previously ordained Deacons and Presbyters. “ With due regard to Bancroft’s memory,” says Collier, cited by Dr Cook, “ his argument seems to stand upon a slender bottom, for without doubt neither Luther nor Calvin is the standard of discipline and government ; it is the Primitive plan we ought to proceed by in these matters. And therefore, if any modern Christian writer happen to refine upon Catholic measures, and desert from the government of the Church settled for fifteen hundred years together ; if any Christians, I say, pretend to reform in this unfortunate manner, though they may call for our pity or our prayers, they ought never to command our imitation.” Although Archbishop Spottiswoode generally mentions that the three consecrating Prelates appointed by the King were Dr George Abbot, Bishop of London, Dr Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely,

and Dr James Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, yet it appears that the last named Bishop could not attend, and his place was supplied by Dr. Richard Neale, then Bishop of Rochester, and Dr Henry Parry, then Bishop of Worcester.*

Calderwood's observations on this consecration are amusing. He denies its validity because it was not enjoined by the Glasgow General Assembly—that “unhappy pack,” he calls them, “there convened.” But what had the consecration to do with that Assembly? His grand argument is, that “the power granted to them was only a power derived from that convention, which another Assembly may take from them again, without degradation or excommunication, as they call it. Their consecration then is of no force, and ought not to be acknowledged.” The absurdity of this reasoning is apparent. The objections of Bishop Andrews of Ely were more important.

The consecrated Bishops returned to Scotland in December, and duly invested Archbishop Gladstones of St Andrews with the episcopal function. It is stated, in a manuscript evidently written about the beginning of the seventeenth century,† that Archbishop Gladstones “was consecrated in St Andrews, conform to the order, and has as great jurisdiction as any of his predecessors had at any time then before. He was consecrated in the parish kirk of St Andrews, the penult of December, and with him the Bishop of Orkney, by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Galloway and Brechin.” Calderwood states that “upon the Lord’s Day, the 13th of January [1611], and upon the Lord’s Day, the 24th February, the rest of the Bishops were consecrated, some at

* James Melville in his Diary (Wodrow Society's edition, p. 803, 804), scruples not to volunteer the falsehood respecting this consecration, that the Archbishop and the two Bishops were “solemnlie inaugurat and consecrat with anoynting of oyle and other ceremonies, just according to English fashioun and Pontifical Papists.” It would be ridiculous to refute this lying statement about the “oyle” and the fashion of the “Pontifical Papists,” farther than by referring the reader to the order of consecrating Bishops printed in many editions of the Book of Common Prayer. Sir James Balfour, who had as good channels of information as James Melville, after stating that the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated in the Chapel of London-House by the Bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, and Rochester, says—“This consecration was performed, *mutatis mutandis*, according to the Church of England.” Historical Works of Sir James Balfour, Knight and Baronet, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms to Charles I. and Charles II., vol. ii. 35, 36.

† Wodrow MSS. 4to. vol. xx. No. I. cited in “Analecta Scotica,” edited by James Maidment, Esq. Advocate. Second Series, Edinburgh, 1837, p. 10.

St Andrews, and some at Leith." That they had been invested with the episcopate in the early part of 1611, is evident from a letter of Archbishop Gladstones to King James, dated the 3d of May in that year—" All the Bishops," he informs the King, " of my Province are now consecrated, for after that I had performed that work so in Leith and Edinburgh that the very precisians, who had carried prejudice about that purpose, were fully satisfied, being informed that those in the North who be within my Diocese are more unruly than any in the South, spoke calumniously both in public and private of that consecration, I thought meet there also to practise that action, and thereupon have consecrated the Bishops of Aberdeen and Caithness in the cathedral kirk of Brechin, being assisted with [by] the Bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, in the sight of such a multitude of people as I never saw in such bounds."*

It will thus be seen that the Episcopal Church was established in Scotland in the course of a few years without any formidable contentions. Some of the more violent of the Presbyterian preachers grumbled and remonstrated, but no civil war, no riots, no commotions, ensued. In reality the great mass of the people were passive, and no serious opposition was even attempted. The church was established, moreover, by Parliaments of the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the representatives of the counties and royal burghs. Such are the historical facts, however much they may be distorted or denied by the Presbyterian writers.

The mode of inducting the parochial clergy to the benefices during the establishment of the Episcopal Church is thus described by Erskine in his " Principles of the Law of Scotland :"—" Upon presentation by the patron, the Bishop collated or conferred the benefice upon the presentee by a writing, in which he appointed certain ministers of the Diocese to induct or institute him into the church, which induction completed his right, and was performed by their placing him in the pulpit, and delivering the Bible and the keys of the church."

* Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. p. 302.

CHAPTER III.

PEACEFUL STATE OF THE CHURCH—BISHOP COWPAR OF GALLOWAY—TRIAL OF OGILVIE THE JESUIT—DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP GLADSTANES.

THE year 1611 presents few events of importance in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Even Calderwood can only mention a Mr John Straton, minister of Forres, who was cited before the Archbishop of St Andrews and some of the Privy Council for attacking the episcopal office, in a sermon at which the Bishop of Moray was present, and he was imprisoned in the Castle of Inverness. Those records of the kirk-sessions which the present writer has examined are chiefly occupied by local cases of discipline, and punishment for profaning the Sabbath by absence from sermons and strolling in the fields.

During the year 1611, the Bishopric of Raphoe in Ireland became vacant by the preferment of Dr George Montgomery to the see of Meath. Bishop Montgomery was a native of Scotland, and had been Dean of Norwich before his advancement by King James to the see of Clogher in 1605. Andrew Knox, Bishop of The Isles, was translated to Raphoe, and Thomas Knox, his son, was his successor in the remote insular Diocese. Keith, whose date of the translation of Bishop Andrew Knox to Raphoe is most inaccurate, describes him as a “good man, and did much within his Diocese by propagating religion ;” but he acted in a most irregular manner in Ireland, at least on one occasion, as adduced by Bishop Mant, when he was actually present at the ordination of a candidate who objected to the principles and practices of the Church, and countenanced an unlawful form.* This transaction is subsequently noticed in the proper place.

* History of the Church of Ireland from the Reformation to the Revolution, by the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, 8vo. 1840, p. 456, 457.

Calderwood inserts a letter of Archbishop Gladstones to the King, dated Edinburgh, the 31st of August 1612, in reference to the approaching Parliament. If it is a genuine document it is sufficiently obsequious, though not much more so than most of the epistolary correspondence addressed to James I. The writer informs the King that he found Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, and Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, the Secretary of State, cordially to agree with him about the matters to be discussed in the Parliament, and strongly advising the meeting to be held precisely on the 12th of October ensuing, as intimated by the proclamation of the 24th of August. It appears from the letter that the Bishops were then at variance with the Earl of Dunfermline, then Lord Chancellor, of whom the Archbishop thus writes—“I will assure your Majesty that the very evil will which is carried to my Lord Chancellor by the nobility and people is like to make us great store of friendship, for they know him to be our professed enemy, and he dissembleth it not. I thank God that it pleased your Majesty to make choice of my Lord Secretary to be our formalist, and adviser of our acts, for we find him wise, fast, and discreet. We will not be idle in the meantime to prepare such as have vote to incline the right way. All men do follow us, and hunt for our favour, upon the report of your Majesty’s good acceptance of me, and the Bishop of Caithness, and sending for my Lord [Archbishop] of Glasgow, and the procurement of this Parliament without advice of the Chancellor.” The Archbishop jocularly styles the Secretary of State the “fourteenth Bishop of this kingdom,” and wittily says to the King—“But my Lord of Glasgow and I are contending to which of the two Provinces he shall appertain. Your Majesty, who is our great Archbishop, must decide it.” Calderwood’s raving comments on this letter are ludicrous. He assails the writer for “tradiucing the Chancellor, and would make the King believe that he was hated by the people for hating them”—the Bishops, “and how again they recommended Sir Thomas Hamilton, lately made Secretary, as a sure and fast friend, worthy to be reputed the fourteenth Bishop; no doubt because they had found him as forward in their course as any of themselves, he had given a proof before when he was the King’s Advocate.”

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 12th of October, the

Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor, representing the Sovereign. The only Bishops absent were those of Orkney, The Isles, and Ross. On the following day the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechin, Dunblane, and Caithness, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles. The first statute was a “Ratification of the Acts and Conclusions set down and agreed upon in the General Assembly held in Glasgow in June 1610, with an Explanation by the Estates of some of the Articles of the same.” This act is a confirmation of the Glasgow decisions—that no General Assembly can be legally held without permission of the sovereign—that the Bishops shall be moderators in every Diocesan Synod—that Diocesan Synods shall be held twice annually in every Diocese, and in the larger Dioceses two or three Synods—that in the absence of the Bishop “a worthy minister bearing charge within the bounds” shall supply the place of the Diocesan who was to be appointed by the Archbishop—and that no excommunication or absolution shall be pronounced without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the Diocese, who must be answerable to God and his Majesty for all formal and impartial proceeding therein.” The proceedings relating to presentations to benefices and the deposition of incumbents were confirmed, and the oath of allegiance and supremacy was declared imperative. All these “acts, ordinances, declarations, and deliberations,” were approved and ratified, annulling and rescinding the 114th act of his Majesty’s Parliament held in 1592.*

Various acts were passed in this Parliament connected with the temporalities of the Scottish Church, but these are chiefly local. The thirty-fifth act dissolved the Archdeanery of St Andrews, and annexed it to the Archbischopric. The Archdean of St Andrews was then Alexander Gladstones, son of the Archbishop. Among the Ratifications to individuals is one of the “Bishopric of Galloway in favour of Mr William Cowpar, with some reservations in favour of some particular persons from the same act.”† The See of Galloway must have been promised to Cowpar during the life of Bishop Hamilton, or it corrects a date in Keith’s “Catalogue,” that Bishop Hamilton of Galloway died in 1614. In the Perth Register Mr Scott says—“Mr William Cowpar had been made Bishop of Galloway July 31, 1612; but

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 465-470.

† *Ibid.* p. 522.

he still continued to officiate as one of the ministers of Perth, and did so till the end of October 1615."

The first of the duly consecrated Bishops died in 1612. This was Bishop Campbell of Argyll. He was succeeded in the See in 1613 by Andrew Boyd, then minister of Eaglesham in Renfrewshire, said to have been an illegitimate son of Thomas fifth Lord Boyd, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmarnock. Keith describes Bishop Boyd as "a good man, and did much good in his Diocese, where he always resided." The year 1613 also furnishes few ecclesiastical events of general importance. In February a proclamation, obtained by the influence of Archbishop Spottiswoode, was announced at the Cross of Edinburgh, granting liberty to the Presbyterian preachers within the Diocese of Glasgow to attend the Established Presbyteries and Synods, on the condition that they conduct themselves with moderation and respect to their superiors. Calderwood, who was then minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire, states that he and Mr George Johnstone, minister at Anerum in the same county, chose rather to submit to restraint than comply with the proclamation. It must not be inferred, however, that either Mr Calderwood, or Mr Johnstone, or any of their brethren, was in prison. They were merely, as it respects preaching, confined to their parishes, and prevented from any share in the public business of the Church. In the case of Calderwood, he had been under this novel restraint since 1608, for an act of contumacy in declining the jurisdiction of Archbishop Spottiswoode at a dioceasn visit to the Synod of Merse and Tiviotdale.

About this time died David Lindsay, Bishop of Ross, the same who prominently figures as minister of Leith in the Titular or Tulchan periods. It is said that at his death he was eighty-two or eighty-three years of age. He was in great favour with King James, whom he accompanied into England in 1603. Keith describes him as a "grave and pious man," and observes that he continued his ministry in the town of Leith till the day of his death." Bishop Lindsay was succeeded in the Diocese of Ross by Patrick Lindsay, minister of St Vigean's in Forfarshire, close to the royal burgh of Arbroath, part of which, including the ruins of the stately abbey founded by William the Lion, is in the parish. Keith rightly conjectures that Bishop Lindsay was the uncle of

Patrick Lindsay. The latter was nominated to the See of Ross in October 1613, and was consecrated in the parish church of Leith on the 1st of December.

James Melville, nephew of Andrew Melville, died at Berwick-upon-Tweed, to which he had been confined during the royal pleasure, on the 21st of January 1614. Although this individual was a zealot in his admiration of the Presbyterian system, he, though considerably older, married the daughter of the vicar of Berwick with the reluctant consent of his uncle. About 1612 he petitioned the King for permission to return to Scotland. In 1613 or 1614 the Scottish Bishops co-operated with sundry of the nobility for the return of the exiled preachers, in the vain hope that they would partially recognize the episcopal authority. James Melville was released from his durance, but his health had declined for some time, and when a short way on his journey to Edinburgh it was necessary to carry him back to Berwick, where he expired after lingering a few days in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was a man of some learning and ability, but he evinces his bitter partizanship and uncharitableness throughout his "Diary" in a manner with which the reader is already familiar.

On the 4th of March a proclamation was made at the Cross of Edinburgh, ordering the solemn observance of Easter Sunday, by the administration of the communion in all the parish churches throughout the kingdom, and the parishioners were enjoined to resort thither. Sir James Balfour alleges that this was done by the Privy Council at the suggestion of Archbishop Spottiswoode. As the Jesuits were then actively employed in tampering with the people, the object of the proclamation apparently was to discover how many were professed or were inclined to the Roman Catholic religion. Calderwood alleges that the "wiser sort of professors," meaning his Presbyterian friends, "took it for a trial how a people would bear with alterations and innovations." If this was the case, the experiment by his own admission was successful, for he says that "the most part obeyed, howbeit there were acts of the General Assembly against it." On the following year a proclamation was published at the Cross of Edinburgh, fifteen days before Easter, enjoining the communion to be administered on Easter Sunday "in all times coming."

Bishop Hamilton of Galloway died about this time, with the

reputation of an “excellent good man.” Calderwood assails him in the most virulent manner, accusing him of avarice, negligence in preaching, wilfully disregarding discipline, and want of personal decorum. As to the first charge it appears on this Presbyterian writer’s sole authority, for there is no evidence of part of it in the acts of Parliament, that Bishop Hamilton “was not content with the Bishopric of Galloway, as it had of old annexed unto it the Abbacy of Tongland, but procured also a new annexation of other two benefices, the Abbacy of Glenluce and the Priory of Whithorn.” Now, though this was really the case, the revenue of the Bishopric of Galloway was so small that these annexations were absolutely necessary. The second charge is that he seldom preached, but this is founded simply on his refusal to “confine himself to a particular parish.” The other accusations are evidently gross scandals, studiously propagated to render him odious. It appears from a statement in one of those slanders that his daughter married Bishop Campbell of Argyll, who died in 1612.

Bishop Hamilton was succeeded in the See of Galloway by William Cowpar, already known to the reader as one of the ministers of Perth—a man of eloquence, learning, and enlightened piety. Mr Scott has collected in his Perth Registers all the most important particulars of Bishop Cowpar’s life, for whose memory he had the greatest respect, and these are for the first time submitted to the reader.

“Mr William Cowpar was born at Edinburgh, November 1565, and was a younger son of John Cowpar, merchant burgess of that city. He was licenceed to preach [in the Presbyterian phraseology] about the year 1585. The General Assembly, May 10, 1588, appointed him to be minister at the church of Bothkennar [in Stirlingshire]. He was translated to Perth, October 5, 1595. At his admission to Perth he received imposition of hands from Mr William Rhyn, minister of Kinnoull, Mr Archibald Moncrieff, minister of Abernethy, and Mr Janies Herring. Mr Patrick Galloway preached the admission sermon. His stipend at that time was only 400 merks, and L.20, with his house; but he was afterwards presented to the parsonage of Perth, and had the parsonage teinds, though his colleague, Mr John Malcolm, was an older man, and had been settled at Perth five years before him. November 1, 1602, Henry Balneaves and William Jack made

their public repentance in their own seats in the church after sermon, for making a libel against Mr William Cowpar and Henry Elder, town-clerk. The libel contained—‘As King David [I. of Scotland] was a sore saint to the crown, so are Mr Cowpar and the clerk to this poor town.’ An act of Council was made against the two burgesses, that none of them should bear office or get honourable place in the town thereafter.”

This libel probably originated in the Gowrie Conspiracy, as Perth was the scene of that singular tragedy. Bishop Cowpar and Mr John Malcolm, his colleague, happened to be absent from Perth on the 5th of August, when that daring treason was perpetrated, which corrects an error in Cant’s annotations on the local metrical history of Perth by Henry Adamson, that Mr William Cowpar, observes Mr Scott, “along with one of the Bailies harangued the people of the town immediately after the unhappy affair, in order to quiet the insurrection of the people, and to persuade them of the real danger the King had escaped.” Mr Cowpar also in a sermon which he preached at Perth, August 10, declared that when he first heard of the affair he supposed the Earl had suffered innocently. Mr Cant likewise was mistaken when he represented Mr Patrick Galloway as at that time one of the ministers of Perth, for Mr Galloway had resigned his charge, and became one of the King’s chaplains a long time before. The Lord’s Day immediately after Gowrie’s unhappy affair, Mr Cowpar preached in the church of Perth, forenoon and afternoon, on the conversion of Zaccheus.* In the forenoon, after speaking of ‘the necessity of applying for divine grace, which can only change the heart of sinners,’ he proceeded to say—‘And especially let us seek it at this time, that now we abide not in the hardness of our heart, when the Lord both by his word and works is so fast calling for repentance, and I think among all the works of God that serve to humble us, this last miserable event that fell out among us, [the Gowrie Conspiracy,] is one of the first. I know there are many

* Mr. Scott states his authority for this fact :—“ There is presently [in 1775] in the possession of Mr. Cant, a manuscript book, containing several sermons preached by Mr Cowpar when minister at Perth. The book bears that it is in the hand-writing of Donald Gregor, who probably copied it from Mr Cowpar’s own manuscripts. It belonged once to George Adamson, who has wrote on the last leaf—‘ George Adamson aught this book, Perth, December 7, 1629. Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, the place where thine honour dwelleth.’ ”

of you that think of it as I did myself when I heard first of it. I thought indeed he [Gowrie] had suffered as an innocent, and what grief then it wrought in me my own conscience beareth me record. The loss of no earthly creature went never so near my heart, and the first thing that ever chilled my affection towards him was an appearance that he had gone beyond the compass of godliness, which made me then say these words to my people—‘I know,’ I said, ‘it is light that must first satisfy your discontented minds, and therefore [may] the Father of light send light.’” Mr Scott observes—“What Mr Cowpar calls ‘the Earl having gone beyond the compass of godliness,’ relates to the Earl being infected with the weak and criminal credulity of those times with regard to pretended prophecies and the use of enchantments. That he was so infected seems to be uncontestible.”

It appears that Bishop Cowpar was seven or eight years at Bothkennar before he was removed to Perth. “In a short account of his own life,” says Mr Scott, “which he wrote about two years before his death, he states—‘Two or three days before [he saw Perth, or heard of his appointment to be minister there] did the Lord give me some signification of it; but I understood it not till the event did teach me. For in my thoughts in the night there seemed a man to lead me by the hand to a little pleasant city, in a plain valley on a river’s side, having some banks lying at the shore thereof; as indeed it had the first time that after this I was brought to it. Such a sight got I of it in that vision as afterwards I saw with my eyes. He led me a long time up and down the streets of that town, from one to another, and at length carried me over the water to a hill, and led me up unto it by many turnings and windings from one earth to another, very near unto the top thereof. Then did I awake, my face looking to the southwest. This made an impression on my mind which I never forgot. Let no man here impute to me the superstition either of Papists or Anabaptists. I know there is no revelation now of doctrine, or new article of faith to be sought out in dreams. The Lord hath spoken once for all unto us by his Son in his Word, but that the living Lord, who sleeps not, can give warnings to the souls of his servants when their bodies are sleeping, no man acquainted with his working I trust will deny.’

“Mr William Cowpar,” continues Mr Scott, “was undoubtedly

one of the most pious men and eloquent preachers of his time. His writings, which are still in the hands of many, shew his singular piety, his clear knowledge, and soundness in the faith. They would have been much more extolled in his own country, if he had not in the latter part of his life accepted a bishopric. He continued in the ministerial work at Perth about nineteen years, preaching *five times in the week*, and labouring both publicly and privately to suppress all manner of vice, and to turn souls to his Lord and Redeemer." In 1611 he married a daughter of a gentleman named Anderson ; and was consecrated Bishop of Galloway at Glasgow on the 4th of October 1612, which is another proof that the date 1614 of Bishop Hamilton's death by Keith is incorrect. Bishop Cowpar was also appointed Dean of the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse. His popularity in Perth is proved by the following notice in the Kirk-Session Register, under date 23d October 1615—" Compeared Alexander [Lindsay] Bishop of Dunkeld, and George [Graham] Bishop of Orkney, declaring that they had commission of the Archbishop of St Andrews [Spottiswoode] to intimate to the [Town] Council and [Kirk] Session of Perth, that William, Bishop of Galloway, by occasion of the affairs of office of bishopric, could not serve the cure of minister any longer in this burgh ; desiring them, therefore, to give some persons in leet to make choice of [one] to supply his place. Whereunto the Session answered, that they were grieved from their hearts at his transportation, and they hoped that he would return again to occupy his own place ; and in expectation thereof they would not as yet give any persons in leet ; yet nevertheless the said Bishops, [as] commissioners, desired to make note that they had done their commission." Bishop Cowpar was succeeded as minister of Perth by Mr John Guthrie, subsequently one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Bishop of Moray. Bishop Guthrie was admitted or inducted as minister of Perth by the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow.*

Mr Scott farther observes that Bishop Cowpar " published during his life many excellent treatises, which after his death were collected and reprinted at London. Before he joined in the measures of the Court, which he began to do in 1600, by taking

* Mercer's Chronicle, under date February 1617. It is added—" Within the kirk of Perth—Dr Barclay preached."

the side of the King in the affair of the Earl of Gowrie, there was not a more popular man in the kingdom. But when he accepted a bishopric all his former friends of the Presbyterian party were exceedingly offended, and treated him with the most unremitting severity as an accursed [!] apostate. He preached, and wrote, and spoke much, in his own vindication. He made frequent appeals concerning his own sincerity, and declared that he had got more light than before concerning the proper manner of church government. He was told by way of answer that it was very true he had got more light, for now he had two great candlesticks upon his table, whereas he had only one small candle before. His nerves were weak, and he was naturally inclined to melancholy.—On the whole we must say that the town of Perth was highly favoured in having so long the enjoyment of Mr Cowpar's ministry. It might have been happier for himself if he had continued to be minister there all his life, and refused to accept a bishopric, but at the same time it was extremely rash in any person to judge hardly of him on that account, especially considering how variable and unsettled the mode of church government had been all along from the Reformation; and though his temporal peace was much hurt by his change of station, yet that change has been a means made use of by Providence for making his valuable writings more circulated through the island, and more generally read than they otherwise would have been. Such as delight in evangelical doctrines, and at the same time love that they should be handled in a clear, lively, and experimental manner, especially such as feel their need of the refreshments of the gospel, will find much satisfaction in Bishop Cowpar's Works. It is but a small part of their praise to say that they abound with examples of the best eloquence."

Such is the candid statement of a Presbyterian minister respecting this truly eminent man, and we shall now attend to his recorded memoir of himself, written on the 1st of January 1616. After alluding to his younger years, when he was "trained up with the wrestlings of God," he states that when he was eight years old he was sent from Edinburgh by his parents to the grammar school of Dunbar, where he continued till his twelfth year, and made great progress in his elementary education. In his thirteenth year he entered the University of St Andrews. "There," he says,

“ I made not such progress in knowledge as I had done in my other studies, either mine age not being capable of it, or my wise and merciful Father not thinking it expedient for me. Yet even there was the seed of grace still working in me, inclining me to a careful hearing and penning of sermons and theological lessons, as I could have occasion to hear them.—Having passed my course at St Andrews, at the age of sixteen years I returned to my parents in Edinburgh. I was pressed by them to enter into sundry sorts of life I liked not, for my heart still inclined to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Whereupon I resolved to go into England, where I evidently perceived the Lord going before me, and providing for me at Hoddesdon, within eighteen miles of London. My mean portion which I had being all spent (I speak it to his glory that cared for me) in that same place, that same day I was desired by our kind countryman, Mr Guthrie, to assist him in the teaching of a school, with whom I remained three quarters of a year. But after did the Lord lead me farther, for having occasion to go to London, without my knowledge or any suit of mine I was called to the service of a learned divine, Mr Broughton,* unto the which, with the good will of Mr Guthrie, I entered, and there remained about a year and a half, daily exercised under him in the study of theology. To him, under God, and some other learned divines of that city, do I acknowledge myself bound for those beginnings of knowledge I then received.

“ In the nineteenth year of my life I returned again to Edinburgh, where having the advantage of being with my brother,† then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, I still continued in the same study, and at length was required to give a proof of my gift privately, which I did in the new church in presence of Mr Robert Pont and Mr Robert Rollock, with sundry others of the ministry. Then, after that, I was required to teach publicly in the new church on a Sabbath in the afternoon, and the next week I was commanded to teach publicly in the great church [St Giles] in time of

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a fast, on a Thursday in the afternoon. Thus did the Lord train me up, and these were the beginnings of my ministry, which I recount to the praise of His grace who counted me faithful, and put me into his service.

"A little after that, in the beginning of my twentieth year, there ensued a General Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh, and by their authority was I sent out and appointed pastor of Bothkennar, for that church had been desolate ever since the Reformation, and the people had given in their supplication to the Assembly for a pastor. This calling of God and his Church I embraced, and went unto them, where I found the desolation so great, that except the walls, which were ruinous also, neither door, nor window, nor seat, nor pulpit, nor any part of a roof was there at all; yet it pleased God to give such a blessing to the ministry of his word, that their hearts thereby were stirred up cheerfully to build the Lord's house, which most willingly they fully resolved within half a year, not content to build their own part of the house, but the choir also, which of due should have been done by the parson. Neither content to have built it only, they adorned it within and without not inferior to any other church of such quality round about. This was my first external seal and confirmation of my calling to the ministry. In this service I remained seven or eight years, subject to great bodily infirmities by reason of the weakness of the soil in winter, and the unwholesome waters thereof.* And here did the Lord first begin to acquaint me with his terrors, and the inward exercises of sundry temptations, so that between these two my life was wasted through heaviness. Yet I bless the Lord for it. It was unto me like the Wilderness of Midian to Moses—a school of temptation whereby I learned daily

* The parish of Bothkennar, on the south side of the Forth, though during Bishop Cowpar's incumbency little better than a mere waste, and often flooded by the Forth and its tributary the Carron, has been long under fine cultivation, and is part of the luxuriant and fertile Carse of Stirling, the surface diversified by orchards. Yet agriculture was not neglected in the district in ancient times, for even in the fourteenth century its yearly feu-duty paid to the Crown was 26 chalders, besides six chalders to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. It is stated of the parishioners of Bothkennar that they were so much attached to the Episcopal Church after the Revolution, "that they kept their minister, Mr Skinner, a most worthy man, from 1688 till 1721, and had he not then resigned his situation, it is probable he would have died among them in the full possession of his ministerial functions." New Statistical Account of Scotland—Stirlingshire, p. 203.

more and more to know Christ Jesus, gathering some store of knowledge there by inward exercises and outward studies, which the Lord afterwards called me to give out in more public places in his church. The necessity of increasing disease forcing me to be think of a transportation, the purpose of my mind was to another [parish] church implanted in the south, some eight miles west from Edinburgh, but the Lord still continued his calling, and drew me another way northward. For at the same time there intervened a General Assembly of the Church at Perth. There was I nominated, and with consent of the Assembly and people was I written for to that ministry, as the letters of both, sent to me out of Perth with my dear brother Mr Patrick Simson,* yet extant, do bear. Thus did the Lord clear my way before me, and lead me where I thought never to have gone.

" After this, three or four days, as I said, returned Mr Patrick Simson from the General Assembly at Perth to Stirling, and delivered the letters from the Assembly and the town containing my calling to that ministry. The town shortly after sent their commissioners to transport myself and family. There I continued doing the work of God for the full space of nineteen years. How I did carry myself in my open conversation, living among them not as one separated from them, but mixed myself in all their fellowships, as a comfort to the best and a wound to the worst inclined sort, this age will not want living witnesses to record it. My diligence in like manner in the ministry was not only on the ordinary days but on others, which I voluntarily chose thrice a week in the evenings, to-wit, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, for a preparation to the Sabbath, for on those days they had no preaching in the morning. It would have done a Christian good to have seen those glorious and joyful assemblies, to have heard the zealous cryings to God among that people, with sighings and tears, melting hearts, and mourning eyes. It is not vain glorying. I abhor that. Not I, but His grace in me. Why shall it offend any man that I eat the fruit of my labour, and that my conscience this day enjoys the comfort of my former painfulness and fidelity? My witness is in heaven, that the love of Jesus and his people made continued preaching my pleasure, and I had no such joy as in doing His

* Minister of Stirling, about twelve or fourteen miles west of the parish of Bothkennar.

work. Some witnesses also I want not to remain, for albeit my charge was to teach five times in the week, yet this was more, that I penned thereafter whatever I preached, whereof some are already extant; others, by God's grace, if the Lord spare my days, shall come in their time. And in outward charge what care I had to see the house of God thus honoured, and the welfare of that people every way, there are monuments standing to me after I am dead."

Bishop Cowpar, after alluding to his personal experience on religious matters, thus describes his reasons for accepting the episcopal office:—"Now, about this time God had opened to me a door, and called me to the charge of the churches in Galloway, in the north-west part of this kingdom; for being named with others by the General Assembly, of such as they thought meet to be preferred to the episcopal dignity, whereof I ever acknowledged myself not worthy, and recommended by the fathers of our Church, it was his Majesty's pleasure to present me to that benefice due to the office whereunto the Church had called me. God knows this was done without my knowledge or seeking directly or indirectly, for I could have been contented all my days with a private life, resolved to give honour and obedience to such as were in those places, after that it was once established by order in our Church, and I had considered the lawfulness, antiquity, and necessity for it among us. Here was I neither guilty of ambition, nor of any precipitate embracing of it, for between the date of his Majesty's presentation and my acceptance there intervened eighteen weeks. Yet as the calling to this work was greater than any other whereto I had been led before, so the greatest opposition was there made to me by men whose lying libels and carnal contradictions caused me to spend more time unprofitably than I had done before since my entry to the ministry. The Lord forgive them, and me also, where in the manner of my answering I have been sharper than became Christian meekness. For as to the matter itself [the episcopate], unfeignedly I followed my light. I esteem it a lawful, ancient, and necessary government. I see not nor have I read of any Church which wanted it before our time; only the abuses of it by pride, tyranny, and idleness, have brought it into misliking. From these evils I pray the Lord preserve his servants [the Bishops] that now are, or hereafter shall be called to

these places. But there is no reason why a thing good in itself should be condemned or rejected for the evil of abuse, for no good thing at all would be retained in the Church ; and in this calling, how I have walked, and what my care was to advance the gospel there [in the Diocese of Galloway], I trust I shall not nor yet do want witnesses. In this [episcopal] estate I now live, my soul alway in my hand ready to be offered to my Ged. Where or what kind of death God hath prepared for me I know not, but sure I am there can be no evil death to him that liveth in Christ, nor sudden death to a Christian pilgrim, who, as Job says, ‘every day waits for his change.’ Yea, many a day have I sought it with tears, not out of impatience, distrust, or perturbation, but being weary of sin, and fearful to fall into it. Concerning those who have been my enemies without cause, and charged me with many wrongful imputations, from which my conscience clears me, excusing me of those things, love of gain and glory, and such like, whereof they accused me, the Lord lay it not to their charge. I go to my Father, and seek His blessing to them, to rectify their judgments and moderate their affections with true piety from faith and love.”

Such was the eminent individual of whom Mr Calderwood, in the spleen of his malevolence, says—“ After he had accepted the bishopric he set forth an apology in print, to purge himself of covetousness and ambition, and gave reasons wherefore he changed his mind ; but he was so vexed with answers that he cast some of them into the fire, and would not look upon them. None was more forward in the *purer times* against the estate of Bishops, none now more frank for the *corruptions* of the time. After he had got the bishopric he maketh not residence in Galloway, but in the foot of the Canongate [near the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh], that he might be near the Chapel-Royal, where he preached as Dean, neglecting his Diocese, where he ought to have preached as Bishop, if his office had been lawful.” A curious notice is recorded of his zeal in the discharge of his public duties in the Perth Kirk-Session Registers. Under date June 24, 1616, it is stated that the “ officer” or beadle is “ ordered to have his red staff in the kirk on the Sabbath days, therewith to waken [rouse] sleepers, and to remove greeting bairns [children crying] furth of the kirk.” This seems to have been an old habit also of

the citizens of Edinburgh, and Mr Scott inserts under date August 24, 1600, an extract from one of Bishop Cowpar's manuscript sermons, with which he commenced on the afternoon of that day, in St Giles's church, containing a reproof to the congregation for *sleeping*. “ Before,” said the Bishop, “ we begin to speak to you, there is an impediment we must remove, which, if it occur, will both hinder us from speaking, and you from learning, and that is your *infirmitie of sleeping*, whereunto at this time usually ye are subject. A preacher, you know, hath impediments enough in himself to hinder from teaching, suppose he have none of his people; for Satan is ready, standing always at the right hand of Joshua to resist him. Such, therefore, among you as are Christians, I bind you with the law of conscience to refrain from sleeping, and such among you as are civilians, let common courtesy be an awe-band to you, remembering that it is no point of civility to sleep in the house of God.”

As Bishop Cowpar is subsequently noticed in a prominent manner, the attention of the reader is now directed to public affairs, and here the Presbyterians may be left in silence for a short time, and the proceedings of those of the other extreme—the Roman Catholics—noticed at some length. Notwithstanding the total extinction of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland after the Reformation, its supporters were from time to time indefatigable in their exertions to regain their ascendancy among the people. Persons designated “ Jesuits and seminary priests” in the public records traversed the kingdom in all directions, defying the severe Acts of Parliament against them, and practising both publicly and privately the rites of their religion. During the reign of King James, before and after his accession to the English Crown, seldom one year elapsed without rumours of new conspiracies of the Jesuits against his life, or against the Church of England. It appears from state papers, histories, and other records, that about 1614 a new attempt on the part of Spain and its auxiliaries was meditated, and which was only frustrated by the early detection and execution of some of the numerous emissaries of the Jesuits.

One of the most extraordinary prosecutions was that of John Ogilvie, otherwise Watson, son of Walter Ogilvie of Drum. In the month of November 1613, he returned to Scotland, after an absence of twenty-two years, for the purpose of propagating the

Roman Catholic faith. Ogilvie was evidently one of those enthusiasts who scrupled not, regardless of his life, to embark in any daring and dangerous plot. In the beginning of October 1614, he was apprehended in Glasgow, and brought before Archbishop Spottiswoode, on the charge of having “ seduced sundry young men of the better sort of the people, and saying mass in sundry places within the town.” Several of his converts were also seized, and a few of them imprisoned in Dunbarton Castle. On the 5th of October, Ogilvie and five individuals were examined at Glasgow before Archbishop Spottiswoode, Bishop Boyd of Argyll, Lords Fleming, Kilsyth, and Boyd, the Laird of Minto, Sir George Elphinstone, Provost of the city, and three of the magistrates. The five prisoners swore that they had only known Ogilvie a very short time, and with one exception that they had attended once or oftener the celebration of mass in private houses. Ogilvie admitted that he was the son of Walter Ogilvie of Drum—that he had been abroad twenty-two years—that he had studied at certain Roman Catholic Colleges on the Continent, and had received the order of priesthood at Paris—that he had arrived in Scotland in November 1613, and after a residence upwards of six weeks he had proceeded to England, but returned in May 1614—that he was “ ane of the ordinary Jesuits,” and maintained that the Pope’s jurisdiction extended over the King’s dominions in spiritual matters, for which he declared that he was ready to die.

About the beginning of November, Alexander Gladstanes, Archdean of St Andrews, son of the former Archbishop, apprehended another Jesuit named Moffat in St Andrews, who was brought before the Privy Council on the 10th of December, and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh. Ogilvie was also brought to Edinburgh, and examined by Archbishop Spottiswoode and some of the Privy Council. As a complete statement of the cases had been transmitted to the King, the Archbishops and the Bishops were ordered to proceed rigorously against the parties implicated, and all avowed or suspected Jesuit priests, resorters to, and resetters of, the same, wherever they were found. Similar instructions were also sent to the Privy Council. The great act of cruelty which they committed in Ogilvie’s case was the method they adopted to induce him to confess. He was allowed such food as barely sustained life, was not permitted to sleep for several nights, and when

that “ he would take the advertisement, and speak more coolly, howbeit he would never acknowledge the judgment, nor think they had power to sit on his life.—And for the reverence I do you, to stand bare-headed before you, I let you know it is *ad redemptionem vexationis, et non ad agnitionem judicii.*”

The fifteen jurymen were then chosen, among whom were Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood, Sir Thomas Boyd of Bonshaw, Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath, Muirhead of Lawhope, Crawfurd of Jordanhill, Mackerrel of Hillhouse, and Hugh Kennedy, Provost of Ayr. Ogilvie was permitted to challenge any of them, but he replied, that “ he had one exception for them all ; they were either enemies to his cause or friends ; if enemies, they could not be admitted upon his trial, and if they were his friends, they should stand prisoners at the bar with him.” The Jury were then sworn, and the indictment read to them, when the following dialogue ensued.

“ I wish these gentlemen,” said Ogilvie, “ to consider well what they do. I cannot be tried or judged by them, and whatsoever I suffer here is by way of injury, and not of judgment. I am accused of treason, but have done no offence, and I will not ask mercy.” “ This is strange,” observed Archbishop Spottiswoode : “ You have done no offence [you say], and yet you are come into his Majesty’s kingdom, and you have laboured to pervert his Highness’ subjects. Both of these are against the law. In this have ye not offended ?”—“ No,” said Ogilvie, “ I came by commandment, and if I were even now forth of the kingdom I should return ; neither do I respect anything, but that I have not been so busy as I should in that which ye call perverting. I hope to come to Glasgow again, and to do more good in it. If all the hairs of my head were priests, they should all come into the kingdom.”

“ And do you not,” inquired Archbishop Spottiswoode, “ consider it a fault to go against the King’s commandment, especially in this point of discharging you his kingdom ? If a king have any power within his kingdom, it seems he may rid himself and his country of those with whom he is offended, and it savours great rebellion to say otherwise.”—“ I am a subject,” replied Ogilvie, “ as free as the King is a king. He cannot discharge me if I be not an offender, which I am not.” He was asked for what offences

the King could “ discharge ” or banish him, and he answered—“ In the cases of theft and murder.”—“ All this while,” said the Archbishop, “ you do not answer the points of your indictment. Why do you decline his Majesty’s authority, and refuse to give your opinion anent the Pope’s power in deposing kings, and loosing subjects from their oaths of allegiance ? And when it is asked you if it were lawful to slay the King, if deposed and excommunicated by the Pope, the very thought of which any loyal subject would abhor, why do you not simply condemn it as unlawful ? For if you do not condemn it, you shew yourself of the opinion of the rest of your sect, who in their books maintain that it is both lawful and commendable to slay kings, if the Pope’s commission go forth once for it.”—“ For the declining of the King’s authority,” replied Ogilvie, “ I will do it still in matters of religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do ; neither have I done any other thing but that which the ministers did at Dundee. They would not acknowledge his Majesty’s authority in spiritual matters more than I ; the best ministers of the land are still of that mind, and if they be once will continue so.”

“ You are mistaken,” said Archbishop Spottiswoode, “ both in the place and matter ; for it was not at Dundee, but Aberdeen, where some ministers meeting to a General Assembly, contended not against the King’s authority, but that the Assembly called to that place and time could not be discharged by his Majesty’s commissioner. Neither should the fact of a few, taken at the worst, be esteemed the deed of the whole. These have been punished for their offences ; some of them have confessed their error, and have been graciously pardoned by his Majesty. All good ministers profess otherwise, and our religion teacheth us to acknowledge his Majesty [as] our only supreme judge in all causes. The King is keeper of both Tables [of the Mosaic Law], and his state obliges him not only to the ruling of his subjects in justice, and preserving equity among them, but even to maintain religion and God’s pure worship, of which he should have principal care. Your master the Pope hath not only denied this authority to kings, which God giveth them, but usurpeth to himself a power of deposing and killing when he is displeased. And it would be the less worthy of notice if the Pope’s usurpation had gone no farther than your books ; but you have entered, by this pretended right,

the throats of the greatest kings, as your practice upon the two last Henrys of France bears witness. You are not able to lay such imputation upon us or our profession, which teaches that, next unto God Almighty, all men are bound to fear, serve, and honour their sovereigns. But what answer you touching these demands? Hath the Pope power to depose the King? Or is it murder to kill him, if he is deposed by the Pope?"

"I refused before," said Ogilvie, "to answer such questions, because in answering I would acknowledge you [as] judges in controversies of religion, which I do not. I will not cast holy things to dogs." "And is it," asked the Archbishop, "a point of faith that the Pope may depose his Majesty? Or do you think it a controversy in religion whether his Majesty, whom God save, may be lawfully killed or not?" "It is," replied Ogilvie, "a question among the doctors of the Church, and many hold the affirmative, not improbably. A Council hath not yet determined the point; and if it shall be concluded by the Church that the Pope hath such power, I will give my life in defence of it; and if I had a thousand lives, I would bestow them that way if they will make an article of faith of it." He was here urged to state his own opinion, and he declared that "he would not say it was unlawful, though he should save his life by it." He proceeded to discuss the alleged supremacy of the Pope, and observed—"If the King offended against the Catholic Church the Pope might punish him, as well as a shepherd, or the poorest fellow in the kingdom. In abrogating the Pope's authority the Estates of Parliament had gone beyond their limits, and the King, in usurping the Pope's right, had lost his own." As to the oath of allegiance, Ogilvie declared—"It was a damnable oath against God and his truth, and it is treason to swear it, because it brings the King's person and state in danger. Since this kingdom was Christian, the Pope's supreme power was always acknowledged. This being cast off, as we see in the acts of your Parliament, against all reason and conscience, and subjects [are] forced to swear to a matter so unlawful, what marvel that attempts and dangerous courses be taken against him? But if the King would relinquish his usurpation upon the Pope, he might live without fear as well as the King of Spain, or any other Christian prince." He concluded by alluding to his own services, and those of other Jesuits for the King, and said—"Neither Bishop,

nor minister, nor all the Bishops and ministers in his Majesty's kingdoms, had done or could do the like."

Ogilvie proceeded in this language, not very polite either to the King or the judges. Archbishop Spottiswoode then spoke. "Gentlemen, and others who are named upon the assize," said the Archbishop, "though I intended to have said nothing, and to be merely a witness of the proceeding, I have been forced by his [the prisoner's] proud and impudent speeches somewhat to reply, and must with your patience say a little more. It is this same day two-and-twenty weeks past that this prisoner fell into my hands, and since that time he hath had leisure to think enough what course was fittest for him to take for satisfying his Majesty, whom he had offended ; neither hath he wanted counsel and advice, the best that we could give him. Besides, he hath found on our part nothing but courteous dealing, and better entertainment than, I must now say it, he hath deserved. My own hopes were that he would have followed another course than I see he has taken, and not stand to the answers which he made to those demands which were moved unto him by his Majesty's commissioners, and you have seen. But if his answers at the first were treasonable they are now so little better, as in all your hearings he hath uttered speeches most detestable, made a commentary worse than the text was, and shewed himself to carry the mind of an arrant and desperate traitor. You perceive he obscures not the King's Majesty our sovereign in all his speeches, preferring the Pope to his Majesty ; and, which is more intolerable, affirmeth the King's Majesty to have lost the right to his kingdom by usurping upon the Pope. He will not say it is unlawful to kill his Majesty ; he saith it is treason for subjects to swear the oath of allegiance ; and meaneth so much in his last words as the King's Majesty's life and estate cannot be secure except he render himself the Pope's vassal. Thus hath he left you little to do except that his Majesty's pleasure, the ordinary form be kept with him, you would never need once to remove. All his speeches have been so stuffed with treason, that I am sure the patience of the noblemen and others here present hath been much provoked. In all that he hath said I can mark only two things alleged by him for the Pope's authority over kings—the words of our Saviour to St Peter, *Feed my sheep* ; and the subjection of kings, especially of

our kings, since the kingdom became Christian, to the Pope. For the words of our Saviour, how little they serve his purpose I have no need to tell you. To feed the sheep of Christ is not, I hope, to depose kings from their states, nor to inflame the hearts of subjects against princes, much less to kill and despatch them. We are better taught than to be deceived with such glosses. St Peter never made that sense of those words, and teacheth us a very different doctrine in his First Epistle, fifth chapter, second and third verses. I will not spend time with such purpose. Only this I must say, that whatever was St Peter's prerogative the Pope of Rome hath nothing to do with it; for he cannot be St Peter's successor who hath forsaken his doctrine, and gone against his practice directly, both in that and other points of Christian faith. And for the antiquity of his usurped power, I may say justly that Master Ogilvie is not well seen in antiquity, or he speaketh against his knowledge, when he saith that this power of the Pope was ever acknowledged by Christian kings. The Bishops of Rome for many years made no such claim, neither did emperors nor kings ever dream of such subjection. Long it was ere the Pope of Rome came to the height of commanding kings, and not till he had oppressed the Church under the pretext of St Peter's keys, bearing down all the Bishops within Christendom, which having done, then he made his invasion upon princes, and that by degrees. The histories of all ages make this plain, and the resistance he found by kings in their kingdoms testifieth that they never acknowledged his superiority. Of our own, howbeit, as we lie far from his seat, so had we less business and fewer occasions of contradiction, yet I can make it appear in divers particulars, when any question fell out anent the provision of Bishops and Archbishops to their places, the Bulls of Rome were so little respected, as the King's predecessors have always preferred and borne out their own choice, and the interdictions made upon the realm by these occasions; not without some imputation of weakness to the See Apostolic, have been recalled. The superstitions of Rome were amongst us last embraced, and with the first, by the mercies of God, shaken off. Whatsoever you boast of your antiquity, it is false, both in this and all the other points of your profession, which I could prove if this time or place were fitting. But to you of this jury I have this only more to say, that you are

to inquire upon the verity of the indictment whether such and such as are alleged to be committed by him have been so or not. You have his subscriptions which he acknowledgeth. You hear himself, and how he hath treasonably disavowed his Majesty's authority. It concerns you only to pronounce as you shall find verified by the speeches that you have heard and the testimonies produced. For the rest the justices know sufficiently what to do, and will serve God and his Majesty according to the commission given them."

The Jury returned their verdict by Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood, unanimously finding the unfortunate Jesuit guilty of treason, and he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Archbishop Spottiswoode asked him if he wished to say anything. "No my Lord," replied Ogilvie, "but I give your Lordship thanks for your kindness, and will desire your hand." "If," replied the Archbishop, "you will acknowledge your fault done to his Majesty, and crave God's and his Highness' pardon, I will give you both hand and heart, for I wish you to die a good Christian." "Will I be allowed," asked Ogilvie, "to speak to the people?" "If you will declare," said the Archbishop, "that you suffer according to the law justly for your offence, and crave his Majesty's pardon for your treasonable speeches, you shall be licenced to say what you please, otherwise you ought not to be permitted." Ogilvie simply replied—"God have mercy upon me!" He then exclaimed loudly—"If there are here any secret Catholics, let them pray for me; but the prayers of heretics I will not have."

This tragedy, under the form of law, was concluded by the execution of Ogilvie, and the only part of the sentence remitted was the quartering of his body. He met his fate three hours after the verdict was given, but his bodily infirmities or his fears were such, that after his devotions it was necessary to support him on the scaffold. He died professing his firm belief in the faith for which he may be said to be a martyr, but his wretched fate seems to have excited little sympathy. Even the Presbyterian party expressed no compassion Calderwood coolly observes—"He had small courage when he came to the scaffold, died heartless and comfortless, could not commend himself to God at the minister's desire, but did it after the desire of the hangman." This extraordinary trial is not recorded in the Books of Adjournal, but was

reported by the commissioners and their assessors to the Privy Council.*

The death of Archbishop Gladstones occurred in the castle of St Andrews on the 2d of May. Calderwood has shamefully traduced his memory, by recording all the false and infamous scandals against him. Archbishop Spottiswoode describes him as “a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention, but of an easy nature, and induced by those he trusted to do many things hurtful to the See, especially in leasing the titles of his benefice for many years to come ; esteeming, which is the error of many churchmen, that by this means he would purchase the love and friendship of men, whereas there is no sure friendship but that which is joined with respect.—He left behind him in writing a declaration of his judgment touching matters then controverted in the Church, professing that he had accepted the episcopal function upon good warrant, and that his conscience never did accuse him for any thing done that way. This he did to obviate the rumours which he foresaw would be dispersed after his death, either of his recantation, or of some trouble of spirit that he was cast into, for these are the usual practices of the Puritan sect, whereas he ended his days most piously, and to the great comfort of all the beholders.” Archbishop Gladstones was the first patron of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, then a zealous advocate of the Episcopal Church, and presented that individual, who is subsequently noticed, to the parish of Leuchars, about five miles west of St Andrews. Among Henderson’s other acts of truculent subserviency at this period, he wrote a flattering dedication to the Primate. A Presbyterian writer† very gratuitously vilifies the memory of Archbishop Gladstones, whom he describes “at his first start in public life schoolmaster at Montrose, and had been minister in several parishes before his settlement at Arbirlot near Arbroath.” “Vain and pedantic,” continues this writer, “obsequious to one class, and overbearing to another, Gladstones was from his temper, his office, and the spirit of the times, any thing but acceptable to the mass of the people.” Again—“Gladstones was odious in the estimation of the whole peasantry of the dis-

* Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 330-354.

† Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, by John Aiton, D. D. minister of Dolphinton, p. 90, 91.

trict." These statements are mere opinions, although all this alleged unpopularity is not surprizing if what this writer alleges is true, that " Fife was truly said by Gladstanes to be the most seditious province in the kingdom." It is singular that no Presbyterian historian can possibly give an impartial representation of the acts and character of the men of that age. The Archbishop was honourably interred in the church of St Salvador's College at St Andrews on the 7th of June, and Bishop Cowpar of Galloway preached the funeral sermon, which unfortunately is not in the edition of his Works. Calderwood indulges his usual scurrility in reference to that sermon, describing it as " full of vile flattery and lies, for which he was derided by the people." That writer farther insinuates that the funeral of the Archbishop was a mere ceremonial :—"a canopy of black velvet was carried above the coffin by four men, and yet the corpse was not in the coffin, but buried soon after his death;" but on this Mr Scott observes—"Indeed, if the body was not sufficiently embalmed, the long delay of the funeral might render such a precaution necessary."*

Archbishop Gladstanes must have been in considerable favour with King James, if Calderwood's rumour is true that his Majesty " bestowed ten thousand merks upon his burial," though he also states that the Archbishop was in debt L.20,000 Scots at his death. Of his family or descendants little is known. His son, Alexander Gladstanes, the Archdean of St Andrews, is already mentioned. He studied at the University of Cambridge. Previous to 1612 his father had continued to officiate as first minister of St Andrews, but in that year the Archdeanery was separated from the Archbishopric by act of Parliament, and Alexander Gladstanes, though he had entered on the study of theology only three years before, was appointed the Archdean and first minister. He held that situation till 1638, when he was deprived, but his conduct seems to have been for some years very reprehensible, without taking into account the Presbyterian libels and charges against him. In December the very year of his father's death, Archbishop Spotswoode exhorted him " to follow his calling and behave himself with greater gravity," and not to be " a company bearer with common folks in drinking."† A daughter married John Lyon, son

* Perth Register of Deaths, MSS. Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

† Wodrow's Biographical Collections, printed for the Maitland Club, Glasgow, 4to. 1834, vol. i. Part Second, Notes, p. 546, 547.

of Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, the second son of John seventh Lord Glammis, who is known in Scottish history as the Master of Glammis, one of the principal agents in the seizure of James VI. at the Raid of Ruthven in May 1580. There was no issue by this marriage, and the estate of Auldbar devolved to his relative John, second Earl of Kinghorn, father of the first Earl of Strathmore, a Peerage joined with the Earldom of Kinghorn in 1677. Another of the Archbishop's daughters married John Wemyss of Craigton, who was Commissary of St Andrews, and some time Rector and Chancellor of the University. A curious letter is still preserved, dated St Andrews, 23d September 1612, addressed to the King by Archbishop Gladstanes, recommending this son-in-law to be a judge in the Scottish Supreme Court in place of William Melville, Commendator of Tongland, fourth son of Sir John Melville of Raith, and brother of James Melville of Halhill, author of the celebrated "Memoirs," a complete edition of which was printed by the Bannatyne Club, and of Sir Robert Melville of Murdockairnie, created Lord Melville. The Commendator sat on the Bench by the title of Lord Tongland, and on this particular occasion some arrangement was to be made with his Lordship, who was to retire from the Bench in favour of Commissary Wemyss, but this was never effected, as Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank was appointed an ordinary Lord in 1613. The letter alluded to is only signed by the Archbishop, the whole of it being the autograph of his son-in-law, though "whether the Archbishop dictated the letter, or whether Wemyss prepared it himself, and got his father-in-law's signature, cannot now be ascertained, but in either way the extreme modesty and coolness of the would be judge himself recording his own merits are highly amusing."* An "application by John Wemyss to James VI., to be appointed a Lord of Session" is also preserved, without date, but supposed to be at least anterior to 1619. Commissary Wemyss was subsequently appointed a Judge in the Supreme Court, took his seat on the Bench by the title of Lord Craigton, and was afterwards knighted. A grand-daughter of Archbishop Gladstanes, named Elizabeth or Elspet Gladstanes, was married in 1632 to Dr George Halyburton, They were the parents of Dr George Halyburton, born in 1635, and consecrated Bishop of Brechin, afterwards translated to Aberdeen, in which See he continued till the Revolution of 1688.

* *Analecta Scotica*, Second Series, Edinburgh, 1837, p. 348, 349, in which the letter is printed.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERNAL STATE OF THE CHURCH—ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE REMOVED TO ST ANDREWS—CHANGES IN THE BISHOPRICS—THE SEE OF ORKNEY—THE HIGH COMMISSION—GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ABERDEEN—A CATECHISM, LITURGY, AND BOOK OF CANONS, ORDERED TO BE PREPARED—A CONFESSTION OF FAITH APPROVED.

ARCHBISHOP GLADSTANES was succeeded in the Primacy by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was translated from Glasgow much against his inclination. He had evinced his munificence by repairing the Cathedral church and episcopal castle of that See, and he first commenced the lead roof of the former. During his connection with Glasgow he exerted himself so successfully, that much of the Presbyterian disaffection had vanished in that Diocese. He entered St Andrews on the 3d of August 1615, accompanied by numbers of noblemen and gentlemen, and preached a sermon on the 5th, which, according to Calderwood, was a Saturday. The ceremony of his installation was performed on the following day in presence of most of the suffragan Bishops and a crowded congregation, after a sermon by Bishop Cowpar of Galloway on Titus ii. 7. 8. This very excellent sermon, which is dedicated to Lord Sanquhar, is in the collection of Bishop Cowpar's Works, and the object of it is to explain the duties of a good Bishop.

The translation of Archbishop Spottiswoode to St Andrews rendered the See of Glasgow vacant, and Bishop Law was removed thither from Orkney in the beginning of September. He was succeeded in Orkney by Bishop Graham of Dunblane. Adam Bellenden, rector of Falkirk, son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk, was nominated to the Bishopric of Dunblane, and was consecrated at St Andrews about the close of the year.

If we are to believe Calderwood, who records these appointments with disgusting indelicacy, Bellenden was for some time a “vehement opponent against Bishops,” but now he was not ashamed to “accept that mean Bishopric [alluding to the well-known poverty of the See of Dunblane] to patch up his broken lairdship of Kinnochery.” He records that on the 26th of November, Archbishops Spottiswoode and Law, after a sermon by Bishop Cowpar in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh, took the oaths of allegiance—“renouncing all foreign authority, temporal or ecclesiastical, and did homage for their Archbishoprics upon their knees” before the noblemen who represented the King, and in presence of sundry of the Nobility, the Lords of the Privy Council, the judges, and a large concourse of spectators.

Some notices may be here appropriately inserted respecting the remote Bishopric of Orkney during the episcopate of Archbishop Law, before his translation to Glasgow. From the Reformation to the nomination of Bishop Law in 1605, religion in the Orkney and Shetland Islands had been miserably neglected. The connection of Bishop Bothwell was little more than nominal. Apostatizing from his sacred calling, he merged the episcopal function into those of a civil judge and courtly politician. He procured various leases of the Earldom of Orkney, all the lands of which had reverted to the Crown in 1544, at the death, without issue, of James Earl of Moray, illegitimate brother of James V., by whom they had been conferred on the Earl. Lord Robert Stewart, who had exchanged the Abbacy of Holyroodhouse with Bothwell for the Bishopric of Orkney, had enjoyed as a tenant, with some interruptions, the episcopal lands and also those of the Earldom for a number of years. The new possessor was equally regardless of the spiritual interests of the people, contenting himself, after the first introduction of Presbyterianism, with merely keeping the choir of the cathedral church of St Magnus in repair. Lord Robert was created Earl of Orkney in 1581, and thus obtained the rank and property of the St Clairs, the former Earls. He was the father of his successor Patrick, the second and only other Earl of this illegitimate descent of royalty.

Earl Patrick succeeded his father in 1600, and among his other erections he built what is still known as the *Earl's Palace*, near the south side of the cathedral church of St Magnus, in the

immediate vicinity of the *Bishop's Palace*. After the nomination of Bishop Law to the See, the King, in February 1605, granted a renunciation of the episcopal revenues, though they were still enjoyed by the Earl, who by a contract with Bishop Law continued to possess the Bishopric. Nevertheless this arrangement, though so far favourable, was prejudicial to the Earl, whose extortions to defray debts contracted by his extravagance were unbounded, and incited him to the grossest oppression. Bishop Law was well aware of the miseries inflicted by him, and the crimes of which he was guilty, but afraid of openly quarrelling with such a desperate person, a mutual contract was formed, by which the Bishop agreed to resign to the Earl the lands and revenues of the See during his incumbency for the payment of a specified annuity, and the building called the *New Wark of the Yards*, or Earl's Palace, as a residence. But this agreement, advantageous to the Earl, was soon terminated. The people were still grievously plundered, and petitions were sent to the Bishop, who transmitted them to the King and Privy Council. Negligent, if not corrupt, as the Privy Council of that period often was, the Earl's conduct could no longer pass unnoticed for his infamous cruelties and miseries perpetrated against the unoffending inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland. He was apprehended, and committed prisoner alternately to the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. On the 2d of August 1610, he was brought to trial for high treason and oppression of the Islanders.* His crimes are enumerated in the indictment from 1590, during the lifetime of his father, to 1610. The Earl was accused of holding and detaining the servants of certain gentlemen "in irons, stocks, close prison, and firmance, divers days and weeks, usurping thereby [our] royal authority, and bereaving our lawful subjects of their native liberty due to them, in their free passage and traffic, under our peace and protection, through all parts of our native kingdom by sea and land." In particular the said Earl, "leaving no sort of extraordinary oppression and treasonable violence unpractised against the said inhabitants of Orkney and Zetland at the times specially above rehearsed, at the least in divers of the years and months aforesaid, had compelled the most part of the gentlemen's tenants of

* All the documents are printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 81-87, 308-327.

the said counties of Orkney and Zetland to work to him all manner of work by sea and land, in rowing and sailing his ships and boats, working in the stone-quarries, winning and bearing furth thereof stones, and red furth thereof; lading his boats and shallopss with stone and lime, and loosing the same ; building his parks and dykes, and all other sorts of servile and painful labour, without either meat, drink, or hire."

Though the trial was delayed, the Earl was detained in close custody. An otherwise candid Presbyterian writer on the history of Orkney attempts at this stage of the business to throw odium on Bishop Law. It is stated that the Bishop " collected the grounds of complaint, digested and procured accusations for the Privy Council and other corrupt courts of law in Scotland ; plied the cupidity of James by the prospect of a forfeiture of the Earldom to the Crown ; and fed his insatiable vanity by the most abject and ludicrous flattery."* But all the Bishop's movements in the matter, on the contrary, entitled him to the greatest commendation, and he was only discharging his duty by representing the sufferings of the people inflicted by an infatuated and ambitious individual notorious for his crimes. It farther appears that he had other and more daring projects in view. In addition to his oppression of the inhabitants he had resolved to constitute himself independent of the Scottish Crown, and this induced him to commit many acts of violence and insult to the Government, which were treated with remarkable leniency, considering the summary manner in which justice was often dispensed in those times. Even after he was in custody his cruel disposition was manifested by the conduct of his agents in the islands. The most effectual check to his career was the sequestration of his revenues, and withholding from him all supplies except what was necessary for his bare maintenance as a state prisoner. Though under such restraints he nevertheless continued to defy the power of the King and the Privy Council of Scotland. He sent his illegitimate son Robert Stewart to " uplift bygone rents " and other dues, that he might procure money to bribe his guards. He also instructed his son to use every exertion to obtain possession of the castle of Kirkwall and fortalices

* Notes on Orkney and Zetland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney. Edinburgh, 1822, vol. i. p. 46.

belonging to him, which the Government had seized, trusting to his own ingenuity to escape from Dunbarton Castle.

It is to be observed that both Orkney and Shetland were then governed by Danish law, which the Earl and his deputies had most iniquitously applied. In a letter from Bishop Law to the King, dated Edinburgh, November 17, 1608, his Lordship prominently notices "the many great and continual complaints of his Majesty's poor distressed subjects in these Isles," and his "Christian compassion of their miseries." On the 6th of December that year the King wrote to the Privy Council on the same subject, enjoining them to compel the Earl to appear before them on the 2d of March following, with intimation that if he refused, as he had long defied the former proclamations of the Privy Council, they would be "assisted both by sea and land for the punishing of his rebellion." About this period he had mortgaged his estates to Sir John Arnot, which the King redeemed by purchase, and took possession of the Earldom and all its castles. In 1611 a rumour was circulated that the Earl was to be set at liberty, and allowed to return to Orkney. Bishop Law, in a letter to the King dated the 2d of May that year, states—"Your Majesty will be pleased to consider his natural disposition, his former practices, his necessity, who cannot uphold his estate now without some wrongs done to Sir John Arnot or me, or else to the poor oppressed people." In that year proclamations were issued prohibiting the Earl, who was again tried in 1610 and 1611, and his deputies, from exercising any jurisdiction, abolishing the Danish laws in the islands, sanctioning the appointment of Henry Aitken by the Bishop to be commissary, and strictly enforcing obedience to the Bishop. Various other proclamations appeared from time to time, and one in October 1612 annexed the Earldom to the Crown. In 1611 the Earl produced answers to the "pretended" complaints against him by the inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland, which had been drawn up by authority of Bishop Law.

In 1614, the Earl, exasperated at his imprisonment, induced his illegitimate son to proceed to Orkney, levy his rents, exercise his jurisdictions, and take possession of his castles. In all this he was to a certain extent successful, but it is ascertained that he was favoured by the unpopularity of the Sheriff. George, fifth Earl of Caithness, between whom and the Earl of Orkney a rooted

hatred had long existed, put down this insurrection, and executed the ringleaders, though he was induced to interfere in it by the basest purposes. He was prevented from demolishing the cathedral of St Magnus solely by the spirited resistance of Bishop Law, who would not suffer him to throw it down. On the 1st of February 1615, the Earl of Orkney was tried before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh for “rebellion, tyranny, and oppression, high treason,” and other crimes. The Jury consisted of the Earls of Glencairn, Winton, Perth, Lothian, and Tullibardine; Lords Seone, Sinclair, Herries, Torphichen, Sempill, and Kilmaurs; and four private gentlemen. The Earl was unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh two days afterwards, his family attainted, and all his property forfeited to the Crown. By the intercession of some of the ministers in Edinburgh the execution was delayed to the sixth of February, and on that day he was beheaded. Calderwood relates that although he was a person of courtly manners and polished address, he was “so ignorant that he could scarce rehearse the Lord’s Prayer.” His illegitimate son and associates, with only one exception, were tried and executed about the same time. In those days the transition from the justice court to the scaffold was often remarkably brief.

The tyrant Earl of Orkney was nevertheless the favourite of the Presbyterians, whose historians allege that his execution was a “judicial murder.” They accordingly implicate Bishop Law in the whole matter, and we are gravely told that “the removal of the Earl would at all events free the See from his grants of it, and promotion to the Archbishopric of Glasgow was in fact the reward of the Bishop’s services.”* In the whole proceedings not the slightest intimation occurs to warrant this statement, and the conduct of Bishop Law appears throughout to be that of one who advocated the cause of the oppressed. As it respects revenue the See of Orkney was richer than the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and even at the Revolution of 1688, when the Church was supplanted by the Presbyterian Establishment, and the episcopal rents seized by the Crown, the income of the Bishopric of Orkney was £1366, while that of Glasgow was £1294. After the execution of the Earl of Orkney, the Earldom and the Bishopric were separated,

* Notes on Orkney and Zetland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 46.

the “ Palace of the Yards,” including the edifice erected by the Earl, was annexed to the See, with a condition that the King’s Lieutenant, when in Orkney, was to be accommodated in it; and from August 1615, when Bishop Graham succeeded Bishop Law, to 1688, the Earl of Orkney’s palace was the episcopal residence. The crown charter in favour of the Bishop and his Chapter was issued on the 4th of October 1614, and infestment was taken on the 14th of November. A complete and entire separation was effected between the Earldom and the Bishopric ; lands in certain of the island parishes were “ confirmed and mortified” to the Bishop and his successors, reserving the legal rights of the udallers, or feuars; and “ the whole lands, whether of old called king’s lands, bishop’s lands, udal lands, or kirk lands, were conveyed in superiority, modified in as far as udallers were concerned, to the Bishop, together with the holmes, skerries [little islands and rocks], and all parts and pertinents belonging to the lands.” The parsonage and vicarage teinds which formerly belonged to the Bishopric, or to any other dignity, were dissolved from the Crown, and were declared the property and patrimony of the See, with the provision that the Bishops were to “ plant” churches in the several parishes, and provide a sufficient stipend to each of the incumbents. Finally, as it respected the ecclesiastical temporalities of this remote insular Diocese, confirmed by the episcopal charter, as it is called, of 1614, the “ Bishop and his successors were constituted patrons of all the vicarages within the islands, lands, and bounds of Orkney and Zetland. A right and jurisdiction of sheriff and bailie was vested in the Bishops within the Bishopric territory, with the authority of commissary over Orkney and Zetland ; and power being given to appoint sheriffs and bailies, the inhabitants of the Bishopric were exempted from the jurisdiction of the earldom functionaries ; and all rights of patronage, if there were any, within the bounds of the said Bishopric, were annulled, to the effect that they, and all the lands, rights, and jurisdictions, might remain with the Bishops as their patrimony and privilege for ever.—That [episcopal] charter is therefore now the standard by which all future grants of the earldom estate fall to be tried, and in as far as they are inconsistent with it, and the possession which followed upon it, in so far such grants may fairly be held null and ineffectual.”*

* Notes on Orkney and Zetland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 138, 139, 140.

Leaving the insular Diocese of Orkney and Zetland under the jurisdiction of Bishop Graham, we find the Presbyterian writers carefully narrating that the High Court of Commission was remodelled in December, and the previous two courts were united, though it appears that subsequently Archbishop Law was empowered to institute one in his Diocese. The odium of this Court of Commission is thrown on the Scottish Bishops, but it ought to be recollected that, however objectionable the Court was, something like it was necessary at the time, and, moreover, that many of the nobility, clergy, and gentry, were equally implicated. The High Commission authorized the members, or any five of them, to summon before them all persons “within the Provinces of St Andrews and Glasgow, and Dioceses of the same, being offenders either in life or religion, whom they find any way to be scandalous ; and especially resetters and intercommuners with Jesuits, seminary and mass priests, or excommunicated Papists, sayers and hearers of mass, recusants, and not communicants, incestuous and adulterous persons ;” and the Court was armed with very summary powers to imprison all such as were found “ guilty and impenitent, refusing to acknowledge their offence ;” also, to excommunicate them, and to censure or deprive those incumbents of parishes who refused to enforce the judgment of the Court. It farther appears that the High Court of Commission could exercise a kind of censorship over the press. Calderwood relates that Archbishop Spottiswoode, soon after his translation to St Andrews, held a Court there on Tuesday, the 8th of August 1615, when Mr John Malcolm, Bishop Cowpar’s colleague at Perth, appeared to answer a charge against him. He had printed at Middleburg that year a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, and in his Epistle Dedicatory to King James he demanded that the Presbyterian preachers not permitted to return to Scotland after the Conference at Hampton Court in 1606, for maintaining that the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605 was lawful,* should be recalled. He was accompanied by a number of his parishioners, and

Even Mr Scott, in the Perth MS. Registers, admits that Malcolm expressed himself to the King with “ some freedom ;” in other words, in the style of dictation peculiar to the followers of Mr Andrew Melville. “ But at the same time,” says Mr Scott, “ he shews a sincere affection to his Majesty, and to the real interests of his Government. He owns that his conscience was reluctant in complying with some of the King’s commands with regard to the Church, and that his reluctance was a cause why he had not been more distinguished with the King’s favour.”

subscribed a document, which was transmitted to the King. Mr Calderwood's subsequent observations, recorded with his usual scandal, are amusing. He designates Archbishops Spottiswoode and Law as "two pretty foot-ball men." They are "the only two Archbishops in Scotland, and have now, as we used to say, the ball at their foot. They were both near the point of suspension in the purer [Presbyterian] times for the profanation of the Sabbath; now they have power to suspend, deprive, imprison, fine, or confine, any minister in Scotland. Out of preposterous pitiy they were spared then, but now they spare not the best and the most blameless."

Mr Calderwood had good reason to denounce the High Court of Commission, as it will be subsequently seen that he was compelled to appear before it in presence of the King. In the meanwhile the Court reached a very different personage. This was the Earl [first Marquis] of Huntly, previously mentioned, who was summoned before the Court on the 12th of June 1616, and who had been formerly noted for his zealous attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. He and the Earl of Errol had defeated the royal forces, consisting of 7000 men under the Earl of Argyll, at Bel-rinnes, or Glenlivet, in 1594, and this battle was the result of their refusal to renounce the Papal Church, or remove out of the kingdom, after their treasonable correspondence with Spain. Huntly was committed to Stirling Castle in 1606, from which he was liberated in December 1610, on his engagement to subscribe the then Confession of Faith and make satisfaction to the Church, with which he had been before involved for his slaughter of the "Bonnie" Earl of Moray at Dunibristle House in Fife, in February 1591-2. On the present occasion he had prohibited his retainers from attending the sermons of particular ministers, and was also under sentence of excommunication. The Marquis was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh for refusing to sign the Confession of Faith, or give any kind of satisfaction; but after an imprisonment of three days he was set at liberty by the Lord Chancellor Dunfermline. His Lordship, who was a great favourite with King James, appears to have been summoned to Court; and as the Scottish Bishops were enraged at the Earl of Dunfermline for releasing him in defiance of the dignity and authority of the High Court of Commission, they sent Bishop Forbes of Caithness to complain to

the King. The Marquis was recommended by James to the instructions of Archbishop Abbot, the English Primate, who was so far successful. The excommunication was now the only difficulty, and as it could only be removed by the Church which inflicted it, the Bishop of Caithness, in name of the Scottish Bishops, though apparently without any authority from them, consented ;* and Archbishop Abbot accordingly absolved the Marquis from the excommunication at Lambeth, on the 7th of July 1616, in the presence of Dr Jones, Archbishop of Dublin ; Dr King, Bishop of London ; and “ divers others ;”† his Lordship immediately afterwards receiving the Communion. Archbishop Spottiswoode and the Scottish Bishops were indignant at Archbishop Abbot’s interference in a sentence pronounced or confirmed by them, and remonstrated with the King on the subject. James defended the act in a long letter to Archbishop Spottiswoode, to whom the English Primate also wrote an explanatory epistle, both of which were satisfactory. It was accordingly stipulated that the Marquis, who had now returned to Scotland, should petition the General Assembly when held at Aberdeen, acknowledge his offence, promise to educate his children in the Protestant faith, in the profession of which he was himself to continue, and be again absolved according to the form of the Church of Scotland. Huntly’s friend, the Earl of Errol, who had also been excommunicated nine years before, was absolved about the beginning of 1617 by some of the Bishops at Perth.

In the beginning of July occurred the death of Bishop Blackburn of Aberdeen after a lingering illness. He was succeeded by Bishop Alexander Forbes of Caithness, minister of Fettercairn in Kincardineshire, who was unanimously elected by the Chapter. The successor of Bishop Forbes in the See of Caithness was John Abernethy, minister of Jedburgh, the pastoral charge of which he continued to retain. The translation of Bishop Forbes to Aberdeen, and the appointment of Bishop Abernethy to Caithness, are here noticed by anticipation, as neither occurred till after the

* Bishop Forbes, according to Calderwood, denied this in the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in August 1616, when the matter of Huntly’s absolution and the conduct of Archbishop Abbot were discussed. “ It was still alleged upon him,” says Calderwood, “ and he was threatened with deposition from his Bishopric, but his deposition turned to greater preferment, for he was preferred before all other competitors to the Bishopric of Aberdeen not long after this Assembly.”

† Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury to Archbishop Spottiswoode of St Andrews, in the latter’s “ History of the Church and State of Scotland,” p. 528.

General Assembly held at Aberdeen in August. Calderwood mentions a circumstance, under the title of “doctors inaugurat,” which he evidently considered of some importance. “Upon the 29th of July, Mr Robert Howie, Mr Peter Bruce, Mr James Martin, Principals of the three Colleges of St Andrews; Mr Patrick Melville, Mr John Strang, Mr Theodore Hay, and Mr David Barclay, were inaugurate Doctors at St Andrews. This novelty was brought in among us, without advice and consent of the [Presbyterian] Kirk. Dr Young was the chief director in that action.” It is said that “the first hint given about making Doctors of Law and Divinity is to be found in Archbishop Gladstones’ letter to the King, dated September 1607. He requests the order and form of making them, ‘to encourage our ignorant clergy to learning.’” According to the same authority—“It was now introduced, that the ministers might in all things be conformed as much as possible to the English usages;”* and yet the author of this statement, a minister of the Presbyterian Establishment, was himself complimented with and accepted the degree of “Doctor of Divinity” not long after the publication of his work. At the present day both the Established and Dissenting Presbyterian preachers in Scotland are covetous of the “novelty,” which is evident from the number of them on whom it has been conferred both by the Scottish Universities, and by academical institutions in the United States.

On the 13th of August the General Assembly was held at Aberdeen. The Archbishops, all the Bishops, and others qualified to attend, were present, and the King, by his letter appointed Archbishop Spottiswoode to preside as Moderator, the Earl of Montrose representing the Sovereign. The reasons for convening this Assembly seem chiefly to have been the spread of the Roman Catholic religion in the northern counties, and the necessity of devising measures in full convocation to correct and reform abuses. The zealous Presbyterian writers allege that this General Assembly was defective, because it was not constituted according to the “practice of *their* Kirk.” The first day was observed as a fast. The learned Patrick Forbes of Corse preached in the morning, Archbishop Spottiswoode in the forenoon, and William Forbes, afterwards the

* Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, by John Aiton, D.D. minister of Dolfphinton. Edinburgh, 8vo. 1836, p. 96.

first Bishop of Edinburgh, in the afternoon. Numbers of the nobility and gentlemen, the Lords of the Privy Council, and other dignitaries, were present. Calderwood sarcastically states that “the first four days were spent in preaching, renewing old acts, and making some new [ones], against Papists, as if no acts had been made against Papists before at Assemblies or Parliaments;” but in his opinion this was done purposely to protract the time, that those parish ministers who came from the southern counties, and who were alleged to be disaffected towards the episcopal order, might voluntarily withdraw to their several parishes, and unanimity would thus be secured. Some very stringent resolutions were passed against the Roman Catholics, and the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow were authorized to proceed rigorously against them in the High Court of Commission. The absolution of the Marquis of Huntly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the King’s letter on that subject, and the petition of the Marquis, were discussed; and on the last day of the Assembly he was absolved from the excommunicaton, after solemnly declaring that he, his family, servants, and retainers, would “abide by the true religion professed within this realm, and allowed by the laws and acts of Parliament.” A new Confession of Faith, which, Dr Cook admits, “displays the utmost moderation,” was prepared and ratified, and ordered to be universally received in all the parishes. Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr John Hall, ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr John Adamson, minister of Libberton, near that city, were authorised to compile a Catechism, “easy, short, and compendious,” for the instruction of those who presented themselves as communicants. They were enjoined to have the Catechism completed before the 1st of October, that it may be printed with the King’s licence, and no other was to be permitted throughout the kingdom.* Galloway, Adamson, Hewat, and another, were also empowered to form “an uniform order of Liturgy, or Divine Service, to be set down to be read in all kirks on the ordinary days of prayer, and every Sabbath-day before sermon, to the end [that] the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custom may learn to serve God rightly.”† The holy communion was ordered to be adminis-

* Dr Aiton, in his “Life and Times of Alexander Henderson,” p. 97, states that the new Confession of Faith and Catechism were proposed by Mr A. Hay.

† This Liturgy was never prepared, and no Liturgy was ordered for general use till

tered four times in the year in the cities and towns, and twice in the rural parishes, one of which times was to be on Easter Sunday ; and all persons who refused or neglected to communicate once in the year were to be fined in terms of the act of Parliament. To promote uniformity of discipline in the Church, a Book of Canons was also ordered to be compiled from the records of former Assemblies, and where these were defective, from the ancient Canons of Councils and ecclesiastical convocations. This work was committed to Archbishop Law of Glasgow, and Mr William Struthers, minister of Edinburgh, and after the Canons were ratified, the King was to be petitioned for their approval and ratification. The College of St Mary's in St Andrews was enjoined to be maintained exclusively for the study of theology, and as the revenues were small, it was ordered that every Diocese shall support two students, or according to the extent of the Diocese, so that twenty-six students would be always at that College, the half of them to be the sons of poor incumbents, and to be presented by the respective Bishops. The sacrament of Baptism was enjoined, in terms of the acts of the General Assembly held at Holyroodhouse on the 10th of October 1602, to be administered to all children whose parents made confession of their faith, with " this extension and addition, that baptism shall no way be denied to the infant when either the parents of the infant, or any faithful Christian in place of the parents, shall require the same to the infant ; and that the same be granted any time of day, without any respect or delay till the hour of preaching." The parochial incumbents were ordered to keep accurate registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths ; and the King was to be requested to sanction them as legal evidence of the facts recorded. A commission was given to a specified number, including the two Archbishops, all the Bishops, and seventeen of the clergy, to meet at Edinburgh on the 1st of December, and " there to take order with the dilapidation of benefices, and to set down solid grounds how the pro-

1637, when it was followed by the most disastrous results. Although Galloway, Adamson, Hewat, and a Mr Erskine, are mentioned by Calderwood as the individuals authorized to prepare the Liturgy, as stated in the text, a biographer of Archbishop Spottiswoode alleges, that it was chiefly committed to William Cowpar, Bishop of Galloway. It is possible that a mistake here occurs. The *Bishop of Galloway* and *Mr Patrick Galloway* were contemporaries, and both usually resided in Edinburgh, the former as Dean of the Chapel-Royal at Holyroodhouse, and the latter as one of the ministers of that city.

gress of that mischief might be stayed ; and to decree some means to recover and restore the state of those benefices which by iniquity of time hath been lost, and if need be, to call and pursue before them those who have made the dilapidations."

A copy of all the acts of this important General Assembly was transmitted to the King by Archbishop Law of Glasgow and Bishop Lindsay of Ross, and the royal sanction was solicited. James approved of the proceedings, but he objected to the act respecting the rite of Confirmation, which he alleged, was expressed in a confused manner, and sent several regulations which he ordered to be inserted in the intended Canons. Some of these regulations were afterwards known as the celebrated *Five Articles of Perth*. But the Scottish Bishops perceived the alarm which would be excited under the peculiar circumstances by incorporating those regulations. They firmly represented to James that the parties preparing the Canons were exclusively limited to the acts of former General Assemblies, and to ancient Canons of Councils of the Church ; and that nothing could be inserted which had not been proposed and sanctioned at Aberdeen. The King was satisfied with this explanation, and in the meantime withdrew his proposed regulations. If Mr Scott's view of the proceedings of this Assembly is correct, the results were singular and interesting. " An act," he observes, " was made by this Assembly concerning the catechizing and confirming of children by Bishops. Report of this act being made to the King, he framed five Articles, which he sent to the Bishops, desiring them to be added to the Canons of the Church. Two of these Articles, after they had been new modelled by the clergy in Scotland, were admitted by the Assembly of St Andrews in 1617 : but the King being much dissatisfied, all the Articles, as they had been proposed by him, were at last admitted by the Assembly at Perth in August 1618."*

The injunction in this General Assembly, to prepare a form of prayer for general use in Divine Service, may be considered the first important public intimation of the introduction of such a form. Dr Cook appropriately observes—" In the Scottish Church there had been from the Reformation certain forms of prayer which it was lawful to use, but every minister was at liberty to depart from these, and to substitute such prayers as he thought

* Perth Kirk-Session Registers, MS. vol. i.

the circumstances of his congregation required." To this it may be added, that the use of a Liturgy does not necessarily preclude the substitution of such prayers after the service of the Church. Dr Cook thinks that, as it respects this particular act of the Aberdeen General Assembly, the "design of this new regulation was to take away this liberty, and to introduce, as in England, a Liturgy invariably to be repeated." It is probable that such was the ultimate design, but it is not sufficiently apparent; and experience shews us that even the use of the Liturgy in the Church has not deprived the clergy of the liberty of extemporary prayer, if they have any inclination to indulge in that practice.

Calderwood generally observes that this General Assembly passed what he calls many "dangerous acts, besides dangerous commissions for setting down a new Liturgy, a new Catechism, and a new Book of Canons for the church discipline, and to revise the Confession of Faith presented to this Assembly, which was penned by Mr John Hall [of Edinburgh] and Mr John Adamson [of Libberton], and devised of purpose to thrust out the Confession of Faith subscribed and sworn by all Estates." But it really did not abrogate the Confession to which he alludes as ratified by Parliament; and though it was ordered to be subscribed "in special by all persons that bear office in the Church," it was most probably intended, from its minute details, to be the great test of renouncing the Roman Catholic faith, for we find that the Marquis of Huntly subscribed it when he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. This Confession, which is a document of some length, asserts the attributes of God, the fall of man, the corruption of human nature, and the redemption of the world by our Saviour. It denies unauthorized traditions, excludes the Apocryphal Books as inspired, maintaining the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the divinity of Jesus Christ as the Eternal Son of God, and the union of his divine and human nature constituting him God and man in one person. The following extract, containing upwards of a third of this Confession, explains the sentiments of the Scottish Bishops and clergy of that period on some of the vital principles of Christianity. The reader will at once perceive how far they agree with the Articles of the Church of England. The whole is inserted by Calderwood in his History.

"We believe that God hath appointed his word and sacra-

ments, as instruments of the Holy Ghost, to work and confirm faith in man. We believe that the word of God ought to be taught, and the sacraments administered, and all divine service, as praying and praising, in all languages known and understood by the people. We believe that the sacraments are certain visible seals of God's eternal covenant, ordained by God to represent unto us Christ crucified, and to seal up our communion with him. We believe that the sacraments are to be ministered *only by them who are lawfully called thereto by the Kirk of God.* We believe that the sacraments have power to confirm faith and confer grace, not of themselves, or *ex opere operato*, or force of the external action, but only by the powerful operation of the Holy Ghost. We believe that there be only two Sacraments appointed by Christ under the New Testament—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. We believe that Baptism is necessary to salvation, if it can be orderly had, and therefore that not the want of it but the contempt of it doth damn [condemn]. We believe that Baptism sealeth up unto us the remission of all our sins whereof we are guilty, either before or after our baptism. We believe that Baptism is to be ministered simply with the element of water, with the rite of dipping, washing, or sprinkling, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Christ's institution, without other elements or sacramental rites devised by man. We believe that the Lord's Supper is to be given to all communicants under the elements of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution. We believe that the elements of bread and wine are not transubstantiate, or changed in[to] the substance of the body and blood of Christ, but that they are sacraments of his body and blood, thus changing their use, but not their substance. We believe that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Holy Supper, and that they are truly exhibited unto us; and that we in very truth do participate of them, albeit only spiritually and by faith, not carnally or corporally. We believe that the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ, which, once offered, did fully expiate our sins. With this one sacrifice, once offered, we are fully content; neither do we seek any other expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice. But as for sacrifices of praise and thanksgivings, the sacrifice of a contrite heart, alms, and charitable deeds, these we ought daily to offer as

acceptable to God in Christ Jesus. We believe that the sacrifice and merit of Christ is not applied to us by the work of the sacrificing mass priest, but by that faith which is wrought in our souls by the Holy Ghost, whereby the sacrifice and merit of Christ is applied to us; and being applied to us, becometh our satisfaction, atonement, and merit. We believe that the souls of God's children, which depart out of this present life in the faith of Jesus Christ, after the separating from their bodies immediately pass to heaven, and there rest from their labours to the day of judgment, at which time they shall be united to their bodies to enjoy life everlasting with Christ. Likeas the souls of the wicked pass immediately to hell, there to remain until the day of judgment, which day, being conjoined with their bodies, they shall sustain the judgment of everlasting fire ; and, besides these two, a third place for souls we do not acknowledge." The Confession then declares that there is "an holy, catholic, or universal Church"—that the "true members of this Church are only the faithful"—that it is "one," and that "out of it there is no remission of sins"—that "this Kirk is partly triumphant in heaven, partly militant on the earth"—that "the whole militant Kirk on earth is divided into many and divers particular Kirks, which are visible and conspicuous to the eyes of men"—that "only those particular Kirks are pure which continue in the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, according to the holy canonical Scriptures, worshipping God purely, and ministering the sacraments according to the same"—and that "these be the marks whereby a true Kirk on earth may be discerned and known." The Confession then declares that religious worship is only to be given to God "according to his own will revealed in his word"—denounces all "will-worship, all invocation of saints or angels, all worshipping of images, crucifixes, reliques, and all other things which are beside the true God"—and acknowledges the duty of obedience to and praying for "kings, princes, and magistrates." It concludes—"We believe and constantly affirm that the Church of Scotland, through the abundant grace of God, is one of the most pure Kirks under heaven, both in respect of truth in doctrine and purity in worship ; and therefore with all our hearts we adjoin ourselves thereto, and to the religion publicly professed by the King's Majesty and all his true subjects, and authorised by his Majesty's laws ; promising by the grace of God

to continue therein to the end of our life, according to the Articles which are set down ; which, as we believe with our heart, so we confess with our mouth, and subscribe with our hands, understanding them plainly as they are here conceived, without equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever. *So may God help us in the great day of judgment.*"

Such is an abstract of this Confession of Faith, of which a Presbyterian declares that it and the Catechism " were correct enough as to doctrine, but altogether corrupt as to discipline ;" * but the truth is that the Confession contains no allusion whatever to the discipline and government of the Church. Even as to doctrine, though it is on the whole a very admirable compendium, it contains some objectionable points. Considering the age in which it was composed, and the parties concerned, it as a whole well deserves Dr Cook's encomium, that " in so far as it relates to the constitution of the Church it displays the utmost moderation."

Calderwood, who omits no opportunity to vilify the Church, informs us that Mr William Struthers, in a sermon preached at Edinburgh on the 27th of August, was loud in condemnation of the proceedings of the Aberdeen Assembly ; and Bishop Cowpar of Galloway advanced similar sentiments. " But little credit," he alleges, " was given to any of them, for the one was a Bishop, and the other a pensioner, that is, a soldier hired or waged to maintain their course."

It was at this time usual for the General Assemblies, or their committees, to recommend persons to be ministers in the principal towns. This Assembly at Aberdeen passed an act to the effect that as " the provision of learned, wise, and peaceable men to be ministers at chief burgh towns in vacant places, such as Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, Banff, and other places vacant, is a most effectual mean to root out Popery, and perpetuate the profession of true religion, it is therefore ordained that the burgh towns be provided with the most learned, wise, and peaceable men that may be obtained."

* Aiton's Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, p. 97.

CHAPTER V.

KING JAMES IN SCOTLAND IN 1617—PROCEEDINGS DURING HIS VISIT—ITS RESULTS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ST ANDREWS—STATE OF THE ASSEMBLY—ELEVATION OF PATRICK FORBES OF CORSE TO THE BISHOPRIC OF ABERDEEN.

THE year 1617 was memorable for the visit of King James to Scotland, and particularly to his native city of Edinburgh. Due preparations were ordered for the King's reception. It was found necessary to repair Holyroodhouse and its Chapel-Royal, in which Bishop Cowpar officiated as the Dean. It was intended to ornament the interior of that venerable edifice by some gilt and carved work in wood, consisting of statues of the Apostles; and an organ was intended to be placed in the gallery above the west or grand entrance. Some of the citizens, incited by the Presbyterian party, actually thought that such ornaments were so many intimations of the introduction of the Roman Mass, and even Bishop Cowpar was infected by the unnecessary alarm. Archbishop Spottiswoode and several of the Bishops signed a letter of remonstrance, prepared by Bishop Cowpar, to the King on the subject, and the ornamental decorations were omitted, though the Primate regarded the clamours of the people as altogether groundless. The King censured their contracted views, and intimated to them that some English doctors in his train would enlighten them on these matters.

James left London for Scotland on the 15th of March, reached Berwick on the 11th of May, and entered Scotland on the 13th of that month. Among the dignitaries of the Church of England who accompanied the King was the learned Dr Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, celebrated as one of the translators of the

authorized version of the Bible, and the future Archbishop Laud. James was welcomed at Dunglass Castle, at that time the seat of the first Earl of Home, a few miles east of Dunbar, on the borders of the counties of Haddington and Berwick, and a Latin speech was delivered by Alexander Home, supposed to be the rector of Logie, and second son of Patrick Home of Polwarth. This castle of Dunglass was the last roof in Scotland under which James slept before entering England in 1603. On the 14th of May the King visited the mansion of Cavers in Roxburghshire, and on the 15th he arrived at Seton, the seat of the Earl of Winton, within twelve miles of Edinburgh. On the 16th James entered his native capital by the West Port, or gate, where he was received by Sir William Nisbet of Dean, Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Town-Council, attended by an immense concourse of spectators. Those who are familiar with the localities of Edinburgh, and know the route by which George IV. in 1822, and Queen Victoria in 1842, entered the city, will be amused to know that James proceeded along the mean and narrow alley called the West Port, then through the Grassmarket, up the curious steep street, now almost removed, known as the West Bow, and down the Lawnmarket, High Street, and Canongate, to the Palace. It is proper to state that the King halted in his progress at St Giles church in the High Street, which he entered with his retinue, and heard a sermon preached by Archbishop Spottiswoode.

King James had other motives for visiting Scotland than what he called his "salmon-like instinct" once more to see his native kingdom, although in his letter to the Privy Council, dated Newmarket, 15th December, he assigns that as the "main and principal motive" of his intended journey. He states that he would "hear and redress" grievances, if "any there be, as could not otherwise be redressed without his own presence;" but he declares that he would not sanction "any alterations or reformations in the government either ecclesiastical or civil." A letter from Secretary Lake, dated at Edinburgh, June 6, 1617, to Sir Dudley Carleton, while the King was in the neighbourhood of Dundee on a "hunting journey," gives some explanation of the repair of the Chapel-Royal at Holyrood. "We are fixed for a time to this city till the Parliament be passed, which beginneth on the 17th of this month. In the meanwhile his Majesty is in consultation, by way

of preparation towards *his ends*—that is, to procure better maintenance than the ministry [clergy] here hath, and some conformity between this Church and ours in England in the public service, whereof of the first it is hard to guess, so many great men are interested in the tithes. Towards the other his Majesty hath set up his Chapel here in like manner of service as it is in England, which is well frequented by the people of the country.”* On the 8th of June, which was the festival of Whitsunday, Bishop Andrewes preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal on St Luke iv. 18. 19. The discourse, which is on the “ sending of the Holy Spirit,” is the tenth of the Bishop’s “ Ninety-Six Sermons” published by direction of Charles I., under the care of Archbishop Laud, and of Dr Buckeridge, successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely. On that festival the communion was of course administered, and the Presbyterian writers assert that it was the first time since the Reformation when it was given kneeling, according to the order of the Church of England. Calderwood relates that the Earl of Dunfermline [Lord Chancellor], Secretary Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Clerk Register, Sir George Hay, afterwards first Earl of Kinnoch, the Earl of Argyll, Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Bishops of Ross, Dunblane, and Brechin, and sundry others, were among the communicants. Bishop Cowpar of Galloway at first refused, but “ continued not long in that mind.” The King ordered the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earls of Mar and Glencairn, who were in the Chapel-Royal, but left it before the celebration, to communicate on the following Sunday, with all the Bishops and noblemen who were then in Edinburgh. On that day Mr William Struthers, one of the ministers of the city, preached before the King, and “ observed the English form in his prayer and carriage.”† The other clergy of Edinburgh acquiesced in what Mr

* Calderwood states—“ Upon Saturday the 17th of May, the English Service, singing of choristers, and playing on organs, and surplices, were first heard and seen in the Chapel-Royal.”

† Mr Struthers was by no means consistent in his principles. At the time of the meeting of the Parliament in the ensuing June, Archbishop Spottiswoode states that “ Mr William Struthers, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, did unhappily break out in his sermon upon these matters, condemning the rites received in the Church of England, and praying God to save Scotland from the same. This was reported to the King by some of the English Doctors that were his hearers, and he became greatly incensed.” History of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 531. Mr Struthers’ signature in Greek is affixed to eighteen lines of Greek verses, one of the “ several Poesies”

Calderwood is pleased to call “this innovation, or bad example.” A letter written on the 21st of June by Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton contains the following notice:—“Our Churchmen and ceremonies are not so well allowed of, the rather by an accident that fell out at the burial of one of our guard, who died there, and was buried after the English fashion; and the Dean of St Paul’s [Dr Valentine Carey, Master of Christ’s College, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter] preaching, desired all the assembly to recommend with him the soul of their deceased brother unto Almighty God, which was so ill taken that he was driven to retract it openly, and to confess he did it in a kind of civility, rather than according to the perfect rule of divinity. Another exception was taken to Dr Laud [at that time chaplain to Bishop Neile, afterwards Archbishop of York, and with that Prelate attendant on the King,] putting on a surplice when the corpse was to be laid in the ground. So that it seems they are very averse from our customs, insomuch that one of the Bishops [Cowpar of Galloway], Dean of the Chapel there to the King, refused to receive the communion with him kneeling.”*

It would be out of place in the present work to narrate all the complimentary speeches and the progresses of King James in Scotland in 1617. The events connected with the Church are those which are here chiefly given. The Scottish Parliament, which was summoned on the 27th of May, met on the 13th of June, but the great muster of the Bishops, Nobility, and representatives of the burghs, was on the 17th.† The two Archbishops, and all the Bishops, with the exception of Bishop Cowpar, the so called lay abbot of Crossraguel, the Duke of Lennox, the Marquises of Hamilton and Huntly, fourteen Earls, three Viscounts, twenty-four Barons, the Officers of State, and the commissioners for all

delivered to James at Dunglass Castle on his way to Edinburgh. He also contributed to the “Eisodia Edinburgensium,” which welcomed Charles I. to Edinburgh in 1633, and died that year. In 1627 he quarrelled with Mr James Reid, one of the Professors in the University of Edinburgh. Mr Struthers took upon him to declare, in censure of an expectant, that “*Philosophy was the dishclout of Divinity!*” Mr Reid noticed this vulgar expression in his public thesis, and characterized it as “*salsum et rigidum nimis.*” Nichols’ Royal Progresses of James I. vol. iii. p. 306, 369.

* Nichols’ Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First, &c. London, 4to. 1838, vol. iii. p. 344.

† Acta Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 523, 524.

the counties and royal burghs, appear on the parliamentary roll as present. Archbishop Spottiswoode preached a sermon in St Giles' church at the commencement of the proceedings, after which the members retired to their place of meeting, and the King delivered a long address explanatory of his views and wishes. " His Majesty," says the writer of a letter to the celebrated Bacon, then Lord Keeper, " the first day, by way of preparation to the subject of the Parliament, made a declaratory speech, wherein he expressed himself what he would not do, but what he would do. The relation is too prolix for a sheet of paper, and I am promised copy of it, which I will bring myself unto your Lordship with what speed I may. But I may not be so reserved as not to tell your Lordship that in that speech his Majesty was pleased to do England and Englishmen much honour and grace; and that he studied nothing so much, sleeping or waking, as to reduce the barbarity (I have warrant to use the King's word) of this country unto the sweet civility of ours ; adding further, that if the Scottish nation would be as docile to learn the goodness of England as they are teachable to limp after their ill, he might with facility prevail in his desire ; for they had learned of the English to drink healths, to wear coaches and gay clothes, to take tobacco, and to speak neither Scottish nor English." The Lords of the Articles were the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, and Orkney, eight noblemen, eight Officers of State, eight commissioners for the counties, and eight for the burghs. This peculiarity of the Lords of the Articles in the Scottish Parliaments seems to have excited the notice of the writer of the letter above quoted. " The whole Assembly, after the wonted manner, was abstracted into eight Bishops, eight Lords, eight gentlemen knights of the shires, and eight lay burgesses for towns; and this epitome of the whole Parliament did meet every day in one room to treat and debate of the great affairs of the kingdom. There was exception taken against some of the lower house, which were returned by the country, being pointed at as men averse in their appetites and humours to the business of the Parliament, who were deposed of their attendance by the King's power ; and others, better affected, by the King's election placed in their room."* It is generally stated, and especially by the

* Nichols' Royal Progresses of King James I. vol. iii. p. 347, 348.

Presbyterian writers, that a very serious opposition was threatened to some of those whom the King, in the exercise of his prerogative, named as Lords of the Articles, and that in consequence he threatened even to dissolve the Parliament. Calderwood mentions the “Laird of Dunnipace,” whom the King would on no account allow to be one of the Lords of the Articles, because his conduct at the Linlithgow Assembly had been particularly offensive. This “Laird” was commissioner or member for Stirlingshire, and his colleague the “Laird of Keir” was substituted in his stead. The opening of the Parliament was attended with considerable display, but the conclusion of that day’s meeting was somewhat different, if Calderwood’s account is correct:—“The King and the Estates came not out of the Parliament House before ten hours at night, and went down to the Palace in great confusion, some riding in their robes, others walking on foot, and the Honours [Regalia] were not carried as before.”

The correspondent of Lord Bacon informs his Lordship—“The greatest and weightiest articles agitated in this Parliament were specially touching the Kirk and Kirkmen, and the abolishing of hereditary sheriffs to an annual charge; and to enable justices of the peace to have as well the real execution as the title of their places.—For the Church and commonwealth his Majesty doth strive to shape the frame of this kingdom to the method and degrees of the government of England, as by reading of the several acts it may appear. The King’s desire and travail therein, though he did suffer a momentary opposition (for his countrymen will speak boldly to him), hath in part been profitable. For though he hath not fully and complementally prevailed in all things, yet he hath won ground in most things, and hath gained acts of Parliament to authorize particular commissioners to set down orders for the Church and Churchmen, and to treat with sheriffs for their offices by way of composition.”* This and other contemporary evidence, in connection with the proceedings of the Parliament, undeniably prove that the great mass of the people of Scotland were at the time utterly indifferent to Presbyterianism, and passive to any system of church government. This is substantiated by the very nature of the acts of this Parliament, in reference to the Episcopal Church as then established, which King

* Nichols’ Royal Progresses of King James I., vol. iii. p. 346.

James would have found it impossible to pass if any violent excitement had existed among the people on the subject. But no serious opposition was offered to Episcopacy, and it is to be recollect that the following and other acts of subsequent Parliaments were passed by the whole nobility of the kingdom, most of them in consequence of their hereditary jurisdictions of great power and influence, and also by the representatives of the counties and the burghs.

The first act of this Parliament regulated the order for the election of Archbishops and Bishops to vacant Dioceses. It was enacted that the King should grant “ licence to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral kirk of the See to convene themselves for electing another Archbishop or Bishop in place of the former incumbent ; and the said licence being expedie, an edict shall be affixed upon the most patent [public] door of the cathedral kirk, requiring and charging the Dean and Chapter of the said kirk to convene themselves for choosing of a Bishop to the same who shall be devoted to God, and to his Highness and realm profitable and faithful ; who being convened, the Dean of the said Chapter, with so many of them as shall happen to be assembled, shall proceed and choose the person whom his Majesty pleased to nominate and recommend to their election, he always being an actual minister of the Kirk, and shall elect none other than an actual minister to be so nominated and recommended by his Majesty as said is ; after the which election, testified under their seals and subsciptions, his Majesty’s pleasure is to give his royal assent thereto ; upon the which assent, and his Highness’ mandate to be directed to a competent number of Bishops within the Province where the benefice lies, the person elected shall be consecrated and received in his function by the rites and order accustomed ; and the said consecration being made, his Majesty’s pleasure is to dispone to the person elected the temporality of the said benefice, with all privilages, honours, and dignities, belonging thereto.”*

The second act of this Parliament authorized the “ restitution of Chapters”—that “ all the Deans and other members of the cathedral kirks within this kingdom shall be restored to their manses, glebes, rents, and other patrimony belonging to them ; and to that effect his Majesty, with advice of the said Estates, dissolves

from the Crown and patrimony thereof, the foresaid manses, glebes, rents, and duties, formally annexed, to the effect the same may be hereafter enjoyed and peaceably possessed by the ministers that are and hereafter shall be provided thereto." The act was declared not to affect "feus, leases, pensions, and other rights lawfully made of whatsoever manses, glebes, lands, and teinds of any part of the said chapter kirks, to the parties having right to the same;" and also it was not to prejudice the lay patrons of their "patronages granted to them by the King's Majesty, with consent of the Titulars for the time, albeit the same be not ratified in Parliament, which shall nowise be prejudged by this present act." The special exemptions were the Priory of St Andrews erected into a temporal lordship in favour of Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, and his heirs; the "house and place," or palace, of Hamilton, with the "orchards, yards, and hail pertinents of the same," in so far as they belonged to the Deanery of Glasgow, but then held of his Majesty by his "loving cousin" James, Marquis of Hamilton; the city of Edinburgh, as connected with its "Hospitals, College, and Ministry;" and the University of St Andrews. And inasmuch as the Prior of St Andrews was anciently Dean of the Archiepiscopal Diocese, but the Priory had been constituted "ane temporal living and lordship," the Chapter of the Diocese was ordered to consist of twenty-four incumbents, who were collectively to "have the administration, doing, and performing of the affairs belonging to the said Bishoprie, and for the weal of the said cathedral kirk." The right to elect the Archbishop was vested in the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Moray, Orkney, and Caithness, the Principal of St Leonard's College, the Archdean and Vicar of St Andrews, and the Vicars of Leuchars and Cupar-Fife; the Bishop of Dunkeld to be in all time coming Vicar-General for convening the electors. The right of election to the Archbishopric of Glasgow was vested in the Bishops of Galloway, Argyll, and The Isles, and the greater part of the Chapter of Glasgow; the Bishop of Galloway to be convener of the electors.*

In addition to this act for reviving the Chapters of the Dioceses, that the Bishops might be elected according to the ancient mode, another was passed "anent the plantation of Kirks." Dr Cook justly describes this as "a most wise and just law framed for the

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 529, 530.

maintenance of the clergy, and for the plantation of churches, by which such salaries were allotted to the ministers as guarded them from the poverty to which they had long submitted." A commission was granted to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Dunblane, and Galloway, " eight persons nominate for the clergy and prelates," and in case of the decease of any of them, to the Bishops of Brechin, Orkney, Argyll, and Caithness ; to eight of the nobility ; and to a similar number of the representatives of the counties and burghs. The parties nominated in this commission were authorized to examine the state of the teinds of each parish, and in all cases where those teinds were sufficient for the purpose to assign to the incumbents as the *minimum* five chalders of victual, or five hundred merks, exclusive of manse and glebe ; and as the *maximum* eight chalders, or eight hundred merks. Grain was then valued at about seven shillings a boll. Dr Cook cites Bishop Burnet, who states, in reference to this act, that " considering the plenty and way of living in Scotland it granted a very liberal provision to the clergy."

The sixth act of this Parliament, entitled " anent furnishing of necessaries for ministering of the Sacraments," ordained that " all the parish kirks within the kingdom be provided with basins and lavers for the ministration of the sacrament of Baptism, and with cups, tables, and table-cloths, for the ministration of the Holy Communion," the incumbents, or their heirs and executors, to be responsible in cases of loss ; the whole at the expence of the parishioners. The Abbey of Fearn in Ross-shire was annexed to the Bishopric of Ross ; that of Crossraguel in Ayrshire, and the Priory of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, to the Bishopric of Dunblane ; the Priory of Ardchattan, on the shore of Loch Etive in Argyllshire, and the Abbey of Iona or Icolmkill, in the Hebrides, were annexed to the Bishopric of The Isles ; and the parish churches of Kilbride and Renfrew were annexed to the University of Glasgow.

Considerable indecision was evinced by the Bishops to some of the acts of Parliament, and a number of ministers, who were more or less warped by the Presbyterian notions, viewed the mode of electing them as an infringement of the powers of the General Assembly. The King requested a statute to be passed, enacting

that “ whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with the advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, in matters of external polity, should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law.” This was opposed by the Bishops, and the King consented that it should be thus expressed :—“ That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and *a competent number of the ministry*, should have the strength of law ;” which was approved of by the Lords of the Articles. James wished to demolish the pretensions of the General Assemblies, which he had too much reason to dread from his past experience.

Upwards of fifty Presbyterians and semi-episcopal preachers drew up a protest against this law, which they delivered to Hewat, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to present to the King. Hewat, who as the titular Abbot of Crossraguel, had a seat in Parliament, went to Holyroodhouse for that purpose, where he was opposed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was enraged at the expressions in the document, snatched it from the hands of Hewat, and tore it in pieces. The noise of this altercation brought the King undressed from his apartment to inquire the cause. The Archbishop strongly censured Hewat, who felt abashed in the presence of James ; and the King, to avoid any pretence of agitation, ordered the bill, though approved by the Lords of the Articles, to be expunged.

But the conduct of the protestors was not allowed to pass unnoticed after the dissolution of the Parliament. Simpson, who had subscribed the document as their clerk, was summoned before the High Commission, and was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh for not producing the list of those who signed the original paper, alleging that he had given it to another individual. This was no other than the Presbyterian writer Calderwood, who was in consequence summoned by warrant of Archbishops Spottiswoode and Law to appear before the High Court of Commission at St Andrews, on the charge of “ attending a mutinous assemblage, and of retaining in his possession a seditious protest concocted therein, and of inducing others, to sign it, in contempt of God, and of the allegiance which he owed to the King.” Simpson and Hewat were cited at the same time.

The account of Calderwood’s examination in St Andrews is very

characteristic. The King in his progress through Fife, proceeded from Falkland Palace to the seat of the Primacy, and entered St Andrews on the 10th of July. He was received with complimentary addresses in Latin from the Town and the University, the latter represented by Dr Peter Bruce the Rector. On the 11th he heard a sermon preached by Gladstones, Archdean of St Andrews; and on the 12th a dissertation in theology conducted by Mr David Lindsay, then minister of Dundee, was held in the parish church before the King, who revived the practice of conferring academical degrees, which had been discontinued by the Puritan faction; and on the authority of a *mandamus* Dr John Young, the royal chaplain, created several Doctors of Divinity, among whom were William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh, and John Strange or Strang, subsequently Principal of the University of Glasgow.

James had resolved to deal with Calderwood and his friends in person, and was present when they appeared before the High Court of Commission; but before they were called the King addressed the Court—"We took," he is reported to have said, "this order with the Puritans of England. They stood out as long as they were deprived only of their benefices, because they preached still, and lived upon the benevolence of the people well affected to their cause; but when we deprived them of their office many yielded to us, and are now become the best men we have. Let us take the like course with the Puritans here." The three were then brought into the Court. Hewat adhered to his protestation, was deprived of his office of preacher, and confined to Dundee; but it appears that he soon conformed, and contented himself with living on the limited revenues of the Abbey of Crossraguel. Calderwood alleges that "his voice would not serve him to teach any longer, and therefore he was content to be removed from the ministry for some honest cause." Simpson attended only the first examination, and sent a letter in Latin to the King pleading bodily infirmity, and yet adhering to the protest which was delivered by Archbishop Spottiswoode. It contained an offensive expression, and he was brought to St Andrews in custody, deprived, and confined to Aberdeen. The discussion between the King and Calderwood, who gives an account of the examination of Hewat, is characteristic. Calderwood was urged—"Come to the King's will; you will find it best; and his Majesty will pardon you." "That which we have done," observed

Calderwood, "was done with deliberation." James now began his inquiries. Addressing Calderwood, he asked—"What moved you to protest?" "An article," was the reply, "concluded among the laws of the Articles." "But what fault was there in it?" demanded James. "It cutteth off our General Assemblies," replied the Presbyterian." The King here inquired how long Calderwood had been a preacher, and then said—"Hear me, Mr David. I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serveth to preserve doctrine in purity from error and heresy, the Kirk from schism, to make confessions of faith, and to put up petitions to the King in Parliament; but as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in Kirk policy, they may be concluded by the King, with the advice of Bishops and a choice number of ministers. What is a General Assembly but a convened number of ministers?" "Sir," replied Calderwood, "it should serve, and our General Assemblies have served, these fifty-six years, not only for preserving doctrine from error and heresy, but also to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the Kirk. As to the second point, as by a competent number of ministers may be meant a General Assembly, so also may be meant a fewer number of ministers than can make up a General Assembly." The King here challenged him about some words in the protest. "Whatsoever was the phrase of speech," replied Calderwood, "we meant nothing but to protest that we would give passive obedience to your Majesty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which would flow from that article." "Active and passive obedience!" exclaimed the King. "That is," said Calderwood. "we will rather suffer than practise." "I will tell thee, man," replied James, "what is obedience. The centurion when he said to his servants, to this man, Go; and he goeth; and to this man, Come; and he cometh; that is obedience." "To suffer, Sir," observed Calderwood, "is also obedience, albeit not of the same kind; and that obedience also was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power." "Mr David," here observed Lord Binning, the Secretary, "let alone; confess your error." "My Lord," was the reply, "I cannot see that I have committed any fault." "Well, Mr Calderwood," said the King, "I will let you see that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting shall be condemned before ye be con-

demned ; all that are in the file, shall be filed before ye be filed, provided ye will conform." "Sir," replied Calderwood, "I have answered my libel. I ought to be urged no farther." "It is true, man, ye have answered your libel," observed James, "but consider I am here ; I may demand of you when and what I will." "Surely, Sir," rejoined Calderwood, "I get great wrong if I be compelled to answer here in judgment to any more than my libel." "Answer, Sir," exclaimed the King, "ye are a refractor ; the Bishop of Glasgow your Ordinary, and the Bishop of Caithness, the moderator of your Preshytery,* testify ye have kept no order. Ye have repaired neither to Presbyteries nor Synods, and in no wise conform." "Sir," said Calderwood, "I have been confined [to his parish] these eight or nine years, so my conformity on that point could not be well known." "Good faith!" observed James, "thou art a very knave. See these self-same Puritans—they are ever playing with equivocations. If ye were relaxed, will ye obey or not?" "Sir," answered Calderwood, "I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer questions beside the libel ; yet seeing I must answer, I say, Sir, I shall either obey you, or give a reason wherefore I disobey ; and if I disobey, your Majesty knows I am to be under the same danger as I do now." "That is," said the King, "to obey either actively or passively." Calderwood replied—"I can go no farther." He was then removed, but he was afterwards called in, and the conversation was resumed. He was threatened to be deprived, and prohibited from preaching, but he persisted in declining the authority of Archbishop Law, and stated that "as long as his body is free he would teach, notwithstanding this sentence." Calderwood's behaviour was such that even according to his own statements he had very few sympathizers among the audience.

Calderwood states that James Cranstoun, son of William first Lord Cranstoun, the chief proprietor of Crailing Park, became surety that he would leave the kingdom. Lord Cranstoun and himself petitioned the Privy Council for farther time to arrange his affairs, and that "he might have leisure to lift up the year's stipend wherein he served." To secure this share of worldly goods he accom-

* This was Bishop Abernethy, who still retained his parochial incumbency, and officiated as minister of Jedburgh. The Presbytery mentioned is that of Jedburgh, within the bounds of which is the parish of Crailing near the town of Jedburgh.

panied Lord Cranstoun to Carlisle with a petition to the King that he might be again “ confined within his parish.” James sarcastically said to Lord Cranstoun, who urged the danger of a voyage during the winter—“ As for the season of the year, if he [Calderwood] be drowned in the seas he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death.” The King would give no other definite answer than that he would consult the Bishops. A petition was next sent to the Privy Council, but they also refused to interfere, and referred it to the Bishops, who declared they would do nothing unless they had a personal conference with him. His own narrative proves that he suffered for his absurd obstinacy, and that, considering the temper of the times, he was leniently treated. The conference was held in the residence of his Diocesan the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Ross, Caithness, and Orkney, were present. Calderwood brought with him the very inconsistent Mr William Struthers, who, with the other ministers of Edinburgh implicated in the protest, had saved himself by conforming, and two gentlemen named Cranstoun, as his witnesses. The Bishops promised to intercede for him on three conditions—
1. To confess that he had offended the King, and crave pardon.
2. To resort to the meetings of his Presbytery.
3. To attend Synods. He refused to agree to the first. When urged by Archbishop Law to attend the Synods, he was told that he would have “ liberty to vote and reason, but he must not quarrel every thing.” His neighbour at Jedburgh, Bishop Abernethy of Caithness, said to him—“ Come and say, *Hic sum*, and then do as you please.” “ That *hic sum*,” was his reply, “ is the question.” “ We will not enter into dispute,” said Archbishop Law, “ yet I would hear wherefore ye will not agree to attend the Synods.” Calderwood replied that it was because their “ Diocesan Synods were but episcopal visitations, not councils properly so called ; and howbeit councils, yet not free councils, in respect that the Bishop had power over every minister in the Synod apart from the Synod, was moderator in respect of his episcopal office, was not accountable to the Synod, and there were no ordinary General Assemblies to take order with them.” The interview terminated with an advice from the Bishops to “ advise better answers.” Another effort was made by Lord Cranstoun, but the Bishops were resolved not to yield too much to this dogmatical Presbyterian. They

replied that his answers ought to have been different—that he must confess his fault and resort to the meetings of Presbyteries and Synods, and some of them contended that he ought to promise to conform; moreover, that he should solemnly declare that he would not “write against the established order of the Kirk.” It was farther stipulated that his replies must not be called answers to the articles proposed by the Bishops, but *offers to the Bishops*. “My Lord,” said Patrick Galloway, in whose house this application was made, addressing Lord Cranstoun, “I will sum up in two words all that he should do. Let him confess simply that he hath offended the King, and promise conformity.” As Calderwood was ordered to leave Scotland at Michaelmas in 1617, Lord Cranstoun sent another petition for his “confinement within his parish” till the last day of the ensuing April, the Bishops having written to the Archbishop of St Andrews, who was then at Court, in his favour. The Privy Council again refused to interfere, alleging that it concerned the Bishops, and that whatever they did in the matter would be sanctioned. The Bishops consented to allow him twenty days after the return of Archbishop Spottiswoode, if the King would not postpone his departure till April. When the Archbishop arrived about the end of September he declared that the King would allow no one to speak to him on the subject, and that when any of the English clergy congratulated him on his return from Scotland his common reply to them was—“I hope you will not use me so irreverently as *one Calderwood* did in Scotland.” Calderwood seems to have been much annoyed at this royal observation, and he observes that this was not the first of the Archbishop’s “fictions.” He was eventually obliged to retire to Holland from 1619 till after the death of King James, though he mentions that he visited Scotland in 1624, but his companion Simpson submitted, and was restored.

During the King’s visit to St Andrews, after the dissolution of the Parliament, a meeting of the Bishops and about thirty-six of the influential ministers was held in the chapel of the castle, the then archiepiscopal residence. James was present, and addressed them in a speech, in which he took occasion to inform them that as they had resolved in their last General Assembly for “gathering the acts of the Church, and putting them in form,” he had

"desired a few articles to be inserted—one was for the yearly commemoration of our Saviour's greatest blessings bestowed on mankind, viz. his Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the descent of the Holy Spirit; another for the private use of both Sacraments in urgent and necessary cases; a third for the reverent administration of his Holy Supper; and a fourth for catechizing and confirming young children by Bishops." The King then reminded them of their excuses for not inserting these articles, which he accepted at the time, and he complained of the offensive protest which followed. He thus concluded;—"But I will pass that among many other wrongs I have received at your hands. The errand for which I have now called you is to hear what your scruples are on these points, and the reasons, if any you have, why the same ought not to be admitted. I mean not to do any thing against reason; but on the other hand, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused or resisted. It is a power innated, and a special prerogative, which we that are Christian Kings possess, to order and dispose of external things in the polity of the Church, as we by the advice of our Bishops shall think most fitting; and by your approving or disapproving deceive not yourselves. I will never regard it unless you bring me a reason I cannot answer." Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was present, gives an authentic account of this conference. The ministers entreated the King to think favourably of them as good and loyal subjects, and to permit them to debate those matters among themselves. This was granted, and they retired to the parish church. After a discussion of two hours they appeared before the King, with a petition that a General Assembly might be held, in which the above articles would be discussed and sanctioned. The King asked—"what assurance he might have of their consenting?" They declared that the Assembly would yield to any reasonable demand of his Majesty. "But if it fall out otherwise," said James, "and the articles be refused, my difficulty shall be greater, and when I shall use my authority in establishing them they will call me a tyrant and persecutor." They exclaimed that none would be so insane as to express themselves in that manner. "Yet experience," said the King, "tells me it may be so; therefore, unless I be made sure I will not sanction an Assembly." Mr Patrick Galloway here suggested that Archbishop Spottis-

woode should be responsible for the conduct of the ministers, but the Primate declined, alleging that he had been deceived by them, and that they had violated their promises during the meeting of the Parliament. "Then," said Galloway, "if your Majesty will trust me, I will become security for the ministers." The King consented, and a General Assembly was ordered to be held at St Andrews on the 25th of November.

The King soon afterwards returned to England through the western counties. He proceeded to Stirling, Glasgow, and Paisley, visited the Marquis of Hamilton at Hamilton: on the last day of July arrived at Sanquhar Castle, now a picturesque ruin on a high bank overlooking the Nith, and then the residence of William seventh Lord Crichton, created Viscount Ayr in 1622, and Earl of Dumfries in 1633; and on the following day he was entertained at Drumlanrig, the seat of Sir William Douglas, afterwards Earl of Queensberry. On Monday the 3d of August James entered Dumfries, and there heard a farewell sermon preached by Bishop Cowpar, which Archbishop Spottiswoode says "made the hearers burst out into many tears." On the 4th of August the King arrived at Carlisle on his journey southwards, and thus terminated his progress in Scotland.

On the 5th of October the Diocesan Synod of Fife was held at St Andrews, and the commissioners or members to the General Assembly were elected. All the Diocesan Synods throughout the kingdom were held in that month for the same purpose. Calderwood, as usual, styles this a "corrupt course which the Bishops had in hand," and alleges that "there was no freedom of election;" but he assigns no adequate reason. He merely states that in the Diocesan Synod of Fife some were nominated as members of the General Assembly who "misliked the episcopal government," and the Archbishop very naturally exercised his influence and authority to prevent their election. On the 4th of November the meeting of the General Assembly was proclaimed to be held on the 25th, and in Calderwood's opinion "this intimation was not timeous, nor sufficient; seven Dioceses, as we are informed, were not present, and that through default of timeous warning, which is another exception against this Assembly." But admitting this to be the case, the state of the weather in November, in a country such as Scotland then was, without public con-

veyances of any kind, and the roads, if they deserved to be called roads, in the most wretched condition, would be a sufficient excuse for the absence of any of the members residing in remote districts, especially at discussions on matters which had been often before them.

On the appointed day the General Assembly met at St Andrews. Calderwood says that the Earl of Montrose was the King's Commissioner, but that his Lordship fell sick, and sent a letter to the Privy Council to that effect a few days before the day of meeting. The letter was shewn to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who answered that nevertheless the "King's service must not be neglected;" and David Lord Carnegie, afterwards Earl of Southesk, Lord Binning, Secretary of State, Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, father of the first Viscount Kilsyth, Sir William Oliphant of Newton, Lord Advocate, and the Treasurer-Depute, or any three of them, were appointed by the Privy Council to supply the place of the Earl of Montrose; yet Archbishop Spottiswoode states that Viscount Scone and Lord Binning were the King's Commissioners. Calderwood farther alleges that Archdean Gladstones preached on the morning of the first day of the meeting, but the Archbishop declares that he "made the exhortation" himself, and he mentions the subject of it—that he "deduced the story of the Church from the time of the Reformation, and shewed that the greatest hindrance received by the Church proceeded from the ministers themselves."

The Archbishop states that "it seemed at first matters should have gone well; for the first two days there was much calmness, and the reasoning very formal and free." The discussions were almost exclusively about the articles proposed by the King to be adopted by the Scottish Church. But the "calmness" of this General Assembly was only apparent. The Presbyterian leaven was still deeply infused, and the members agreed to admit and sanction only two of the articles, viz. the private administration of the Eucharist, and the one entitled "a more reverent manner of receiving the Lord's Supper;" and though they encumbered the articles thus ratified with several exceptions, it was a wonderful advance to the recognized principles of the Church. The opinion of the General Assembly on those articles will be best ascertained from the manner in which they were sanctioned,

which Calderwood states he found in the “clerks’ scrolls,” for “by reason of the shortness of the time, sudden convening of the Assembly, absence of many Dioceses and Commissioners from sundry Presbyteries, the articles were rather remitted to farther inquiry than any thing perfectly concluded.”

“At St Andrews 1617, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland thus decided, affirmed, and sanctioned—First, if any good Christian visited with long sickness, and known to the pastor, by reason of his present infirmity, to be unable to resort to the church for receiving the Holy Communion; or being sick, shall declare to the pastor upon his conscience that he thinketh his sickness to be deadly, shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the minister shall not deny the same, so as lawful warning be given to him at the least twenty-four hours before; and that there be six persons at least of good religion and conversation, free of lawful impediment, present with the sick person to receive, who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessary for the minister’s reverent administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the Church. Second, to remedy the irreverent behaviour of the vulgar sort, it is found mete by this Assembly that the minister shall in the celebration give the elements out of his own hand to every one of the communicants, saying, when he giveth the bread—Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Jesus Christ which was broken for you; do this in remembrance of Him; and that the minister exhort them to be thankful. And when he giveth the cup—Drink, this is the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ shed for you; do this in remembrance of Him; and that the minister exhort them to be thankful. And to the end the minister may give the same more commodiously, he is, by advice of the magistrates and honest men of his session, to prepare a table at the which the same may be conveniently ministered, and shew a humble and religious behaviour in the receiving of the same.” Respecting the other Articles, especially the “days of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension of our Lord, and the descending of the Holy Spirit,” it was agreed, after “long reasoning,” that as “a great number of commissioners from Synods, burghs, and gentlemen, in respect of the season of the year, distance of the place, and shortness of the advertisement, could not be present,” and some who attended had scruples

on the points proponed, are not fully resolved in some of them, to "refer the same to another General Assembly, which was to be convened by petition to the King."

The result of this General Assembly irritated the King, though it ought to have had a contrary effect, for the adoption of even two of the articles was really a great victory gained over the opponents of the Episcopal Church. James ought to have been aware of the condition of the Scottish nation at the time. The aristocracy were fierce, proud, tyrannical over their dependents and retainers, and many of them, even the higher Nobility, ill educated; while the people generally were extremely ignorant, superstitious, credulous, and bigotted. The discussions and disputes on church government from the Reformation to that period had engendered much political and domestic mischief; yet the mass of the people were passive in the matter, and little excitement existed among them in favour of Presbyterianism. The Bishops were not personally unpopular, nor was the episcopal office obnoxious, inasmuch as the Bishops for the most part continued to exercise their functions as parish ministers. An interview with them at their respective residences was considered by many of the young men attending the Universities as of some importance, and we have an instance of this in the case of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who subsequently became a zealous Presbyterian, and who in 1620 completed his philosophical course at that University. He and a few of his companions during that year made an excursion to some of the principal towns in Scotland. They proceeded to Kilsyth, Stirling, the windings or Links of the Forth between Stirling and Alloa; thereafter to Perth, Scone, and Dundee, where, says Baillie—"We saw the Bishop of Brechin and Dr Bruce." From Dundee they went to St Andrews, visited the "kirk, castle, port, three Colleges, Abbey," conversed with some of the Professors; and at Dairsie, nearly seven miles from St Andrews, they had an interview with Archbishop Spottiswoode. As to the articles which the General Assembly at St Andrews admitted, it would be unnecessary to discuss their propriety, expediency, and conformity to Primitive usage. Many Presbyterians in Scotland lament the rigidity of their system which precludes the administration of the Lord's Supper, even in their own way, and according to their own

and according to their own notions of that Sacrament, to the aged, the sick, and the dying in private houses.

On the 6th of December the King wrote a letter to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, expressing his dissatisfaction at the proceedings of this General Assembly. James commanded Archbishop Spottiswoode, by deputy in St Andrews, and personally in Edinburgh, and Archbishop Law in Glasgow, to celebrate divine service and preach on the ensuing Christmas Day ; and enjoined them not to allow the stipends to be paid to any of the parish incumbents who refused to comply. In a postscript it was added—“ So many Bishops as you can get warned in time to preach at their Sees on Christmas day, urge them to it. Thus much in haste for this time ; after two or three days ye shall hear further from us.” The King added with his own hand—“ Since your Scottish Church hath so far contemned my clemency, they shall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them.” This threat, though most imprudent and unnecessary, was a serious matter. On the 11th of December the King wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode individually, and stated his objections to the conditions by which the Assembly at St Andrews had restricted the administration of the communion to the sick and dying in private houses. “ Concerning the communion allowed to sick persons,” said the King to the Archbishop, “ besides the number [six persons] required to receive with such patients, and a necessity tying them upon oath to declare that they truly think not to recover, but to die of that disease, they are yet farther hedged in with a necessity to receive the sacrament, in case aforesaid, to be ministered unto them in a convenient room, which, what it importeth we cannot guess, seeing no room can be so convenient for a sick man sworn to die as his bed ; and that it were injurious and inhuman from thence in any case to transport him, were the room never so neat and handsome to which they should carry him.” The King next objected to the expressions about a “ table” to be prepared for the administration of the communion in the parish churches. “ Truly in this,” he declares, “ we must say that the minister’s care and commodious sitting on his tail hath been more looked to than that kneeling which, for reverence, we directly required to be enjoined to the receivers of so divine a sacrament ; neither can we conceive what should be meant by that table, unless

they mean to make a round table, as did the Jews, to sit at and receive it. In conclusion, seeing either we and this Church here must be held idolatrous on this point of kneeling, or they reputed rebellious knaves in refusing the same, and that the two foresaid acts are conceived so scornfully, and so far from our meaning, it is our pleasure that the same be altogether suppressed, and that no effect follow thereon." The Privy Council received a letter from the King at the same time, "for inhibiting the payment of stipends to any of the rebellious ministers, refusers of the said articles, either in burgh or landward, till they shew their conformity, and the same was duly testified by the subscription of the Primate and ordinary Bishop." This alarmed numbers of them, and those of Edinburgh in particular earnestly requested Archbishop Spottiswoode to preach in that city on Christmas Day in obedience to the King's order, and to exert his interest for the rest. The Archbishop complied, and was enabled to obtain a warrant for setting aside the order to prohibit payment of the stipends until the behaviour of the ministers was "tried in the particular Synods, and their disposition for accepting the articles."

In the meanwhile, on the 14th of December, Bishop Alexander Forbes of Aberdeen died at Leith. Calderwood records his death with his usual scurrilities, which are unworthy of notice. He was succeeded in the See by the learned and celebrated Patrick Forbes of Corse, mentioned in the earlier part of this narrative. Calderwood inserts a long letter written by Forbes of Corse to Archbishop Spottiswoode on his appointment to the Bishopric, and politely designates him a "hypocrite."—"It is known very well," he says, "that he undertook not the ministry till Bishoprics were in bestowing, and that he could find no better means to mend his broken lairdship." These accusations have no foundation in truth. On the contrary, Forbes was proprietor of the valuable estate of Corse in Aberdeenshire; and it is undeniable that he "undertook the ministry" from conscientious zeal for religion when he was advanced in life. "I never preached the gospel for worldly gain," he says in his letter to Archbishop Spottiswoode, "nor to this hour have made any gain of that sort, whereby my reward is before me, and I hope my Lord shall hold my heart still fixed on him." In this letter, which is dated at Keith, 16th February 1618, he was anxious to *decline the Bishopric*, and this is Calderwood's sole

authority for his charge of hypocrisy against one of the most learned and pious men of his age, who while residing on his estate as a private gentleman did more to maintain religion in his locality than a phalanx of such men as David Calderwood.

Bishop Forbes is deservedly ranked among the illustrious individuals whom Scotland has produced. “There was one Patrick Forbes of Aberdeenshire,” says Burnet,* “a gentleman of quality and estate, but much more eminent by his learning and piety than his birth or fortune could make him. He had a most terrible calamity on him in his own family, which needs not be named. I do not know whether that or a more early principle determined him to enter into orders. He undertook the labour of a private cure in the country, upon the most earnest invitations of his Bishop [Blackburn], when he was forty-eight years old, and discharged his duty there so worthily that within a few years he was promoted to be Bishop of Aberdeen, in which See he sat seventeen years. It was not easy for King James to persuade him to accept of that dignity, and many months past before he could be induced to it, for he had intended to have lived and died in a more obscure corner. It soon appeared how well he deserved his promotion, and that his unwillingness to it was not feigned, but the real effect of his humility. He was in all things an apostolical man; he used to go round his Diocese without noise, and but with one servant, that so he might rightly be informed of all matters.”

The personal details to which Burnet refers may be briefly stated. Bishop Forbes was the fifth in lineal descent from Patrick Forbes, third son of James second Lord Forbes, who was also the progenitor of the Baronets of Craigievar in Aberdeenshire and the Earls of Granard in Ireland. The Bishop was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan, then schoolmaster of Stirling, the nephew of the celebrated George Buchanan. He studied philosophy at Glasgow under Andrew Melville, and followed him as his pupil in Hebrew and theology when he removed to St Andrews. His progress was so remarkable, and his conduct so unblameable, that he was solicited to become a Professor in that University; but he was summoned home by his father, who urged him to settle as a country gentleman, and he soon afterwards married Lucretia, a daughter

* Preface to Life of Bishop Bedell, 1685.

of Spens of Wormiston, an ancient family in Fife. He lived in retirement for some time near Montrose, and at the death of his father in 1598 he removed to the family seat of Corse, in the now united parishes of Leochel and Cushnie. The castle of Corse, now roofless and ruinous, though a great part of the walls is still standing, is mentioned by Monipennie, in his "Brief Description of Scotland" appended to his Abridgement of the Chronicles, in 1612, when it was the Bishop's family residence, as one of the strongest in the district of Marr. Over the lintel are the date of its erection in 1581, and the initials, W. F. and E. S., intimating the Bishop's father, William Forbes, and his mother Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Strachan of Thornton, the head of the ancient family of the Strachans. In this sequestered castle Bishop Forbes, as his Latin biographer, Dr Garden, quaintly observes, cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing divine service to his domestics on Sundays. His learning, piety, and unwearied zeal were well known, and in the then destitute religious condition of that quarter of the kingdom, where the people were without instructors, he was repeatedly urged to perform the duties of a preacher in 1605, and we have seen how he explained his conduct in a letter to King James. Bishop Blackburn often entreated him to become the minister of his own parish, but he steadily refused, alleging as a reason his sense of the importance of the priestly office, and the state of the times. On a representation, however, made to Archbishop Gladstones, who was opposed to lay preaching, an order was issued that he should desist unless he took ordination. Forbes accordingly returned to his former practice of family worship, and attended the parish church as a private individual. About 1612, the minister of Keith, in the adjoining county of Banff, a pious and worthy man, in a fit of melancholy made a fatal attempt on his own life. He had no sooner inflicted the wound than remorse seized him, and he sent for Forbes, to whose devout instructions he listened with penitential edification. With his dying breath he entreated him to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish, to which, under circumstances so peculiar, he consented, and was ordained by Bishop Blackburn. The suicide of his friend the minister of Keith is probably the "terrible calamity" noticed by Burnet. His appointment to the See of Aberdeen obtained the sincere approbation of

all classes of the people, and soon after his promotion he was made Chancellor of King's College and University, which he raised from neglect and desolation to a most flourishing state, repairing the buildings, increasing the library, reviving the professorships of Divinity, Canon Law, and Physic, and procuring the addition of another professorship in Theology. Such was this great ornament of the Episcopal Church of Scotland—a man of the greatest prudence, integrity, and piety, clear genius, solid judgment, invincible fortitude, and remarkable constancy of mind.

That the Scottish Bishops of that period were active, zealous, and exemplary, in the discharge of their duties, is farther proved by Burnet, who gives a description of one who was a contemporary of Bishop Forbes. This was Bishop Boyd of Argyll, already mentioned as promoted to that See in 1613. “Another of our late Bishops was the noblest born of all the order, being [illegitimate] brother to the Lord Boyd, that is one of the best families in Scotland, but was provided to the poorest Bishopric, which was Argyll, yet he did great things in it. He found his Diocese overrun with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the name of Christ was not known, but he went about that apostolical work of planting the gospel with a particular industry, and almost with equal success. He got churches and schools to be raised and endowed everywhere, and lived to see a great blessing on his endeavours, so that he is not so much as named in that country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are otherwise no way equitable to that order. The only answer that our angry people in Scotland used to make when they were pressed with such instances was that there were too few of them; but some of the severest of them have owned to me, that if there were many such Bishops they would become Episcopal.”*

* Preface to Life of Bishop Bedell.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH—BISHOP COWPAR'S DEFENCE OF THEM—THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH ENSUED—CONDUCT OF HENDERSON—FATE OF THE RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.

ON the 26th of January 1618 Archbishop Spottiswoode convened a meeting of the Bishops and clergy who were in Edinburgh at the time,* in that part of St Giles' church long locally designated the *Little Kirk*. The Primate read the King's letter, in which was stated his Majesty's expectation that all the Bishops and the clergy there assembled would sanction the Five Articles, and if the latter refused, they were to be suspended from their ministerial functions, and their stipends withheld. The clergy answered that they would consult their brethren, and “do what in them lay to give the King satisfaction.” Calderwood affects to doubt the authenticity of the King's letter, but his suppositions are frivolous and unworthy of notice.

Two days afterwards a proclamation was published at the Cross of Edinburgh enjoining the observance of the five great commemorations of the Church, viz. Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. All manual labour was prohibited, and those who refused to conform were ordered to be punished as rebellious persons. A few days before the ensuing Good Friday, the Lord Provost and Magistrates received a letter from the King enjoining them to see that the day was properly observed. On the Wednesday before Good Friday the proclamation was again made at the Cross, and on Good Friday the

* The 26th is Calderwood's date, but Spottiswoode says the meeting was held on the 29th.

Magistrates sent the officers throughout the city to prevent trading or labour of any kind. Sermons were preached in all the churches, and Bishop Cowpar officiated in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood-house before sundry of the Privy Council and the Nobility. On Easter Sunday the Holy Communion was administered kneeling by several of the Bishops in those churches which were considered the temporary cathedrals, and by the Bishop of Galloway in the Chapel-Royal, where some of the Officers of State and nearly forty persons communicated kneeling. In obedience to the King's command the Officers of State again communicated on Whitsunday. It appears that the Chapel-Royal was then provided with an organ.

The King granted his licence authorising the General Assembly on the 10th of July, and on the 3d of August the Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers, and others, were summoned to attend by proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh. As the proceedings of this General Assembly are prominently noticed by all the Scottish historians, it is unnecessary to enter into minute details in the present narrative. On the 25th of August the Assembly was opened at Perth, Lords Binning, Scone, and Carnegie, appearing as the King's Commissioners, attended by the Earl of Lothian, Lords Ochiltree, Boyd, Crichton of Sanquhar, Sir Gideon Murray the Depute-Treasurer, Sir William Oliphant, Lord Advocate, and a number of gentlemen as assessors. The only Bishops absent were those of Argyll and The Isles, and Calderwood asserts that those Dioceses, as also those of Caithness and Orkney, sent no "commissioners," or representatives. In accordance with an intimation given in St John's church on the previous Sunday, the first day of the meeting was observed as a fast, and two sermons were preached, the one in the morning by Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen from Ezra vii. 23 ; the other in the forenoon by Archbishop Spottiswoode from 1 Cor. xi. 16, which occupied two hours in the delivery, and was afterwards printed, probably by the authority of the Archbishop, by Bishop Lindsay of Brechin in his account of the proceedings of the Assembly. Calderwood states that the argument maintained by Bishop Forbes was, that "nothing should be done nor determined in the Church by any superior power whatever but that which is according to the commandment of the Almighty King ;" and that the Archbishop defended ceremonies in

general, and the Five Articles in particular, though he solemnly declared that they were sent to him without his knowledge, and that they were not intended to be proposed to the Church, but to be inserted among the Canons then in preparation. This account of the Archbishop's sermon is very correct, as appears from a perusal of it as published by Bishop Lindsay, and the whole is a learned, eloquent, and masterly composition. It is founded on the text already cited—" But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God," and the Primate opens with a general discussion on religious ceremonies to be observed in the Church. " My Lords and Brethren," he began, " the business for which we meet here is known to you all, namely, to take resolution in these Articles, which we are required to admit in our Church by that power unto which we be all subject." He then elucidates the Five Articles, deducing the judgment of what he calls the " best Reformed Churches touching Articles ;" and denies most explicitly that they " come by the suggestion of some of the English Church, or of ourselves at home," referring in proof to the King's declaration in the chapel of St Andrews in 1617, wherein he stated that " neither the desire he had for conforming his Churches [of England and Scotland], nor the solicitation of any person, but his zeal for God, and a certain knowledge that he could not answer it in that great day if he should neglect his duty." In a subsequent part of his discourse the Archbishop says—" I, therefore, in the presence of Almighty God and of this honourable Assembly, solemnly protest that without my knowledge, against my desire, and when I least expected, these Articles were sent unto me not to be propounded to the Church, but to be inserted among the Canons thereof, which then were ingathering ; touching which point I humbly excused myself, that I could not insert among the Canons that which was not first advised by the Church, and desired they might be referred to another consideration." The Primate adds—" So as I spake before, I would, if it had been in my power, most willingly have declined the receiving of these Articles ; not that I did esteem them either unlawful or inconvenient, for I am so far persuaded of the contrary as I can be of any thing, but I foresaw the contradiction which would be made, and the business we should fall into. Therefore let no man deceive himself. These things proceed from his Majesty, and are

his own motions, not any other's." He concluded by reminding the Assembly—"The kingdom of God consists not in them [the Five Articles], but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Away with fruitless and contentious disputings. Remember the work we are sent for is to build the Church of God, and not to destroy it ; to call men to faith and repentance ; to stir them up to the works of true piety and love, and not to make them think they have religion enough when they have talked against Bishops and ceremonies."

The business of the Assembly now commenced. A long table was placed in St John's church, with seats for the Bishops, noblemen, and other members, and at the head of it a cross table, with chairs for the King's Commissioners and the Moderator. Archbishop Spottiswoode took the chair as Moderator, and when a feeble attempt was made to urge an election by a Mr George Grier, minister of Haddington, the Archbishop replied that the Assembly was convened within the limits of his own Diocese, and he would allow no one to occupy his place. The King's letter was then presented by Dr Young, Dean of Winchester, by birth a Scotsman. It began with a statement that he had at one time fully resolved not to allow any more General Assemblies for "ordering things concerning the policy of the Church," on account of the conduct exhibited in the former Assembly at St Andrews. It is a document of considerable length, arguing the whole matter, and abounding with expostulations. Archbishop Spottiswoode then rose, and after stating that the Five Articles now to be submitted were not his suggestion, for he considered them inexpedient at the time, yet he knew the anxiety of the King on the subject, and warned them of the consequences both to the Church generally, and to themselves individually, if the Articles were refused. "I know," he observed, "that when some of you are banished, and others deprived, you will blame us, and call us persecutors; but we will lay all the burden upon the King, and if you call him a persecutor all the world will stand up against you." The Archbishop then asked the Dean of Winchester if he had any inclination or authority to make known his sentiments. The Dean addressed the Assembly in a long speech, complimenting the King on his intentions, and exhorting them to conformity. After the Dean concluded his speech, some objections about the mode of

voting and other minor details were repelled by the Archbishop. The Primate then nominated a large number of the nobility and gentry, all the Bishops, and thirty-seven doctors and ministers, who were to form a “Privy Conference,” and who met in the afternoon to discuss the Five Articles.

On the following day the Assembly met at eight in the morning, and the Five Articles were again debated. Another meeting was held in the afternoon. On the morning of the ensuing day Bishop Cowpar preached a sermon on Rom. xiv. 19, after which was the last sitting. Archbishop Spottiswoode now urged the Assembly to conform. He refuted sundry scandals and misrepresentations which had been industriously circulated by malicious persons, and declared his conviction that “there was neither man nor woman, rich nor poor, in Scotland, some few precise persons excepted, who were not only content, but also wished the order of kneeling [at the Communion] to be received, of which he had good proof and experience in his own city of St Andrews, and in this town of Perth since he had come hither.” The Archbishop then mentioned the circumstance of a pamphlet having been found in the pulpit at Edinburgh, charging the Bishops with attempting to introduce the Roman Catholic religion; but in reply he maintained that “ceremonies make not separation betwixt us and the Roman Church, but their idolatry, which if the Romanists would forsake, they would meet them midway and join with them.” Before the calling of the roll the King’s letter was again read. The Presbyterian party attempted to limit the right of voting purposely to exclude certain persons; but Archbishop Spottiswoode would not allow this proposal, and declared that “if all Scotland were there present they should vote.” The vote was then taken, and the Five Articles were ratified by a great majority. After some routine business the Assembly was dissolved. On the 21st of October the Articles were sanctioned by an act of the Privy Council; and the King’s proclamation to that effect was published at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 26th.

The Five Articles of Perth were, as already stated—1. Kneeling when receiving the Holy Communion; 2. The administration of the Holy Communion to the sick, dying, or infirm persons in their houses in cases of urgent necessity. 3. The administration of Baptism in private under similar circumstances. 4. The Confir-

mation of the young by the Bishop of the Diocese. 5. The observance of the five great commemorations of the Christian Church—the “ Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost.” The second is expressed in the same words as the first of the two Articles admitted by the General Assembly held at St Andrews in the previous year respecting the private administration of the Communion, with merely a few verbal alterations, and the number of persons to be present and communicate was limited to three or four instead of six. The Five Articles were ordered to be read and enforced in all the parish churches throughout the kingdom, and proclamations were published enjoining obedience and conformity at the market cross of all the principal towns. Yet such was the opposition of some of the Presbyterian party to these primitive and catholic commemorations of the great events connected with human redemption, that the order was in many cases disregarded, which caused considerable distractions, especially in Edinburgh.

Mr Scott states as his opinion that “ the Presbyterian party would have willingly accepted some of the Articles on condition of being relieved from the rest ; ”* but he does not specify those of them which they would have sanctioned. The only one of them which the less rigid of the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland since the Revolution in 1688 adopt, is the administration of Baptism in private houses, whether the infants are in ill health or not, and this was probably forced upon them by necessity. As to the others it is well known that many Presbyterians in Scotland are convinced that there is something harsh and deficient in their system, which denies the administration of the Communion, even in their own way, to the sick, the dying, and the aged, in private houses.† The majority may probably still object to kneeling at the administration of the Communion, inasmuch as they will not allow kneeling at public prayers. Many of them also have no objections to the rite of Confirmation in itself, and not a few now

* Kirk-Session Registers of Perth, MS. vol. i.

† Mr Scott, in his MS. Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of Perth, commenting on the Five Articles of Perth, says—“ With regard to private Communion I have heard of a late instance of its being given by a minister of our [Presbyterian] Church in the south part of Scotland. The Presbytery to which he belongs have not inflicted any censure upon him, nor does it seem to be the resolution of the church judicatories in general to take any notice of it.”

think that the five great commemorations of the Church ought to be observed. In short, a very different feeling pervades Scotland on many of those matters, which even those who adhere to the Covenanting fanaticism cannot deny. Intercourse with England, a better system of education, and other causes, might be assigned for the softening of the old religious and bigotted prejudices.

It was not to be expected that the Five Articles would be admitted everywhere without opposition, yet on the whole they were received in many places if not with approbation at least with tacit consent. Much in these cases depended on the degree of personal respect in which the minister of each particular parish was held by the people. Mr Scott informs us of the manner of their reception at Perth, which corroborates the statement of Archbishop Spottiswoode in the General Assembly. A meeting of the kirk-session was held on the 5th of March 1619, present Mr. John Guthrie and Mr John Malcolm, ministers :—“Proposition being made, if they [the kirk-session] will agree and consent that the Lord’s Supper be celebrated in the burgh conform to the prescription of the Act of the General Assembly made thereanent last holden at Perth or not, viz. that the ministers give the wine and bread with their own hands to the communicants, and that they [the communicants] be humbled on their knees, and reverently receive it ; and being voted, *all agreed in one that the celebration thereof be made according to the said act.*” “The order of the [administration] of the Communion,” observes Mr Scott on this extract from the Kirk-Session Register, “seems to have been as follows:—The tables were placed in the choir or east part of the church. The communicants were to enter in the morning by the south door, where, to add to the solemnity, and to do honour to the occasion, several of the Magistrates and others were to stand in due form with their elders. The communicants were there to give their tokens [or tickets of admission] along with their alms, and then to pass either directly to the tables, or to seats in the choir allotted for them. Such as were not to communicate, at least on the first day of the communion, were to enter the church by the north door, and were there to give their alms. After the consecration of the elements the minister, followed by the bearers of the bread and wine, was to go through the tables, giving, as he went along, the elements with his own hands to each of the communii-

cants kneeling ; after which they who had communicated would depart from the table, and be succeeded by such as were next to communicate." Mr Scott refers to the conduct of many persons in Edinburgh about kneeling at the tables. " Even some of the ministers," he observes, " did not at first conform, but administered the sacrament to the people sitting. There was, however, no such opposition, at least from the kirk-session at Perth."*

Calderwood says of Bishop Cowpar, in reference to the sermon he preached during the sitting of the General Assembly at Perth, that " he set at nought the ancient [Presbyterian] order of the Kirk sometime highly commended by himself, and extolling his own new light, presumed to catechize those who might have catechized him." This is expressed by Calderwood in his usual strain of party malevolence. " As the Five Articles," says Mr Scott, " were the subjects of much controversy, and as the arguments against them are frequently to be met with in the histories of that period, it will be doing justice to the ancient kirk-session and people of Perth to take notice of what was then said on behalf of those Articles, and which determined many good men to submit to the observation of them."

Bishop Cowpar's sentiments are here presented to the reader, as they are not generally known even in Scotland. They are worthy of perusal as illustrating the feelings of the time on the subjects he discusses. His observations are entitled—" The Bishop of Galloway's Answers to such as desire a resolution of their scruples against the Acts of the last Assembly holden at Perth in the month of August 1618—mercy, grace, and peace, be unto all them that love the Lord Jesus."

" We are commanded by St Peter to give a reason of the faith which is in us, and so will I. No good Christian differs one from another in any article of faith, for our Belief [the Creed] is a short compend of the Scripture; and I have preached all the Articles thereof; I believe all. As for Papists, where they differ from us see what I have professed in my writings published in print, and I am resolved to die in the same mind. What that is they may perceive by the ' Seven Days' Conference betwixt a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Roman, and by the Threefold Treatise upon

* Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of Perth, vol. i. MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

the eighth chapter to the Romans." Bishop Cowpar refers to others of his printed works for his opinions, and proceeds—" As for these needless controversies that make divers voices among us, I say some are conscientious with little knowledge ; these I love. Others are contentious, with less knowledge ; these I pity, willing them always to remember that to them who are contentious and obey not the truth, unrighteousness shall bring indignation and wrath, Rom. ii. 8 ; yet I wish to them mercy, and light to illuminate their minds.

" *Of Days.*—In my mind no King on earth, no Church, may make an holy day ; only the Lord who made the day hath that prerogative, and He hath sanctified the seventh day. Yet either a Christian king, or a Church, may separate a day by preaching, and that either ordinary, as we have Tuesday, or extraordinary, for fasting and humiliation ; or for solemn joy and thanksgiving. This is and hath been ever the lawful practice of our Church, and continual, who at such times hath commanded cessation from ordinary trades both before and after noon, that so the people might frequent the assembly. I hope [there is] no other purpose by our prince's proclamation, whereat so many are offended ; and if any cause of offence be, it is to be amended with humble supplication, not with rebellious contradiction.

" Brightman on the 11th of the Revelation* records that the day whereon Queen Elizabeth came to the crown after the Marian persecutions was observed with an anniversary or yearly sermon, even by those who in that country are enemies to episcopal government, of which number himself is one. So we have preaching and public rejoicing [on] the fifth days of August and November† for that double deliverance of our gracious sovereign, whom may the Lord long continue a comfort to his Church. And I am sure we have greater cause to rejoice at the remembrance of Christ's Nativity, albeit Herod and Herodian in upper Jerusalem were against it, when angels, heavenly soldiers, and saints redeemed, were singing in Bethlehem, Glory be to God in heaven, and peace to men

* Thomas Brightman, an English Puritan, born at Nottingham in 1557, and died in 1607, was the author of several works published after his death. The one to which Bishop Cowpar refers is his " Analysis et Scholia in Apocalypsin."

† The latter is the well known Gunpowder Plot Day. The former commemorated the Gowrie Conspiracy, which was ordered to be kept, and was observed during the reign of James.

on earth ! I will rather sing with the one than startle without cause with the other.

“ O ! but this is not the day of His nativity. I answer, Let it be so. It is not the *day* but the *benefit* we remember, which no good Christian will deny should be done. Sure it is He was born, died upon Good Friday, and the third day He rose ; the fortieth day thereafter He ascended ; ten days after His ascension He sent the Holy Ghost, which from His resurrection is the fiftieth day, called, Acts ii. 2. the Pentecost. All this is according to the articles of our faith expressly set down in Scripture, and why, then, do men make such scruple to remember our Lord’s Nativity on such a day as Christian Catholics in all ages have remembered ?

“ But here they say, we remember His nativity every day. I answer, this is like that presumption of the young man who spake to Christ in the Gospel—‘ All these,’ saith he, ‘ I have done from my youth.’ He spake out of ignorance, affirming he had done the thing he did not. And so do they. I appeal to their own consciences how many days of the year will pass wherein they do not so much as *think* of His nativity ? But if it were as they say that they remember His nativity every day, why make they it strange to remember it on this day also ?

“ Yet, say they, Ye remember it this day more than another ! I answer, And why not ? Every good Christian hath his own days chosen by himself, some for fasting, some for thanksgiving for particular benefits. What a private Christian may lawfully do, ye make it unlawful for a Christian Church to do, especially where we go in the communion of saints with all the Reformed Churches in Europe. In France, in the Protestant Church, their most notable preachers give the communion on that day, as did also the Primitive Churches throughout the world, as testifieth St Augustine in his Epistles 118th and 119th. So did our own Scottish Church also for eight hundred years, before it was polluted with Papistry, as I have proved in my forenamed Conference, whoso likes to read it.

“ But, say they, We have no commandment in the Word to do it. I answer, Let them distinguish betwixt that which is substantial and real in religion, and that which is circumstantial and ritual. A point substantial must have an express warrant in the Word commanding it ; for that which is circumstantial, it is suf-

ficient if it be not against the Word, it being left to be ordained by ecclesiastical authority. As, for example, to preach in season and out of season is a substantial point; for it we have an express command in the Word. What day of the week ordinary preaching should be beside the Sabbath, that is circumstantial, and left to the decision of the Church, who by the same authority that they may ordain preaching [on] such a day of the week, may also ordain preaching such of the month in a year. Again, he that sins openly shall be openly rebuked. This is substantial in religion, and we have an express command for it. But to set him on a pillar three days, or more, or fewer, is circumstantial, such as our Church without doing wrong to the Word of God hath determined. I acknowledge it to be a good order, and will any of these men condemn it because it is not an express command in the word? Marriage is honourable among all men, [and] for man and woman to join without marriage is fornication. This is substantial, and hath the warrant of the Word. But that first they must be three days publicly proclaimed, is circumstantial, done by the Church for good order, which I acknowledge sufficient, because it is not against the Word.

“ Yule Day, say they, was cast out of our Church. I answer, what they call Yule Day I know not; but a day reputed for the day of Christ’s nativity, and observed for the remembrance thereof, that I know. I find no ecclesiastical law standing in all our books of Assembly to the contrary. But if it have been cast out, yet a thing not against the Word of God upon good considerations may be brought in again, albeit it had been left out. Instances of this I might bring from the Church of Geneva; one I bring from our own. Since baptism not upon a preaching day was cast out by act and practice, and yet is now received again, why may not preaching of Christ’s Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost, or such days, be received again, albeit it had been cast out?

We were well, they say, before; and what needs this innovation? I answer, Conformity with the ancient and recent Reformed Churches require it, except we will be singular. Besides this, the question here is betwixt a prince and his people. They will be nourished in the humours, not remembering that a Christian prince is also to be regarded, who finds himself bound in con-

science to see duties in religion performed. What is evil in their eyes seemeth good in his. And here the debate falling betwixt their will and his about a matter not against the word of God, let any unprejudiced man give a sentence who should be followed.

“*Of a Baptism to be administered in due time and place.*—Now for Baptism, our commission is to baptise without limitation either of time or place, decency alway both for time and place being observed. So far as may be, where the public order of the Church is not contemned, Baptism should not be refused. It is not, they will say, necessary to salvation. I grant that I abhor the blind and merciless sentence of Papists, that infants dying without baptism go to any house of hell. But although it were not necessary to the child’s salvation, who will deny that it is necessary, at least a probable help of the parent’s faith? For our Lord hath not ordained it in vain. Where, then, a Christian parent desires it to his child, either upon a preaching day or other day, with what warrant a preacher can deny it I know not.

“*Of Private Communion.*—The same is my judgment of Private Communion. Here are two words [which] would be well understood. *Private*, I call it in respect of the public assembly, not of a private person; *Communion* it is, in respect of many Christians partaking in it. Where a man hath been a reverent hearer of the word in the public assembly, and a reverent and careful receiver of the sacrament there, if God suspend him by sickness from doing that duty, may we not sit beside him and comfort him by the Word? May we not pray for him and for ourselves even in a private family? And why also may we not give to him, and take to ourselves, the seals of the covenant of mercy? The particular precepts hereof, both for the person and place, I take not upon me to determine, but leave it to the wisdom of the preacher.

“*Of Kneeling at the Communion.*—The hardest point of all is kneeling at the Holy Communion, which is the more disliked because it was and yet is abused by Papists to idolatry. That vile error of transubstantiation and worshipping of the bread my soul abhorreth it, but it is hard to condemn a thing lawful in itself because it hath been abused. For what is so good that hath not or may not be abused? Shall not St Paul bow his knees to the Father of the whole family in heaven and earth, God the Creator,

because idolaters bow their knees to the creature? He was not so scrupulous.

“ If I should condemn sitting at the table, I should do wrong to my mother Church—the Church of Scotland. If I should condemn standing, I should do wrong to that sister Church of France which hath stood for the truth to the blood. If I should condemn kneeling, I should do wrong to the Church of England, glorious with many crowns of martyrdom, and many other Churches also. I like well that modest judgment of Peter Martyr, who thinks any of these, sitting, standing, or kneeling, lawful. Our Church has determined that kneeling seems the most reverent form for receiving so great a benefit; and the rude gesture of many of our people in many parts of the land requires that they should be led to a greater reverence of that holy mystery, and taught that by humble kneeling we shall at length be brought to a joyful sitting with Him for ever.

“ But here it will be objected to me that our Lord and his disciples sat at the table. I answer, that the Evangelist saith, that as He sat at the table He took bread, and gave thanks. This seemeth to note the time of the institution, to-wit, after He had done with the natural and paschal supper, not the gesture. For why? St Paul, describing all that is essential in the sacrament, makes no mention either of sitting, standing, or kneeling: yet he says—‘ What I have received of the Lord, that I delivered unto you.’ If he received it, and delivered it not, he was not faithful, which I abhor to think. If he delivered it not, then surely he received it not.

“ This [kneeling] is the soundest and most safe course. It keepeth all the Reformed Churches free from doing against the Word of God, for we must think that St Paul knew certainly the mind of Christ. Such as are conscientious, let them ponder this well. The contentions I am not able to satisfy. If the expediency be set aside, and the question be only of the lawfulness, my argument stands yet unanswered. Whatsoever spiritual benefit I may lawfully seek on my knees with supplication, that same I may lawfully receive on my knees with thanksgiving. But I may lawfully with supplication seek salvation by Jesus on my knees; therefore I may lawfully receive it [the communion] on my knees.

They answer nothing who say, I may not kneel to any idol, for to Christ I kneel, praising Him when I receive the holy symbols, exhibiting the instruments of his body and blood ; and it is madness either to make them idols, as the Papists do, or to call them idols, as the malcontents do.

" I have opened my mind according to my light. To them that ask, Where was the light before ? my answer is, remember what is said of our blessed Lord, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to loose—‘ He increased in wisdom,’ Luke ii. 52. Shall it then be an imputation to his silly, weak, unworthy, and infirm servants, that they increase in wisdom and grow in knowledge as they are commanded ? Such as are contentious I leave tumbling in the tumultuous thoughts of their perturbed minds, raging like the waves of the sea, foaming, and casting out their own dirt and shame. For me, I rest in the peace of my God through Jesus Christ, which, blessed be God, I enjoy. A sore famine of the Word of God is at hand, for the loathing of manna and murmuring against Moses and Aaron. There may be bread, but God will break the staff of it. Preaching of the Word in many parts, but without life or power. Prattlers and lying libellers, Papists, or Atheists, I commend them to the mercy of God, that they may be brought to repentance. Let them read these words of our Saviour—Matt. vii. 6. ‘ Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your perils before swine.’ Be not of that number, if ye mind to enter into the heavenly Jerusalem. I will have nothing spoken here extended to peaceable and truly religious Christians, of which number God hath a flourishing church both in this town [Edinburgh] and in other parts of the land. The Lord increase them ! The Lord grant peace to his own Jerusalem, and have mercy upon us, that we may prevent these and other imminent judgments upon great and small by unfeigned repentance ! ”

Mr Scott observes on the preceding passages, that Bishop Cowpar “ has said what may shew us that he and others were not rashly to be condemned who submitted to the Five Acts of the Perth Assembly.—With regard to the confirmation of children, Bishop Cowpar in his defence takes no notice of it ; and indeed it was unnecessary to say any thing in its defence, considering the

inoffensive manner in which it had been expressed in the Act of Assembly.* The preceding extracts, though not unobjectionable in a few passages, are chiefly interesting as being part of the discourse which he preached in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse on the first Christmas Day after the meeting of the Perth General Assembly. Calderwood says—“ Mr William Cowpar preached upon Christmas Day in the Abbey Kirk. Many resorted to him out of curiosity, because he promised to give them resolution that day for observing of holidays. He was so impertinent and frivolous in his arguments that he was mocked.” The reader will now perceive the audacity of this Presbyterian’s assertion that the excellent Bishop of Galloway’s “ arguments” were “ impertinent and frivolous.”

The General Assembly at Perth was attended by the afterwards noted Alexander Henderson as a “ commissioner” for the Presbytery of St Andrews. He had been previously attached to the Episcopal Church, but he had now allied himself to the Presbyterian party. The Presbyterians allege that he was converted to their cause by hearing a sermon from Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, a man of great abilities, who had long been a violent opponent of King James, and repeatedly dictated to his sovereign in such an arbitrary and offensive manner, that it was at length found necessary, in 1621, to commit him to Edinburgh Castle for a few months; and he was afterwards banished to Inverness, where he continued till the death of the King in 1625.† It was on a sacrament occasion, in a parish “ somewhat distant from Leuchars,” when Henderson heard Bruce preach the sermon which is said to have converted him to Presbyterianism; but it is well known that his introduction to Leuchars parish was most unpopular. It is admitted that he was irritated by the neglect of Archbishop Spottiswoode, who after he became Primate had not thought himself bound to pay the future champion of the National Covenant any particular attention. “ Gladstanes’ death in June 1615,” says Henderson’s biographer, “ removed from his

* Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of Perth, MS. Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh.

† This banishment to a particular and distinct town, far from friends and acquaintances, was no slight punishment in those days of bad roads, no conveyances, and no post-offices, while corresponding by letter was difficult and even dangerous.

mind any personal feeling of restraint which gratitude to his patron might have engendered ; and the studied indifference with which Spottiswoode treated the son and protegees of his predecessor could not fail to wound their pride, and disappoint their prospects.* This is a most important admission, and considerably militates against the conscientious motives of Henderson. Yet he was not altogether neglected, for one of the very last acts of the Perth Assembly was to sanction the removal of “ Mr William Scott and Mr Alexander Henderson ” to Edinburgh ; and though Calderwood alleges that “ the Bishops meant no such thing in earnest,” merely because the appointment did not then happen, Dr Aiton confesses that “ there is not even the slightest hint as to what actually was the cause why Scott and Henderson were not translated at this time, but it is probable that the choice merely was made, and that Spottiswoode refused to concur.” In the Records of the Synod of Fife, 6th April 1619, the following notice occurs—“ Mr Alexander Henderson has not given the Communion according to the prescribed order, not of contempt, as he deponed solemnly, but because he is not fully persuaded of the lawfulness thereof. He is exhorted to obedience and conformity.” Henderson and two of his friends published a pamphlet by subscription, entitled the “ Perth Assembly,” in which they attempted to show that the Five Articles were inconsistent with Scripture, and that the Assembly was illegally constituted and conducted. After this, till about 1630, he appears to have resided quietly in his parish of Leuchars. In 1620 Archbishop Spottiswoode published in London the only work he is known to have printed in his lifetime—a small historical treatise in Latin entitled, “ *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanae*,” dedicated to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., and signed *JO. FANI ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUS*. It is an answer to a tract of Calderwood, who replied in 1621 in a scurrilous production which he designated, “ *Vindiciae ejusdem Epistolæ contra Calumnias Johannis Spotsvodi Fani Andreæ Psuedo-Archiepiscopi*,” which was afterwards subjoined to his “ *Altare Damascenum*. ” Bishop Lindsay of Brechin published in 1621 his “ True Narration of the Proceedings in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland holden

* Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, by John Aiton, D.D. Dolphington, p. 92.

at Perth 25th August 1618, with a Just Defence of the Articles therein concluded against a Seditious Pamphlet"—referring to Calderwood's tract. It was printed in London by "William Stansby, for Ralph Rounthwait, dwelling at the signe of the Golden Lion in Paul's Church-yard," and is dedicated to the "Reverend and Godly Brethren the Pastors and Ministers of the Church of Scotland." The Bishop of Brechin's "Narration" caused the reply written in Latin by Calderwood, under the name of Edwardus Didocavius, entitled "Altare Damascenum," of which a translation was published, with the title—"The Altar of Damascus, or the Pattern of the English Hierarchy and Church Policy obtruded upon the Church of Scotland," which also appeared in 1621, and was considered by his party unanswerable. The original Latin edition was published in Holland. King James, according to Presbyterian authority, was much annoyed by the publication of Calderwood's work. He was found very melancholy one day by an English Bishop, and when asked the cause, he replied that he had just read the "Altar of Damascus." The Bishop desired the King not to vex himself about the book, for it would be answered. "Answer that, man!" James is made to say: "How can ye? There is nothing in it but Scripture, reason, and the Fathers." Such is the anecdote, and whether true or false certain it is that every argument in Calderwood's production has been a thousand times answered and refuted.

This General Assembly at Perth in 1618 was the last held in Scotland till the memorable one at Glasgow in 1638. It is to be regretted that no records are known to exist of the particular proceedings at Perth, or of the General Assembly held at St Andrews in the previous year, except what is preserved by Calderwood in his "History." The original records of all the General Assemblies entitled the "Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland," extending to three volumes, which were laid on the table of the Glasgow General Assembly in 1638, and attested as genuine, found their way into the possession of, or were entrusted to, Alexander second Lord Balcarres in 1652, probably during his Lordship's residence with his family in St Andrews that year, when he was in close correspondence with Charles II. They were afterwards concealed by a private individual till 1677, when they were placed in the hands of Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh, afterwards Archbishop of Glas-

gow, who retained them till the Revolution in 1688. After the Revolution some of the volumes and papers were entrusted to a son of the former clerk of the General Assemblies after that of 1638. This was Secretary Johnston, who lent some of them to his cousin Bishop Burnet, and others of them to the noted George Ridpath, who had undertaken to write a history of Scottish affairs. The three volumes previous to 1638 were obtained by the Honourable and Right Reverend Bishop Archibald Campbell, son of Lord Niel Campbell, and grandson of the eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, who, like Secretary Johnston's father, was executed as a traitor. The Presbyterians allege that Bishop Campbell obtained possession of the books surreptitiously, but this they were never able to prove. In 1733, Mr William Grant, afterwards a judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Prestongrange, corresponded with Bishop Campbell for the surrender of the books, but too large a sum of money was demanded, and even that sum the Bishop declared he would not accept till the books were to be published under his own exclusive superintendence. "While the negotiation was in progress," says Principal Lee of Edinburgh, from whose statement these details are abridged, "Mr Campbell, as he had sometimes threatened to do, took a step which was intended to put the books for ever beyond the reach of the [Presbyterian] Church of Scotland, by entering into a deed or covenant with the President and Fellows of Sion College, with whom he deposited them." In 1828 and subsequent years the General Assembly made great efforts to obtain possession of the books, and had some disagreeable altercations with the Fellows of Sion College, who refused to give them upon any terms, but were willing to allow a transcript. It was at length resolved to petition Parliament on the subject. On the 2d of May 1834, the Assistant-Librarian of Sion College was summoned by a Committee of the House of Commons, and ordered to produce the books. On the 5th they were inspected by competent persons from Scotland, who attested their authenticity. The books were unfortunately left in the House of Commons, and perished in the great fire which destroyed both Houses of Parliament on the following 16th of October. Those curious records of Scottish religious turmoil were thus irrecoverably lost.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE PERTH ARTICLES—DEATH OF BISHOP COWPAR—ECCLESIASTICAL ARRANGEMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS—MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT—ITS PROCEEDINGS—CHANGES IN THE DIOCESES.

SOME weeks after the meeting of the Perth General Assembly, Archbishop Law held Diocesan Synods at Glasgow and Peebles, in which considerable opposition was manifested to the Five Articles. On the last day of November the Archbishop wrote to his “reverend and well-beloved the Moderator and Brethren of the Presbytery of Ayr,” imploringly and affectionately beseeching them to conformity. “I do by these presents,” he said, “command you all, and every one of you, to make due and lawful premonition to your parishioners to assemble and convene themselves the said 25th of December next to come at your several parish kirks, and there by public preaching, prayer, and thanksgiving, to worship God, and praise him for the inestimable benefit of the birth and incarnation of his Son.” The Archbishop proceeded to warn them of the consequences of their contumacy, which involved deposition from their parishes, and intimated to them the pain it would inflict upon himself to be compelled to adopt extreme measures; “but,” he concludes, “hoping better of you, and that ye will in holy wisdom and due obedience conform yourselves to that which hath so much lawful authority, and will prove so profitable, I commend you to the grace of God.”

The effect of this letter, which the Archbishop would doubtless circulate throughout his whole Diocese, is not stated. Some days before the 25th of December the King addressed a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh to observe the injunction of the General

Assembly, and preach on that day. Calderwood states that only two of the parish churches of the city were open, in which Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr William Struthers officiated, and he assails those otherwise very inconsistent persons, if we take into account their previous career and sentiments, in the most opprobrious and vulgar manner. Galloway is designated a “vain-glorious man.” Bishop Cowpar preached in the Chapel-Royal, and the reader is already familiar with the substance of his sermon. On the 10th of February three of the citizens were summoned before the High Commission, accused of opening their shops during the time of divine service, sauntering before their shop doors, dissuading the people from resorting to the churches, and denouncing the observance of Christmas Day. They apologized for their conduct, and were dismissed with an admonition to be more cautious in future.

The sentiments of the Presbytery of Perth, which includes a large tract of country now divided into twenty parishes, exclusive of the city of Perth, may be inferred from the following extract from the manuscript Kirk-Session Records:—“ Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld, as moderator of the Presbytery of Perth, acquainted the Presbytery, February 24, 1619, that it was his Majesty’s will that the statutes of the General Assembly holden at Perth in the month of August last be kept in all points, and especially in the ministration of the Communion, and keeping of the preaching days mentioned in the said acts of Assembly. A letter was produced to the Presbytery, March 10, 1619, sent by my Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, the tenor of which was:—‘ LOVING BRETHREN—I have understood that, notwithstanding the intimation made to you of the acts of our late General Assembly, and a desire that ye should have conformed yourselves in preaching all this last Christmas in your kirks of the matters pertinent to that day, divers have disobeyed, and not only foreborne to practice as you were commanded, but also in your sermons and exercises sought occasion to condemn the proceedings of the Assembly, which in a Kirk well constituted is not tolerable. The evils hereof, and our care to prevent them, have brought us in this last meeting which we have kept at Edinburgh to appoint that warning should be given by every Bishop to the Exercise [Presbytery] within his Diocese for a precise keeping of these acts in time coming, especially for giving Communion on Easter Day in the

form prescribed by kneeling, and the observance of the Passion Day, Easter itself, Ascension Day, and Pentecost, by a thankful commemoration of the benefits [which] the Lord our God vouchsafed us thereon in Christ Jesus. According to the whilk ordinance I have thought meet to make warning unto you, that none should pretend excuse, or deceive himself by a conceit of forbearing and oversight though he transgress, seeing, beside the danger of schism in this nonconformity, we are commanded by his Majesty to suffer that none may bruick [enjoy] the ministry that do not obey to the practice of the same, as we will be answerable upon our own dangers and the loss of our places, which we have in greater regard than to choose to lose them by our negligence; and as I think ye will esteem somewhat more of your ministry than to be deprived, or lose the exercise thereof for disobeying in matters of indifferent nature. Howbeit if any will upon wilful pretext scorn, let him be assured upon notice hereof, to be called before the Commission, and discharged from henceforth of his ministry. And trusting this shall be sufficient either to work obedience with you, or to discharge myself to those that will not, I commit you to God. You must direct your ministers to think in due time after what order these may best be done, and to prepare that all things may be with the conformity and greatest decency that is possible in your communions. Edinburgh, 16th February, 1619."

On the day before the date of this letter the Church sustained a severe loss by the death of Bishop Cowpar at Edinburgh in the fifty-third year of his age. Mr Scott candidly observes—" Calderwood in his History has collected together several stories to the Bishop's disadvantage, tending chiefly to shew that he was rigorous in exacting the revenues of his Bishopric, and that therefore he bore too great a love to the world. But it is with the utmost caution that stories propagated in the times of party heat and animosity should be admitted, and it is well known that the revenues of the Church in general, and of the Diocese of Galloway in particular, had been dilapidated in the most shameful manner—an evil which from the Reformation to the present time has been felt, and loudly complained of."* We have another Presbyterian testimony in favour of Bishop Cowpar from a local writer, who con-

* Kirk-Session Records of Perth, MS.

fesses that Calderwood's "observations respecting individuals must be received with caution. That Cowpar was both an amiable and pious man can hardly be denied, for though he changed his opinions on religious subjects, and espoused the cause of Episcopacy, yet he is said by impartial observers always to have exhibited a laudable moderation, and an undeviating attachment to the best interests of Christianity."* Calderwood accuses Bishop Cowpar of various acts of neglect, extortion, and oppression, which it was impossible he could commit even if he had been inclined, while his public and private character is a complete refutation of the charges paraded against him. He alleges that in the course of the seven years during which Bishop Cowpar held the See of Galloway he "extorted" not less than L.8,333 sterling. A greater falsehood never was invented even by Presbyterian malignity. The Bishopric of Galloway was, like Brechin and Dunblane, long proverbial for its poverty, and after the Revolution of 1688, when all the revenues of the Scottish Archbishops and Bishops were seized by the Crown, the rental of this very Bishopric of Galloway as enjoyed by John Gordon the then Bishop, was only L.228, 12s. sterling. The sum of L.8,333 sterling, or L.100,000 Scots money, which Bishop Cowpar is accused of "extorting," was not in circulation in one half of the Lowland counties.

Calderwood asserts "that Bishop Cowpar had never ability to go up to the pulpit after his Christmas sermon." It is generally stated that he died of what is expressively called a *broken heart*, and this is to a certain extent admitted by Archbishop Spottiswoode. After noticing the refutation of the falsehood that the Synod of Dordrecht in Holland, convened to repress the Arminians, had condemned the Five Articles of Perth, the Primate says of the Presbyterians—"They ceased not by their libels and pamphlets to injure the most worthy men, and among others the Bishop of Galloway, whom they vexed so with their papers, that he, taking the business more to heart than was needful, fell into a sickness whereof he deceased in the beginning of the same year. An excellent and ready preacher he was, and a singular good man,

* The History of Galloway from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, in two vols. Kirkcudbright, 1841, vol. ii. p. 27, 28, said to be written by Mr William MacKenzie, in 1843 inducted as Established Presbyterian minister of Skirling in Peeblesshire.

but one that affected too much the applause of the popular. The good opinion of the people is to be deserved, if it may be had lawfully, but when it cannot be obtained (as who is he that can please all men and at all times?) the testimony of a well informed conscience should suffice."

The authentic account of the last illness and death of Bishop Cowpar cannot fail to be read with interest. "Among the same papers," say the editors of his works, "we found three short meditations, whereby he comforted himself when he found his death approaching, written also with his own hand, and bearing date the 7th of December 1618." They then state—"This faithful servant of God, who from the time of his entry into the ministry had always shewed himself diligent and faithful in his calling, notwithstanding that his sickness grew daily upon him, was no way deficient in his duties of ordinary preaching,* taking great pains also to perfect his work upon the Revelation, which he had begun, and desired greatly to finish it before his dying. Besides which studies the grief he received from the backwardness of unruly spirits in giving obedience to the Articles concluded in the late [Perth] Assembly, and ratified by authority, to the great disturbance of the peace of the Church which he laboured carefully in all his life to procure, did hasten him not a little into his end. In the beginning of January 1619, his infirmity increasing, he was compelled to keep at home, and not go any more abroad. Yet as his weakness did permit he gave himself to revise his writings and dispose of his worldly affairs, that he might be ready for his passage, which every day he expected. Some ten days before his departure, having his mind freed from all earthly business, he manifested a great contentment he had in his approaching death. The Wednesday before, which was the 10th of February, the Bishops and some other brethren being assembled at Edinburgh for certain affairs of the Church, took occasion to meet in his house because of his sickness, which he took most kindly, and continued with them that whole afternoon, giving wholesome advice in matters propounded; and shewed himself as

* It is previously stated that when Bishop Cowpar was minister of Perth, in addition to his sermons on Sunday he preached every Wednesday, Friday and Saturday evening, and on the forenoon of every Tuesday or Thursday. Mr Scott (MS. Kirk-Session Records) states that his "excellent and pious commentary on that devotional part of Scripture, the 119th Psalm, was delivered by him in the course of his evening lectures on the week days."

pleasant and jocund in speeches as ever before. Howbeit, even then he signified to them that his death was drawing near, and declared his mind somewhat disposedly concerning his successors. The days following, he kept with all that came to visit him in most holy and divine conferences, expressing a great willingness to exchange this life for that better. Upon Monday, which was the 15th day of February, at one o'clock in the afternoon, feeling his strength and spirits to decay, after he had conceived a most heavenly prayer in the company of those that were with him, he desired to be laid in bed (for the days before he arose always, and walked or sat in his chamber), which being done, after he had commended himself to God, he took some quiet rest ; after which he spake not many words, but those which he uttered, shew his memory and other senses to have been perfect, his tongue only failing him ; and in this sort, about seven of the clock at night he rendered his soul to God in a most quiet and peaceable manner. His body the 18th of February was interred, according to his own direction, in the church-yard called the Greyfriars' at Edinburgh, on the south side of the new church, and was conveyed to the place by the Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor, and the rest of the honourable Lords of Council, with the Magistrates of the city and many others, the funeral sermon being preached by the most reverend father in God the Archbishop of St Andrews."*

Calderwood relates that the last clerical office which Bishop Cowpar discharged was his ordaining for the ministry a certain Mr Scott who had been his secretary, and that he performed this duty sitting up in his bed. The Bishop married, in 1611, Grizel daughter of Robert Anderson. Of his descendants little is known. He had a daughter named Liliias who was baptized at Perth on the 17th of April 1615, at which were the Earl of Montrose and Lord Seone as witnesses. Another daughter was married during his

* The grave of Bishop Cowpar is still to be seen in the Greyfriars' church-yard, close to the south wall of the New Greyfriars' church, as it is called, built in 1721 at the west end of the church locally known as the Old Greyfriars, erected in 1612, in the grounds which were formerly the gardens of the Greyfriars' Monastery. The grave of the Bishop is marked by a flat stone, the Latin inscription on which was tolerably legible in 1843. The epitaph is—" *Hic conditum est corpus Gullielmi Cowpar, Candidæ Case Episcopi, qui postquam quinquaginta tres annos vixisset, et triginta tres evangelium, multa cum spiratus virtute predicasset, et Opera Theologica non pauca, pietatis et eruditionis testes perennes scripsisset: quievit a laboribus 15to Februarii 1619.*"

lifetime to John Crawfurd of Skeldon, and this intimates that the mother of Lilius Cowpar was the Bishop's second wife. The whole of his valuable treatises were collected and published in one folio volume in London in 1726, when his Commentary on the Book of Revelation was the first time printed. Some of his manuscript writings, which were in the possession of private citizens of Perth in 1775, are probably now lost.

Bishop Cowpar was succeeded in the See of Galloway by Bishop Lamb, one of the three consecrated at London, who was translated from Brechin. The Presbyterian historian of Galloway thus speaks of Bishop Lamb—"Immoderately hostile to the cause of Presbytery, he was a fit member of the High Commission Court, Never was this man known to shew mercy to the suffering Presbyterians."* This is a mere gratuitous assertion, for there were no "suffering Presbyterians" in those times. Several memorials of Bishop Lamb still exist at Brechin. He was succeeded in that See by David Lindsay, then minister of Dundee, son of Colonel John Lindsay, a brother of Lindsay of Edzel—an ancient branch of the Lindsays in Forfarshire. He was consecrated in the Castle of St Andrews on the 23d of November by Archbishop Spottiswoode. Calderwood says that Bishop Lindsay's preferment was "the reward he got for his book entitled *Resolutions for Kneeling*, which was answered soon after in the book entitled *Solutions of Doctor Resolutus his Resolutions for Kneeling*." The value of the so called "reward," will be easily understood by the reader when he is informed that the Bishopric of Brechin had been so dilapidated at and after the Reformation that it was the poorest in Scotland; and at the Revolution the revenue enjoyed by Bishop Drummond was only £.76 sterling.

To narrate all the local discussions, animosities, and evasions, connected with the Five Articles of Perth, and especially the one which enjoined the attitude of kneeling at the Eucharist, would be merely to quote Calderwood's accounts, and his exaggerations of the "scenes" at different places. Sydserff, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, was then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and took a prominent part in the controversy. Some of the more refractory were called before the High Commission Court, but nothing of importance occurred. Archbishop Spottiswoode states that there

* History of Galloway, 1841, vol. ii. p. 28.

was much contention in Edinburgh in the spring of 1619, between the clergy and the Magistrates, on account of the people “straying from their churches, at which the Magistrates were thought to connive.” The mutual retorts and recriminations were brought before the King. The ministers contended that they were “unkindly used for the obedience given to the Acts of the Perth Assembly;” while, on the other hand, the Magistrates alleged that “the ministers were the cause of the people’s disobedience, some of them having directly preached against the Acts of Perth, and all of them affirming that these Acts were concluded against their hearts.” The King ordered the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and Lord Binning, Secretary of State, to investigate the truth of these charges, and as it appeared that both parties were to blame, they were advised to “lay aside their grudges, and keep one course for the retaining the people in the obedience of God and his Majesty.” On this occasion the Magistrates were enjoined to divide the city into parishes, and to provide four additional ministers. In consequence of this arrangement, Dr William Forbes, minister at Aberdeen, Mr John Guthrie, minister at Perth, Mr John Maxwell of Mortlach, and Mr Alexander Thomson of Cambuslang, were translated from their respective parishes to Edinburgh.

The two first named were eminent individuals. Forbes is subsequently noticed as the first Bishop of Edinburgh, after the erection of the See in 1633. Guthrie, afterwards Bishop of Moray, succeeded Bishop Cowpar as minister of Perth. His removal to Edinburgh was not effected till 1621, his popularity in Perth having induced the inhabitants to oppose it as much as possible. The Perth Kirk-Session Records, under date June 12th 1621, detail the popular reluctance which was manifested to his resignation of his charge in the “Fair City.” Mr Scott remarks—“The Presbytery had concurred all along with the town-council and session in opposing Mr Guthrie’s translation.—It was no doubt very hard to force Mr Guthrie from the charge which he loved, especially to carry him to a scene of tumult such as Edinburgh then was. But the situation of the Church seemed to require such a man as Mr Guthrie to be at Edinburgh; and the King having directed that four new ministers should be added to the number who had formerly been in Edinburgh, insisted that Mr Guthrie should obey.

He was present again at Perth in a meeting of council and the kirk-session, July 12, 1621, after which his actual translation seems to have taken place." He was succeeded at Perth by Mr John Robertson, who, with the sanction of Archbishop Spottiswoode, was ordained and admitted second minister of Perth by the Bishop of Dunkeld on Sunday, March 3, 1622. Mr Scott says that Mr Robertson "continued minister at Perth, much esteemed by the people and by the brethren of the Presbytery, till he was deposed by a very arbitrary sentence, May 28, 1645."

Several proceedings of the Bishops are recorded by Calderwood in the years 1617, 1620, and 1621, connected with the refractory preachers who would not acknowledge the Five Articles of Perth. The great source of contention was the enjoined mode of administering and receiving the Communion, but as the parties concerned were obscure and are now forgotten, the details are not of much interest. On the 6th of April 1619, Archbishop Spottiswoode held his Diocesan Synod at St Andrews, but no business was transacted, in consequence of an alarming report of the King's dangerous illness. At another Synod held in Edinburgh, after it was understood that the King had recovered, the Archbishop plainly intimated to some of the more obstinate ministers in the vicinity of the city that they were likely to incur banishment to the "new found lands, and loss of their stipends." A few days afterwards the Primate undertook one of his numerous journeys to the Court. The Archbishop of Glasgow in his Diocesan Synod carefully recorded all those who had not conformed. A few were subsequently deprived, or rather their ministerial functions were suspended, and confined to residence in distant towns. In June 1619, the Court of High Commission was renewed, with power to summon all avowed or suspected Roman Catholics, and all who opposed, either by speech or in writing, the Perth Articles—the punishment to be "suspension, deprivation, fining, warding, and imprisoning, of all such as are disaffected and seditious persons, according to the nature and aggravation of the offence." Mr Scott very candidly observes—"The High Commission was, to be sure, a Court constituted for very arbitrary purposes. It is not impossible, however, but that some honest men might think, though very unjustly, that the necessity of the times required it."

Calderwood reports a long "conference betwixt the Bishops and

ministers at St Andrews," on the 23d of November and two following days. Archbishop Spottiswoode presided, and after opening the meeting with prayer, informed the parties present that the King had so far sanctioned the conference, and had sent Lord Scone to attend for his interest. The alleged speeches and observations of the Bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, Ross, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, are recorded, as also some of those of the ordinary ministers, but the discussion, which was chiefly about the state of the Church, and the observance of the Perth Articles, is now of no interest.

In 1620 several of the Presbyterian party were cited before the High Commission. Some were "warded," but on the whole they were leniently treated. It appears from various documents that many of the Presbyteries exerted themselves greatly this year against the avowed or suspected professors of the Roman Catholic religion, especially those in the higher ranks of life. The members of the Roman Church, however, were gradually decreasing in influence, and even in numbers, except among the half civilized Highlanders, many of whose Chiefs, from their lawless character and difficulty of access in their remote mountain districts, were unmolested.

On the 1st of June 1621, the Scottish Parliament met at Edinburgh, the Marquis of Hamilton presiding as the King's Commissioner. The two Archbishops, and all the Bishops, with the exception of those of Moray and The Isles, were present. On the third day after the meeting the Lords of the Articles were chosen, among whom were the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, Orkney, and Argyll. On the following day the very first act of the Parliament ratified the Five Articles of the Perth General Assembly, which was a severe blow to the Presbyterian party. In this Parliament the Deanery of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling Castle was annexed to the Bishopric of Dunblane; but, with the exception of a few other acts regulating the temporalities of several parishes, and connecting them with particular Bishoprics, the great majority of the enactments had no connection with the Church. This was the last Scottish Parliament held in the reign of James, and Archbishop Spottiswoode states that it was the one "wherein he received greatest content" by the ratification of the Perth Articles. He

expressed his sentiments to the Bishops and Privy Council on the subject in letters dated the 29th of September. To the former the King wrote that “as they had to do with two sorts of enemies, Papists and Puritans, so they should go forward in action both against the one and the other ; that Papistry was a disease of the mind and Puritanism of the brain ; and the antidote of both a grave, settled, and well ordered Church, in the obedience of God and their King, whereof he willed them to be careful, and to use all means for reducing those that either of simplicity or wilfulness did err.” On the last day of the Parliament a tremendous and alarming storm of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, broke forth, accompanied by an extraordinary darkness, and it is gravely stated that “God appeared angry at the concluding of the [Perth] Articles,” at the moment the Marquis of Hamilton, as Lord High Commissioner, rose to touch them with the sceptre, according to the Scottish custom when an act of Parliament was to be ratified. Archbishop Spottiswoode observes that “the factious sort did interpret it to be a visible sign of God’s anger for ratifying the acts of Perth ; others, in derision of their folly, said—that it was to be taken for an approbation from Heaven, likening the same to the thunderings and lightnings at the giving of the Law of Moses.”

Nothing of any importance occurs in the history of the Church in 1622, with the exception of some proceedings against a few of the more refractory and obstinate of the Presbyterians. Among those who figured in this manner were Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Blair, and Mr David Dickson. In that year Dr William Forbes was translated from Aberdeen to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In the Diocesan Synod of Fife held at St Andrews in the beginning of October, it was resolved that ministers should teach no other doctrine on the afternoons of Sunday except that contained in the catechism. Calderwood mentions a curious fact connected with the University of St Andrews in 1623. On the 15th of January, Dr Wedderburn and Dr Melville were directed by a letter from Dr Young, Dean of Winchester, in the King’s name, to use the English Liturgy at morning and evening service in St Salvador’s College, which was accordingly done without any opposition. At that time, and long afterwards, most of the students resided in the College, at least all those who were on the foundation.

At this period great excitement prevailed in England and Scot-

land respecting the matrimonial expedition of Prince Charles to Spain. The unsuccessful result of that projected alliance is well known. Calderwood introduces it to indulge his malignity against the Church generally, and in particular against the future Bishop of Edinburgh. He records several gossipping reports of the theological opinions of Dr Forbes, whose learning, eloquence, and piety, could not be denied by the Presbyterians, and they resorted to their usual mode of endeavouring to prejudice the people against their opponents by representing him as a Romanist. It is, however, unnecessary to narrate those contentions, all of which refer to merely local matters.

Bishop Douglas of Moray died at his cathedral town of Elgin in May 1623, and was interred in the church of St Giles there, which was the pastoral charge of the Bishops of Moray. During the episcopate of Bishop Douglas, a second incumbent was appointed about 1613, who was considered the Bishop's vicar, and even in the Presbyterian Establishment the incumbency of the town and parish of Elgin is still collegiate. Bishop Keith states that Bishop Douglas was interred in the "south aisle of the church of St Giles, in a vault built by his widow, who likewise erected a stately monument over him, which is to be seen quite entire to this day;" but Mr Lachlan Shaw, in his "History of Moray," informs us that "the church of St Giles, being an old vaulted fabric, fell down in 1679, and was soon rebuilt in the modern way as it now stands." The monument was doubtless preserved. The old church of St Giles fell on the forenoon of Sunday the 22d of June 1679, the very day on which the Battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought, and fortunately the accident happened after the congregation had retired from the morning service. Bishop Douglas was succeeded in the See of Moray by Mr John Guthrie, already mentioned as successively one of the ministers of Perth and of Edinburgh. He was proprietor of the estate of Guthrie in Forfarshire, and is justly described by Bishop Keith as a "venerable, worthy, and hospitable Prelate."

In 1624 several Presbyterian preachers were deprived for holding conventicles and other seditious meetings. Calderwood gives very ample details of their examinations, which resemble each other. Towards the end of that year the ministers of Edinburgh were again engaged in a troublesome dispute with some of the citizens

and members of the kirk-session about the order for administering the Communion. The leader of this opposition to the clergy was one of the bailies or magistrates named William Rigg, assisted by several “base companions,” as Archbishop Spottiswoode designates them. Calderwood concludes his “History” by narrating the proceeding at length in his own way. It appears that Bailie Rigg challenged Dr Forbes for “divers points of doctrine,” says Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was present at the examinations, “delivered by him in his sermons, and as he refused to be judged by him and the laics that assisted, the said Bailie did openly threaten them all that unless they returned to the old [sitting] form of ministering the holy Communion, the whole people would forsake them.” They were all summoned before Sir George Hay, afterwards first Earl of Kinnoul, who had been appointed Lord Chancellor at the death of the Earl of Dunfermline in 1622. The Privy Council ordered them to leave the city, deprived Bailie Rigg of his situation in the magistracy, and declared him incapable of ever holding any public office. The result of this dispute was favourable to the Church in Edinburgh. The clergy were ordered to reside in their respective parishes; and the popular election of the incumbents by the citizens was prohibited, and vested in the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council, with whom the right of presentation to all the parishes within the ancient and extended Royalty still remains.

During this local dispute Mr Patrick Galloway died at Edinburgh about the end of the year. This personage was a very eminent though not the most consistent man in his day, and was well known in Scotland. In his youth he was a keen follower of Andrew Melville, and attached himself to the Presbyterian party; he next approved to a certain extent of the Tulchan Episcopate; and he latterly became zealous for the Episcopal Church. He left Perth at the end of 1591 to serve James VI. as his chaplain, and his abilities soon attracted the notice, and obtained for him the friendship, of the King. Mr Scott, in his Extracts from the Kirk-Session of Perth, has quaintly condensed all that is recorded of Patrick Galloway by Archbishop Spottiswoode, Calderwood, and others, and his notices are here for the first time printed.

“In the year 1600 he [Galloway] was very serviceable to the King by his persuading many people of the reality of John Earl of

Gowrie's treason, especially by a sermon to that purpose which he preached at the Cross of Edinburgh a few days after the Earl and his brother Alexander Ruthven were slain. He chose for his text Psalm cxxiv., which according to the old translation was as follows :—‘ Praised be the Lord who hath not given us a prey unto their teeth. Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers ; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. Our help is in the name of the Lord who hath made heaven and earth.’ On the street, in the audience of the King, of many noblemen and barons, and of a great multitude of people, he related at length the particulars of the unhappy affair at Perth, according as it had been told him. He pathetically described the imminent danger in which the King had been ; and then, as the proper improvement, called upon the King to give thanks to God, and to continue his trust in the Divine Providence ; and urged all the rest who were present to unite in their thanksgivings as loyal subjects for the great deliverance their Prince had met with. Spottiswoode says that this sermon gave satisfaction to many who before had been very doubtful of the truth of the King’s story. He continued his endeavours, labouring, both by his public discourses and by his private correspondence with ministers and others, to remove the unfavourable suspicions that had been entertained. The King his master was abundantly sensible of his faithful service in that cause. He doubled to him the pension he formerly received from the Abbey of Sccone, and held him in greater esteem than ever ; but he lost much of his popularity by the zeal with which he espoused the King’s interest. Some worthy good men, who did not see things in the same light as Mr Galloway, plainly told him they admired his great abilities, but were doubtful of the goodness or honesty of his heart. He seemed to many intoxicated with the royal favour ; but he was warm in whatever he engaged. Having high notions of the duty which he owed as a subject to his sovereign—to a sovereign especially who had called him to be his own minister, and who put confidence in him, he thought it incumbent upon him to act as far as he could with a safe conscience in his service ; and indeed he was brought over to embrace many of the King’s opinions both with regard to Church and State.

“ When the King went to take possession of the Crown of England, April 4, 1603, he carried Mr Galloway along with him

as his minister. Mr Galloway was admitted to the celebrated Conference at Hampton Court, January 14, 1604, and afterwards wrote an account of that Conference, honourably mentioned by Dr Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. In April 1604, Mr Galloway returned to Scotland, being thought a proper person to manage the affairs of the Scottish Church. He closely corresponded with the King, made frequent journeys to London, and kept the [Presbyterian] clergy and people in Scotland wonderfully quiet, considering the design which was then taking effect against the Presbyterian Establishment. The Commission of the General Assembly, June 7, 1607, appointed him to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Though the Parliament which met at Perth, July 1, 1606, had established Prelacy in a more ample manner than it had been at any time since the Reformation, and though the temporalities of the Bishoprics were restored by that Parliament, yet Mr Galloway, who no doubt might have had a Bishopric from the King if he had been pleased to take it, chose rather to live as a private minister. He was indeed of more service to the King by remaining in that station, than he could have been if he had accepted the odious (!) office of a Bishop; and he continued throughout his whole life to have a good deal of influence with the Presbyterian party.

" After the Assembly at Perth, August 25, 1618, in which the five famous Articles which the King was obtruding upon the Church were agreed to, Mr Galloway hurt his private usefulness as a minister of the gospel, and rendered himself obnoxious to many, by the impetuous manner in which he sought to enforce the practice of those Articles, particularly that of kneeling at the Communion. The people of Edinburgh shewed great backwardness to comply with this last ceremony, and Mr Patrick Galloway, whose temper could bear no contradiction from his parishioners, frequently shewed an indecent degree of passion, by rudely commanding the communicants to kneel while he was giving them the elements at the Lord's table.

" Calderwood relates an unseemly accident which befell on one of these occasions as follows, April 21, 1622:—Mr Galloway, being to dispense the Lord's Supper in the Old Church of Edinburgh, said in his sermon—' To yourselves be it said, to God be it said, and to the King be it said, if ye kneel not, for now there

is a law established by act of Parliament for it.' Having come down from the pulpit after sermon to consecrate the elements by prayer, he kneeled, as the custom was, before the table, on which were four cups full of wine. In rising after prayer, being now very old and infirm, he took hold of the table to help him, but in so doing he overturned it with the four cups, and also two basons which contained the elements of bread. The bread and table-cloths being all wet, and stained with the colour of the wine, occasioned no little confusion, and discomposed the minds of many ; and the service was obliged to stop till the Dean of Guild went and got new provision of table-cloths, bread, and wine. The people considered this accident as a rebuke, and Mr Galloway himself appears to have been not entirely void of such an apprehension. The next Sabbath, continuing to give the Communion, he said to an old man who had been his parishioner in Perth, and who afterwards was his parishioner in Edinburgh, while he was putting the elements into his hands—‘ Why do you sit so slovenly? Bow down and kneel.’ The man answered—‘ If I be now doing wrong, you have been teaching me wrong these forty-three years.’ But it was observed that when Mr Galloway himself communicated, he bowed only the one leg, and still sat upon the seat. Being grieved to the heart with the hurt which he saw insisting on the ceremony of kneeling occasioned, he intimated that the next Sabbath he would again proceed to give the Communion, and would give it to the communicants sitting, standing, or kneeling. Thus he seems to have yielded a point which he had zealously contended for about four years ; and in yielding this point, he shewed that the general success of the gospel was more precious to him than the favour of the Prince.

“ Many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh blamed him unjustly for encouraging the King in the imposition of ceremonies. The fact was, that he and the other clergy who appeared obsequious were in their hearts averse from such things, at least judged their introduction at that time very inexpedient. In April 1620, a person in Edinburgh wrote in a letter to Mr Galloway the following severe words—‘ In the pregnancy of your youth you stirred up the Lords against the King at the Raid of Ruthven ; in the dotage of your age you would stir up the King against the Lord’s servants, both pastors and people.’”

" According to the Session-Register of Perth he was married to Martha Guthrie, with whom he was contracted, April 21, 1583 ; but by the account of his family in Douglas' Peerage it appears that she dying, he married another wife." This was Mary, daughter of James Lawson, the successor of John Knox as minister of Edinburgh. By this marriage he had a son, Sir Patrick Galloway, who acquired the lands of Carnbee in Fife. He was a person of great abilities, and obtained the favour of King James, by whom he was knighted, and appointed Master of Requests when a young man. He was continued in this office by Charles I., to whom he was devotedly attached, and who conferred on him various other appointments. In 1645, the King rewarded his fidelity and services by creating him Lord Dunkeld. He married a daughter of Sir Robert Norton, knight, by whom he had Thomas, who succeeded him as second Lord Dunkeld. That nobleman married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, by whom he had three sons and four daughters, the second of whom married Thomas Rattray of Craighall in Perthshire, from whom descended Bishop Rattray, and the second married the Rev. Dr Falconer. His eldest son, James third Lord Dunkeld, embraced the military profession, and is described as having been a brave officer. He refused to conform to the Revolution, joined the Viscount of Dundee when he raised forces for James II., and was at the Battle of Killiecrankie, for which he was outlawed and attainted. He retired to the exiled monarch's little Court at St Germain, entered the French service, and was killed in action, leaving a son and a daughter, who became a nun in the Val de Grace at Paris. This son took the title of Lord Dunkeld, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the French service. He married, but left no issue. " Thus," observes Mr Scott in his simple way, " the posterity of Mr Patrick Galloway were nobilitated ; thus did they continue obstinate in their fidelity to the Royal House of Stuart ; thus did they at last become Popish, and enter into a foreign service ; and in all probability the direct male line is already or will soon be extinct."

In the spring of 1625 King James, who had previously suffered from severe illness, was seized with ague, of which he died at Theobald's on the 27th of March in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his funeral sermon was

preached by Dr Williams the Dean, then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York. His views as to ecclesiastical and religious affairs in Scotland are best understood by the measures which he adopted, and for the accomplishment of which he exerted all his influence and authority with unwearied zeal and perseverance. His character as a monarch and as a man has been so often discussed, that it would be superfluous to attempt any new delineation of it in the present work. As it respects his exertions for the Episcopal Church of Scotland, we are informed by Bishop Henry Guthrie in his "Memoirs of Scotland," in alluding to the Scottish Bishops of his reign—"It had been King James' custom, when a Bishopric became vacant, to appoint the Archbishop of St Andrews to convene the rest, and name three or four well qualified, so that there could not be an error in the choice, and then out of that list the King pitched upon one whom he preferred, whereby it came to pass that during his time most able men were advanced, such as Mr William Cowpar to Galloway and Mr John Guthrie to Moray."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE BISHOPS—HISTORY OF TEINDS IN SCOTLAND—THE KING'S REVOCATION OF THE TEINDS—ITS DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES.

CHARLES I. soon after his accession to the throne solemnized his marriage to the Princess Henrietta of France, and diligently applied himself to public affairs. The new sovereign's attention was so much engrossed by foreign policy and events in England, that for sometime he interfered little with the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland. He indeed wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode that he was resolved to enforce all the laws enacted in the preceding reign connected with the Church, and in August he issued a royal proclamation, which was posted on the doors of every parish church, enforcing the strictest conformity to the Perth Articles. He declared his approbation of the arrangements effected by his father, but he confined himself to some important regulations connected with property and the temporal condition of the parochial incumbents. If, however, we are to credit the paper preserved by Wodrow, and said to have been written by Archbishop Spottiswoode, entitled “Extracts of the Church of Scotland as to Conformity, 1627,” it appears that three of the Perth Articles—Communion of the Sick, Private Baptism, and Confirmation—had seldom or never been administered, and even the other two, which enjoined kneeling at the communion, and the observance of the five great commemorations of the Church, were by no means generally acknowledged. This intimates that ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland were conducted by Archbishop Spottiswoode with the utmost mildness, and makes the conduct of the Presbyterian leaders the

more unwarrantable at that period. This is admitted by the most candid writers of their party. Dr Aiton mentions with approval “the able administration of Archbishop Spottiswoode,” and thinks that if Charles had continued to follow the Primate’s policy, “the Scots, instead of being his first and fiercest foes, would have continued his last and best friends.” Dr Aiton farther asserts—“If Spottiswoode’s mild measures had been persevered in till all the old heroes of Presbyterianism who had, previous to the Perth Assembly, preached against conformity, died out, and till the young were either mollified by kindness, or altogether disregarded, Prelacy might have been fairly rooted in our soil, and even come to as full a growth in Scotland as it has done in England.” These are mere matters of opinion, but it is ludicrous to find the biographer of Alexander Henderson writing about the growth of what he calls “Prelacy” in England. When was “Prelacy,” or the episcopal succession, ever out of England since the time of the early British or Anglo-Saxon Church?

The condition of the people was much the same as during the reign of James. The country was wretchedly cultivated, the roads miserable, and the ignorance of the people greatly fostered by the religious dissensions and clamours of the Presbyterian preachers. Nevertheless there was no general dissatisfaction towards the Episcopal Church. We find even Principal Baillie of Glasgow, in a letter to one of his friends in 1637, declaring—“Bishops I love, but pride, greed, luxury, oppression, immersion in secular affairs, was the bane of the Romish Prelates, and cannot have good success in the Reformed.” The several Presbyteries and Kirk-Sessions continued to occupy themselves with cases of scandal, immorality, quarrellings, strolling on Sundays, wilful neglect of public worship, deserting the parish churches, and though last not the least in that age—prosecutions for witchcraft. In that matter it cannot be denied that the Episcopal clergy were fully as zealous as their Presbyterian opponents.

During a few of the subsequent years after 1625, little occurs in the history of the Church. In 1626 the King issued a commission for constituting a new ecclesiastical judicatory under the direction of the Primate, but a clamour was raised by the Presbyterian party that the proposed Court was intended to resemble the Star Chamber Court in England, and the nobility opposed it so

resolutely that the *Commission for Grievances*, as it was called, never held even one meeting. Archbishop Spottiswoode employed his leisure time at his country seat at Dairsie Castle in Fife, in collecting and arranging the materials for his “History of the Church and State of Scotland.” The Primate had become proprietor of the estate of Dairsie, and erected the present parish church near his now ruinous castle in 1622—one of the most elegant and finely proportioned structures of the kind in Scotland. It occupies a beautiful and picturesque situation on the bank of the river Eden, which debouches into the sea about four miles from St Andrews below the Guard Bridge erected by Bishop Wardlaw in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. The Primate also erected the bridge of three arches over the Eden leading to the castle and the parish church. The injury inflicted on the church of Dairsie after the Presbyterians obtained the ascendancy is sufficiently testified by a report of its internal state as finished by the Archbishop, in the minutes of the Provincial Synod of Fife, dated November 2, 1641. They had appointed sundry of their number to visit the church, and to report on the alleged “superstitious monuments” it contained. Those enemies of architectural ornament stated that at the “entrie of sundrie desks upon the platform, and above the great west door, there are crosier staffs, in some part alone, and in other as an aditament and cognizance of the last pretended Bishop’s arms, not being any sign or cognizance ordinarie and commounie in the armes of that name or familie [of Spottiswoode], but merely a signe of his degree hierarchall, according to the manner and form used among the Roman Hierarchists and others following them. Further, they find superstitious a glorious partition wall, with a degree ascending thereto, dividing the body of the kirk from their queir [choir], as it is ordinarie called in Papistrie, and among those that follow Papists (!) And because this particular is not speciallie named in their commissioun, and a great part is the building and ornament of some desks ; and above the great door of their queir, so called, the arms of Scotland and England quartered, with divers crosses about and beside them, whereupon the Kirk has not yet particularlie determined.” On the 4th of October 1642, the “partition timber wall in the kirk of Dairsie” was ordered to be taken down, and on the 20th of May 1645 those bigotted individuals “recommended to Alex-

ander Inglis of Kingask, depute-bailie of the regalitie of St Andrews, to have a care that the act of the Assembly be satisfied anent the full removing of what is superstitious in the kirk of Dairsie, and particularlie anent the levelling of the choir, which he being present did promise."

On the 14th of May 1626, King Charles sent a command signed by himself to the Lords of the Exchequer to admit Archbishop Spottiswoode as President of that Court. Sir James Balfour states that the Primate was the "first and last President that ever the Exchequer of Scotland had." On the 11th of June the King wrote to the Archbishop thanking him for his "pains in his service;" and on the 12th of July Charles addressed a letter to the Privy Council, commanding that the Archbishop, as Primate of Scotland, should have precedence before the Lord Chancellor, and consequently before all the Nobility. The Lord Chancellor at the time was Sir George Hay, repeatedly mentioned as the first Earl of Kinnoull, who resisted this order, and would never allow the Primate to have the precedence, "do what he could," says Sir James Balfour, "all the days of his life." This order for the precedence of the Archbishop, though harmless in itself, and merely in conformity to the practice in England, was injudicious at the time, and eventually injurious to the Church, as it and some other marks of the royal favour rendered the Bishops liable to the accusation of ambitious secularity—a charge of which their enemies failed not to take due advantage.

At the time of the arrival of the above order Bishop Lindsay of Ross came from England, and brought ten articles signed by the King on the 12th of July respecting the Church, copies of which were sent to the Archbishops and to all the Bishops. They first authorized the Archbishops and Bishops to allow those ministers who were refractory, and would not conform to the Five Articles of Perth, "a time till they be better resolved, provided they utter no doctrine publicly against the King's authority, the church government, nor canons thereof;" and the second stipulated that those ministers were not either publicly or privately to dissuade others from obeying them, nor refuse to administer the Communion to all who desired to receive it kneeling, prohibiting them from admitting any persons belonging to the congregations of their neighbours to the Communion without the testimonial of

their ministers. The exiled preachers were to be allowed to return, and those confined or suspended from their functions for their refractory conduct were to be placed again in churches, if they conducted themselves according to law, and recognized those conditions. The Archbishops and Bishops were enjoined to see that all parochial incumbents admitted since the Perth General Assembly observed the Five Articles, and to censure those who refused ; and if any had been admitted without subscribing a bond of conformity the Diocese was to be intimated to the King, and the Bishop censured, while the “ said minister be urged to subscribe the bond, which at his entry should have been done by him.” The Archbishops and Bishops were strictly ordered to reside at their cathedral churches, and those who neglected to do so were to be reported to the King. They were also to “ use ordinary visitations, and in the time thereof they plant schools in every parish, and cause weekly catechize the people by every minister for renouncing ignorance, barbarity, and atheism ; and that also they take order for entertaining the poor in each parish.” One of the articles specially referred to Robert first Earl of Nithsdale, who was not to be “ troubled for his religion unless he give some public offence,” until the King’s pleasure was known. Mr Peter Hay of Naughton was ordered to deliver the manuscript of his book to the Archbishop of St Andrews for examination and correction before it was sent to press, and the said Mr Peter was assured that the King would not forget his good services done to his “ late dear father,” but have a care of his preferment.”* It is noticed in the records of the Diocesan Synod of Fife, held at St Andrews on the 2d of October 1627, that “ my Lord Archbishop desired that the purpose concerning Mr Peter Hay of Naughton’s book should not be mentioned in the public synod ; and declared that his Lordship would not be present if the same were spoken of.”† This book was “ An Advertisement to the Subjects of Scotland of the Fearfull Dangers threatened to Christian States, and namely to Great Britain, by the ambition of Spayne, with a Contemplation of the truest means to oppose it. Also diverse other Treatises touching the present Estate of the Kingdome of

* Sir James Balfour’s Annals, Edinburgh, 8vo. 1824, vol. ii. p. 142-145.

† Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife from 1611 to 1687, 4to. printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1837, p. 107.

Scotland, verie necessarie to be knowne and considered in this tyme, called THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET. In Aberdene, printed by Edward Raban, 1627."

On the 22d of November 1626, King Charles granted a warrant of L.4000 Scots, or L.333 Sterling, to repair the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse, and in that month a royal proclamation was issued, enjoining all persons to pay their tithes. On the 4th of December, the city of Edinburgh was divided into four parishes superintended by eight ministers, and the Privy Council officially ordered the citizens to resort to their respective churches, and to contribute to the maintenance of the incumbents.

The records of the Diocesan Synods at that period and some years afterwards, like those of the Presbyteries, are chiefly occupied with local matters, such as the conduct of the clergy, the condition of the parishes, and the examinations of candidates for the ministry. The "Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611 to 1687," printed in 1837, for the Abbotsford Club, may be assumed as fair specimens of the business transacted in the other Diocesan Synods. In the meeting held at St Andrews on the 3d and 4th of April 1627, it was reported that the Master of Oliphant [afterwards sixth Lord Oliphant], who was suspected of Papistry, has sworn and subscribed the Confession of Faith, and was of purpose to have received the holy communion, but that a certain impediment did intervene the day immediately preceding the celebration thereof! He has promised faithfully to communicate in any other kirk within that bounds within the space of ten days." A certain Mr James Bennet, minister of Auchtermuchty in Fife, who was admitted in 1615, conformed to Presbyterianism in 1638, and died about 1640, figures in no very enviable manner on this occasion.—"Because it was reported by the brethren of Cupar [Fife], that Mr James Bennet is ane frequent hunter with dogs, ane player at cards, and a runner of courses upon horses, the said Mr James being called upon, compeared, was gravely rebuked, and expressly inhibited to attend any of the former games in time coming; and the brethren ordained to report in the next Synod how the said Mr James does behave himself in all these particulars. The brethren at Meigle are ordained to close their process against my Lord Gray, who continues avowedly in Papistry, and to send the same to my Lord Archbishop, that the sen-

tence of excommunication may be pronounced against him. The brethren were exhorted gravely in these dangerous times to walk circumspectly, and to abstain from the exercises of hunting, carding, running of horses, and all such as may give occasion of scandal and offence, under pain of suspension from their ministry." On the 4th twenty-one of the parish incumbents in the Diocese were appointed to attend a convention of the Bishops then assembled in Edinburgh, one of whom was Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, with "full power given to them to vote and consent to all such things as in these conventions shall be proposed, tending to the benefit and good of the Kirk."

Charles I. was at this time engaged in his grand project, afterwards fatal to himself, though advantageous to the clergy, of the surrender of the Scottish teinds or tithes. The Bishops viewed this measure with alarm, as likely to excite numerous and powerful enemies against the Church, who were then either friendly, or at least not its avowed opponents. On the 3d of May the King replied to their representation, reproving them as "men void of charity, beyond measure timorous without a cause." It was thought necessary to send a deputation to Charles on the subject, and a few days after the arrival of that letter, Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, and Mr John Maxwell, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, afterwards Bishop of Ross, were appointed. They were instructed to represent to the King the serious apprehensions of the Bishops and clergy that the project of the "surrenders" of the teinds would be fatal to the stability of the Church, which elicited an explanatory letter from the King on the 18th of May, to the effect that "churches already not sufficiently provided be supplied; that every proprietor of lands might have his own tithes upon a reasonable condition; also that his own revenues might be increased and augmented."

Meanwhile the conference to which Henderson and the others had been deputed was held at Edinburgh in July. Bishop Lindsay of Ross presided in the unavoidable absence of Archbishop Spottiswoode, who sent a letter on the subject. The Primate advised the meeting to make arrangements for a day of public fasting and humiliation, and for a specific contribution to support a resident at Court, when the affairs and interest of the Church required such a representative. The nonconforming party insisted

that, before discussing those two points, their meeting should be constituted a General Assembly ; but this demand was successfully resisted. They then presented petitions in favour of those preachers who were “ warded,” or confined to particular towns and localities, and for the reformation of sundry alleged grievances. Bishop Lindsay of Ross maintained that those matters could only be discussed in a General Assembly. It was conceded that until such was held, any petitions to the King should be sent to the person selected to repair to the Court, who was to be authorized to intercede with the King to convene a General Assembly. Bishop Lindsay of Ross, Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen, Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, and Bishop Abernethy of Caithness, were then placed on a leet to proceed to England, and the Bishop of Ross was unanimously chosen. Three ministers, Scott of Glasgow, Murray, and Henderson, one of whom was to accompany the Bishop, were then proposed, and Scott was elected in opposition to Henderson, though it does not appear that he ever went to London. It was also unanimously agreed that the parochial ministers should pay L.1 Scots, or 6s. 8d. sterling, for every hundred merks, and L.5, 11s. 4d. for every chalder of grain or victual which they enjoyed of stipend, to defray the expenses of the Bishop of Ross and his companion.

The biographer of Henderson admits that when his hero “ promoted Episcopacy it contained nothing to outrage the associations of the peasantry,” who, he might have added, were utterly incompetent to judge on any subject of controversy, and states his views on what he calls the Primate’s error in sending commissioners to the Court. This project, according to him, with that of “ levying contributions throughout Scotland for maintaining them there, was one of the few but fatal blunders which Spottiswoode committed in the course of a long and perplexing administration. One churchman after another of the party followed, ostensibly,” continues Dr Aiton, “ on the same errand, but really with the design of undermining his influence with the King. At any rate the fact is certain that from about 1627, when the Primate was managing matters with great dexterity, his influence began to wane. With King James his word was law—to him he sent up his own plans, as to what he judged proper to preserve Prelacy, and a transcript of them uniformly came down in dispatches from the King. He even

sometimes sent up the very draft of what he wanted, with directions to Mr Murray of the Bed-Chamber to get it copied, signed by his Majesty, and returned. Thus clothed with royal authority, the Primate behoved to be obeyed, and through this channel he was enabled to give his master's pleasure as a pretence for every forcible measure he might choose to adopt. For a time Charles placed in him the same implicit faith which James had done, and so long as he did so the mild measures of conciliation carried on by the Primate were rapidly contributing to the peace of the Scottish Church." This writer proceeds to state that the commissioners sent to the Court by Archbishop Spottiswoode attended more to their own interests and personal ambition than to the affairs of the Church,—that they saw Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1628 translated to London, rising in influence and favour with the King, and they attached themselves to him as the certain channel of preferment. It is farther asserted that "as Laud and Spottiswoode thus sailed on different tacks, in proportion as the former acquired the ascendancy over the King's mind, in the same proportion the latter lost it." Dr Aiton then attempts to delineate the character of Laud and Spottiswoode, representing each, especially the former, in no very favourable light, which was indeed to be expected from a Presbyterian, and alleges that the Scottish Primate "committed therefore a fatal mistake in not continuing to make himself the sole organ of communication with Charles as he had done with James, and in not getting himself nominated as the commissioner to be sent to Court at the public expence."* The charge of Arminianism and inclination towards the Papal Church is of course brought prominently forward against Laud, though it has been innumerable times refuted.

In these statements several matters are introduced as authentic which are not supported by historical evidence. When Laud was in Scotland in 1617, the defects of the Established Church were too obvious to escape his notice. It wanted that efficient protection against fanaticism, and preservative of sound doctrine—a Liturgy such as that of the Church of England. It is stated that Laud was frequently consulted by the King on this important subject, yet there is no decisive evidence that he interfered much with public affairs in Scotland at the period to which Dr Aiton alludes,

* Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, p. 121, 122, 123, 124.

beyond giving his opinion when consulted, and his advice to those Scottish Bishops with whom he came in contact at the Court. In reality, he does not appear to have been much implicated in Scottish affairs till a short time before his translation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1633. The statement that King James adopted *all* Archbishop Spottiswoode's suggestions, and acted solely by his advice, is contrary to the Primate's declaration respecting the Five Articles of Perth—that he was not consulted in the matter—that those Articles had been sent to him unexpectedly ; and it is now known that he was individually averse to their introduction. Dr Aiton, moreover, while he traduces Laud, makes an important admission, which completely invalidates his previous assertions. “ Till the number of his [Laud's] adherents was increased in Scotland, and until he was promoted to the height of a prelate's ambition, Laud felt himself restrained in his meditated outrages on the Scottish Church, and in his opposition to so wary a statesman as Spottiswoode. The Presbyterians, therefore, continued to enjoy comparative toleration till about 1634, when Laud, having no longer anything to fear or to expect, let himself fairly loose on his work of complete conformity.” The “ outrages” which Laud is charged with “ meditating” on the Scottish Church are acknowledged by Dr Aiton to be simply “ complete conformity.” The Presbyterians in 1643 were guilty of more enormous “ outrages,” when they attempted to compel the people of England and of Ireland forcibly to acknowledge their Solemn League and Covenant, the ostensible object of which was the “ complete conformity” of the three kingdoms in doctrine, discipline, and worship, denying any toleration whatever to those who refused. Of all sects the Scottish Presbyterians should be the last to assail Archbishop Laud for his alleged labours in the “ work of complete conformity.” As to the charge of what was called or believed to be Arminianism by an ignorant people, and studiously misrepresented by the Presbyterian preachers, the popular notion on the subject is sufficiently intimated by the then prevailing superstitions. In 1629 the appearance of a whale, always a strange though not unfrequent visitor from the Northern Seas in the Frith of Forth, at Aberlady in Haddingtonshire, and the occurrence of an alarming thunder storm in the Ayrshire district of Carrick, were actually believed to indicate

Divine judgments on the Church for the introduction of imaginary Arminian tenets.

It is now well known that it was not so much either the subsequent connection of Laud with Scottish affairs, his pretended opposition to Spottiswoode, or the unfortunate events resulting from the ill-managed introduction of the Liturgy in 1637, which caused the temporary downfall of the Episcopal Establishment of Scotland, as the combination and hatred which the King fatally entailed against himself in the adjustment of the teinds, part of the odium of which was thrown on the Church. Mr Scott truly observes in the Perth Register :—“ King Charles’ fondness to pursue the revocation, by which he intended to enrich the Church in general, and more especially the dignified clergy, and to bring them into some degree with the Church and clergy in England, hurt him exceedingly with the landed gentlemen in Scotland. It, together with his bestowing civil offices on some of the Bishops, furnished at last to many much the same motive to a reformation from Episcopacy as had been felt by their ancestors to reform from Popery to the Protestant religion.” This is a fair representation of the case. It was a political and pecuniary warfare which was first waged against the Church, and though Presbyterianism was an important element, it was chiefly made auxiliary to the resentment of the influential opponents of the King, who found it necessary for their purpose to stir up and carry with them the preachers of the people. “ Although,” Dr Aiton admits, “ the arrangements which Charles made respecting tithes produced effects permanently salutary, yet at the time it proved to be an unfortunate step, in so far as it was the means of enraging many of his former friends.” An opposition to the King may be said to have been effectively formed soon after his accession.

The history of teinds or tithes in Scotland is difficult and complicated. The Reformation, such as it was in Scotland, was accomplished, and a scramble ensued for church lands, teinds, rents, feus, and moveable wealth, such as to justify the epithet bestowed on the lay leaders of the tumults of 1560, that they were absolute robbers. Even John Knox bitterly denounced their proceedings, and when he complained that nothing was left for his new order of priesthood, his expostulations and demands were

treated as a “devout imagination.” In addition to those lands which were confiscated to the Crown, but the true meaning of which was appropriation to the friends and flatterers of the reigning sovereign, various of the old Romish dignitaries who conformed to the Reformation were allowed to retain the temporalities of their abbeys and benefices, under the title of *Commendators*. Those church lands were erected by James VI. into temporal baronies, and their possessors known as *Lords of Erection*—a designation long relinquished as it respects their representatives, some of whom are members of the Scottish Peerage. The feuars of church-lands were similarly confirmed in their usurped rights, and from tenants they became proprietors. By this seizure of the church lands the cultivators of the soil and the peasantry were not in the least degree benefited, or their social condition improved. The whole of the Scottish teinds or tithes were seized by laymen, much in the same manner as a third part of the tithes in England were secured by lay impro prietors, and those laymen, who were entitled to draw the Scottish tithes annually, were and still are designated *Titulars of the Teinds*. The teinds were regularly levied year after year from the cultivators of the land and others by the titulars, who enjoyed the exclusive benefit, and were not compelled to pay anything towards the support of the newly constituted preachers.

Laws were indeed occasionally enacted to oblige the titulars to give up small portions of the teinds which they had illegally seized, but so weak was the existing Government, and so resolute were the titulars to keep possession of their plunder, that little of any consequence was done. In the time of Queen Mary, and especially during the long reign of James VI., the Scottish Parliament repeatedly passed acts regulating the stipends of the parochial incumbents, but those acts did not affect the right of property, in whatever manner the lands had been acquired by the possessors. King James appointed commissioners to appropriate stipends out of the teinds, and probably achieved as much as he could at the time to ameliorate the condition of the parish preachers. After the legal establishment of the Episcopal Church he granted to the Archbishops and Bishops the rents of certain lands, the property of the Crown, which had been anciently a part of the Roman Catholic patrimony. This was in 1606, so far as concerned the

benefices of Bishops, and the benefices belonging to the Episcopal Chapters were in like manner restored to them in 1617. Nevertheless vast confusion existed about the mode of paying the stipends of the incumbents, which had been the cause of much serious complaints, altercations, and disturbances, for half a century after the Reformation. Charles I. after his accession saw the absurdity of this mode of supporting an Established clergy, and had the courage to grapple with it, though it raised up against him many dangerous enemies. He revoked all the ecclesiastical grants which had been made in the two preceding reigns, except the church lands from which the Bishops derived their very limited revenues.

The parties interested in the tithes entered into bonds of arbitration called *Submissions*, and referred their several claims to the King's own determination in 1628. These Submissions were four in number. The first and fourth were signed on the one part by the Lords of Erection and the tacksmen claiming under them; and on the other by the proprietors, who wished either to purchase their own tithes, or to have them valued. The two Submissions contained what Erskine in his "Institute of the Law of Scotland" designates "procuratories of resignation by the titulars, for surrendering their right of superiority to the King *ad remanentiam*," and hence they were called the *Surrenders of Teinds*. The King was to decide what should be awarded to all the parties interested for the feu-duties, or other constant rent of the superiorities, and also the sums to be stipulated as the yearly rate and value of the tithes. The second Submission was signed by the Bishops and clergy in reference to the tithes to which they were legally entitled, but of which they were not in possession; and the third Submission was signed by the commissioners of several royal burghs, for such right as they could claim to the tithes formerly granted for the support of ministers, colleges, schools, or hospitals, within their respective burghs.

On the 2d of September 1629, the King pronounced on each of the four Submissions a separate award, called a *Decree-Arbitral*, subjoined in the statute books to the acts of his reign. The First and Fourth Decrees declare the Crown's right to the superiorities of erection resigned by the Submissions to the King, who was to give 1000 merks Scots himself or thereby to the Lords of Erection in full payment of each chalder of feu farm, and for each 100

merks of feu-duty, or other constant rent of these superiorities ; and the feu-duties were to be retained till such payment was made. This condition of the Decrees-Arbitral was confirmed by the Parliament in 1663, with the exemption of the superiorities of the lands belonging to the Bishops or the Chapters who had been restored in 1606. The most important article in the Decrees-Arbitral is, as Erskine justly observes, that which directs the valuation at a certain annual rate, and the landlord is then entitled to the entire crop on paying such yearly duty to the titular. The result of the whole revocation, or the Four Submissions, into the hands of the King by the four different bodies who accepted his arbitration—viz. the Lords of Erection and landholders, the Bishops and clergy, the royal burghs, and certain tacksmen and others, having incidental right to teinds, in consequence of the Decrees-Arbitral pronounced by his Majesty—was the establishment of valuations of tithes ; sales of them to the proprietors of the land, which precluded the produce from the liability of division between the proprietor of the ground and the owner of the teind ; and the appropriation of the teinds as a fund liable to the utmost extent for minister's stipend.*

Such was the system accomplished by Charles I. in Scotland, notwithstanding the menaces and opposition of the powerful Nobility, and it has continued to be the source from which the parochial incumbents derive their stipends. It is now universally admitted that it is a noble memorial of the King's prudence and wisdom. This boon conferred on the country was of the greatest consequence. Before the Four Submissions, and the pronouncing of the Decrees-Arbitral, the titulars of the teinds were entitled to a tenth part of the whole yearly crop ; and the grower could not carry off any portion of his nine parts till the titular had set aside or appropriated his tenth. Loud complaints were made by the agriculturists who paid the tithe, that the titulars often delayed to select their portion till the whole crop had been damaged by the weather. “ The ministers,” Dr Aiton candidly observes, “ were also loud in their complaints that they received no tithes, but only a poor pittance. In this state of the matter, both the

* The reader will find the “ Submissions and Surrenders of Teinds, &c. with His Majesty's Decrees following thereupon,” and all the Documents, in “Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum,” printed by command of George III., 1817, folio, vol. v. p. 189-207.

clergy and yeomanry were entirely dependent on the Nobles who were the titulars—the one for a stipendiary benevolence, and the other for the safety of their crops. They therefore both remonstrated to the King, who at once saw the propriety of delivering them from so dangerous a vassalage to subjects.” After noticing the appointment of the Commission to value the tithes, the liberty ultimately given to the proprietors to buy them up from the titulars at nine years’ purchase, and eight chalders provided as a suitable provision for each incumbent, the biographer of Henderson says—“ The clergy and gentry rejoiced at this deliverance from intolerable bondage ; but the Nobles fretted, because by this plan they were deprived of that superiority over both clergy and yeomanry which, ‘ by the tye of tythes of the tenth,’ they had enjoyed since the Reformation from Popery. The feudal rancours excited on account of this admirable arrangement was no fault of the King, but his misfortune. But the act of Revocation, in which Charles attempted to transfer to the Crown the church lands which had been long in possession of the old Court favourites, was the great foundation stone of all the mischief which followed.*—But as the attempt was obviously hazardous, he went to work with caution. To make the powerful Barons leading cards to the rest, the Abbey of Arbroath and the Lordship of Glasgow were procured by secret purchases, and conferred on the two Archbishopries. Several other estates of less value were managed in a similar way. So long as value was obtained, the Nobility, pretending favour to the Court, made a shew of zeal after a good bargain ; but when the Earl of Nithsdale came down in 1628 to offer merely the King’s favour to those who surrendered the church lands, and to wrest them from those who refused, open resistance was in an instant determined upon, and the old cry of Popery was raised to serve the purpose of those interested in these grants. At a secret meeting it was settled that, if no other argument should induce Nithsdale to desist, the Barons should at once knock out his brains after the good old Scottish manner. When the parties came to a conference in Edinburgh, the dark scowl of the Nobles, patiently waiting for vengeance, terrified the Court party so much, that they did not even disclose their instructions, but sent back Nithsdale to London to declare that the service was desperate. From this

* Dr Aiton here refers to Balfour, p. 464, and Burnet’s History, vol. i. p. 31.

time the Nobles suspected the King, and began to play under-hand the game against his government. With a view to coalesce with a powerful opposition party they became avowed champions of Presbytery; and from pecuniary motives, in their opposition to the Bishops, artfully laid the blame of every misfortune on Episcopacy. By thus making religion a mere stalking-horse to their own interests, they verified the general remark, that at the bottom of the purest boilings of patriotism there often lies a thick sediment of gross selfishness.”*

Such are the admissions and representations of a Presbyterian writer. A well known anecdote illustrates the dangerous, lawless, and unprincipled character of the Scottish Nobility, in reference to this great measure of the revocation of the teinds, at the conference in Edinburgh. Sir Robert Douglas of Spott in Haddingtonshire, created Lord Belhaven in 1633, who had received favours both from James I. and Charles, was at that conference, and Burnet narrates the conduct of this personage, who, though blind, was as ferocious as any of the others, on the authority of Sir Archibald Primerose, father of the first Earl of Rosebery. When the Earl of Nithsdale, whose brains the worthies had resolved to knock out “after the good old Scottish manner,” appeared with the commission for the resumption of the church lands and tithes, it was agreed that he and his companions should be assassinated. One of them was the first Viscount Ayr, created Earl of Dumfries in 1633. Lord Belhaven, by which title he is better locally known, desired to sit near one of the Earl of Nithsdale’s party, of whom, notwithstanding his blindness, he said he would *make sure*. He accordingly was placed next to the future Earl of Dumfries, whom he firmly grasped by the hand during the meeting. When the other asked him the meaning of this extraordinary conduct, Belhaven replied that since his blindness he was always so much in danger of falling that he was obliged to hold fast to any one who happened to be near him. His other hand, however, rested on a dagger, with which he intended to stab his companion if any disorder had occurred.

It is already mentioned that the proprietors were allowed to buy up the teinds from the titulars at nine years’ purchase. It was also arranged, that when paying the value of the teinds a certain

* Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, p. 135, 136, 137.

proportion of the price was to be withheld, to meet the obligation of each heritor to contribute a specific sum as stipend to the incumbent of the parish, and a small annuity to the King. This process for ever abolished the levying of tithes *in kind* in Scotland, and as the King's Decrees-Arbitral were subsequently ratified by Parliament, such a proceeding was never attempted during the establishment of the Episcopal Church, or afterwards when it was supplanted by the Presbyterian system. Moreover, by the valuing and purchasing of the teinds, it was not intended that the incumbents were then to receive stipends to the full amount of those teinds in their parishes. The remainder was to form a certain fund, as it were, from which their stipends were to be augmented at stated intervals of nineteen years, as sanctioned by Parliament in 1633, until they and their successors received the whole. There is no evidence to shew that the Crown ever proceeded to act strictly on the King's Decrees-Arbitral. No estates were violently seized, and generally the provision was limited to rendering the properties liable in feu-duties, which could well afford to be paid. Charles declared that he would retain those church lands held by Lords of Erection, royal burghs, and certain others, or take them at any future period convenient to the Crown on payment of a fine, which was to be regulated according to the state of cultivation and produce. This right continued till the Union in 1707, when an act was passed declaring that the Crown had lost the right of redemption.

The state of the kingdom before this benefit conferred on the clergy, gentry, yeomanry, and peasantry, by Charles I., is set forth in a curious poem entitled "Scotland's Welcome to her Native Son and Sovereign Lord King Charles," written in 1633, after the Coronation at Holyroodhouse, by no less a personage than William Lithgow, who describes himself as "the Bonaventure of Europe, Asia, and Africa." Lithgow will be remembered by the antiquarian reader as a well known traveller in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, though he attracted little notice till the publication of the curious narrative of his wanderings in 1614. In this poetical performance, which is of no great merit, he personifies Scotland as relating the account of the King's Coronation, the meeting of the Parliament, and "the whole grievances and abuses of the commonwealth of this kingdom," as he expresses

himself on the title-page, “ worthy to be by all the Nobles and gentry perused, and to be laid up in the hearts and chests of the Commons, whose interest may best claim it, either in mean manner, from which their privileges and fortunes are drawn as from the loadstar of true direction.” He makes Scotland thus descant on the teinds, and the intolerable conduct of the Nobility and the titulars—

“ As for my tithes, which Nobles most recoil,
 It is another grievance to my soul.
 Should tithes belong to laics ? Should church rent
 Be given to temp’ral lords ? By God’s intent
 Tithes were for Levites, not for hawks or hounds,
 Nor no reward of sycophanting sounds.
 Tithes may be called God’s rent, and they pertain
 Still to His priests His service to maintain.
 Nay, more than clergy, tithes should, too, sustain
 My seminary schools with yearly grain.”

The loyal Mr Lithgow here maintains that tithes should support colleges, the decay of which he laments, build hospitals, schools, and bridges, and “ sustain them too.” Addressing the King, he makes Scotland say of the teinds—

“ But where they should do good they do most ill,
 Being abus’d by use and corrupt will.
 For, Sir, take heed, what grief is this, and cross
 To my poor Commons, and a yearly loss,
 That when their corns are shorn, stacked, dead and dry,
 They cannot get them teinded ? Nay, and why ?
 Some grudge of malice moves despite to wound
 The hopeful *hairst*, and rot then comes on ground.
 This is no rare thing ; on their stacks are seen
 Snow cover’d tops ; below them grass grown green,
 Which often breeds great famine and great scant,
 And plagues my Commons with a heart-broke want.
 For which they grieve in this long deformation,
 And hope to have from thee a reformation ;
 Which God may grant, and bless thy judgment too,
 For to consider what oppressors do.
 So, to reclaim them, deal them at thy pleasure
 For God, and godliness, and for thy treasure :
 Which being in thine hand, and then to farm
 Them back to Lords would bread a double harm.
 For worse and worse my Commons shall be crossed,
 And all thy good intentions therein lost.
 Then let my tithes be brought to money rent
 From thee, from land, and the poor tenant :

So may they shear, and lead, and stack their corn,
At midnight, midday, afternoon, or morn ;
Which shall be their advantage and my gain,
When barns and yards are filled with timely grain.
As for this *Valuation*, who can tell
What means thereby, or can my preachers well ?
With one out of each parish lay the ground,
What every land is worth, or may be found.
No, no, its labour lost, and I pray God
We be not scourged for it by his just rod.
A lesser fault than this made Israel quake
When David of his people count would make ;
But value stock and brock, tithes, fruits, and all ;
God must give increase, or the reck'ning fall."

Lithgow in these passages may be considered as reflecting the sentiments of the farmers and peasantry, for there is reason to believe that he was a person of mean condition and poor circumstances, though evidently his education surpassed that of his class at the period in which he lived. He seems to have been perfectly satisfied with the Episcopal Church as established, and after exhorting the King to "install good godly men and sound in Prelates' functions," he thus compliments the clergy—

" As for my clergy, I affirming vow
The solid truth to God, and then to you.
There are no people, nor no land so bless'd
With godly preachers, and God's word profess'd
With more sincerity, taught, shewn, and preach'd,
Than in my kingdom ; there was never teach'd
Profounder doctrine, more divine resounds
In Christ's Reformed Church, than in my bounds,
Which to perfect an universal mind,
God grant his sacrament may passage find ;
And scrupulous stops may be hewn down and made
As plain as Christ himself has taught and said."

CHAPTER IX.

CHANGES IN THE DIOCESES—IRREGULAR ORDINATIONS OF PRESBYTERIANS IN IRELAND—INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH—CORONATION OF CHARLES I. AT HOLYROODHOUSE—FOUNDATION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF EDINBURGH—THE FIRST BISHOP—HIS DEATH—DEATH OF BISHOP FORBES OF ABERDEEN.

IN August 1628, John Leslie, of a branch of the ancient family of Balquhain in Aberdeenshire, was appointed Bishop of The Isles at the death of Bishop Thomas Knox, which Keith says occurred in 1626, though it is not likely that the See would be so long vacant. Bishop Leslie was educated at Aberdeen, from which he proceeded to Oxford, where he remained some time. He had travelled much through France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, with the language of which countries he is stated to have been completely familiar, and Wood records that he was such a master of the Latin, as to elicit the observation of the learned in Spain—“*Solus Lesleius Latinè loquitur.*” When he returned to England he was complimented with the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. “He was from his tender years,” says Wood, “conversant in Courts, where he learned that address and freedom which was peculiar to his education, and gave a particular air even to his preaching. Whence it was said of him, and another Bishop of his name, that no man preached more gracefully than the one, nor with more authority than the other.” These accomplishments introduced him to be treated even with familiarity by several princes and great men abroad, and he was particularly happy in the good esteem of his Majesty King Charles I., who admitted him to sit at his Council Table both in Scotland and Ireland, as his father King James had done for the first, in both which he was continued by King Charles

II. His chief advancement in the Church of Scotland was the episcopal See of The Isles, where sitting several years not without trouble from the faction, he was translated to the See of Raphoe in Ireland, anno 1633, and the same year was made one of his Majesty's Privy Council in that kingdom.* This Bishop was conspicuous for his loyalty in Ireland, and encountered many hardships, yet he survived till 1671, when he died Bishop of Clogher, upwards of one hundred years of age. It is stated that in the 70th year of his age he married the Dean of Raphoe's daughter, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. One of his sons he lived to see a Dean, and the other was the celebrated Charles Leslie, Chancellor of Down before the Revolution, author of the "Snake in the Grass," and other learned controversial works.† Bishop Leslie's brother, was Dr William Leslie, of King's College, in Old Aberdeen, one of the famous Aberdeen Doctors who opposed the Covenanters.

A few of the Scottish Bishops of this period were translated to the northern Sees in the Irish Church, but the conduct of Bishop Andrew Knox, Bishop Leslie's predecessor in the See of The Isles and in Raphoe, was disreputable and scandalous. A number of the Presbyterian preachers resorted to the North of Ireland, among whom were Mr Robert Blair and Mr John Livingstone, both of whom were ordained in the most irregular manner, if *ordination* it can be called, the former by Bishop Robert Echlin, of Down and Connor, in 1623, and the other by Bishop Andrew Knox, of Raphoe, in 1630. Both of them sustained a prominent part in the rebellion of the Covenanters. Of the two, Blair was the more eminent, and his abilities were revived in several branches of his family, particularly in his grandson Robert Blair, minister of Athelstaneford in Haddingtonshire, the celebrated author of "The Grave," and his two great-grandsons, Dr Hugh Blair, author of the celebrated Sermons, and Lectures on Rhetoric, and the Right Honourable Robert Blair, Lord President of the Court of Session.

The "worthy famous Mr John Livingstone," as he was termed by the Presbyterian dames with whom he associated, was an enthusiast of the most extravagant pretensions, who contrived by his peculiar preaching, aided by the casualty of his descent as the

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, edited by Dr Bliss, vol. iv. col. 846.

† *Ibid.* col. 847, 848.

great-grandson of Alexander fifth Lord Livingstone, ancestor of the Earls of Linlithgow and Callender, to obtain considerable countenance from various persons of rank and influence. Livingstone's "ordination," after he had been an itinerating preacher in Scotland, and one of the prominent leaders of the extraordinary "revival" at the Kirk of Shotts in June 1630, resembles that of Blair, and the following is his own account, with Bishop Mant's very excellent and judicious observations. It is to be observed that Livingstone, "in consequence of his opposition to Prelacy, was silenced by Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, in 1627, but still continued to preach in Scotland occasionally and by stealth, his settlement in any parish being constantly opposed by the Bishops;" but he had an opening in Ireland, and his mode of procuring "a free entry into the ministry" is described by himself. The Viscount Claneboy here mentioned was the son of a Scottish Presbyterian minister named Hamilton so created in 1622, and advanced to the dignity of Earl Clanbrassil in 1647—a Peerage extinct in that family in 1675.

"About August 1675," says Livingstone, "I got letters from the Viscount Claneboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchy, whether I went, and got an unanimous call from the parish. And because it was needful I should be ordained to the ministry, and the Bishop of Down, in whose Diocese Killinchy was, being a corrupt humorous [or, for various editions read differently, *timorous*] man, would require some engagement, therefore my Lord Claneboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, who, when I came, and had delivered the letters from my Lord Claneboy, and from the Earl of Wigton, and some others, that I had for that purpose brought out of Scotland, told me he knew my errand; that I came to him because I had scruples against Episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr Josias Welsh and some others had done before: and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices; that if I scrupled to call him *my Lord*, he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, was that I would preach at Ramullen the first Sabbath; and that he would send for Mr William Cunningham and two or three other neighbouring ministers, who after sermon should give me imposition of hands. But

than the reception of the Five Articles of Perth, on which assurance they were ratified by the Parliament ; second, because the Church was not consulted about the intended alterations ; third, the reluctance of the people to observe “ geniculation ” at the Communion ; fourth, the unpopularity of the Bishops ; and fifth, that as “ Popery is increased in the land,” if any more changes were introduced the “ people will be made susceptible of any religion, and turn atheists in gross.” It is not known whether the King ever saw this epistle. In reference to the proposed changes Wodrow says—“ This I take to be the first motion for the English Liturgy in King Charles’ reign.” Maxwell returned to the Court, and held several interviews with Laud, who strongly advised the Scottish Church, if a Liturgy was introduced at all, to adopt that of the Church of England ; but this prudent advice was overruled, and the old objection about national jealousy, and that the people would prefer a Liturgy of their own, was advanced. Who is now afraid of the English Liturgy in Scotland ? How many thousands of it, of all forms and editions, are sold annually throughout the country even to Presbyterians !

In April 1630 the Diocesan Synod of Fife held at St Andrews unanimously requested Archbishop Spottiswoode, their “ ordinar,” to represent to the King the dangers likely to arise to the Church on account of the mode in which the tithes were then in process of valuation, by attempting to evade the Submissions and the King’s Decrees-Arbitral. In the Diocesan Synod at St Andrews on the 5th of October that year the clergy were ordered to intimate in their several parishes, that all householders of every rank must present themselves and their families for examination before the administration of the Communion, otherwise they would not be permitted to approach the holy table. It was also enjoined that “ the brethren be careful in their catechizing, and that they labour to expone to their people once in the year the Lord’s Prayer, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments.”

On the 20th July a Convention of the Nobility, Bishops, barons, and commissioners of the counties and burghs, was held at Holyroodhouse. The Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Galloway, Brechin, Dunblane, Caithness, Argyle, and The Isles, were present. After producing the King’s warrant for summoning this Convention of the Estates

by the Lord Chancellor Hay, the royal letter was read, in which Charles intimated that he had deferred his visit till the spring of 1631. Four short articles were sent by the King to the Convention, referring to the speedy and exact valuation of the tithes, the employment of the people, a revisal of the laws to be submitted to the Parliament, and a taxation to meet the expenses of the royal visit and to defray the debts contracted for the purchase of heritable offices. The Convention of Estates took the taxation first into consideration, and passed two acts authorising its collection. On the 29th of July the Convention ratified and approved the “four decrets given and pronounced by the King’s Majesty upon the general Submissions made by the Prelates, Lords of Erection, Titulars, Heritors, Burghs, and others.”

The names of the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Dunblane are prominent at various meetings of the Privy Council and Officers of State at Holyroodhouse and Perth in 1631. The business then transacted was chiefly connected with the fisheries on the coasts and in the lakes. The discipline of the Church was also duly enforced. In the Diocesan Synod of Fife held on the 19th of April 1631—“It was found that Mr John Lindsay, minister at the kirk of Aberlemno, has been long absent from the service of the cure at his kirk, and his flock destitute of the benefit of his ministry. He was gravely rebuked in the face of the Synod, and admonished to attend his charge more faithfully, with certification if he shall be found to be four Sabbath days absent from his kirk in the whole year without lawful and necessary excuse, he shall be deprived from his ministry *ipso facto*. It is ordained by my Lord Archbishop and Brethren assembled, with one voice, that no ministers shall upon any occasion go into England without liberty asked and obtained from my Lord Archbishop and the brethren of the Presbytery where they reside, under the highest pains that may follow.” The reasons for this peculiar restriction, though obvious, are not assigned.

In the Diocesan Synod of Fife held on the 2d of October 1632, the metrical version of the Psalms by King James, zealously urged by King Charles to be generally used in Divine service, was “by my Lord Archbishop remembered and recommended to the Synod, and some [copies] of them delivered to certain brethren of the Presbyteries to be perused by them, and they ordained to report

their judgment thereanent against the next Synod."* But the King's metrical version was not favourably received by the clergy, and there is no evidence that it was ever used in the parish churches. Calderwood, who had little respect for the royal author, criticised the work with great severity, and wrote "Reasons against the public use of this new metaphrase of the Psalms," maintaining that the old version by Sternhold and Hopkins "should be sung in the kirks of Scotland as they have been since 1564, and no ways suppressed, for any thing seen or heard yet."†

Toward the end of 1632, the Church experienced a severe loss by the illness of Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen and the death of Archbishop Law of Glasgow. A contemporary chronicler records the following affecting notice respecting the great and good Bishop Forbes:—"Patrick, Bishop of Aberdeen, sitting in his own chair in the Old Town [Old Aberdeen], was suddenly stricken in an apoplexy, and his right side clean taken away, and was forced to learn to subscribe with his left hand. He was carried in men's arms, sometimes to Provincial Assemblies [Diocesan Synods], and sometimes to sermons, and continued so till the 28th of March 1635, that he departed this life."‡

The death of Archbishop Law is briefly recorded by Sir James Balfour, who knew him intimately:—"In November this year, 1632, James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, departed this life, and was interred in St Mungo's church [the Cathedral] there, the 8th of this same month." This Prelate, as already mentioned,

* The Psalms of King David, translated by King James, assisted, it is said, by Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, the first Viscount and Earl of Stirling, were originally printed in 1631, with the following privilege:—"CHARLES R.—Having caused this Translation of the Psalms, whereof our late dear Father was author, to be perused, and it being found to be exactly and truly done, we do hereby authorize the same to be imprinted, according to the patent granted thereupon, and do allow them to be sung in all the churches of our dominions, recommending them to all our good subjects for that effect."

† Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, printed for the Abbotsford Club, p. 113, 114.—Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 227. In the Diocesan Synod held at St Andrews 30th April 1633—"Doctor Alexander Gladstones, Dr John Mitchelson, Mr Alexander Henderson, Mr Sylvester Lambie, and Mr Robert Murray, were apoyntit to concurr and convene with the rest of the commissioners nominate furth of other Synods, to give their sound judgment and opinion anent the new translated Buik of the Psalmes."—Minutes of the Synod of Fife, p. 114.

‡ Spalding's History of Troubles in Scotland and England from 1625 to 1645, printed for the Bannatyne Club, 2 vols. 4to. 1828, vol. i. p. 14.

was translated from Orkney to Glasgow in 1615. Bishop Keith says that Archbishop Law “ was esteemed a man of good learning, and had a grave and venerable aspect ; he left behind him a Commentary upon several places of Scripture which remains still in manuscript, and gives a good specimen of his knowledge both in the Fathers and the history of the Church. The Archbishop completed the lead roof of the Cathedral of Glasgow. He was twice married—first to a daughter of Dundas of Newliston in the parish of Kirkliston, county of Linlithgow, where he had been minister ; and to Marion, second daughter of John Boyle of Kelburn in Ayrshire, ancestor of the Earls of Glasgow. The Archbishop left an estate in Fife to a son. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family in that county, a branch of whom gave birth to the celebrated financial adventurer, John Law of Laurieston near Edinburgh. Dr Arthur Johnston, Physician to Charles I., one of his eminent contemporaries, commends him in some elegant Latin verses. Archbishop Law was succeeded in the See of Glasgow, in April 1633, by Bishop Patrick Lindsay of Ross, the relative of Rachel, daughter of Bishop David Lindsay, his immediate predecessor in that See, and wife of Archbishop Spottiswoode. Bishop Lindsay’s successor in Ross was Maxwell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a man of great learning and abilities.

The great event of 1633 was the visit of Charles I. to Scotland, and his coronation in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood at Edinburgh. A minute account of the whole of this grand pageant is given by Sir James Balfour, who was Lord Lyon King-at-Arms. The King, accompanied by Laud, then Bishop of London and Dean of the Chapel-Royal, Dr White, Bishop of Ely, then his Majesty’s Almoner, and a number of the English Nobility and gentlemen, reached Berwick-upon-Tweed on the 8th of June, where he remained till the 12th, when he lodged one night in Dunglass Castle. On the following night he was entertained at Seaton by the Earl of Winton, from which he proceeded to the castle of Dalkeith, at that time the seat of the Earl of Morton. On Saturday the 15th the King made his public entry into Edinburgh on horseback amid the greatest pomp and magnificence, and reached the Palace of Holyrood by the same route through the city which his father traversed, after having been complimented by seven speeches during his progress. On the fol-

lowing day, which was Sunday, he attended Divine service in the Chapel-Royal, at which Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, his chaplain, officiated.

On Monday the 17th the King rode to the castle of Edinburgh, where he lodged during the night, and on the following day was the coronation. A splendid procession of the Nobility, Officers of State, and other public functionaries, left the castle on the forenoon for Holyroodhouse. The Chapel-Royal was fitted up in a manner suitable for the imposing ceremonial which was to be celebrated within its walls. A contemporary alleges that there was a “four neuked taffel in manner of an altar within the kirk,” on which were two clasped books, called *Blind Books*, two “chandliers” with wax candles which were not lighted, an empty bason, and towards the wall rich tapestry, on which was a crucifix curiously wrought; but Sir James Balfour, who superintended all the arrangements, expressly states that the communion-table was “decently decked.” On the north side of the communion-table was the pulpit, and in front were kneeling cushions for the King. On the west side of the pulpit were two large seats for the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishops engaged in the ceremonial. A small table was placed near the south side of the communion-table for the crown, sceptre, sword of state, and the great seal of the kingdom.

The King was received at the west or grand entrance of the church by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several Bishops, and after kneeling devotionally he was conducted to a chair placed at the west pillar of the side aisle, where Mr James Hannay, the preacher of the Chapel-Royal, addressed him in a short speech. The King then rose, and proceeded through the church to a platform, on which was the chair of state, the choir chanting the anthem—“Behold, O Lord our Protector, and look upon the face of thine anointed.” Sir James Balfour, as Lord Lyon, then delivered a golden viol with the oil to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who placed it on the communion-table, and the King removed from the platform to the chair near the pulpit. Bishop Lindsay of Brechin, whom Spalding designates a “prime scholar,” preached the sermon from 1 Kings i. 39, after which the King returned to the platform, and occupied the chair of state. The ceremony of the coronation now commenced, and was performed with great

dignity by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, Bishop Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Bishop David Lindsay of Brechin, Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and Bishop Maxwell, elect of Ross, arrayed in their episcopal robes, or, as Spalding describes it, "with white rochets and white sleeves, and loops of gold, having blue silk to their foot." Bishop Guthrie acted as Lord Almoner, and scattered money among the people. While the 80th Psalm was sung by the choir the Archbishop went to the communion-table, and at the conclusion of the anthem the King approached the table to present his oblation, supported by Bishop Bellenden as Dean of the Chapel-Royal, and by Bishop Guthrie. Archbishop Spottiswoode received the oblation in a cup of gold, after which the King knelt, and the Primate said a prayer. He then sat down in his chair, and the Archbishop advancing toward him, asked if he was willing to take the oath appointed at the coronation of Kings. After the usual questions about faithfully administering the laws of the kingdom, the promoting of true religion, the maintenance of the privileges, rights, and rents of the crown of Scotland inviolate, and the protection of the Church, the hymn *Veni Creator* was sung, after which the King knelt, and the Archbishop again prayed. The Litany was then said by the Bishops of Moray and Ross, and the Primate at its conclusion began that part of the Communion Office, saying aloud—" Lift up your hearts, and give thanks unto the Lord." The Archbishop then proceeded with the coronation, which took place about two o'clock, anointing the King on the head, and on the palm of the hands, and other parts of his body. After the preliminary ceremonies with the oil, Archbishop Spottiswoode took the crown in his hands, and with a prayer placed it on the King's head. The usual homage was then rendered by the Nobility, and the oath of allegiance administered.

An anthem was now sung by the choir, after which the Lord Chamberlain loosed the sword from the King's side, who presented it to the Archbishop, by whom it was laid on the communion-table, where it was redeemed by the Earl of Erroll, who drew it from the scabbard, and carried it before the King. The Primate then placed the sceptre in the King's hand with an appropriate address and invocation. His Majesty kissed the Archbishop and the Bishops engaged in the ceremonial, and then ascended the platform,

where he was solemnly enthroned by the Primate. The Lord Chancellor now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the Archbishops and Bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and again kissing the King's left cheek. The whole was concluded by the administration of the Holy Communion, and the King entered the Palace with his whole train, having the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, amid the sound of trumpets, and the discharge of artillery from the castle.

Such is a condensed account of the coronation of Charles I. in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood by Archbishop Spottiswoode, and it is well observed that it “ is the more entitled to our regard, as the solemnity happened at a period when the monarch was a free agent, and the aspect of public affairs was calm and unclouded, and not distracted by the dissensions and troubles that attended the subsequent coronation of Charles II., when that Prince was little better than a captive in the hands of a rebellious and over-bearing faction; on which account the former must now, strictly speaking, be regarded as the last regular and legitimate ceremonial of the kind in Scotland.” Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow, and the other Bishops who were not required to assist at the coronation, wore black gowns. The Presbyterians advance a charge against Archbishop Laud, who took no active part in the ceremonial, that he thrust the Archbishop of Glasgow from the left side of the King, because he appeared without his episcopal robes, and substituted in his place, Maxwell Bishop-elect of Ross. It is to be observed, however, that what Laud's enemies term an “ indecent violence” was merely a hint to Archbishop Lindsay, and that the incident originated in some mistake on the part of both.

On Thursday the 20th, two days after the coronation, the Parliament was held, Archbishop Spottiswoode preaching the opening sermon. The two Archbishops and all the Bishops were present, with the exception of Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen, who was unable to attend by sickness, and Bishop Abernethy of Caithness, whose proxy was the Bishop of Dunkeld. On the second and last day of the Parliament thirty-one acts were passed, and many commissions and ratifications in favour of certain of the Nobility, Bishops, Colleges, and private individuals, were sanctioned. The taxation granted to the King of thirty shillings “ upon the pound land, and

the sixteenth penny of all annual rents," was affirmed, and granted for six years. The King's revocation and restitution of the church lands was also sanctioned, and an act, the third in order, was passed, though not without some difficulty, regulating the ecclesiastical dress. Those two acts particularly inflamed the Presbyterian party.

On Sunday the 23d of June the King went to St Giles' church, and heard a sermon by Bishop Guthrie, who preached in his episcopal habit, which gave much offence to several then present. Two days afterwards the King attended Divine service in the Chapel-Royal, when Dr William Forbes preached from St John, xiv. 27. The Liturgy of the Church of England was read on that occasion. Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane appeared in his episcopal dress, but the other Bishops in attendance wore black gowns. On the 28th the acts of Parliament were ratified. On Sunday the 30th the King attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal, when Archbishop Laud preached, "which scarce any Englishman," says Clarendon, "had done before him." He discoursed chiefly on the advantages of conformity, and reverence for the institutions of the Church. Laud was heard throughout by a crowded audience with the greatest attention and respect, although the Presbyterians assert that the congregation consisted chiefly of courtiers. "Many were then and still are of opinion," says Clarendon, "that if the King had then proposed the Liturgy of the Church of England to have been received and practised by that nation, it would have been submitted to without opposition; but upon mature consideration the King concluded that it was not a good season to promote that business."

Charles, before his return to England, undertook a progress to various towns accompanied partly by Laud, who visited Archbishop Spottiswoode at St Andrews and Bishop Bellenden at Dunblane. On the 16th of July the King arrived at Berwick on his journey southward. Before his departure he appointed a committee of the Bishops to prepare a Liturgy, and to correspond on the subject with Laud, who, having no particular cause to hasten home, did not return from Scotland to his palace of Fulham until the 26th of July. The death of Archbishop Abbot occurred on the 4th of August, and Laud was translated to the Primacy of Canterbury, having secured the appointment of his old friend and

where he was solemnly enthroned by the Primate. The Lord Chancellor now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the Archbishops and Bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and again kissing the King's left cheek. The whole was concluded by the administration of the Holy Communion, and the King entered the Palace with his whole train, having the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, amid the sound of trumpets, and the discharge of artillery from the castle.

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fellow student, Dr William Juxon, to succeed him in the Diocese of London.

One of the results of the King's visit to Scotland was the foundation or erection of the Bishopric of Edinburgh, the charter of which is dated at Whitehall, 29th September 1633. It is already stated that the Archiepiscopal Diocese of St Andrews was most extensive. Clarendon observes—"Edinburgh, though the metropolis of the kingdom, and the chief seat of the King's own residence, and the place where the Council of State and the Courts of Justice still remained, was but a borough town in the Diocese of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and governed in all church affairs by the preachers of the town, who, being chosen by the citizens from the time of Knox, had been the most turbulent and seditious ministers that could be found in the kingdom." Before the erection of the See of Edinburgh, the ecclesiastical affairs of the districts contained in the Diocese of St Andrews south of the Forth were administered by an Archdeacon appointed by the Archbishops, and eight Deans belonged to the Diocese, being only one less than in the very extensive Diocese of Glasgow. The new Diocese included Clackmannanshire on the north side of the Forth, the counties from the town of Stirling to the Tweed, bounded by the Forth, the Frith of Forth, and the German Ocean on the one side, and was bounded by the Bishopric of Galloway and Diocese of Glasgow on the other. The King purchased part of the estates which had been the patrimony of the ancient Priory of St Andrews from the Duke of Lennox, to secure a suitable revenue for the new Bishop, and that nobleman disposed of the property at a moderate sum to meet the King's wishes. The church of St Giles, the original parish church of the city, which has been long subdivided into various places of worship both in Episcopal and Presbyterian times, and which was completely repaired and the outer walls rebuilt in 1830 and 1831, was constituted the cathedral. This large Gothic edifice, the erection of different times, though no part of its interior is apparently more ancient than the reign of James IV., is said to occupy the site of a church founded before A.D. 854, which was subsequently under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Lindisferne or Holy Island.

The Bishops of Edinburgh, by the King's charter of erection, were to have precedence after the two Archbishops, and next in

order were the Bishops of Galloway. The Chapter was arranged to consist of a Dean and twelve Prebendaries. The principal minister of St Giles' was to be the Dean. In the charter the patrimony of the Bishopric is carefully enumerated, and a proper maintenance for the Bishop, Dean, and Prebendaries was secured from the teinds, feus, and superiorities of various lands specified. This the King did, says Clarendon, "hoping the better to prepare the people of the place, who were most numerous and richest of the kingdom, to have a due reverence to order and government, and at least to discountenance, if not to suppress, the factious sprout of Presbytery which had so long ruled there."

The first Bishop of Edinburgh was Dr William Forbes of Aberdeen—"a very eminent scholar," says Clarendon, "of a good family in the kingdom, who had been educated in the University of Cambridge." In the short biographical notice of him inserted by Bishop Keith it is stated that Dr Forbes was the son of Thomas Forbes of the family of Corsindae, who married a sister of James Cargill, a physician of great eminence in Aberdeen, where the Bishop was educated before he went to Cambridge. In his youth he travelled through Germany and Holland, and after an absence of five years he returned to Scotland, and became successively minister of the parishes of Alford and Monymusk in the county of Aberdeen. He was removed to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen, and Principal of Marischal College, and thence he was translated to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh. The reputation of Dr Forbes for theological learning soon attracted the notice of Charles during his visit to Scotland, who is said to have stated that he had "found a man who deserved to have a See erected for him." The patent of Dr Forbes to the Bishopric of Edinburgh was dated the 26th of January 1634, after he had been twenty years in holy orders, and he was immediately consecrated; but he died on the 1st of April following, universally regretted by all who knew him. Spalding, however, states that Bishop Forbes died on the 12th of April. "About this time" [1634], says that local contemporary, "Dr William Forbes, one of the ministers at Aberdeen, was translated therefrom to the town of Edinburgh, where, in February thereafter, he was with great solemnity consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh, and shortly thereafter transported his wife and children, goods and gear, from Aberdeen

to the said burgh. This man was the first that ever was made Bishop of Edinburgh, and continued short while ; for upon the 12th day of April in the said year 1634, he departed this life, after taking of some physic, sitting in his own chair, suddenly—a matchless man of learning, languages, utterance, and delivery, a peerless preacher, of a grave and godly conversation, being about the age of forty-four years.”*

Bishop Burnet, in the Preface to his “ Life of Bishop Bedell,” describes the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who was one of that illustrious and learned body of ecclesiastics popularly known as the “ Doctors of Aberdeen.” “ One of the Doctors of Aberdeen,” observes Burnet, “ bred in his [Bishop Patrick Forbes’] time, and of his name, William Forbes, was promoted by the late King while he was in Scotland in the year 1633, to the Bishopric of Edinburgh which was then founded by him, so that that glorious King said on good grounds that he had found out a Bishop who deserved that a See should be made for him. He was a grave and eminent divine. My father,† who knew him long, and, being of counsel for him in his law matters, had occasion to know him well, has often told me that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on these words of the Apostle—‘ Did not our hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?’ He preached with a zeal and vehemence that made him often forget all the measures of time ; two or three hours was no extraordinary thing for him ; those sermons wasted his strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such, that he supplied it so scantily that he died within a year after his promotion, so he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been otherwise expected from so great a Prelate. The little remnant of his that is in print shews how learned he was.‡ I do not deny

* Spalding’s History of the Troubles in Scotland and England, printed for the Bannatyne Club.

† Robert Burnet of Crimond, a Judge in the Scottish Supreme Court by the title of Lord Crimond, the brother-in-law of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, also designated Lord Warriston, the noted Covenanter, one of Cromwell’s partizans.

‡ Bishop Burnet here alludes to the treatise by Bishop Forbes, entitled—“ Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christi Mediatore, Eucharistia.”—“ The book,” says Pinkerton,

but his earnest desire of a general peace and union among all Christians has made him too favourable to many of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, but though a charity that is not well balanced may carry one to very indiscreet things, yet the principle from whence they flowed in him was so truly good, that the errors to which it carried him ought either to be excused, or at least to be very gently censured."

A portrait of Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh is given in Pinkerton's " Portraits of Illustrious Persons of Scotland" in his episcopal habit, from a painting by the celebrated Jameson, known as the Scottish Vandyke. The Bishop was succeeded in the See of Edinburgh by Dr David Lindsay, who was translated from Brechin in September 1634. The successor of Bishop Lindsay in Brechin was Dr Walter Whiteford, son of Whiteford of Whiteford, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir James Somerville of Camnethan. Bishop Whiteford was consecrated in September 1634. He had previously held the incumbency of Monkland, and the Subdeanery of Glasgow, from which he was preferred to be rector of Moffat, retaining the Subdeanery *in commendam*. In 1620 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Bishop Whiteford is mentioned in the Peerage of Scotland as having married Anne, fourth daughter of Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael in Lanarkshire, successively Warden of the Middle and West Marches on the English Border, who was murdered when on his way to hold a court at Lochmaben in 1600, by a person named Thomas Armstrong and several accomplices, then returning from a match at foot-ball. This Sir John Carmichael was the grand-uncle of Sir James Carmichael of Hyndford, ancestor of the Earls of Hyndford.

Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen died on Easter-Eve, 28th of March 1635, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was interred in the south aisle of the Cathedral of St Machar in Old Aberdeen. So much has been already said of this learned and illustrious ornament of the Scottish Episcopal Church, that any remarks are almost superfluous. Bishop Burnet truly describes him as " in

" forms an octavo volume replete with theological learning, and its intentions are the more laudable, because very uncommon. But party, ever in extremes, is a stranger to reason, and to all *Modest and Pacific Considerations*. He who takes the middle open ground is only exposed to the fire of both armies." *Iconographia Scoticæ*, London, 1797, vol. i.

all things an apostolical man." "When," says Burnet, "he heard reports of the weakness of any of his clergy, his custom was to go and lodge unknown near their church on the Saturday night, and next day, when the minister was got into the pulpit, he would come to the church, that so he might observe what his ordinary sermons were, and accordingly he admonished or encouraged them." After stating, in reference to the learning and loyalty of the Aberdeen Doctors, one of whom was his son John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, and that "the true source of that advantage they had," in their controversy with the Covenanters, "is justly due" to the memory of Bishop Forbes, Burnet says—"He had Synods twice a year of his clergy, and before they went upon their other business he always began with a short discourse, excusing his own infirmities, and charging them that if they knew or observed any thing amiss in him, they would use all freedom with him, and either come and warn him in secret of secret errors, or if they were public, that they would speak of them there in public; and upon that he withdrew to leave them to the freedom of speech. This condescension of his was never abused but by one petulant man, to whom all others were very severe for his insolence; only the Bishop bore it gently, and as became him."^{*} His character is amply delineated in the "Funeral Sermons, Orations, and Epitaphs, on the Right Reverend Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen," published in 1635.

Bishop Forbes was succeeded in the See of Aberdeen by Bishop Bellenden, translated from Dunblane, to which Dr James Wedderburn was appointed in February 1636. Bishop Wedderburn was a native of Dundee, and was educated at Oxford, but if Heylin's statement in his Life of Archbishop Laud is correct, partly at Cambridge. He obtained a prebendal stall in Wells Cathedral in 1631, and was afterwards Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews. Such were the changes in the episcopal succession previous to the memorable rebellion in 1638.

* Preface to the Life of Bishop Bedell.

CHAPTER X.

DISCONTENT IN SCOTLAND—PLOTS OF THE ENGLISH PURITANS AND SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS—TRIAL OF THE SECOND LORD BALMERINO—BISHOP SYDSERFF OF GALLOWAY—CALVINISM—THE COMPILATION OF THE SCOTTISH LITURGY—ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS.

THE visit of Charles I. to Scotland, notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which he had been received, was followed by the most disastrous results. The Nobility remembered with rancorous hatred the revocation of the church lands: the ceremonial of the coronation had entailed upon them debts and expences which they were unable to defray without great exertions in a country where money was proverbially scarce; and the taxation pressed hard upon their narrow resources. A general discontent pervaded the kingdom fostered by the Presbyterian party.

The Court unfortunately at this crisis conferred appointments which were most imprudent. The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, died on 16th of December 1634, and Archbishop Spottiswoode was preferred to that high office on the 16th of January 1635. The Presbyterian writer Row observes respecting the appointment of Archbishop Spottiswoode as Lord Chancellor—"It was thought by many, he being an old and infirm man, and very unmeet for so great changes in Kirk and Commonwealth, that this was oddly done for a preparative that the Bishops of younger years might succeed him." It is more than probable that this supposed "preparative" is fallacious and unfounded, but it proves that the seeds of discontent were widely sown among the Nobility and the people, and even those of the former who were attached to the Church were irritated at the preference awarded to the Bishops, believing

that the object of the King in all proceedings connected with Scotland was to aggrandize the clergy. Sir Robert Spottiswoode of Newabbey and Dunipace, the Primate's second son, who, it is already mentioned, successively held the office of an Extraordinary and Ordinary Lord of Session, was appointed Lord President of that Court after the death of Sir James Skene in 1633, and the Archbishop's acceptance of the office of Lord Chancellor, in connection with his son's position as head of the College of Justice, was the cause of much hostility. Even about the end of October 1634, it had been rumoured that the King, without any assignable cause, had supplanted the Lord Chancellor Kinnoull, and the Earls of Mar, Winton, Haddington, Roxburgh, Lauderdale, Southesk, and others of inferior rank, as Lords of the Scottish Exchequer, and had nominated in their stead the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Ross, four judges of the Supreme Court, four of the Barons, the Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer, Sir John Hay of Barro, Lord Clerk Register, two of the Officers of State, and the lawyer who held the appointment of Depute-Advocate. It is also alleged that a new list of Privy Councillors, containing the names of nine of the Bishops, was transmitted, and that as many of the clergy as were noted for their zealous attachment to the Episcopal Church were constituted justices of the peace. If these statements are correct, for the arrangements were never enforced, it cannot be denied that they were injudicious. The amount of talent which would have been brought into the public service was undoubtedly more than the King could supersede; for no man can deny the abilities of Archbishop Spottiswoode, Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow, Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh, and Bishop Maxwell of Ross, exclusive of the four Noblemen and the Officers of State; but the Nobility became alarmed at the probable loss of situations of dignity which had all along pertained to their rank, and granted to ministers of religion whom they considered intruders into secular pursuits. Bishop Burnet truly states that the Scottish Nobility at that period were as powerful as they were ever known to have been in former times; and Clarendon records that the honours conferred on the Bishops alienated many from the Church. "The promoting so many Bishops to be of the Privy Council," says the Noble historian, "and to sit in the Courts of Justice, [though there is no evidence

that any one of them was ever connected with the Supreme Court except Archbishop Spottiswoode as Lord Chancellor], seemed at first wonderfully to facilitate all that was in design, and to create an affection and reverence towards the Church, at least an application to and dependence upon the greatest Churchmen. So that there seemed to be not only a good preparation made with the people, but a general expectation, and even a desire, that they might have a Liturgy, and more decency observed in the Church ; and this temper was believed to be the more universal, because neither from any of the Nobility, nor from the clergy who were thought most averse to it, there appeared any sign of contradiction, nor that licence of language against it as was natural to that nation ; but an entire acquiescence in all the Bishops thought fit to do, which was interpreted to proceed from a conversion to their judgment, at least to a submission to authority ; whereas, in truth, it appeared afterwards to be, from the observation they made of the temper and indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest authority, that they were likely to have more advantages administered to them by their ill managey, than they could gain by any contrivance of their own."

The various details of the general discontent against the King are more or less specified in all the histories of that memorable period. The Scottish Parliament of 1633 gave no satisfaction to the people. Sir James Balfour, who was the opponent of the Church, states that the " third and fourth acts of this Parliament so much displeased the subjects, that in effect they were the very ground stones of all the mischiefs that hath since followed. One whereof was anent his Majesty's royal prerogative and apparel of Kirkmen ; and the other, a ratification of all acts made in former Parliaments touching religion, and to bind the subjects the more to observe his Majesty's general revocation [of the teinds], was ratified, which was only intended to be an awe band [restraint] over men that would presume to attempt any thing against the two former acts. But it proved in the end a forcible rope to draw the affections of the subject from the Prince. To be short, of thirty one acts and statutes concluded in this Parliament, not three of them but were most hurtful to the liberty of the subject, and as it were as many partitions to separate the King from his people. This Parliament was led on by the Episcopal and Court

faction, which thereafter proved to be that stone which afterwards crushed them in pieces, and the fuel of that flame which set all Britain a fire not long thereafter. In this Parliament his Majesty noted up the names of such as voted against the three former acts with his own hand, wherein he expressed now and then a great deal of spleen. This unseemly act of his Majesty bred a great heart-burning in many against his Majesty's proceedings and government." Though several of these statements are inaccurate, they are of some importance as the recorded sentiments of a man who lived at the time, and who, from his situation of Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, was concerned in most of the events of his day. Sir James Balfour also knew intimately most of the leaders of both parties, and although an avowed partisan, he undoubtedly expresses the opinions which prevailed. But the Presbyterian party were not idle in organizing an effectual opposition to the government of Charles I. From the accession of King James to the English Crown they had maintained a correspondence with the Puritans. After the death of that monarch, they employed a man named Borwick as their confidential agent in London, and a conspiracy was projected to assail the Church of England as soon as the war commenced against the Episcopal Church of Scotland. Various contemporary writers, especially Bishop Guthrie, and even Bishop Burnet, explicitly state that the Presbyterians were encouraged to much of their subsequent violence and rebellion by the information they regularly procured from England; and both Echard and Anthony Wood mention that the celebrated John Hampden annually visited Scotland to concert measures with his friends. This fact is also confirmed by Nalson, who tells us, that "the principal men of the English faction made frequent journeys into Scotland, and had many meetings and consultations how to carry on their combinations."

The Presbyterian leaders were comparatively quiet during the King's visit to Scotland in 1633, but they were sedulouslyconcerting their plans. Sir James Balfour narrates that by act of Parliament in 1594, four of each of the Estates were to convene twenty days before the meeting of every Parliament, "to consider all articles and petitions which were to be given in, that such things only might be put in form, and presented to the Lords of the Articles in time of Parliament, as were reasonable and necessary, and that

such as were impertinent and frivolous might be rejected ; but it was not determined who should make choice of the persons." It seems that this was not observed previous to the Parliament of 1633, and the only intimation was by a herald at the Cross of Edinburgh a month before the meeting, that all petitions were to be delivered to Sir John Hay, the Clerk Register—a "sworn enemy," says Sir James Balfour, "to religion and honesty," in other words a zealous opponent of the Presbyterians—and "a slave to the Bishops and Court, to be laid before such of the Privy Council and Estates as would be nominated to consider the petitions." Some of the Presbyterian preachers, suspecting they would not be heard in any other manner, appointed one of their "distressed brethren," a certain Mr Thomas Hog, to lodge their grievances with Sir John Hay, in the form of a memorial to be laid before the King and Estates of Parliament. Sir James Balfour has preserved this document, which is entitled "Grievances and Petitions concerning the disordered estate of the Reformed Kirk within this Realm of Scotland, presented upon the 29th of May 1633 by me, Master Thomas Hogge, minister of the evangel, in my own name, and in name of others of the ministry likewise grieved, to Sir John Hay, Clerk of Register." The "grievances" set forth in Mr Thomas Hogg's "petitions" were the usual Presbyterian complaints against the Church. He and his friends demanded that no "ministers should be admitted to vote in Parliament without express warrant and direction from the Kirk"—that the said "ministers," as they termed the Bishops, ought to be subject to their seditious General Assemblies—and that the Five Articles of Perth should be rescinded. The other points set forth in the document, which is rather lengthy, are of little importance. The zealous Mr Hogg attended to present his "grievances," but no meeting of the Committee of the Estates was held, and his associates induced him to lay a supplication before the King, which he did at Dalkeith Castle on the 15th of June, the day of his Majesty's public entry into Edinburgh. Charles read the petition, but no farther notice was taken of the matter, and in the opinion of Sir James Balfour, the acts of the Parliament of 1633 "laid the foundation of an irreconcileable schism, and proved afterwards the ruin both of the King and the Bishops."

The Marquis of Hamilton was intrusted by the King with the

collection of the taxation granted by the Parliament. But another serious affair occurred in 1634 and 1635 which farther tended to widen the breach between the King and the Presbyterian party, and to enlist the sympathies of many of the people who cared little for the Presbyterian dogmas on the side of the latter.

John second Lord Balmerino was the only son by the first marriage of James the first Lord, who was tried, convicted, attainted, and condemned to be beheaded, in the reign of King James, as already narrated. He was restored to the Peerage by letter under the Great Seal in August 1613, and after the accession of Charles became conspicuous by his opposition to the Government. His subsequent connection with the Covenanters, and friendship with Johnston of Warriston and other chief leaders of the Presbyterians, sufficiently indicate his principles. In the Parliament of 1633 Lord Balmerino zealously denounced the act sanctioning the royal prerogative to regulate the dress of the clergy, and it is asserted that a majority voted against it, although Sir John Hay, whose duty it was as Clerk Register to collect the votes, asserted that it was carried in the affirmative. John fifth Earl of Rothes, who afterwards became an enthusiastic Covenanter, boldly stated in the House that the votes were erroneously reported, but the King peremptorily insisted that the Clerk Register's declaration must be held correct, unless Rothes should appear at the bar, and accuse him of falsifying the records of Parliament. This, however, was a capital crime, and as the Earl was well aware that if he failed to prove it he was also liable to that punishment, he prudently withdrew his statement.

The conduct of those noblemen excited the marked displeasure of the King ; but as they were still persuaded that the act, though passed, had been virtually rejected, and as they considered that the Parliament was useless if the Clerk Register was allowed to declare the votes as he pleased, more especially Sir John Hay who was indebted for all his preferment to Archbishop Spottiswoode, they resolved to adopt another course, which was undoubtedly legal and constitutional. They employed a gentleman named Haig, of the ancient family of Haig of Bemerside in Berwickshire, who had been solicitor to King James, to draw up a petition to King Charles, praying that this grievance might be redressed. Before presenting or even signing it, Rothes was desired to shew a copy

of it to the King, who, when informed of the scope of the document, so expressed himself that the design was relinquished.

It happened that Lord Balmerino preserved a copy of this petition, which he had interlined in some places with his own hand, and shewed it, with the strictest injunction to secrecy, and a positive order that he was not to transcribe it, to his legal adviser, a notary in Dundee named Dunmore. That individual, however, basely copied it, and gave it to Mr Peter Hay of Naughton, on the condition that he was not to exhibit it to any individual. But that was an age in which honour was little regarded, and Hay, who cherished a bitter dislike to his neighbour Lord Balmerino, carried it to Archbishop Spottiswoode. The Primate, who was either told or imagined that such an important document was circulating for signature, set off with it directly for London to lay it before the King, and the Archbishop's enemies accuse him of beginning his journey on a Sunday.

Lord Balmerino was summoned on the 9th of June to appear before the Privy Council on the 11th. On the day of his citation his Lordship accidentally met Haig, who, after a conversation, considered it prudent to retire to Holland, from which he wrote a letter to Lord Balmerino, acknowledging that he was the author of the petition. But this was of no avail to his Lordship, who, after an examination before the Privy Council, was committed a close prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. He was tried on the 3d of December on the accusation of “art and part of the penning and setting down of a scandalous libel, and divulging and dispersing it among his Majesty's lieges;” which dangerous libel “depraved the laws, and misconstrued the proceedings of the King and the late Parliament; so seditious that its thoughts infected the very air—a cockatrice which a good subject should have crushed in the egg.” To this inflated charge Lord Balmerino's counsel, three of whom were afterwards judges in the Supreme Court,*

* Lord Balmerino's counsel were Mr Roger Mowat, Mr Alexander Pearson, Mr Robert Macgill, and Mr John Nisbet, Advocates. Mr Alexander Pearson was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session by the Estates of Parliament in March 1650, and took his seat on the Bench by the title of Lord Southhall. He died in 1657, and his conduct or abilities had dissatisfied the English rulers of Scotland, for Lord Broghill, in a letter to Thurloe in November 1655, says of Lord Southhall—“ We understand there are some things against him which possibly will soon invite to lay him aside.” Mr Robert Macgill was appointed by the same Estates, and took his seat as Lord Foord in June

replied that the interlineations, for which his Lordship was undoubtedly responsible, were merely intended to mitigate the strong phraseology of the petition, and could not constitute a libel—that the said petition was only submitted to a confidential lawyer for his private opinion—that there was no precedent for a trial on such a charge—and that though it might have been illegal to conceal the petition if it was really seditious, its purport was apparently at least respectful. On the 20th of December the indictment was found what is called in Scottish law relevant, and remitted to an assize; but the trial was delayed till the 20th of March 1635. Lord Balmerino was then placed at the bar, and in vain challenged eight of the jury. He succeeded with difficulty in setting aside the Earl of Dumfries, although it was proved that the said Earl had deliberately declared that, “if he were of his jury, though he [Balmerino] were as innocent as St Paul he would find him guilty.”* The first Earl of Traquair, so created in 1633, and one of the ministers of State, was allowed to act as chancellor of the jury, notwithstanding his avowed hostility to Balmerino. When the jury were enclosed, Gordon of Buckie, who while a young man had been engaged with his chief the Earl of Huntly in the murder of the Earl of Moray in 1591-2, implored them with tears in his eyes not to shed blood by their verdict. Traquair replied that the jury had nothing to do with the punishment, but were merely judges of the act of concealment. Eight of the fifteen jury gave a verdict of guilty, and Lord Balmerino was sentenced to be beheaded when the King's pleasure was known. His Lordship's friends held numerous meetings, and so great was the excitement in his favour, that during the trial the people daily assembled in crowds on the streets in defiance of the efforts of the Magistrates. The condemnation of Lord Balmerino increased their rage, and they planned the most desperate designs. It was resolved to break open the prison for his release, or, if that

1649. Mr afterwards Sir John Nisbet, who was Lord Balmerino's junior counsel, having been called to the Bar in 1633, was appointed Lord Advocate, and took his seat on the Bench as Lord Dirleton in 1664. He was forced to resign his appointments in 1677, having incurred the resentment of Lord Haltoun, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, brother of the powerful Duke of Lauderdale.

* At that time a Scottish Peer was subject, like a commoner, to the cognizance of the Justiciary or Criminal Court and the verdict of a jury, but it was necessary that the majority should be of his own order.

scheme was unsuccessful, to revenge his death on the judges, and on the eight jurymen by whom he was convicted. The Earl of Traquair, who was one of those designed to be murdered, hastened to Court, and obtained a remission of the sentence. A respite was received, which was considered by the people as the forerunner of a pardon. The merit of procuring this respite is ascribed by the Presbyterian writer Row to Archbishop Laud's influence with the King, and by others to the royal clemency; but we have undoubted evidence that Balmerino was spared by the intercession of Laud, who had been the patron of Traquair, and who had been the instrument of raising him from the condition of a private gentleman to the rank of an Earl and the office of Lord High Treasurer. Balmerino was kept in confinement thirteen months, and he was then allowed to be merely a prisoner at large, as he was ordered to confine himself within certain bounds. A considerable time elapsed before he received a pardon. This prosecution of Lord Balmerino was fatal to the King's interest in Scotland, and tended still more to unite the Nobility against him.*

In October 1634, the warrant of the King for re-establishing the Court of High Commission was received. It enumerated as members of the Court the two Archbishops, the twelve Bishops, a great many of the Nobility, Lord Lorne, afterwards a zealous Covenanter, better known as the eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, and a numerous list of knights and baronets, clergy, and gentlemen. Seven of them, an Archbishop or Bishop being of the number, were empowered to call before them, at any time or place they chose to appoint, all who were avowed or suspected Roman Catholics or non-communicants, and others who were guilty of ecclesiastical or immoral offences. They were also enjoined to proceed against all who impugned the Five Acts ratified by the Perth General Assembly. It is curious to find the names of several who soon afterwards became active opponents of the Church in this document, and it cannot be denied, whatever opinion may be formed of the expediency of re-establishing the Court of High Commission at that time, that they were all equally responsible.

In 1634, died Bishop Lamb of Galloway, who had been trans-

* The pleadings in this singular case, and a copy of the petition with the words interlined by Lord Balmerino, are inserted in the first volume of the "State Trials."

lated from Brechin to that See in 1619. The successor of Bishop Lamb was Dr Sydserff, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who is commonly said to have been translated from Brechin, to which he may have been probably nominated ; but his name does not occur in the succession of the Bishops of Brechin, and we have already seen that Dr Walter Whiteford was this year consecrated to that See, vacant by the translation of Bishop David Lindsay to Edinburgh.

The Bishopric of Galloway had long been noted for its religious animosities and fanatical opinions, and some of the most turbulent of the Presbyterian preachers having located themselves within its limits, Bishop Sydserff resolved to suppress their extravagances, and enforce the power vested in him by law. A gentleman named Gordon, of Earlston, thought proper violently to oppose the induction of a minister whom the people of the parish disliked, and he was in consequence cited before the Diocesan Commission Court. Gordon refused to appear, and he was fined, and ordered to remove to the town of Montrose. He was at the time superintending the estates of John Viscount Kenmure, a minor, who succeeded his father Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, the first Viscount, in 1634, and who had appointed as his son's trustees his brother-in-law Lord Lorne and the Earl of Morton. Lorne exerted himself to procure a remission of the banishment to Montrose, but Bishop Sydserff would listen to no representation in Gordon's favour. About the same time a Mr Robert Glendinning, minister of Kirkeudbright, was deprived, or probably suspended from the discharge of his functions, for refractory conduct, in refusing to allow a clergyman to officiate in his parish church under the authority of the Bishop. Mr Glendinning, who is described as then nearly eighty years of age, disregarded the Bishop's censure, and the magistrates of the town supported him in his contumacy by resorting to his sermons. The Bishop issued a warrant for his imprisonment, but his son, who was one of the magistrates, refused to put it in force. For this defiance of ecclesiastical authority he and the other magistrates were ordered to be confined in the Jail of Wigton. A certain Mr William Dalgleish, minister of the parish of Kirkmabreck, was also deposed for nonconformity.* Although these and similar instances chiefly

* Nicholson's History of Galloway, vol. ii. p. 41, 42, on the authority of a very unfair and questionable writer named Aikman.

rest on the statements of Presbyterians, who carefully narrate them to their own advantage, and though now they appear harsh and oppressive, the circumstances of the times must be considered. The Episcopal Church was then the legal national Church, and those who refused to conform had no more right to the possession of the parishes than the Episcopal Clergy now have to them under the Presbyterian Establishment, or the large party who seceded from it in 1843, and yet refused to acknowledge its constitution and discipline.

In 1635 and 1636 the compilation of the celebrated Scottish Liturgy or Service-Book of King Charles I., as it is called, was in progress, and as this, including the Book of Canons, was pregnant with great and disastrous events, some introductory details are necessary. We have already seen that Presbyterianism was unknown in Scotland till 1560. Under the direction of Calvin that mode of discipline had been put into operation at Geneva, from which it was brought into Scotland by John Knox, though not in the same form or complexion as that afterwards given to it, and very different from what has been legally established in Scotland since the Revolution of 1688. The *doctrinal part* of Presbyterianism, is known as *Calvinism*, from the name of its founder or propagator, and this has been long and controversially opposed to what is theologically called *Arminianism*.

Calvinism appears to have been first so designated specifically at the Conference of Poissy in 1561, which Calvin was prevented from attending by his local duties and the state of his health ; but his correspondence with Beza, his deputy who was present, shews the intense interest he felt in the proceedings. A debate ensued on that occasion, respecting the orthodoxy of the Augsburg Confession, between the supporters of Luther and Calvin, and the followers of the latter from that time were known as Calvinists. The Scottish Reformers and their successors of the Melville and other trainings were all determined Calvinists, though we have seen that many of them were by no means satisfied with, or decided in their views of, the Presbyterian discipline. They fluctuated in their opinions from time to time, and seem to have been guided by interest, expediency, and other casualties. But it is clear, and cannot be disputed, that the belief in the tenets of Calvinism, such as original sin, election, reprobation, absolute decrees, perseverance

of the saints, irresistible grace, what is considered regeneration, the nature of the eucharist, and other points affected by or resulting therefrom, does not solely constitute any man a Presbyterian, for many eminent theologians of the Church of England have been Calvinists. When that Church was first purified in the reign of Edward VI., and its unsettled state in the reign of his father corrected, it was to a considerable extent Calvinistic in doctrine, though apostolically episcopal in its constitution, and catholic in its observance of the ancient and primitive fasts and festivals. The rise of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and their increase under his successor, are facts well known. During the reign of James I. the English Puritans, in the excess of their zeal for Calvinism in all its forms and peculiarities, designated every one who was not of their sect, or who contended for the apostolical constitution, succession, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, an Arminian. This was intended to excite the ignorant prejudices of the common people against the Church of England, and those unscrupulous maligners soon extended their accusation by identifying what they called Arminianism with Popery. This mania spread into Scotland, and after the accession of Charles I. every one who was not a Presbyterian was stigmatized as an Arminian and a Papist. At the present time such an accusation would be received with the utmost indifference, for it is a matter of no consequence what the Presbyterians say of those who oppose their system ; but it had a different effect in the reign of Charles I. among an ignorant people such as the population of Scotland then were, few of whom could give any explanation of Arminianism, or knew anything of its doctrines. In all the writings of those men we find them labouring under the hallucination that conformity to the Episcopal Church was a recognition of Arminianism and Popery, and this was more particularly the case after the promulgation of the Scottish Liturgy. Even Principal Baillie of Glasgow, one of the most sensible of them, who was himself admitted into orders by Archbishop Law of Glasgow, writes to one of his friends in 1638 :—“ When they troubled us not with ceremonies the world knows we went with them (whereof we have no cause to repent), so far as our duty to God or man could require ; but while they will have us against standing laws to devour Arminianism, and Popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witness of

their opposition though we die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against all who will gainsay?"

Archbishop Laud was in England considered the great patron of this imaginary Arminianism and Popery, the falsehood of which the whole life and opinions of that martyred Primate abundantly testify. Laud was catholic in the *proper* not the *Romish* meaning of that word, and his theology was derived not from the mere opinions and speculations of Arminians, but from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the learned writers of the Church in all ages. He opposed the Puritans because he rightly believed them to be the inveterate enemies of the Church of England, and restless innovators who would destroy that great and illustrious fabric by annihilating the ecclesiastical authority with which the Bishops and clergy are invested, to preach, instruct, and administer the sacraments. Laud also opposed the Presbyterians on the same ground, and because they were self-elected teachers without canonical authority. To him, as a Catholic English Churchman, Puritanism under whatever form or pretensions, and Presbyterianism, were equally obnoxious, but he was no enemy to *doctrinal Calvinism* in itself, as his influence in the promotion of Usher to the primacy of the Irish Church, not to mention other Calvinists who obtained his patronage, sufficiently proves.

Archbishop Laud was nevertheless accused as the great promoter of Arminianism and Popery, and we are gravely told by the Presbyterian writers that, after he took an interest in Scottish affairs, all those who were promoted to the Bishoprics were "rank Arminians." Bishop Maxwell of Ross is particularly mentioned. This is one of those charges which would require more space to examine and refute than it is really worth. The matter will be best understood by examining Archbishop Laud's correspondence with the Scottish Church after 1633, from which it appears that in all his letters he advised the Bishops to do nothing contrary to the law.

A Scottish Liturgy had been long in contemplation, and we have seen that before Charles I. returned to England, in 1633, a Committee was appointed to prepare one for the revisal of certain of the English Bishops. We have also seen that Archbishop Laud strongly advised the Scottish Bishops to adopt at once the

English Liturgy, and to trust to the effect of time for the removal of local prejudices, but his judicious advice was disregarded. On the 8th of October 1633, Charles had dispatched a letter to Bishop Bellenden as Dean of the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, which Rushworth alleges was written at the suggestion of Laud, for a "reformation in the Church of Scotland, beginning with the Chapel-Royal," and the orders it contained are "declared to be for a pattern of the intended reformation to all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches, in Scotland." The King enjoined that the Dean of the Chapel-Royal and his successors should at all future coronations be assistant to the Archbishop of St Andrews—that the Book of the Form of the Coronation lately used was to be carefully preserved in a little box, and kept in possession of the Dean—that Divine service was to be performed twice every day according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, "till some course be taken for making one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church" of Scotland—that the Holy Communion be received kneeling, and administered on the first Sunday of every month—that the Dean preach in his "whites," or surplice, on Sundays and other holidays observed by the Church, and be as seldom absent as possible except when visiting his Diocese—and that the Privy Council, Judges, and members of the College of Justice, communicate in the Chapel-Royal once every year, or be reported to the King by the Dean in case of refusal. This was followed by a letter to the Lords of Session dated at Greenwich 13th May 1634.

It is a matter of no consequence whether or not Archbishop Laud was the adviser of the preceding injunctions. The Chapel-Royal belonged to the Crown as an appendage of the royal residence of Holyroodhouse, and the King had an undoubted right to order Divine service to be performed in it according to the ritual of the Church of England. As to Archbishop Laud's own affairs, he maintained a considerable correspondence with the Bishops and some of the leading Scottish Nobility. In a letter to the Earl of Traquair, dated Lambeth, 14th March 1634, still preserved among the archives of Traquair House in Peeblesshire, the Archbishop, after alluding to the trial of Lord Balmerino and other political topics, says—"I have nothing to do in these letters but to signify to you what is already done, save only to give you thanks for the care you have taken to fit the Bishop and choir of Edinburgh

with their choir and precincts to them, as also for your love to me ; and therefore, without creating any further trouble to you I leave you to the grace of God and Christ." Certain letters from Laud to Bishops Bellenden and Maxwell in 1634 and 1635 were made part of the charge against the Archbishop by the Scottish commissioners in December 1640, though it does not appear that they were ever produced in support of that charge. The letters to Bishop Bellenden chiefly relate to his preferment, he having apparently become tired of Dunblane. Bellenden was anxious to obtain the See of Edinburgh after the death of Bishop Forbes, and had applied to Archbishop Laud to use his interest with the King in his favour. Bellenden, however, had given offence to the Court, which the following letter from Laud sufficiently intimates, indorsed " anent the Liturgy and his sermon," and addressed " to the Right Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, at Edinburgh, thesc," dated Lambeth, May 6, 1634.—" I am right sorry for the death of the Bishop of Edinburgh, the loss being very great both to the King and the Church. I acquainted his Majesty how needful it was to fill that place with an able successor, and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you desire, shew his Majesty what your desires were, and what necessities lay upon you. After much consideration of the business his Majesty resolved to give the Bishopric of Edinburgh to my Lord of Brechin, and for yourself, he commanded me to write expressly to you, that he did not take it well that, contrary to his express command, you had omitted prayers in his Chapel-Royal according to the English Liturgy, with some other omissions there which pleased him not ; besides, his Majesty hath heard that there have been lately some differences in Edinburgh about the sufferings of Christ, &c., and that your Lordship was some cause of them ; at least, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if the late Bishop of Edinburgh's care and temper had not moderated them ; and this his Majesty is not well pleased with neither. And this hath been the cause, as I conceive, why his Majesty hath passed you over in this remove, and you shall do very well to apply yourself better both to his Majesty's service and the well ordering of that Church, lest you give just occasion to the King to pass you by when any other remove falls. I am very sorry that I must write thus unto

you, but the only way of help lies in your own carriage ; and, therefore, if you will not be careful of that, I do not see what any friend can be able to do for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious consideration for your own good, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest your Lordship's loving friend and brother."*

This rebuke to Bishop Bellenden elicited several letters to the King, and the contents of them will be readily understood by the following to the Bishop from Archbishop Laud, dated Lambeth, July 1, 1634, indorsed " anent reading of the Liturgie and his sermon at Edinburgh."—" My haste at this time forces me to write very briefly ; and these are to let you know that I wrote nothing in my former letters but as the King was informed, and myself by him commanded. I have now read your Lordship's letters to his Majesty, which hath in some part satisfied him, but not altogether. And for the present, his Majesty saith, that though the gentlemen of the Chapel-Royal did absent themselves for fear of arrests, having nought to pay, and this that might hinder the service in the Chapel in a solemn and a formal way of singing by them, yet his Majesty thinks you might have got a chaplain of your own to have read the English Liturgy, that so the work for the main part of it might have gone on ; and for the payment of those men, I think your Lordship knows that I have done all the good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all the difficulties of the time. Concerning the disturbance that was in Edinburgh, if any wrong was done your Lordship, that must be upon them who misreported you to the King, whoever they were. And howsoever, the King took it not ill you advised the then Bishop of Edinburgh to appease the differences, for that was very worthily and deservedly done by you. But as far as I remember the charge laid upon you to the King was, that in your own sermon, which you preached about that time, you did rather side with one party than either repress or compose the difference, though I must needs confess to your Lordship that, by reason of the multitude of businesses which lie upon me, I cannot charge my memory with the particular.

* Appendix of Original Letters and Papers to Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, 1637 to 1662, edited from the Author's MSS. by David Laing, Esq. Edinburgh, 1841, vol. i. p. 432; printed from the original in Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. No. 15.

You have done very well to acquaint their Lordships of Council and Session, &c., with his Majesty's resolution concerning the Communion in the Chapel-Royal, and I doubt not, if you continue to do that which his Majesty looks for in the course of your Church, and which is most just and fit to be done, but that you will easily recover his Majesty's favour, and find the good of it. So in haste I leave you to the grace of God, and rest your Lordship's loving friend and brother."

This conciliatory letter was followed by another from Archbishop Laud, dated Croydon, October 4, 1634, but it is in such a very torn and mutilated state that the half of it at least is unintelligible. The English Primate informs Bishop Bellenden—"I have a second time moved his Majesty concerning them that obeyed or disobeyed his commands in receiving the Communion in the Chapel at Holyroodhouse, and you shall not fail to receive his Majesty's answer by my Lord [Bishop Maxwell] of Ross, so that I shall not need to be farther troublesome to you in that particular." The rest of the letter, so far as it is legible, refers to the payment of the gentlemen of the Chapel-Royal who had been defrauded of their stipends by their own employed agent, one Bancroft, and who, says Archbishop Laud, "either ran away with the money, or misspent it, or else served his own turn with it." The Primate justly observes that the King cannot be expected to pay the money twice, "and yet," he says, "I must confess it falls very hard upon the poor men to bear the loss, but they should have been wiser in the choice of their agent." The Archbishop promises, however, to "do his best," and declared that for the future they shall be "duly paid."

On the 12th of January 1635, Archbishop Laud again wrote to Bishop Bellenden about the Chapel-Royal. The Edward Kellie mentioned at the close of the letter was appointed Receiver of the Fees of the Chapel-Royal in November 1629, by writ under the Privy Seal. The mode in which Divine service was conducted in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, before the introduction of the Liturgy, is narrated in a petition from Mr Kellie to the King, dated at Whitehall, 24th of January 1631, two years and a half before the coronation in Scotland. Mr Kellie mentions that he carried from London three large printed Bibles, one for his Majesty's seat, the second for the reader, and the third for the

Dean's use. He also states that he had brought with him an organist, two men to play on cornets and sackbuts [the latter a bass-trumpet kind of instrument,] and two boys for singing in the “*versus*.”—“In time of service within the Chapel,” he says, “the organist and all the singing men are in black gowns, the boys are in sad [dark] coloured coats, and the usher, sexton, and vestry-keeper, are in brown gowns. The singing men sit in seats lately made before the noblemen, and the boys before them, with their books laid as in your Majesty's Chapel here [London]. One of the great Bibles is placed in the middle of the Chapel for the reader, the other before the Dean. There is sung before the sermon a full anthem, and after the sermon an anthem alone in *versus* with the organ; and thus every one attendeth the charge in his place in a very grave and decent form.” He was allowed an apartment in the Palace of Holyrood, in which he says that he placed an organ and various instruments for the weekly practice of the organist and singers in English, Scottish, and Continental vocal and instrumental music.* It is strange that the Presbyterian writers take no notice of this state of affairs at old Holyrood, but refer the erection of the organ solely to the King's coronation.

This short explanatory digression is of importance, as shewing the details then in progress. Archbishop Laud, in another letter of the 12th of January 1635 to Bishop Bellenden, compliments him on his “ordering of the Chapel-Royal,” and on his resolution to wear his “whites,” notwithstanding the “maliciousness of foolish men.” He informs the Bishop that the King was now satisfied concerning his sermon and all other things committed to his care, and that “as opportunity serves he may expect from his Majesty all reasonable things.” The English Primate states that in his first interview with the Earl of Traquair he would converse with him about the “gentlemen of the Chapel,” and would show him what the Bishop wrote “concerning one Edward Kellie.” In a postscript the Archbishop adds that he had seen the Earl, who assured him that Kellie had been paid. This evidently refers to the salaries of the persons belonging to the Chapel-Royal.

* From an original paper preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, and printed in the Appendix to Dauney's “Ancient Scotish Melodies,” Edin. 4to. 1838, p. 365, 366, 367.

Bishop Bellenden was restored to the favour of the King, and Archbishop Laud was not forgetful of his promise of preferment. In a letter dated Lambeth, May 19, 1635, the Archbishop thus writes—"The King hath been acquainted with your care of the Chapel-Royal, and is very well pleased with the conformity that hath been there at the late reception of the blessed Sacrament; and for my part I am heartily glad to see in what a fair way your Church businesses now are in those parts. I hope, if the Bishops be pleased to continue their good example and their care, all things will settle beyond expectation. The King hath declared his pleasure concerning the Bishoprics now void, and hath given you the Bishopric of Aberdeen, as you will hear more at large by my Lord [Bishop] of Ross. But being an University, and a place of consequence, he will have you reside there, and relies much upon you for the well ordering of the place. I am very glad the King hath been so mindful of your remove."

It is already mentioned that Bishop Bellenden's successor in Dunblane was Dr James Wedderburn. Some intimations are given of the progress of the Liturgy and the Canons, in a letter from Archbishop Laud to Bishop Maxwell of Ross, dated Croydon, 19th September 1635. After complimenting Bishop Maxwell on the "forwardness" of the Liturgy, and expressing his satisfaction that the "Canons are also in good readiness," which he thought would be of "great use for the settling of the [Scottish] Church," Archbishop Laud thus notices Bishop Wedderburn, who had been one of his Prebendaries in the Cathedral of Wells. "I thank you for your care of Dr Wedderburn. He is very able to do service, and will certainly do it, if you can keep up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated, as well as my Lord of Brechin [Bishop Whiteford], but I perceive he is not. What the reason is [I know] not, but it is a thousand pities that those uncertainties abide with him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him I would not have him stick at any thing, for the King will not have him long at Dunblane after he hath once settled the Chapel [Royal] right, which I see [he] will settle apace if he keep his footing. My letters are gone to the Bishop of Aberdeen, by the King's command, to desert his protestation concerning the Chapel, [and] to leave the rents presently to Dr Wedderburn; and it will not be long ere letters come from the King to take of

the annats from the Bishoprics, and Dr Forbes, the late Bishop's executor, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for the annats of the ministers, the King is resolved not to touch them at this time." Archbishop Laud then replies minutely to all which Bishop Maxwell had written to him on the affairs of the Church. He assures the Bishop that the Chapel-Royal will soon be provided with silver vessels and other ornaments—that Archbishop Spottiswoode would shortly receive a letter from the King—mentions the arrival of the Bishop of Brechin with a letter from Archbishop Spottiswoode, which he [Laud] had fully answered—and states that he hopes to induce the Marquis of Hamilton to sell or "pass Arbroath full and wholly, preeinct and all." He advises Bishop Maxwell not to despond, or to be uneasy at the designs and calumnies of the enemies of the Church, but to "serve God and the King, and leave the rest to their protection." He says that he does not believe that the King will erect any other Bishopric hastily, and wishes that those in existence were better in revenues.

A contemporary MS. now printed,* is entitled "An Account of Papers intercepted betwixt Archbishop Laud and the Scots Bishops." Mr Laing observes that this "title is the indorsation of the paper in a later hand, with the date 1637 added. It appears, however, that it was not before the year 1640 that the papers here referred to came into the possession of the Covenanters." The first was entitled "Memoirs for my Lord Bishop of Ross, of matters to be proponed to his Majestie and my Lord [of] Canterbury his Grace," which are described as all written and subscribed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, August 8, 1634. This contemporary MS. was written by a furious Covenanter, and is expressed in the spirit of true Presbyterian hatred to Archbishop Laud. The first draught of the Book of Canons is alleged to have been sent at this time to the King and the Archbishop for revisal or correction, to whom the Scottish Bishops are charged with giving an account of all their actions. Some of these are curious as matters of history. Among the documents enumerated by the Covenanting writer is a narrative by the Scottish Bishops respecting the Liturgy, the Canons, and the

* In the possession of David Laing, Esq. Edinburgh, and published in the Appendix of Original Letters and Papers to his valuable work, the "Letters and Journals" of Principal Baillie of Glasgow, vol. i. p. 428, 429, 430.

Psalms ; papers on the filling up of vacant benefices, the administration of the Communion in the Chapel-Royal, and on constituting the High Court of Commission a constant judicatory for the subversion of Presbyterian discipline ; in proof of which a reference is made to a letter written and subscribed by the King to Bishop Maxwell, 20th October 1634—"Whereof," the Covenanters allege, "we have the principal." Several of the documents are connected with local matters relating to St Andrews, in some of which the erection of a new cathedral is projected. Others refer to the Commission for the Surrender of Teinds, the Commissariot of Argyll, the remodelling of the Court of Exchequer, and Lord Balmerino. The papers enumerated are twenty-six, as sent, with other documents specified, by Archbishop Spottiswoode, "our chiefest Prelate," to Archbishop Laud, who is assailed for "meddling in all our affaires," and the "absolute dependence" of the Scottish Bishops "on him therein as the primus and principal mover, author, and director, from whom all did and must flow, especially anent the Service-Book and Book of Canons, wherein our greatest Prelate [Spottiswoode] gives an account to the [Arch]Bishop of Canterbury, as equally joined with the King, even as scholars do unto their masters."

To this, and the reiteration of the charge, that Archbishop Laud was the "prime and *primum mobile*, especially anent Service-Book and Canons, and all other our Church changes," it may be answered, that without admitting it to the absurd extent which the Covenanters affected to believe, it was impossible for Laud not to be considerably involved in Scottish affairs at the time. He was constantly consulted by the King, and he was in close correspondence with the Scottish Bishops, who resorted to him for advice in all their difficulties. As to his alleged interference or "meddling," he has left the true account in the affecting "History of his Troubles and Trials;" and the statements of Archbishop Laud are of more authority than the declamations of his Covenanting enemies—men whose malignant hatred to those who differed from them was unbounded—men not only implicated in the murder of the King, but who had no inconsiderable agency in bringing the venerable Primate to the block.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCOTTISH BOOK OF CANONS AND THE SCOTTISH LITURGY.

BEFORE 1636 the outbreak of popular fury and violence which overwhelmed the three kingdoms in anarchy and bloodshed was projected in Scotland, though the masses were apparently tranquil, notwithstanding the discontent which prevailed. If any opposition was threatened it was either unknown to the Government, or treated with disregard. Yet the Presbyterian preachers had not been idle in animating the enthusiasm of their partizans. They resorted to their former practice of holding fast-days, which were not *fast-days* according to the proper meaning of the term, but days on which they delivered long extempore harangues to the people who resorted to them, exciting their passions, their ignorant fears, and their superstitious resentments. Bishop Henry Guthrie [of Dunkeld after the Restoration] states that those who were zealous for Presbytery kept frequent fasts with their adherents, on which occasions they inflamed the popular disaffection to the King's measures, hinted at the unlawfulness of what they called Prelacy, and the alleged mischiefs it caused ; and that they thus prepared for the riots and disorders of 1637. As it respects fast-days, however, some of the Bishops were not behind the Presbyterians in such observances, though from very different motives. An instance of this occurred in the Diocese of Aberdeen in 1636, when Bishop Bellenden committed a great irregularity. He authorised a public fast to be held on a Sunday, which irritated the King, and caused a royal declaration that " no Bishop should command or suffer any fast to be kept on that day, or on any other, without the special leave and command of the King." Mr Scott observes in the Perth Kirk-Session Registers—" King Charles undoubtedly was in the right, that the Lord's Day should not be turned into a day of fasting."

On the 4th of May 1636, a book which Mr Scott designates “Ecclesiastical Constitutions” was produced to the Presbytery of Perth, whose opinion is not recorded in the Kirk-Session Register. Mr Scott most erroneously supposes that this was either the “Service-Book,” or the Book of Canons, or “both of them together.” On the 18th of October, the King wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode and the Privy Council on the introduction of the new Liturgy throughout the kingdom. From this letter it is evident that the Liturgy was then prepared, though it was not printed till the following summer. Two copies of the Liturgy were enjoined to be purchased for each parish. A proclamation at the market-cross of every town established the Liturgy, which the people unfortunately had never seen. On the 20th of December 1636, the Privy Council passed an act “authorizing the Service-Book, with his Majesty’s warrant of October 1636”—“commanding hereby all Archbishops and Bishops, and other presbyters and churchmen, to take a special care that the said public form of worship be duly observed and obeyed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished; and to have a special care that every parish betwixt and Pasch [Easter] next procure unto themselves two at the least of the said Books of Common Prayer for the use of the parish.” This, however, was not enforced till the 13th of July 1637, when letters of horning were procured by the Privy Council against the refractory incumbents.

But by a singular fatality the Book of Canons which ratified the Liturgy was first published, and this enabled the enemies of the Church to assert that something favourable to the Church of Rome was intended to be enforced. The old cry of Popery was soon raised and credulously believed. Bishops Maxwell, Sydserff, Whiteford, and Bellenden, are the alleged compilers of the Book of Canons, but it may be assumed that the other Bishops were consulted. The original manuscript was transmitted to the King, by whom it was carefully revised. It was published by the title of “Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, gathered and put in form for the Government of the Church of Scotland. Ratified and approved by Authority, and ordained to be observed by the Clergy, and all others whom they concern. Published by Authority. Aberdeen, imprinted by Edward Raban, dwelling upon the Market-Place, at the Arms of the City, 1636, with royal privilege.”

On the title-page are the arms of Aberdeen, with the city motto, *Bon-Accord*, and on the back are the royal arms of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

The Book of Canons consists of nineteen chapters, and extends to forty-three pages. The titles of the chapters are as follows:—
1. Of the Church of Scotland. 2. Of Presbyters and Deacons, their nomination, ordination, function, and charge. 3. Of Residence and Preaching. 4. Of the Conversation of Presbyters. 5. Of Translation. 6. Of the Sacraments. 7. Of Marriage. 8. Of Synods. 9. Of Meetings to Divine Service. 10. Of School-masters. 11. Of Curates and Readers. 12. Of Printers. 13. Of Christnings, Weddings, and Burials, to be registered. 14. Of Public Fasts. 15. Of Decency in apparel enjoined to persons ecclesiastical. 16. Of Things pertaining to the Church. 17. Of Tithes and Lands dedicated to churches. 18. Of Censures Ecclesiastical. 19. Of Commissaries and their Courts.

It was well known to the Presbyterians at the time that a collection of Canons had been authorized in the reign of King James by the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1616, and when King Charles was in Scotland in 1633, it was resolved speedily to collect them. The preparation of the Canons, therefore, was no novelty. The Canons in reality contain little more than the Five Articles of Perth, which, however, rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Presbyterians, the more fanatical of whom maintained that in their alleged spiritual matters they were independent of all civil authority, and that it was Erastianism of the deepest dye to admit that their proceedings could be reviewed by Parliaments and judicial courts. They held that they were entitled in the name and by the authority of the great Head of the Church to legislate as they thought proper, to convene and to dissolve their General Assemblies at pleasure, and to arrogate to themselves the utmost plenitude of power. It is already seen that in arrogating pretensions to heaven-derived powers, and in claims to infallibility, Presbyterianism in Scotland yielded not to the Church of Rome. As the preachers had often disclaimed the sovereign's authority to summon their General Assemblies, claiming for themselves an *imperium in imperio* while eating the bread of State-connection, it was not likely that they would render obedience to Canons about which they had never been consulted. "But," says

Heylin, “as they had broken the rules of the Primitive Church in acting as sovereigns themselves, without the King’s approbation or consent in former times, so were they now upon the point of having those old rules of theirs broken by the King, in making Canons, and putting laws and constructions upon them, for their future conduct, to which they had never consented. And, therefore, though his Majesty had taken so much care, as himself observed, for facilitating their obedience by furthering their knowledge in those points which before they knew not, yet they did generally behold it, and exclaimed against it, as one of the most grievous burdens which had hitherto been laid upon them.”

The Scottish Canons are unexceptionable, and the only misfortune was that they were announced before the Liturgy; for the Scottish Bishops, as Clarendon truly observes, ought not to have “inverted the proper method, and first presented a body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, choosing to finish the shorter work first.”—“It was strange,” says the Noble historian in another place, “that Canons should be published before the Liturgy was prepared, which was not ready in a year after or thereabouts, when three or four of the Canons were principally for the observation of and punctual compliance with the Liturgy, which all the clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoined by it, before they knew what it contained, whereas if the Liturgy had been first published, with all the circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better reception, and the Canons have been less examined.” But the King’s reasons in his Royal Declaration authorizing the Canons are worthy of notice. “First, that he held it exceedingly imperative that there should be some book extant to contain the rules of the ecclesiastical government, so that the clergy, as well as the laity, might have one certain rule to regulate the power of the one, and obedience and practice to the other. Second, that the Acts of General Assemblies were *written only*, and not *printed*, and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many; so large and voluminous, that it was not easy to transcribe them, insomuch that few of the Presbyteries themselves could tell which of them were authenticated, which not; so unsafe and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to address themselves for consulting them. Thirdly, that by reducing those numerous Acts, *and those*

not known unto themselves, to such a paucity of Canons, published and exposed to the public view, no man could be ensnared by ignorance, or have just reason to complain of their multiplicity. Finally, that no one in all that kingdom did either live under the obedience of the Acts of these General Assemblies, or did know what they were, or where to find them.” In short, the whole would have been right, whatever may have been the result, if the fatal step had been avoided of promulgating the Canons before the Liturgy, because it allowed sufficient time to discover alleged defects, and to persuade the ignorant and weak-minded that they were the preludes to Popery.

Another error which the King committed was issuing letters-patent under the Great Seal, declaring that, by his “prerogative-royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, he ratified and confirmed the said Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained,” to be observed within the Provinces of St Andrews and Glasgow.” This was dated at Greenwich, 23d May 1635. Now, although the Scottish Parliament had no right to legislate in matters connected with the Church farther than to ratify and confirm whatever was brought before them, Charles ought at this crisis to have called a General Assembly, and he had then sufficient influence to secure the assent of a majority in favour of the Canons. This was always the mode which King James adopted to carry his measures. The Five Articles of Perth, the authority to compile Canons and prepare a Liturgy, the very episcopate itself, were managed in this manner. It recognized so far the General Assemblies as legal ecclesiastical courts, which had never been denied by the most zealous supporters of the Episcopal Church, and it would have completely silenced the cavilling at the supposed arbitrary proceedings of the King. The Presbyterian party, if in the minority, would have resorted to their old practice of denying the legality of such a General Assembly; but as they had done so on other occasions, it would have had little effect.

As to the Canons, they contain nothing which is not familiar to those who are acquainted with those of the Church of England, the rubrics in the Liturgy, and other well known ecclesiastical rules of discipline. The first—“Of the Church of Scotland”—asserts the King’s supremacy in all cases ecclesiastical, such as

"the godly Kings had among the Jews and Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church," and enjoined all to be excommunicated who affirmed the contrary, with power exclusively to the Archbishop of the Province to restore them after repentance, and "public revocation of their wicked errors." All were to be excommunicated, and only restored by the Bishop of the Diocese or Archbishop of the Province, who taught that "the doctrine of the Church of Scotland, the form of worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, the government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, and others who bear office in the same, the form of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as they are now established under his Majesty's authority, do contain in them any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or are corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful in the service or worship of God."

The Canons regulated the education and examination for holy orders of deacons and presbyters. No one was to be admitted into deacon's orders before the twenty-first year of his age, and no presbyter was to be ordained before completing his twenty-fifth year. Ordinations were enjoined to be held four times during the year, on the first weeks of March, June, September, and December. Every person at ordination and admission to a parish was to take the legal oath of supremacy, and he was to subscribe obedience to the Canons of the Church. Bishops who ordained, admitted, or licensed any person otherwise were to be "suspended from granting orders and licenses to preach for twelve months," and refractory presbyters and deacons, after so subscribing, were first to be suspended from their functions, and in cases of contumacy deposed from the ministry. The Archbishop or Bishop was enjoined to administer, at institution or collation to a benefice, the oath in the Book of Ordination against simony. Non-residence was strictly prohibited under pain of deprivation. No one was allowed to preach in any parish church unless he was licensed by the Bishop. Every presbyter, or he who officiated for him, being "lawfully called," was to perform Divine service before sermon according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer. Preachers were ordered to "eschew tediousness, and by a succinct closing leave in the people an appetite for farther instruction, and a new

desire to devotion." No layman, " whatsoever gifts he hath of learning, knowledge, or holiness," was to presume to officiate as a deacon or presbyter under pain of excommunication. Public catechising was enjoined every Sunday afternoon, and in the country parishes, when the people assembled for Divine service only once a-day, the Catechism was to be explained to them every alternate year. Various other matters connected with discipline, personal life, and conversation, were set forth, all truly excellent, and worthy at the present day of special observance. The fifth Canon of the fourth chapter—" Of the Conversation of Presbyters"—is very significant. " It is observed that sundry presbyters resort oftener to, and stay longer in Edinburgh than their charges can well permit ; for which cause it is ordained that special notice be taken of such, and their names sent to their Ordinary, that due censure may be inflicted." Persons in holy orders who betook themselves to trade, and abandoned their sacred profession, were to be branded as apostates, and all presbyters and deacons were not to " haunt the company of heretics, schismatics, or excommunicated persons, under the pain of suspension, unless the Church hath appointed them to confer with such persons for reducing them unto the right way." The Administration of the Sacraments embodied the Perth Articles. Diocesan Synods were to be held twice every year at such places as the Bishop appointed, and any presbyter who was wilfully absent was to be suspended till the next Synod. National Synods were to be called solely by the King's authority, and such Synods were declared to " bind all persons, as well absent as present, to the obedience of the decrees thereof in matters ecclesiastical ;" and those who maintained that a National Synod so assembled ought not to be obeyed were to be excommunicated, until they publicly repented. Any presbyter or layman who presumed to " make rules, orders, or constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical," or who " added or detracted from any rubrics, articles, or other things without the King's authority, or his successors," was to be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored until he repented ; but forasmuch as no reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at once in any Church, therefore it shall and may be lawful for the Church of Scotland at any time to make remonstrance to his Majesty, or his successors, what they conceive fit to be taken into farther consideration in and concerning the premises.

And if the King shall therefrom declare his liking and approbation, then both clergy and laity shall yield their obedience without incurring the censure aforesaid, or any other. But it shall not be lawful for the Bishops themselves, in a National Synod or otherwise, to alter any rubric, article, or canon, doctrinal or disciplinary, whatever, under the pain above mentioned and his Majesty's farther displeasure."

Marriages were enjoined to be celebrated in the parish churches between the hours of eight o'clock and twelve noon, after proclamation of banns on three several Sundays. The licence of the Archbishop of the Province or Bishop of the Diocese was declared necessary. No persons were to be married under the age of twenty-one without the consent of parents or guardians; and a table of the forbidden degrees was to be affixed in every parish church. The Archbishops and Bishops were authorized to grant licences "to persons of good sort and quality, and upon good surety and caution that there is no impediment, and the persons not under the censure of the Church;" but in such "cases, wherein licence cannot be refused, to marry without asking banns." Some regulations were added respecting divorces, and the conduct of the parties so situated.

The eleventh chapter, entitled—"Of meetings to [for] Divine Service"—enjoins decency of behaviour in the parish churches. No man was to "cover his head in time of Divine service except he have some infirmity, in which case he may wear a night-cap or coif." All persons were "reverently to kneel when the Confession and other prayers were read, and stand up at the saying of the Creed." In all meetings for Divine worship, before sermon the "whole prayers, according to the Liturgy," were to "be deliberately and distinctly read; neither shall any presbyter or reader be permitted to conceive prayers extemporary, or use any other form in the public Liturgy or Service than is prescribed, under the pain of deprivation from his benefice or cure." Professors in Colleges and parochial schoolmasters were to be under ecclesiastical controul. The appointment of Sunday as a fast-day was strictly prohibited, and no fasts were to be allowed on week days unless sanctioned by royal authority. No presbyter was to pronounce sentence of excommunication without the written approval of the Bishop. A regulation similar to the rubric of the Church of England in

the Visitation of the Sick on sacramental confession and absolution was inserted. Sentence of deprivation or deposition of a presbyter was to be pronounced exclusively by the Archbishop of the Province or Bishop of the Diocese, in presence of "three or four grave presbyters." Every person deprived or deposed, who persisted in exercising ecclesiastical functions, was to be excommunicated, and prosecuted in the civil courts. Penalties were inflicted on Bishops for irregular ordinations, and residence in their Dioceses was strictly enjoined, unless "employed by the King or by the Church."

Such is the substance of the Scottish Book of "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical." It would be superfluous to notice the comments of Presbyterian writers, and their total misapprehension of Primitive rule and order. Even Dr George Cook pronounces them "popish," or as tending to "popery," though an examination of them proves that such an inference is altogether unfounded. Previous to the publication of the Canons, the learned and venerable Bishop Juxon of London wrote to Bishop Maxwell of Ross, dated London House, 17th February 1636, acknowledging the receipt of a copy, and alluding to some explanations in the Liturgy then in the press. "With your letter of the 6th of this month," says Bishop Juxon, "I received your Book of Canons, which perchance at first will make more noise than all the canons in Edinburgh Castle; but when men's ears have been used awhile to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it as now at first, and perchance find them as useful for preservation of the Church as the others for the commonwealth. Our prayers here are for your happy proceedings in that great service, where-with I rest, your Lordship's assured friend to serve you—GUL. LONDON." The Earl of Stirling [Sir William Alexander of Menstrie], Secretary of State for Scotland at the time, thus wrote to Bishop Maxwell—"I thank you heartily for your Book of the Canons, which I received yesternight. I was present in the morning when my Lord of Canterbury delivered the Book to the King, which, as soon as his Majesty had read some of it, he delivered unto me, and I was glad to hear him so well pleased therewith. I find some errors in the printer, by mistaking or reversing of letters, and therefore have the more care in looking to that in printing of the Service-Book, for Young, the printer, is the greatest knave

that I ever dealt with ; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necessity you must. [Since] the writing hereof I received a letter from my Lord of [Canter]bury, signifying his Majesty's pleasure for two letters that should be [drawn] up for his hand concerning the authorizing of the Book [of Canons], which, God willing, shall come home with the next packet. I hope my son will take such a course, with your advice, concerning the Psalms, as shall be fit, to whom I refer the same.* The Psalms here mentioned were the metrical versions of King James, with which the Earl of Stirling was intimately connected, and his Lordship's severe reflection on the printer was elicited by transactions with him on that subject.

Bishop Juxon's supposition that the Book of Canons would probably " make more noise than all the cannons in Edinburgh Castle" was erroneous. Though discontent existed, it excited no particular feeling against the Bishops or the Government. The great conspiracy was organized against the Liturgy, which it was well known would soon appear. Some curious gossiping on the state of affairs occurs in a long letter from Principal Baillie to his " dear and loving cousin," Mr William Spang, dated January 29, 1637. On the 18th of October 1636, the King signed a missive for warrant of an act of the Scottish Privy Council, which was issued on the 20th of December. The Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were present at that meeting, and the act enforcing the use of the Liturgy was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, but the book was not completed till May 1637. " The proclamation of a Liturgy," says Principal Baillie, on January 2, 1637, to Mr William Wilkie, then a Regent or Professor in the University of Glasgow, " is the matter of my greatest affliction"—the said Mr Wilkie, whom Lord Hailes designates " a sort of ecclesiastical spy employed by Balcanqual, the great confidant of Charles I. in every thing relating to Scotland," at that time an aspirant for the Bishopric of Argyll, vacant by the death of Bishop Boyd in December 1636. Baillie, who in the above letter to Mr Wilkie declares—" *Bishops I love*"—writes to his friend Mr Spang—" After we were beginning to forget the Book of our Ca-

* Original Letters and Papers from the Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. No. 21-22, in Appendix to " Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, M.A., Principal of the University of Glasgow," edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 438-439.

nons, before Yule vacants [Christmas vacation] a proclamation was made by an act of Council at the King's direction brought home with the Bishop of Ross, who the last year brought us down our Canons, to receive the Service Book. This all the churches in Scotland are commanded to do against Pasch next under the pain of horning ; yet to this day [January 29, 1637] we cannot get a sight of that book. The reason, some say, is because our Scottish edition is not yet completely printed. I would rather think that some of our Bishops make delay, as not being at full point themselves what they would have in and what out. I know much of it was printed in Edinburgh before Yule [Christmas] was a year. We heard then that the Bishop of Edinburgh chiefly had obtained that we should be quite of the surplice, cross, Apocrypha, Saints' Days, and some other trash of the English Liturgy, but since that time they say that Canterbury sent down to our Chancellor [Archbishop Spottiswoode] a long writ of additions, which [he insisted] behoved to be put in." The absurd and ignorant fears of the Presbyterian party are expressed in the following most unfounded statements :—" However it be," Baillie writes to Spang, " my Lord Treasurer [the Earl of Traquair] brought home a copy of our Scottish Service printed at London, which sundry have perused, and say they find no difference betwixt it and the English Service save one, to-wit, an addition of sundry more Popish rites, which the English wants. We must cross in baptism, have ring in marriage, &c. ; but besides, we must consecrate at set times with set prayers holy water (!) to stand in the font ; at the delivery of the elements there is another, and that a very ambiguous prayer, as they say, looking much to transubstantiation ; the deacon, on his knees, must in an affecting manner present the devotions of the people to the Lord upon his altar or table. For myself, I suspend my judgment till I see the Book ; only I fear the event to be to the hurt of our poor Church."*

Baillie at the time he thus wrote was a presbyter of the Episcopal Church, yet here was a man, much superior in talent to the ordinary grade of those with whom he afterwards acted, deliberately, though ignorantly, setting forth the most erroneous and ridiculous statements about the Scottish Liturgy, which he con-

* Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 4.

fesses he had not then seen. An examination of the Book, and a comparison of it with the Liturgy of the Church of England, is a complete refutation of all his visionary clamours against “Popery and Arminianism.” The compilers of the Scottish Liturgy were, or are generally understood to have been, Archbishops Spottiswoode and Lindsay, Bishops Wedderburn, Guthrie, Maxwell, and Whiteford. Dr Cook asserts that the Liturgy was chiefly prepared by Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn, and it is probable that they were the active parties in the matter, but all the others were more or less concerned, as they had been with the compilation of the Book of Canons. They were ordered to transmit the work for revisal to Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon of London, and Bishop Wren of Norwich, the latter, according to Clarendon, “a man of a severe sour nature, but very learned, and particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches.* Yet from a fatal inadvertency, the Scottish Bishops neglected several of Laud’s wise admonitions, and acted contrary to the advice of their more experienced brethren.

The Liturgy appeared under the title of “The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, printed by Robert Young, Printer to the King’s most excellent Majesty, 1637.” The sentiments of Archbishop Spottiswoode on the Scottish Liturgy are intimated in a letter written by him to the learned and pious Bishop Hall of Norwich, the original of which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, inserted in a copy printed on large paper, now re-bound and cut down:—“I was desired,” writes Spottiswoode, “to present your Lordship with one of the copies of our Scottish Liturgy, which is formed so nigh the English as we could, that it might be known how we are nothing different in substance from that Church. And God I beseech to keep us one, and free us from those that crave divisions. Your Lordship will be pleased to accept of this little present as a testimony of our Church’s love, and sent by him who truly loveth your Lordship, and will still remain your Lordship’s most affectionate brother.” Indorsed—“To my very Reverend good Lord and Brother, my Lord Bishop of Norwich.”†

* Heylin’s Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 222. Laud’s History of his Troubles and Trials, p. 168-169. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 153.

† Appendix of Original Letters and Papers, in Principal Baillie’s Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 442.

The Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was among the first of the churches supplied with the Liturgy, for which Robert Bryson, bookseller, and Evan Tyler, printer, granted a discharged receipt on the 15th of April, for the sum of L.14*4*, 4*s.* Scots money, or L.12 sterling. In that month Bishop David Lindsay of Edinburgh wrote to the clergy of the various Presbyteries, or *Exercises*, as they were then called, in his Diocese, of which that addressed to “his well-beloved Brethren, the Moderator and remanent Brethren of the *Exercise* of Dalkeith,” is an interesting specimen, dated Holyroodhouse, 20th April:—“A great number of the ministers of this Diocese, thinking the day of the Synod had been the last Wednesday of April, did come to this town, and finding themselves mistaken, presently returned to their own homes, with whom I spake not. These presents, therefore, are to desire you to keep precisely the time appointed, which is the last Wednesday of May, for at that time there [are] sundry things that I have to impart unto you, and in special concerning the Service Books that are to be received in our Church, of the which Books it is thought expedient that presently every minister and congregation buy two upon the common charges of the parish, one for the use of the minister, and the other for the reader, or him that shall assist the minister in the service. The price of the book I think shall be L.4, 16*s.*, that is L.9, 12*s.* [Scots, or 14*s. 8d.* sterling] the two. The matter is of no great moment, and the employment very necessary and profitable, as experience shall prove. I hope, therefore, you will not fail every one to bring in your monies, and receive your books, for it is appointed that the printer be paid, and the books taken off his hand, betwixt this and the first of June. In the meantime I expect that ye will observe the commemoration of Christ’s Ascension on Thursday the 18th of May, and on Sunday the 28th thereafter, called Whitsunday, a commemoration of the descending of the Holy Ghost, which have been and are solemnly observed through all the Christian world, to the honour of Him who is the God of order, unity, and peace, to whose grace I leave you.”*

It is singular that the Presbyterian writers obstinately persist in maintaining that the Scottish Liturgy is another version of the Roman Missal. Kirkton, one of the enthusiasts of the Covenant, states—“I have seen the principal book, corrected with Bishop

* From the Original in Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. No. 40, printed in Appendix to Principal Baillie’s Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 443.

Laud's own hand, wherein, in every place which he corrected, he brings the word as near the Missal as the English can be to the Latin." An examination of the Liturgy itself is the best refutation of this ignorant and absurd statement, and it is now admitted to be an excellent and judicious compilation. Collier in his Ecclesiastical History enumerates all the differences between the Scottish Liturgy and that of the Church of England, and gives an account of the manner in which the former was framed. The same is found in the King's "Large Declaration," but the perusal of Hamond L'Estrange's "Alliance of Divine Office," will at once shew wherein the Scottish Liturgy agreed with, and wherein it differed from, even in the *least* instance, the English Book of Common Prayer. The Presbyterians of that time who denounced the Scottish Liturgy were men, as Bishop Burnet describes them, "all of a sort; they affected great sublimity in devotion; they poured themselves out in their prayers in a loud voice, and often with many tears: they had an ordinary proportion of learning among them, something of Hebrew, and very little Greek; books of controversy with Papists, but above all with Arminians, were the height of their study." We have not only the internal testimony of the Scottish Liturgy to its general conformity to the English Book of Common Prayer, and the written statement of Archbishop Spottiswoode to Bishop Hall of Norwich already quoted, but also a narrative of the whole matter in a paper, assumed on good authority to have been drawn up by the Earl of Stirling, then Secretary of State for Scotland, indorsed in the handwriting of Dr Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, under the title of "Instructions how the Service came to be made, delivered to me by the King."* It is there stated that the work had been in progress since 1616, or at least that it was enjoined by the act of the General Assembly of that year to be prepared. A Liturgy was compiled and sent to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who transmitted it to King James for examination. After it was revised by Dr Young, Dean of Winchester, it was returned to Archbishop Spottiswoode, with the King's observations as to what he wished to be omitted, altered, or added. During this interval King James died, but King Charles pursued

* Printed from the Wodrow MSS. vol. lxvi. No. 34, in the Appendix of Original Letters and Papers in Principal Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 413, 444, 445.

his father's design. "This very book, *in statu quo* King James left it," says the Earl of Stirling, "was sent to his Majesty, and presented to his Majesty by myself; whether the same was done or not by the Bishop of Ross then [Patrick Lindsay], now Archbishop of Glasgow, I dare not confidently aver, but I think he it was. His Majesty took great care of it, gave it his royal judgment, and I returned home and signified his Majesty's pleasure to my Lord St Andrews, and he to each of the clergy as he thought fit. There were during this time much pains taken by his Majesty here, and my Lord St Andrews and some others there [in Scotland], to have it so framed as we needed not to be ashamed of it when it should be seen to the Christian world, [and] with that prudent moderation that it might be done in that [way which might occasion] the least offence to weak ones there.—To facilitate the Book of Common Prayer, a care was had besides to make it as perfect as could be, so likewise that howsoever it should come as near to this of England as could be, yet that it should be in some things different, that our Church and kingdom might not grumble as though we were a Church dependent upon or subordinate to them.—And yet [his Majesty's] care and prudence were more, that when all was concluded, and the Book ready for the press, to prepare men the better to receive it [he] gave order to all Archbishops and Bishops, till our own should be printed and fully authorized, to cause read the English Service-Book in their cathedrals, to use it morning and evening in their own houses and colleges, as it had been used in his Majesty's Chapel-Royal in the year of God 1617. The Bishops upon a remonstrance made to his Majesty, that seeing their own was shortly to come forth, desired that all should be continued till their own was printed and fully authorized, to which his Majesty graciously accorded."

Although Archbishop Laud had no concern in the preparation of the Scottish Liturgy, he caused it to be translated into Latin, that the learned world might see the falsehood of the allegation of its enemies that it was Popish. His subsequent troubles and fate prevented its publication.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RIOTS AT EDINBURGH AT THE FIRST USE OF THE LITURGY
AND THE RESULTS.

THE Scottish Liturgy was ordered to be introduced in Divine service on Easter Sunday 1637, and the King repeatedly enjoined the Bishops not to neglect this duty. Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh was not prepared for it on that day, and at several meetings of the Bishops in June and July it was resolved, in obedience to a letter from the King, to use the Liturgy on Sunday the 23d of the latter month, which was publicly announced on the preceding Sunday. Baillie narrates an account of the preliminary arrangements in a letter, dated October 1637, to his "dear and loving cousin," Mr William Spang. "The Bishop of Ross himself," he says, "in his cathedral at least, did long before that time, and so to this day continues, to read a Liturgy, whether the English, or ours printed at London, I do not know. The Bishop of Dunblane at his Synod did read it, and gave all ministers [to] Michaelmas term to advise whether then they would use that Book or leave their places. The Bishop of Edinburgh in his Synod, when Mr. Rollock had preached at length for the obedience to the King and Church, did read the Book. Mr. D. Mitchell and young Durie were the chief answerers. St Andrews in his Diocese did propone the buying and using of the Book, and thereupon took instruments. Glasgow was sick in Edinburgh, so in our Synod was no word of the matter. In the meantime some copies of the Book go from hand to hand; some of the unconform party make it their text daily to shew the multitude of Romish points contained in the Book, and the grossness of it far beyond the English; the way of the imposing of it, not only without any meeting either of Church

or State, but contrary to standing laws both of Church and State ; in a word, how that it was nought but the Mass in English brought in by the craft and violence of some of the Bishops against the mind of all the rest, both of Church and statesmen. These things did sound from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers, were the table-talk and open discourse of high and low."

On the 13th of June the Privy Council had issued an act enjoining that all the parishes should be provided with two copies of the Liturgy within fifteen days, under " pain of rebellion and putting of them to the horn." Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns, and George Hamilton, minister of Newburn, all in the Presbytery of St Andrews, in the name of a number of others who held the same opinions, presented a petition on the following day, requesting a reasonable time to see and examine the Liturgy, which was granted. Meanwhile, every day of the week previous to the 23d of July the citizens of Edinburgh were considerably excited, and a combination was formed to prevent by clamorous violence the introduction of the Liturgy. Henderson continued in the city during the week, and was met by Mr David Dickson, minister of Irvine in Ayrshire, and Mr Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, who became the conspicuous leaders in the approaching Covenanting crusade. They held repeated conferences with Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, to whom they detailed the objects of their visit to Edinburgh, and the measures they had resolved and were prepared to adopt. The approbation of Lord Balmerino might have been expected, considering his avowed principles, and his previous prosecution by the Government ; but such conduct was disgraceful to Sir Thomas Hope, who had received many personal favours from the King, and who, as Lord Advocate, entrusted with the administration of the law, ought to have cautioned Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, even though he coalesced with their alleged grievances. He well knew that the Episcopal Church had been the ecclesiastical establishment of the kingdom for at least upwards of thirty years, solemnly ratified and confirmed by successive Parliaments, and that Presbyterianism was not and could not be recognized except by violence. Another meeting was held in the house of one Nicholas Balfour, in the street known as the Cowgate, which was

attended, it is stated, by the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Glencairn, Loudon, and Traquair, Lords Lorn, Lindsay, Balmerino, and several others, one of whom is alleged to have been the Marquis of Hamilton, though this may be doubted, and Henderson, Dickson, Cant, and a number of the discontented Presbyterians. They railed at the alleged ambition and avarice of the Bishops, and their supposed innovations in the Church; and the rights of the Nobility were mentioned as infringed. On this occasion they concerted their plan of operations, and in imitation of an incident recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, to which they referred, that the Jews stirred up devout and honourable women, they instructed some Presbyterian "matrons" of the lower orders to "give the first affront to the Book," meaning the Liturgy, and to commence an uproar in the church when the service commenced, assuring them that the business would be soon taken out of their hands by men stationed for the purpose, several of whom were to aid them, disguised in female attire.

On that memorable Sunday, the seventh after Trinity that year both in the Scottish and English Liturgy, long known by the soubriquets of *Stony Sabbath* and the *Casting of the Stools*, a crowded congregation assembled in the morning in that part of St. Giles' church in Edinburgh, designated as the *Old Church*, the eastern division, or the High Church, being then, it is said, under repair. Archbishop Spottiswoode as Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Patrick Lindsay of Glasgow, several of the Bishops, numbers of the Privy Council, some of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the Magistrates of the city, all attended in their robes of office. It was then the custom of the poor classes to carry with them small three-footed stools on which they sat during the sermon. At the time of Divine service, which it appears was then nine o'clock in the morning, Mr. James Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, entered the reading-desk habited in his surplice, and opened the Liturgy. The uproar was instantly commenced by the women and men in disguise. Baillie states that the riot in the church was carried on by "serving maids," who "began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation." This riot is differently related by various writers, some of whom detail the blasphemous, indecent, and disgusting exclamations of the ignorant and designing wretches then present. Wodrow gives his gossiping Presby-

terian version, in his biographical sketch of Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh ;* but he is very inaccurate, and mentions incidents which could not have occurred. Clamours, outeries, and curses assailed the Dean, accompanied by such clapping of hands and other noises that not a word could be distinctly heard, and as the Dean still continued to read, those profanities were succeeded by a discharge of clasped Bibles, stools, stones, sticks, and other missiles, at his head. Others attempted to pull him out of the reading-desk, and he was glad to escape from their fury, leaving a part of his surplice in their hands. A portable stool was thrown at the head of the Dean, and he only evaded it by turning aside. Various paltry jokes, unworthy of notice, are recorded by the Presbyterian writers on this tumult.

Bishop Lindsay, who was to preach the sermon, now went into the pulpit, and addressed the deluded and audacious disturbers of the service. He reminded them of the sacredness of the place and of their duty to God and the King, and he entreated them to desist from their fearful profanation ; but his courage, dignity, and eloquence, which even Wodrow admits he displayed, were of no avail. He was assailed by the most odious epithets, and it is said that a stool was also aimed at him, which might have killed him if it had not been averted by a friendly hand. Archbishop Spottiswoode, who occupied a seat in the gallery, also interfered, but he only turned the tide of fierce imprecation against himself. The Primate saw that it was vain to allay the profane uproar, and in the exercise of his authority as Lord Chancellor he ordered the Lord Provost and Magistrates to clear the church. With the assistance of the other members of the Town-Council this was done with difficulty, and the doors made fast. The service was then continued. The mob, however, though expelled, loudly knocked at the door, and broke the glass of the windows with stones. Nevertheless the service proceeded in defiance of this noise and violence, until some of the rioters left within the church raised their old cry—“A Pape ! a Pape ! pull him down.” This compelled the Magistrates again to interfere, and to expel them from the cathedral. The service was then concluded, and the sermon delivered in quietness.

* Wodrow MS. printed in Appendix to Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, by John Aiton, D.D. p. 623-627.

The Liturgy was opposed, though not with such indecency, in the other churches of the city. In one adjoining to that of St Giles' less uproar ensued, but sufficient disapprobation was manifested. Bishop Fairlie, who had been consecrated to the See of Argyll only two days before, was interrupted in the Greyfriars' church by groans, hisses, and howlings, when he commenced the morning service, and gave it up after the General Confession and Absolution were read. The minister of Trinity College church, although pledged to use the Liturgy, cautiously delayed till he learned its reception in the other churches, and at length adopted the extemporaneous form for his own safety.

When the Bishops and the Nobility retired from St Giles' church after the morning service they found the street crowded by a mob, who insulted and threatened to attack them. One clergyman was severely beaten, and Bishop Lindsay, who was very corpulent, was so severely assaulted, though attended by one of the city clergy and a respectable merchant, that he was probably rescued from death solely by the domestics of the Earl of Wemyss, who carried him into that nobleman's residence. Before the afternoon service several of the Bishops convened in the house of Archbishop Spottiswoode, and there met the Magistrates, who adopted proper methods for preserving order. Numbers resorted to St Giles' church at two o'clock to hear the sermon, but no clergyman appeared. About three o'clock some of the Bishops and clergy went privately to the church accompanied by a strong guard. Another guard was stationed at the door, and only those were admitted who were known to be peaceable citizens. At the dismissal of the congregation about five o'clock the High Street was again crowded by male and female rioters, who were ready to renew their outrages. The guard was thought insufficient to protect Bishop Lindsay on his way to Holyrood Palace, whither he intended to retire for safety, and though he was in the coach of the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal, with that nobleman, who was exceedingly popular, and who was suspected to favour the opponents of the Liturgy, he escaped with great difficulty. The attempt to stop the coach and drag out the Bishop, who was erroneously supposed to be the most active promoter of the Liturgy, was repelled by the Earl's servants and the guards with drawn swords. The drivers cleared their way down the High Street, and soon

outstripped the rioters, who could not overtake them ; but as the Tron church was then building, the materials afforded a ready and plentiful supply of missiles to the insurgents, who pursued the coach to the Palace and injuring the Earl's domestics. A nobleman, supposed to be the facetious Earl of Rothes, who saw the populace running after the coach, exclaimed—"I will write to the King, and tell him that the Court here is changed, for my Lord Traquair used ever before to get the best following, but now the Earl of Roxburgh and the Bishop of Edinburgh have the best backing."

This profane riot, rendered more so by occurring on a day for which the Presbyterians affect the greatest veneration, was originally intended to be perpetrated on Easter Sunday by Heuderson, Dickson, Cant, and their associates, if the Liturgy, in obedience to royal authority, had been introduced on that great Festival of the Church. Various reasons are assigned for the delay. Dean Balcanual of Rochester alleges that the Liturgy was postponed till the 23d of July for the "farther trial of men's minds," that the Judges of the Supreme Court and other influential lawyers might ascertain its success before they left the city for the autumn vacation. Rapin supposes that it was delayed to ascertain if any signs of opposition transpired, which would have been vigorously checked. Clarendon states that the Earl of Traquair persuaded the King that preparation would be made for the more willing reception of the Liturgy in July ; yet it was observed that Traquair was purposely absent on the day of the tumult, afterwards assigning as an excuse that he was in the country on the occasion of the marriage of a kinsman, and was detained by rain on the Sunday morning ; while others maintain that it was postponed by the secret enemies of the Church, to allow the Presbyterians sufficient time to concert their measures. Bishop Lindsay, in his letter to the Presbytery or "Exercise" of Dalkeith on the 28th of April previously, merely reminded the incumbents that the next Diocesan Synod was to be held on the last Wednesday of May, and desired their attendance—"For," he observes, "at that time there are sundry things that I have to impart unto you, and in special concerning the Service-Books that *are to be received* in our Church." From this it appears that the Liturgy was to be submitted to the Diocesan Synod. The success of the Liturgy in other Dioceses, except those in the North, was very indifferent. At St Andrews it is

said that only a part of it was used by Archdeacon Gladstanes for about a month. The officiating minister read the service for a time in Dunblane, and was in consequence designated a "*corrupt worldling*." The parish minister in Brechin cathedral refused, and Bishop Whiteford is alleged to have caused his own servant to officiate—which is probably a Presbyterian fiction.

Such was the reception of the Scottish Liturgy, and it must be admitted that it was a fatal error to enforce its reception by authority on a people who were utterly ignorant of ecclesiastical usages and Primitive practice. The Privy Council soon became sensible of this fact. Meanwhile the state of Edinburgh after the above riot on the 23d of July deserves notice. Baillie says—"The day thereafter I had occasion to be in the town. I found the people nothing settled, but if that Service had been presented to them again, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put in ward; the town put under an episcopal interdict, which yet continues; no preaching, no prayers on the week days, no reading nor prayers on Sundays." It is stated that for a month there was no public worship in the city—that "the haill kirk doors were locked, and the zealous [Presbyterian] partizans flocked each Sunday with melancholy foreboding to their devotions in Fife, and then returned to their own homes."*

On Monday the Privy Council issued a proclamation condemning the conduct of the rioters, and prohibiting all turbulent assemblies of people under the highest penalties. The Magistrates also publicly denounced the tumult, laid the blame of the whole on the rabble, and promised to exert themselves by searching for and apprehending the ringleaders. They also declared to the English Privy Council that they would maintain the peace of the city, and establish the use of the Liturgy in all the parish churches. In a letter addressed to the King, which was sent to Archbishop Laud, they professed the most devoted loyalty, stated the additions to the stipends of the city clergy notwithstanding the exhaustion of the corporation funds by public works, and appealed in proof of their sincerity to the Scottish Privy Council, the Lord Treasurer Traquair, Bishop Sydserff of Galloway, and Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane. They made a show of their zeal by imprisoning a few women, as mentioned by Baillie, and prohibiting the sale of the

* Spalding's History, p. 43.

scurrilous pamphlet entitled, “ A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies.”

It was evidently the object of all parties to free themselves from blame. Archbishop Spottiswoode convened the Bishops, who sent an express to Court, and in their account of the riot the citizens of Edinburgh were censured as the chief actors, with a complaint against the Earl of Traquair that he had been purposefully absent. The Privy Council were offended at this procedure without consulting them, and alleged that the Bishops had not sufficiently examined the facts. They held that the city would be liable for any mischief which might afterwards occur, silenced Ramsay and Rollock, two of the ministers, for not using the Liturgy in their respective churches on the preceding Sunday, and deposed Patrick Henderson, the ordinary reader in St Giles’ church. This was on Friday the 28th, in a meeting at which Archbishops Spottiswoode and Lindsay, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin, Aberdeen, and Moray, were present. After hearing the Magistrates explain the course they intended to adopt for the “ peaceable exercise” of the Liturgy, and the protection of the clergy who used it in Divine service, the Lords of the Privy Council ordained “ the Provost and Bailles to advise among themselves anent an obligatory act, to be given by the town for the real performance of what they shall undertake in the business above mentioned ; and allow them to publish by tuck of drum the orders to be established by them for keeping their town in peace and quietness, and preventing of all trouble and commotion within the same.” On the following day the report of the clergy “ anent the Service-Book” was received by the Privy Council at a meeting in Archbishop Spottiswoode’s house, at which were present the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Galloway, Aberdeen, and Brechin. The Primate announced for himself and the other Bishops that in the then state of affairs, after the serious opposition to the Liturgy, it would be withdrawn till the King’s pleasure was known regarding the “ redress and punishment of the authors and actors of that disorderly tumult ;” and in the meanwhile, “ in the whole churches of the city sermon shall be made at the accustomed times by regular and obedient ministers ; that a prayer shall be made before and after sermon ; and that neither the old Service nor the new established Service

be used in the interim." The Privy Council sanctioned this arrangement, by authorizing the Bishops "to do therein according to the powers incumbent unto them in the duty of their offices."

When the tidings of the riot in Edinburgh reached the Court the King was greatly irritated. On the 7th of August Archbishop Laud wrote a long letter to the Earl of Traquair, expressing his sentiments and those of the King on the subject, and complaining of the injudicious manner in which the preparations were conducted. "His Majesty," said the Archbishop, "well knows the clergy have not power enough to go through with a business of this nature, and therefore is not very well satisfied with them either for the omission in that kind, to advise for assistance of the Lords of the Privy Council, or for the preparation or way they took. For certainly the publication a week before, that on next Sunday the prayers according to the Liturgy should be read in all the churches of Edinburgh, was upon the matter to give those that were ill affected to the Service time to communicate their thoughts, and to premeditate and provide against it, as it is most apparent they did." The Archbishop also censured the clergy for their mismanagement, especially for transmitting their account of the tumult without consulting the Privy Council, and regrets the casualty of the marriage of Traquair's kinsman, which had prevented the Earl's presence in the city on that day. Archbishop Laud then laments the withdrawal of the Liturgy till the King's pleasure was known, which he thinks was the "weakest part." He states that he wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode to that effect, and observes to Traquair—" Your Lordship at the Council, July 24, spoke very worthily against the interdicting of the Service, for that were in effect as much as to disclaim the work, or to give way to the insolency of the baser multitude, and his Majesty hath commanded me to thank you for it in his name; but the disclaiming the Book as any act of theirs, as [if] it was his Majesty's command, was most unworthy. It is most true the King commanded a Liturgy, and it was time they had one. They did not like to admit of ours, but thought it reputation for them, as indeed it was, to compile one of their own ; yet as near as may be they have done it well."*

The very day on which Archbishop Laud wrote the above letter

* Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 389, 390.

to the Earl of Traquair, that nobleman addressed an epistle to the Marquis of Hamilton, from which it appears that the Privy Council were most anxious to lay the chief blame on the Bishops. Other parties also endeavoured to exonerate themselves. Those were the Magistrates and Town-Council of Edinburgh, who on the 19th of August wrote to Archbishop Laud, expressing their deep regret at what had occurred, assuring his Grace of their loyal obedience, and that they had “ daily concurred with their Ordinary [Bishop Lindsay] and the ministry for settling of the Service-Book,” referring as proof to the Earl of Traquair, and the Bishops of Galloway and Dunblane. They concluded by thanking the English Primate for past favours.* This letter gratified the Archbishop, who in a letter to Traquair, dated September 11, says that he had laid their “ very full and discreet” letter before the King. “ I have written the city an answer by the return, and given them his Majesty’s thanks, which indeed he commanded me to do very heartily, and in truth they deserve it, especially as times stand.” The Magistrates in a subsequent communication with the Archbishop, “ thanked his Grace for his kind letter with all their hearts.”

The use of the Liturgy was nevertheless urged in the several Dioceses, and in the northern counties it was very generally received. Baillie says that “ most of the Bishops had raised letters of horning, to charge all the ministers in their Dioceses to buy two books for the use of their parishes within fifteen days. Glasgow was very diligent in charging all his Presbyteries, and by no entreaty would delay so much as to his assembly [Diocesan Synod] in August, but would have us all to the horn presently who would not buy. St Andrews moved many to buy the books without charging; only two or three unconform men were charged in his Diocese.” The Diocesan Synod of Glasgow was appointed to be held on the last Wednesday of August, and on the 13th of that month Baillie, who was then minister of Kilwinning, received a letter from Archbishop Lindsay, requesting him to preach at the opening of the Synod, and “ to frame his sermon to incite his hearers to the obedience and practice of the Canons of our Church and Service-Book published and established by authority.” The reply of Baillie, who had not yet become a Presbyterian, ex-

* Rushworth’s Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 393, 394. The Magistrates who signed the letter were John Cochrane, An. Ainslie, J. Smith, C. Hamilton.

plains his own feelings, and is honourable to the personal character of the Archbishop. He expresses himself grateful to the Archbishop for entertaining such an opinion of his “ poor gifts” as to honour him with so great a service ; but he respectfully declined on the plea that he had formed no opinion decisive on the Canons and Liturgy of which he had only a “ slight view,” and for the present it had not satisfied his mind. “ Yea,” he says, “ the little pleasure I have in these Books, the great displeasure I find the most part both of pastors and people wherever I come to have conceived against them, has filled my mind with such a measure of grief that I am scarce able to preach to my own flock ; but to speak in another congregation, far less in so famous a meeting, and that upon these matters, I am at this time utterly unable. Your Lordship, I put no question, is so equitable as to take in good part this very ingenious confession of the true cause why I am unable to accept that honourable employment which your Lordship’s more than ordinary respect would have laid upon me ; so for this and many more favours received, far above my deserving, I pray God to bless your Lordship, and to continue you many years to be our overseer ; for be persuaded that many thousands here where I live are greatly afraid that whenever your Lordship shall go their peace and greatness shall go with you.” Notwithstanding this spontaneous testimony to the character of Archbishop Lindsay, and to his conduct in his Diocese, the writer meanly designates him a “ troublesome man ” in a letter to his friend Mr Spang written about the very time. Baillie, however, was charged on his canonical obedience to preach before the Synod, with an intimation that the subject of his sermon was left to his own discretion. He prepared himself, and resolved, he says, “ to have spoken no syllable of any conformity, but pressed those pastoral duties which would not have pleased all :” but he was accidentally relieved, and his place was supplied by Mr William Annan, moderator of the Presbytery of Ayr. The Archbishop, however, wished Baillie to preach on the following day, “ being the chief day of the Synod,” which he declined. He gives an account of Mr Annan’s sermon, which was from the passage in the First Epistle to Timothy—“ I command that prayers be made for all men.” In the latter half of his discourse Mr Annan commented on the Liturgy, and “ spake for the defence of it,” says Baillie, “ in whole, and sundry most plausible

parts of it, as well in my poor judgment as any in the Island of Great Britain could have done, considering all circumstances ; however, he did maintain, to the dislike of all in an unfit time, that which was hanging in suspense betwixt the King and the country.” The sermon excited a considerable sensation among the female auditors. On the following day Mr John Lindsay, moderator of the Presbytery of Lanark, preached ; and as Mr Annan’s defence of the Liturgy had given offence to the women, it is said that some of them whispered to Mr Lindsay, as he was proceeding to the pulpit, that “ if he should touch the Service-Book in his sermon he should be rent out of the pulpit ; he took the advice, and let that matter alone.” The viragoes resolved to revenge themselves on Mr Annan, and when he was leaving the cathedral church thirty or forty of them assailed him with such imprecations before the Archbishop and Magistrates, that it was necessary to send two of them to prison. This was soon known in such a small place as Glasgow then was, and during the day whenever he appeared in the streets angry looks and threats indicated his unpopularity. He was recognized about nine in the evening on his way to the Archbishop’s residence with some of the clergy by some hundreds of those females, who grossly maltreated him, tore his clothes, and almost murdered him ; yet it was considered prudent not to investigate this disorder lest some women of good rank would have been implicated. On the following day Mr Annan was accompanied by the Magistrates and some of his brethren to protect him safely out of the town. While mounting his horse the animal fell with him, and both were rolled into what Baillie calls a “ foul mire,” which was unfeelingly cheered by the spectators. Much excitement prevailed in Glasgow at that time, and Baillie observes—“ I suspect these tumults will hinder the [Arch]bishop, for all his stoutness, in haste to read the Service in his cathedral.”

On the 23d of August the “ supplication of certain ministers of Fife ” was presented to the Privy Council by Henderson and two others. In Edinburgh they met William Castlelaw from Stewarton, Thomas Bonar from Maybole, both in Ayrshire, and Robert Wilkie, from Glasgow, Presbyterian ministers who had been charged by Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow to use the Liturgy, and who had been induced by the Earl of Loudon, Dickson, and

others in the West of Scotland, to resort thither for advice. Henderson and Dickson, who in their several localities, the former in Fifeshire, the latter in Ayrshire, were considered the acknowledged leaders of the Presbyterians, were now joined by Cant, Rollock, Ramsay, and Murray, all preachers in great repute among the common people. Henderson and his companions from Fife complained that they had been each required by the moderator of the Presbytery of St Andrews to procure two copies of the Liturgy, and declared that they would willingly receive one copy to read and examine it before they promised to obey it, but that this had been refused, and that they were now charged with letters of horning by their Lordships on an accusation that they had refused the books out of “curiosity and singularity.” They objected to the Liturgy generally that it was not sanctioned by the General Assembly nor by Act of Parliament—that the liberties of what they called the “true Kirk,” and the “form of worship and religion received at the Reformation, and universally practised since,” had been warranted by those authorities, especially the Parliaments of 1567 and 1633—and that the Liturgy would be “found to depart far from the form of worship and reformation of this Kirk; and in points most material to draw near to the Kirk of Rome.” To all this Bishop Maxwell of Ross replied—“That whereas they pretend ignorance of what is contained in the Book, it appears by their many objections and exceptions to all parts of it almost, that they are too well versed in it, but have abused it pitifully:—that not the General Assembly, which consists of a multitude, but the Bishops, have the authority to govern the Church, and are the presentative Church of the kingdom:—that they will never be able, do what they can, to prove what is contained in the Service-Book to be either superstitious or idolatrous, but that it is one of the most orthodox and perfect Liturgies in the Christian Church.” On the 25th of August, two days after the “Supplication” was presented, the Privy Council issued a declaration to correct “a great mistaking in the letters and charges given out upon the act of Council made anent the buying of the Service-Book,” and enjoined it to be understood that the said act and letters extended only to the *buying* of the books, and “no farther,” which in other words intimated that they had nothing to do with the *reading* of them. It is stated that at the Council

board, before the suspension of the reading of the Liturgy was discussed, several noblemen by letters, and numbers of gentlemen personally, entreated the Lords of the Privy Council “to hold the yoke of the black book* from off the necks of the ministers,” and pointed out the dangerous consequences which might ensue to the Government. The Earl of Southesk recommended Henderson’s supplication. He was answered by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who stated that “as there were only a few ministers, and two or three Fife gentlemen in [the] town, there needed to be no steer [noise] anent the affair.” According to the “Relation” of the Earl of Rothes, Southesk sternly replied—“If all their pouches [pockets] were weel ryped [rifled], a great many of the best gentry in the country would be found to resent these matters.” “The Archbishop would only have looked to some petitions which were worst expressed; but the Earl of Roxburgh pointed out the one from St Andrews, which spoke most freely.” Henderson and the other Presbyterian ministers met at dinner on the day of the meeting of the Privy Council to consult about the state of their affairs, and one of them concocted a document, “averse to all conformity, but modest as could have been expected,” which Baillie has preserved at length.

In another paper, entitled “Informations given to several Council-lors,” “the above objections by Henderson are repeated in four of the seven particulars set forth. In the fifth it is alleged that the Liturgy destroyed their kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and Assemblies—a most erroneous or unfounded inference; and that it placed “censure of doctrine, the admission of ministers, and the whole government of the Kirk, absolutely in the hands of the Prelates.” The sixth is not a little ludicrous, and shews how much the opponents of the Liturgy were blinded by prejudice:—“It establisheth a *reading ministry*; whosoever can read the Book can be a minister, and he who is best gifted must say no more nor he readeth, whether in prayer, baptism, communion, &c.” According to this notion whosoever can pray extemporary is fit to be a Presbyterian minister. The seventh and last objection was, in addition to the usual false charge of the Liturgy having “many gross points of Popery,” that it “prescribeth Apocrypha to be read as if

* Probably called the *Black Book* because the whole Liturgy, with the exception of the rubrics, is printed in *black letter*.

it were the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets." This is a shameful misrepresentation. The only chapters selected out of the Apocryphal Books are from the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and are limited to the commemorations of the Conversion of St Paul, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, St Bartholomew's Day, St Matthew's Day, and All Saints' Day. Doubtless the Presbyterians and the sectaries conscientiously object to the observance of such days, but these commemorations were not and never are enforced, and the recognition of them has no connection whatever with the practice of the Church of Rome.

On the 25th of August the Privy Council wrote to the King, expressing their willingness to render every assistance to establish the Liturgy. They expected that the Liturgy might soon be brought into general use; but after appointing a meeting of Council, though it was then the vacation, solely to devise the most prudent measures to carry it into effect—"We found ourselves, they declared, " far beyond our expectation surprised with the clamour and fears of his Majesty's subjects from almost all the parts and corners of the kingdom ;" and that such was the feeling " even of those who have heretofore lived in obedience and conformity to his Majesty's laws, both in an ecclesiastical and civil business ; and they found it so to increase, that they conceived it to be matter of high consequence, in respect of the general murmur and grudge in all sorts of people for urging of the Service-Book, as the like hath not been heard in this kingdom ; they therefore could no longer delay nor conceal from his Majesty, not knowing whereunto the same may tend, and what effects it may produce." The Privy Council concluded by suggesting to the King either to examine the whole matter by summoning some of themselves, both clerical and lay, to London, or to adopt any other safe measure to settle the commotion. This letter was signed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, Brechin, eight Earls, Sir Thomas Hope, as Lord Advocate, and several other members of the Privy Council. As this letter was despatched the day when the Privy Council issued their explanation, that their " charges and letters" only extended to the *buying* of the two copies of the Liturgy for each parish, Henderson and other " Supplication" men publicly dined together, and expressed their gratitude to their Lordships for the above mitigation, and for the representation of their case transmitted to

the King. This was conveyed to the Privy Council by the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, who had now joined the movement, and encouraged the ringleaders in their opposition.

The proceedings of the Privy Council were intimated to the Presbyterian leaders ; the order for the use of the Liturgy was withdrawn ; and those committed to prison for their concern in the tumult were set at liberty. Baillie, indeed, states that the Privy Council resolved not to enforce even the purchase of the two copies of the Liturgy for every parish church, and that the Bishops, who were responsible for the expenses, insisted that the money should be guaranteed. According to the " Relation" of the Earl of Rothes,* Bishop Maxwell of Ross obtained a grant to print and sell the Liturgy, but " the same was gainstood, and [it] was thought fit that each Bishop should have the buying of such as served his own Diocese." The truth or inaccuracy of Baillie's statement is now of no moment. The assurance that a full answer would be given to the demands of the Presbyterians restored apparent tranquillity ; but the popular feeling had only subsided, and the opposition to the Liturgy found new adherents in most of the counties south of the Tay. The Presbyterian leaders were the more successful in their projects, for none of the peasantry and many of the upper classes had ever seen the Liturgy, and as vast numbers of the former were uneducated, it would have been of no avail though it had been accessible to them all. They obtained their information on it solely from their preachers, who described the Liturgy in the most exaggerated language to their hearers. Inflammatory, false, and seditious pamphlets, chiefly sent from the English Puritans, were in extensive and rapid circulation throughout the country, irritating the minds of the populace, and laying the train for the great explosion.

The 20th of September, when the King's answer was expected, was a day anxiously expected by the leaders of the movement. They had secured as their secret legal adviser the Lord Advocate Hope. Lord Balmerino and Henderson were to act when required, and four of their associates were sent to various parts of the kingdom to keep up the agitation. Rollock was entrusted with a

* A Relation of the Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland from August 1637 to July 1638, by John Earl of Rothes. Edinburgh, 4to. printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1830.

mission to stir up the “brethren” in the Southern counties, Cant was appointed to the North, where their cause was most unpopular, Ramsay to Forfar and Kincardine shires, and Murray to Perth and Stirling. The Western counties, Fife, and the city of Edinburgh, had no lack of agitators. Meanwhile, on the 4th of September Archbishop Laud wrote a letter to Archbishop Spottiswoode, in which he regretted that the Scottish Privy Council had not acted with that unanimity and determination which the crisis required, and deplored that they had not been acquainted with the proceedings of the Bishops, nor their advice taken, till it was too late :—“ And that,” continues the Archbishop, “after the thing was done, you consulted apart, and sent up to the King without calling a Council, or joining the lay Lords with you, whereas all was little enough in a business of this nature, and so much opposed by some factious men gathered, it seems, purposely together at Edinburgh to disturb this business. And indeed, my Lord, you could not in this particular have engaged the lay Lords too far ; and if any Lord here speak too much when he thought the Service might have been well received throughout all that kingdom in one day, I hope your Grace falls as much too short on the other side, for I hope it will be settled in far less time than seven years. And whereas you write that the fault is most in your ministers, I easily believe that to be true ; but then they should have been dealt with withal before hand, and made pliable, or else some others appointed in the room of such as disliked.” The Archbishop concludes by noticing the conduct of the two Edinburgh ministers Ramsay and Rollock. He agrees with Archbishop Spottiswoode that “a sharper course would do more good” with such persons as the former ; and as to the latter he says—“ I am sorry as well as you for Mr Rollock, and that is all I have to say of him.”

On the 11th of September Archbishop Laud wrote a long letter to the Earl of Traquair, in reply to one from that nobleman dated 20th August, and mentions that the English Puritans were greatly elated and encouraged by the opposition in Scotland to the Liturgy. He expresses himself disappointed at delaying the use of the Liturgy, and is not surprised at this recommendation from “such Lords and others as were ill affected to it, which they could not but see would answer their own ends, but that my Lord of Ross

[Maxwell] should give the advice, and my Lord of St Andrews follow it with such stiffness, may be a wonder to any man that knows them and the business." He is surprised at the information communicated to him by Archbishop Spottiswoode, that Bishop Maxwell had gone to his Diocese, and that several of the others had also left Edinburgh—"my Lord of Ross especially, whose hand hath been as much in it as the most." He states that the King was much pleased at the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, and Dunblane, remaining in the city, and also thanked Traquair "for staying with them, and keeping them so well in heart : for," he says, "as the business is now foiled, if you do not stick close to God's and the King's service in it, it will certainly suffer more than it is fit it should." The Archbishop farther intimates that the King was gratified at the Earl's exertions in Edinburgh to maintain "such as shall take upon them to read the Liturgy," and compliments the Magistrates on their conduct. After some observations the Archbishop concludes—"And since I hear from others that some exception is taken because there is more in that Liturgy than is in the Liturgy in England, why did they not admit the Liturgy of England without more ado ? But by their refusal of that, and their dislike of this, it is more manifest they would have neither perhaps, yea, none at all, were they left to themselves. But, my Lord, to yourself only, and in your ear, a great favour you should do me if you will get my Lord [Bishop] of Galloway to set me down in brief propositions, without any further discourse, all the exceptions that are taken against the Liturgy by Ramsay, Rollock, or any other ; and I could be content to know who the Bishops are who would have amended something had they been advised with, and what that is which they would have so amended."

The King's letter to the Privy Council, dated Oatlands, 10th September, was delivered some days afterwards by the Duke of Lennox. The Privy Council and the Magistrates of Edinburgh were censured—the former as a "very slack Council," or the people were very bad subjects—for not continuing the use of the Liturgy after the 23d of July, and also for not punishing the rioters. A specified number of the Privy Council was ordered to attend in Edinburgh or the vicinity during the vacation time "till the Service-Book be settled." They were enjoined to see that the minis-

ters of Edinburgh performed their promised duty ; every Bishop was to introduce the Liturgy into his Diocese, as the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane had already done ; and the burghs were to be warned that only those were to be elected magistrates whose conformity would be certified.

Such was the reply of Charles I., who, regardless of the Presbyterians, seems still to have confided in the loyalty of the mass of the people. It was soon known, and multitudes simultaneously resorted to Edinburgh, as if, observes Clarendon, in “ a cause which concerned their salvation.” This excitement, though ostensibly religious, had now to a great extent assumed a political aspect, and many of the Nobility and landed proprietors, who cherished an implacable hatred to the King, on account of the compulsory surrender of the teinds, incited the malcontents in their opposition. On the same 20th of September the Privy Council replied to the King, and the letter evinces their disagreeable position. They made an act appointing seven of their number to attend constantly in Edinburgh during the vacation, two of whom were Archbishop Spottiswoode as Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Traquair as Lord High Treasurer. They intimated their arrangements to the King, and informed him that they had ordered the burghs to “ make a right choice of conform and well affected persons for the charge of the magistracy this ensuing year.” They also described to the King the state of public feeling, and alleged that since the date of their last letter the opposition to the Liturgy had not abated, specifying sixty-eight petitions which they had received on the subject, and referring to the Presbytery of Auchterarder and the city of Glasgow—“ the effect and substance of all which resolve into one allegation, that the Service enjoined is against the religion presently professed, or that the same is unorderly brought in without the knowledge or consent of a General Assembly, or contrary to the acts of Parliament, or disconform from the Service used and received in England, [all] which the petitioners undertook to qualify and make good, wherewith we have forborne to meddle till we receive your Majesty’s gracious resolution thereanent.” They express their grief at the result, and refer to the Earl of Stirling, his “ Majesty’s secretary, who could lay before him a more full and particular account of all that was moved or concluded in Council.”

The Earl of Rothes gives an account of the proceedings of the petitioners on this 20th of September, and although his statements are those of an enemy they are of contemporary importance. He attended a meeting in the residence of the Earl of Wemyss, where he met a number of the disaffected Nobility. They resolved to draw up a petition to the Privy Council, and accompany the Duke of Lennox thither. Other meetings were held of the smaller barons or lairds, those of Fife mustering in great force ; and upwards of one hundred ministers, magistrates of the principal burghs, deputies from seventy parishes, and numbers of the gentry from several adjacent counties, also appeared. It is said that “many of these knew not of the rest being there till they met at the door of the Council-House ;” but this is not to be credited, and is refuted by the organized plan which had been effected. When the Duke of Lennox came up the High Street from Holyroodhouse to the meeting of the Council in the Tolbooth, an immense crowd of all ranks and classes resorted to learn the result. The Presbyterian ministers ranged themselves on a part of the High Street, and made a low obeisance as the Duke passed. The noblemen stationed themselves opposite the door of the Tolbooth. All the parties attended during the forenoon to give in their petition, which had been concocted from one written by Henderson, and expressed in the name of the Nobility, Barons, ministers, and burgesses ; but they were not heard, and the Council rose at twelve o'clock. The Duke of Lennox returned to the Palace to dinner, and the petition, which had not been read, was procured from the clerk. Rothes carried it to Traquair, who after perusing it softened those expressions in it which required the Bishops to concur with the petitioners in their remonstrance to the King, and advised the Presbyterians not to irritate any individual. The petition was in consequence again written. Traquair appeared, unaccompanied by Lennox, between three and four in the afternoon, the “Supplicating” noblemen and ministers ranging themselves in the same order as in the morning. The Earl retired with Archbishop Spottiswoode, several Bishops, and members of the Privy Council, to an apartment called the Banqueting House, in which they remained an hour and a half, and sent for Lennox, who soon joined them. The Earl of Sutherland presented the “Supplication” to the clerk, and desired it to be read, while his friends out of doors adjourned to

what was called the *Laigh House* to wait the result. Before the Council rose the Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss were called in, and told that their petition had been duly considered, and would be presented to the King by Lennox.

Rothes relates his interview with Archbishop Spottiswoode in the afternoon of that day. They conversed on the Liturgy, of which Rothes disapproved as illegal and unsound. The Archbishop denied the latter, and demanded the proof. Rothes referred to the Office for administering the Communion, and to the Office for Baptism, which declared that infants were regenerated. The Archbishop contended that it was not fairly interpreted by the Presbyterians, and stated that the Bishop of Derry [Bramhall, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh], to whom he sent a copy, had expressed his opinion so favourably of the Liturgy as to regret that Scotland should have the advantage of England in such a work, and that the Prince's tutor had commended it, both declaring that there had not been such a Liturgy for the first six hundred years after Christ. Rothes replied that the Bishop of Derry was reputed the most unsound man in Ireland and a great Arminian, as the Prince's tutor was considered in England, and that it was the worse of any of their testimonies in favour of the Liturgy, or even of the Archbishop of Canterbury's. Archbishop Spottiswoode, smiling, asked—"What was the necessity of all this resistance? If the King turned Papist we behoved still to obey him as subjects. Who could resist princes? When King Edward was a Protestant, and made a reformation, Queen Mary changed it, and Queen Elizabeth altered it again. There was no resisting, and no Kirk was without troubles." Rothes replied that they soon "got it changed in England, for the two professions were nearly equally divided; but there were few here to concur in such a change, all being reformed, and would never yield. Moreover, in his opinion the reformation of England was not so complete as that of Scotland, and had not so much law for it; the former was but half reformed."

Rothes mentions that "distraction began to increase in that city [Edinburgh], because the Magistrates had never shewn their dislike of that Book as [did] the rest of the country." The crowd of persons in the city hostile to the Liturgy induced the Magistrates to send a petition to the Committee of the Privy Council,

which was revised by Archbishop Spottiswoode, that the Liturgy should not be pressed on them till the King's answer was known. It was intimated that their petition would be transmitted to the King, and his sentiments made known on the 17th of October. The Magistrates also considered themselves bound to explain their conduct to Archbishop Laud. In a letter dated the 26th of September, which is in answer to one from the English Primate, they expressed their willingness to receive and maintain the Liturgy—“not only in ourselves, but in the greatest and best part of our inhabitants, of whom from time to time we have had most confident assurance.” They then relate to the Archbishop their peculiar situation—“Since our last there hath been such an innumerable confluence of people from all the corners of this kingdom, both of clergy and laity, and of all degrees, by occasion of two [Privy] Council days, and such things suggested to our poor ignorant people, that they have razed out what we by great and continual pains had imprinted in their minds, and diverted them altogether from their former resolutions; so that now, when we were urged by ourselves alone, we could not adventure, but were forced to supplicate the Lords of the Council to continue us in the state they had done the rest of the kingdom, having hitherto forborne either to combine with them, or to countenance them in their supplications; yet we will not forbear to do our Master's service to our power, and shall study to imprint on their minds what hath been taken away.”*

During the interval before the 17th of October the excitement still continued in Edinburgh, and multitudes remained to watch the progress of events, suspecting that if the Liturgy were formally received there it would be introduced into other towns, and by degrees throughout the kingdom. The influence of the Court had induced the Town-Council to elect Sir John Hay, a zealous supporter of the Episcopal Church, to be the Lord Provost. This excited additional alarm in the minds of the agitators, who narrowly watched the proceedings of the standing committee of the Privy Council, who daily attended. One day, when sitting in the Tolbooth, a mob of men and women rushed in upon the committee, exclaiming—“The Book we will not have.” They assailed Sir

* Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 399, 400. This letter is signed by Ch. Hamilton, James Rocheid, J. Cochrane, J. Smith, BAILIES.

John Hay with opprobrious epithets, and they were induced by the Magistrates to retire only by the assurance that at least the citizens would not be more urged to receive the Liturgy than the inhabitants of any other town in the kingdom.

On the 17th of October three proclamations intimated the King's resolution. The first enjoined all strangers to leave Edinburgh and return to their several homes within twenty-four hours, under the penalty of being denounced rebels, and their goods confiscated ; the second removed the Supreme Courts first to Linlithgow, and afterwards to Dundee, there to remain during the royal pleasure ; and the third prohibited the sale of Gillespie's performance—the “ Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.” On the following day a dreadful tumult broke out, which was of more serious importance than the riot on the 23d July. In the morning some hundreds of women assembled at the head of an alley near the Tolbooth, and moved in a body to the house in which the Town-Council were convened. An immense crowd soon collected near the Tolbooth, in which the Privy Council met, and the city was again in an uproar. At this crisis Bishop Sydserff of Galloway was recognized pressing through the populace towards the Tolbooth, where he was to be examined as a witness in a civil case. The assertion of the Earl of Dumfries had become public that the Bishop wore a gold crucifix under his vest, and the multitude attempted to ascertain the truth of this statement. After rough usage, and amid profane imprecations, the Bishop was enabled by some friends to approach near the Tolbooth. His dangerous situation was intimated by some of his domestics to his former pupil Traquair, who was with the Earl of Wigton, another of the Privy Council, in a house in the vicinity. Traquair, Wigton, and their servants, ran to the rescue of the Bishop, and after great exertions they got near him, but found themselves in no better condition. They contrived to send privately to the Magistrates for relief from this singular imprisonment amid a dense crowd of excited enthusiasts. The civic authorities replied that they were beset in their own council room, which was filled with persons threatening murder if their demands were not granted. The two noblemen and their followers forced a passage to the town-council room, and it was resolved by the Magistrates and Traquair to yield to the demands

of the rioters, and petition with them against the Liturgy ; and that Ramsay and Rollock, the silenced ministers, and Patrick Henderson, the deprived reader, should be restored. This arrangement was publicly notified by the Magistrates at the Cross, and calmed the opposition to the civic authorities. The two Earls now turned their thoughts to the perilous situation of the Bishop of Galloway, whom they had left a prisoner at the door of the Tolbooth. Traquair and two of the Magistrates, with several attendants, went to relieve him, but they were assailed with frantic exclamations—"God defend all those who defend God's cause ! God confound the Service-Book and all its maintainers !" Although the rioters were assured that their grievances would be redressed, their fury increased, and Traquair was thrown down on the street, and his hat, cloak, and white staff, indicating his office of Lord High Treasurer, violently pulled from him. The Earl was maltreated in such a manner, that if he had not been pulled to his feet by some persons near him the populace would have trampled him to death. In this condition he was conveyed to the door of the Tolbooth, at which were the Bishop and others of the Privy Council. It was now the afternoon, yet the tumult was not subsiding. Traquair, with the approbation of the Bishop and the Lord Provost Hay, at length sent Sir James Murray of Ravelrig to a house in the neighbourhood, in which were convened the Earl of Loudon and others of the "Supplicating" noblemen, requesting them to wait on him. Loudon and some of his friends complied, and surrounded Traquair, the Bishop, and the Provost, whom they escorted quietly down the street, their followers keeping off the crowd, till they came to Traquair's house in an alley long removed known as Niddry's Wynd, when the rabble denounced Bishop Sydserff as a "Papist loon, Jesuit loon, and betrayer of religion." Here the courage of the Lord Provost failed, but he was assured by Loudon and others that those epithets were uttered only by a "pack of poor women," and he succeeded in reaching his own house. It is stated that the mob afterwards broke his windows, and might have done more mischief, but they were dispersed by his servant, who fired a musket at them charged only with powder.

The Privy Council met in Holyroodhouse in the afternoon, and issued a proclamation to keep the peace, prohibiting all "public gatherings and convocations within the city." This had some

effect in allaying the commotion. On the other side, the Presbyterians were actively engaged in their private and confidential arrangements. Baillie mentions that at the desire of Lord Montgomery his patron, in compliance with the request of the Earl of Rothes, Montgomery's father-in-law, he attended a meeting of the "Supplicants" at Edinburgh on the day of the above tumult. The Nobility, gentry, and preachers of the Presbyterian party met in separate rooms. In the evening a number of the "Supplicants" convened in Lord Balmerino's lodgings about eight o'clock after supper, and it was resolved that if any of them were cited before the High Commission, its authority should be declined as an unlawful judicatory. The Earl of Loudon and Lord Balmerino made sundry speeches, and their next meeting was fixed for the 15th of November. It was on this occasion, or rather on the previous evening, that the true designs of Henderson were developed. He moved that though they had formerly petitioned against the Liturgy, they might now complain of the Bishops as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them. Many were at first averse to this bold proposition, declaring that they complained only of the Service-Book, but otherwise they had no quarrel with the Bishops. Loudon and Rothes silenced this opposition, and Loudon and Balmerino, Henderson and Dickson, were appointed to draw up a complaint against the Bishops, and this document was to be submitted to the "Supplicants" on the following morning. A letter was also sent to the Privy Council, pretending that as many of them had private affairs to transact in Edinburgh before the approaching term of Martinmas, it was impossible for them to leave the city within twenty-four hours, as the proclamation enjoined.

On the evening of the day of the second riot several of the Bishops retired to Dalkeith Castle, six miles from Edinburgh, the site of which, now occupied by the Duke of Buccleuch's mansion, was then the residence of Traquair. It is stated on the authority of Baillie that the appointment of another assemblage on the 15th of November, and the signs of the times, so paralyzed Archbishop Spottiswoode, that he and the Bishops now seldom attended the Privy Council meetings. The Primate doubtless saw that one great object of the Presbyterians was to exclude him and his brethren from the Council table, and they might have conducted

themselves in this passive manner to avoid any cause of offence. But the Presbyterian leaders had recourse to other expedients. To enlist the populace in their behalf, they got up two petitions, one from the *men, women, servants, and children*, in Edinburgh against the Liturgy, which was addressed to Archbishop Spottiswoode as Lord Chancellor ; and the other was from the “ *Noblemen, barons, ministers, burgesses, and commons,*” against the Liturgy and the Book of Canons, and sent to the Privy Council, who transmitted both to the King. As no apology or regret was expressed for the riots the King delayed to answer the petitions, and commanded the Privy Council to issue a proclamation, denouncing the riot of the 18th of October, and solemnly assuring all his loyal subjects that he abhorred all “ *superstition of popery,*” and would maintain the true religion as was “ *presently professed* within his most ancient kingdom of Scotland.”

The Presbyterian preachers, careful to foment the frantic excitement against the Church, diligently circulated throughout their respective localities the intelligence of their intended muster on the 15th of November. A greater concourse of persons resorted to Edinburgh on that day with their “ *Supplications* ” than on the former occasions, and the Magistrates, seriously taught by past experience, were in great alarm for the peace of the city. Among the noblemen who had not been at any previous meetings was James fifth Earl afterwards first Marquis of Montrose, and his appearance in defence of the Presbyterian party—a party against whom, within six years afterwards, he was to take up arms in behalf of the King, and become their most dangerous and formidable enemy, was, we are told, “ *most taken notice of.* ” Montrose was at the time twenty-five years of age. After his return from foreign travel he waited on the King, whose reception of him, it is said, was not very favourable, and he hastened to Scotland and joined the “ *Supplicants.* ” Whatever may have been his treatment at Court his talents were well known and appreciated, if the statement of a writer at that period is correct, that “ *when the Bishops heard that he was come to Edinburgh to join in hostile measures against them they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his parts that they thought it time for a storm when he engaged.* ” Montrose became one of the most zealous supporters of the Covenant, for which he first fought, and then

denounced, when in arms against his former associates, as infamous, treasonable, and wicked.

The presence of such a mob, who were daily increasing, alarmed the citizens of Edinburgh and the authorities, more especially as the language and demeanour of those enthusiasts indicated no very peaceable disposition. Traquair entreated their friends to induce them to disperse, but their leaders refused to interfere, and simply cautioned the “Supplicants” not to commit any outrages, enjoining them to appear seldom on the streets. It was also arranged that the “Supplicants” from each county should meet in separate houses, and mutually communicate by authorized messengers. The Earls of Traquair, Lauderdale, and Lord Lorn, held a conference with the “Supplicating” Nobility, as arranged at the Privy Council, to whom they represented the danger and illegality of their followers convening so frequently, and in such large numbers, particularly as the King had promised not to enforce the Liturgy before more mature deliberation; and as he had pardoned the recent tumults, their conduct was more likely to irritate than to obtain a satisfactory adjustment of their complaints. The “Supplicants” replied by evasive answers, defending themselves, and complaining that the Bishops had designated them rebellious subjects. They declared that they had no objections to select a few noblemen, two gentlemen from every county, and one burgess from every burgh, to act for the whole; but if the Privy Council refused to recommend their “Supplications,” they would themselves draw up a declaration to the King. Traquair, Lauderdale, and Lorn, replied that they were expressly prohibited to transmit their “Supplications,” and their declaration would be stopped before it reached the King. The Presbyterians argued that their “Supplications” were vindications of their proceedings, and urged their usual objections against the Liturgy, Canons, High Commission Court, and other “innovations.” They were told that it would be prudent to confine their opposition solely to the Liturgy for the present; and that as the Privy Council expected the King’s answer in a few days, if the mass of the “Supplicants” would leave the city quietly their accredited agents would receive a faithful account of the instructions of the Court. If these were favourable they would request permission from the King to transmit their complaints to him, and in the

meantime they promised to persuade the Bishops not to excite their prejudices in religious matters.

After this interview the “*Supplicants*” seemed to approve of the propositions of Traquair and his two friends. They arranged that as many of the Nobility as were inclined should form a council, with whom were to be associated two gentlemen from every county, one minister from each Presbytery, and one burgess from each burgh, together with Henderson and Dickson, the Earls of Rothes, Montrose, and Loudon, and Lord Lindsay of Balcarres, for the Nobility, three gentlemen for the counties, and five others, two of whom were preachers, were constantly to act in Edinburgh for the others as occasion required, and if necessary to summon all their adherents throughout the kingdom. They thus constituted a most illegal, dangerous, and even treasonable body selected from a certain number of their leaders. Those delegates met the Privy Council at Holyroodhouse on the following day. On the 16th of November it was finally agreed that the accusation of rebellion against the “*Supplicants*” by the Bishops should be regarded as a mere ebullition of anger—that the Privy Council could not interfere with the reponing of the ministers Ramsay and Rollock during the absence of Sir John Hay the Lord Provost—that Bishop Lindsay should use his influence with Archbishop Spottiswoode to restore Henderson the reader—and, to a certain extent, that the “*Supplicants*” were to be allowed to meet in their several counties for choosing delegates.” On the evening of the following day, after devotional exercises in their own way, and solemn asseverations of obedience and loyalty to their sovereign, which every act of their subsequent proceedings belied, they resolved to return to their several homes, leaving their illegal council or committee to manage their affairs.

The committees constituted by the “*Supplicants*” to sit in Edinburgh were soon distinguished by the eccentric soubriquet of the *Tables*, from the circumstance of conducting their deliberations at four separate tables, or in four rooms, in the new Parliament House. The Privy Council wrote to the King and to the Earl of Stirling, intimating that as it was then the season of the year for paying accounts, and transacting other civil and private business, they had not issued any proclamation ordering strangers to leave Edinburgh, which in all probability would have been disobeyed—that

they had arranged with the leaders to prevent any assemblages of disorderly persons—that the “*Supplicants*” had accused them of not properly representing to the King their objections to the Liturgy, and their fears at the unlimited powers of the High Court of Commission—and that the said “*Supplicants*” had quietly dispersed, waiting to learn from their agents in Edinburgh the King’s reply. During this interval the personages composing the *four Tables* organized their confederacy. Each *Table* consisted of so many individuals—four noblemen, four gentlemen, four ministers, and four burgesses—in all, a council of sixteen, one from which constituted a *General Table* of ultimate resort; but the *Table* of gentlemen was divided into a number of subordinate ones according to the several counties. Every measure which originated in the country was brought before the *Table* of the district, remitted to the *General Table* of sixteen, and then to the *Table* of four, whose decision was final. The *Table* of last resort, however, though intended to consist of a delegate from the other four, was soon monopolized by Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, and the ministers Henderson and Dickson, whom Baillie facetiously designates the “*two Archbishops*,” and who suggested and instructed all their measures. No tyranny could be more intolerable than that exercised by those men whose pretensions and claims were most outrageous. It is candidly admitted by Dr Aiton that “they soon became a new representative government in Scotland”—that “they in the end usurped the authority of the whole kingdom, and issued orders which were even obeyed with more promptitude than those of the most despotic of sovereigns.”

Towards the end of November the heroes of the *Tables* ascertained that the Earl of Roxburgh had returned from Court, and that a meeting of the Privy Council was to be held at Linlithgow on the 7th of December. It was also rumoured that the Earl had brought with him certain instructions, dated the 15th of November. The *Tables* immediately summoned a meeting of the delegates on the 5th of December, and were only persuaded not to proceed next day to Linlithgow by Traquair, who promised that nothing would be done injurious to their interests, and that their representatives would be fully heard at a Privy Council meeting within four days afterwards. On the 7th the Council issued three proclamations, one regulating their own meetings, another those

of the Supreme Courts, and the third was the one already mentioned, assigning the King's reasons for delaying the consideration of the "Supplication," and his abhorrence of "all superstition of popery." On that day the Earls of Rothes, Loudon, Montrose, Lindsay, and a private gentleman, met the Earls of Traquair and Roxburgh. The latter referred to the King's conciliatory proclamation, which clearly indicated that no change of religion was intended—advised Rothes and his party to limit their opposition solely to the Liturgy—and that they should alter their conduct, which was considered a rebellious combination, and present their complaints separately at different times by counties. Rothes and the others in their reply imputed the whole blame to the Bishops, and they demanded that the Canons, Liturgy, and Court of High Commission, should be suppressed. After a discussion of two days on the proposed mode of dividing their petitions it was rejected by the Tables as censuring all their former proceedings, of which Henderson and Dickson, representing the preachers, informed the Council on the 11th. When this answer was returned—"My Lord Roxburgh," says Rothes, "did flee out in many great oaths that we would irritate a good King, in dealing with him in so peremptory and rude a manner, acknowledging withal that the hand of God was in it, and that he feared he would employ all his power to maintain that which we sought in so rude a manner to overthrow. Mr. Henderson did reprove him for his oft swearing."

The Privy Council met on the 12th of December at Dalkeith, and Rothes and the other delegates attended to demand an answer to their "Supplication," or liberty to transmit their grievances directly to the King. They were refused to be admitted as a body, and were desired to send their documents, which they declined, alleging that they wished to address the Privy Council. They rejected the permission that one of the *Four Tables* might present their "Supplication." They were then informed that seven or eight without distinction of rank would be admitted, but they replied that twelve were too few. After various unsuccessful conferences, the Privy Council passed an Act on the 19th granting them admission on the 21st. On that day Loudon and his friends appeared before the Privy Council, at which no Bishop was present. Loudon presented copies of the former "Supplications," with a new complaint that they were designated rebels and sedi-

tious bankrupts. He then addressed the Privy Council in a long speech, adducing the usual declamations against the Canons, the Liturgy, the High Court of Commission, the Bishops, the illegality of the "innovations," and the necessity of the Council sending some of the principal Officers of State to represent the whole controversy to the King. Fierce speeches were also delivered by Ramsay and the other disaffected preacher Cunningham. An act of the Privy Council was read to them, declaring that their "Supplications would be sent to the Court," and that they would be allowed to speak on their declinature. When they returned from Dalkeith they wrote an "Historical Information" in defence of their proceedings, and a paper "against the Service-Book, Canons, and High Commission." They then appointed a committee to confer with Traquair and Roxburgh; new delegates were to attend in Edinburgh in March; a fast day was ordered; and the Professors in Colleges were warned not to sanction the Liturgy, and to beware of what they taught in their prelections. On the following day they left Edinburgh.

It is alleged by a writer, in reference to the origin and progress of this contest, that the abolition of Episcopacy was not contemplated by the leaders—that they were rather convinced that the King's proceedings seriously affected civil and religious liberty—and that they chiefly disliked the influence of the Bishops in the Privy Council.* Yet it is undeniable that the said leaders were the avowed enemies of the Church. The whole was a political as well as a religious movement, carried on by men who excited the fanaticism of an ignorant populace. Baillie thus describes the madness which then prevailed:—"What shall be the event God knows. There was in our land never such an appearance of a stir; the whole people think Popery at the door; *the scandalous pamphlets which come daily from England add oil to the flame*; no man may speak any thing for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. *I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above any thing I ever could have imagined though the Mass in Latin had been presented.* The ministers who have the command of their mind disavow their unchristian humour, but are no way so zealous against the devil of their fury as they are against the seducing spirit of the Bishops. For myself I

* Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 292.

think God, to revenge the crying sins of all estates and professions, of which no example of our neighbours' calamities would move us to repent, is going to execute his long denounced threatenings, and to give us over unto madness, that we may every one shoot our swords in our neighbours' hearts." In the same letter he says—" My heart is for the present full sore for that poor land wherein we were born, and Church wherein we were *regenerated*. If it were not a God who permitted a powerful devil to blind and enrage men against the common principle of clear natural reason, [without reference to] equity or religion, *I think both our Bishops and their opposers might be easily withdrawn from destroying themselves and their neighbours*; but God and devils are too strong for us. For as well as I have been beloved hitherto by all who have known me, yet I think I may be killed, and my house burnt upon [over] my head; for I think it wicked and base to be carried down with the impetuous torrent of a multitude. My judgment cannot be altered by their motion, and so my person and estate may be drowned in their violence."*

The connection of the Puritans, and other enemies of the Church of England, with the Scottish tumults and subsequent rebellion, is distinctly admitted by all writers on that unhappy period. But another powerful engine was at work, directed by Cardinal Richelieu, the minister of France, and although one of his three great and avowed schemes was the annihilation of the Calvinists as a political party, he was not scrupulous in his other measures of revenge. Charles I., ever hesitating in his foreign policy, had disappointed the Cardinal in his proposal of a defensive league between France and England, and inclined to a Spanish alliance. Richelieu declared in a letter to the Count D'Estrades de Ruel—who had orders to tamper with some Scotsmen, particularly a certain nobleman and minister then at the English Court—dated 2d December 1637, that the King and Queen of England would repent the rejection of the treaty before the year was over. In this letter he says—" I will pursue the advice you have given me as to Scotland, and will despatch thither the Abbé Chambers, my Almoner, who is *himself a Scotsman*, and who shall go to Edinburgh to wait upon the two persons you have named to me, and to enter into a negotiation with them." In another passage of

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 23, 24.

the same letter he says—" If your two Scottish friends are yet at London, tell them to trust to whatever shall be communicated to them by the Abbé Chambers, and give them a letter from yourself to that Abbot, which will serve as a signal to introduce them to his company." Richelieu is accused of exciting the Puritans and Covenanters by the agency of a certain Father Joseph and the French Ambassador at London. As it respects Scotland, arms and ammunition were sent to Leith from France for the use of the disaffected in 1639. When the rebellion broke out not less a sum than 100,000 crowns of French money were deposited in the hands of General Leslie to defray the expences of the Covenanters, who could not in their poor and distracted country have obtained any adequate resources. Disguised emissaries were actively engaged both in England and Scotland, some of them pretending to be zealous defenders of the Church, others appearing as violent Puritans, and others as furious Presbyterians, but all intent on widening the breach between the King and his people. The invectives published by the Puritans and Presbyterians were cordially sanctioned by those agents of Richelieu, and the Jesuits were overjoyed at the prospect of a commotion which held out to them strong hopes of temporal advantage and ecclesiastical domination. Such is a sketch of the political ferment carried on in the name of religion, and under the pretence of liberty, which agitated the greater part of Scotland at that period. Never was a tyranny more grinding, oppressive, and intolerable, than that which the Presbyterians were labouring to establish. The great conspiracy or combination against the Church now claims our attention.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT AND THE COVENANTERS.

THE Earl of Traquair was summoned to Court immediately after the meeting of the Privy Council held on the 19th of December 1637. He refused to carry the “Historical Information” prepared and revised by the “Supplicants,” but he allowed it to be entrusted to Sir John Hamilton of Orbieston, Lord Justice-Clerk, who accompanied him. At his first interview Traquair detailed the state of affairs in Scotland, which distressed the King, who complained that the facts had either been concealed or greatly misrepresented. Traquair stated that an authentic account had been transmitted to the Earl of Stirling, but that nobleman blamed Archbishop Laud for not laying the dispatches before the King. The Archbishop positively denied the charge, and he was not a man to resile from any transaction with which he was concerned.

The Earl of Traquair returned to Scotland on the 14th of February 1638, and his arrival at Dalkeith was soon known. Numbers of the “Supplicants” resorted to Edinburgh, and the Earl was beset by several of the Nobility, and two individuals connected with the *Tables*, when he came to Edinburgh on the 15th. He cautiously informed the two delegates from the *Tables*, in the presence of the Earl of Roxburgh, that he had no communication to them—that though he was not aware when they might expect an answer, or by whom, he believed it would be soon ; and assured them that the King would consider their “Supplications.” On the following morning Rothes, at Traquair’s request, had a long conference with him. Traquair informed Rothes that all their “Supplications” were in possession of the King, who knew all their movements and leaders, mentioning their lawyers, especially

Mr John Nisbet,* as one of them, “ who,” says Rothes, “ was not ; and reporting sundry other things which were mere mistakes and misinformation, though he knew many other things which we thought had been kept more close.” “ Has the King,” asked Rothes, “ seen the Historical Information which was sent up with the Lord Justice-Clerk ?” “ There was no necessity,” replied Traquair, “ for it was previously in the press.” “ That,” said Rothes, “ could not be, for not a copy of that Information was ready before the one which the Justice-Clerk received.” “ The King,” observed Traquair, “ has all the particulars, though he had not the Information itself, but I believe he has now seen it.” The Earl then complained to Rothes of the unscrupulous conduct of the Presbyterians towards himself and the Earl of Roxburgh, while they were both in treaty with Archbishop Spottiswoode for “ drawing things to a pacification,” and alleged that Rothes himself had “ misinformed the King.” “ You seek,” said Traquair, “ the destruction of the Bishops, to which the King will never listen.” “ We crave no more,” replied Rothes, “ than the discharge of the Service-Book, Canons, and High Commission—that no oath should be exacted from ministers than that allowed by the Act of Parliament, which gives Bishops the power of ordination—that Bishops might be restrained by these caveats, whereon the Kirk and King condescended that they might not be uncontrollable, but liable to censure as the rest of the lieges.” The Earl farther stated that his party demanded an annual General Assembly, adding that if the King rescinded the Five Articles of Perth he would receive a subsidy of L.60,000 Scots money. “ If,” said Rothes jocularly, “ there is no other mode of disposing of the Bishops, the noblemen, barons, and burgesses, would sit in judgment upon them, and hang them.” “ My Lord,” replied Traquair in jest, “ you are mad.”†

It is impossible to discuss the intrigues, conferences, and correspondence of that period within the limits of the present volume, as connected with the Episcopal Church and Scottish history in general. They are all repetitions of the same affairs, the same men, the same principles, and the same contentions. The details

* Previously noticed as one of Lord Balmerino's counsel, afterwards Sir John Nisbet, who became a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Dirleton, author of the well known work on Scottish law, entitled “ Dirleton's Doubts.”

† The Earl of Rothes' Relation, printed for the Bannatyne Club, p. 55, 56, 57.

are all characterized by a kind of repulsive worldliness, and an utter want of honourable and candid principle on the part of the Scottish Nobility who embarked in the movement. It may be admitted that the King and his advisers were imprudent in their ecclesiastical proceedings, and that they ought to have made the use of the Liturgy optional, instead of rigidly demanding a general conformity in a matter on which the ignorant prejudices of the people were easily excited. Nevertheless a feeling of disgust cannot be suppressed at the perusal of the narratives of the Earl of Rothes and other actors in that memorable revolt—men utterly destitute of any religious principle, who could jest unfeeling on the most serious subjects. The Government issued no order to deprive men of their property, their honour, or their life. To quote the language of the distinguished Presbyterian historian Dr Cook—“Infatuated as Charles was, *he threatened no such evils.* In the ardour of party zeal it was indeed strongly insinuated that he was steadily prosecuting the design of restoring Popery, but there is not the slightest evidence to support the insinuation. The account of the religious calamities which the inhabitants of Scotland had to dread was the continuance of Episcopacy, or the attempt to continue it; but it surely may be doubted how far this was at the commencement of the disturbances a sufficient cause for actually resisting the sovereign. Many of the clergy who joined in opposition to the Government had at this period no idea that Episcopacy was subversive of Christianity; all of them had sworn obedience to the Bishops in whose Dioceses they ministered; and some of them expressly distinguished between Episcopacy as it existed in the time of Knox’s Superintendents, and the Episcopacy which was now opposed, affirming that both ought to be removed, but that the former ought not to be abjured.”* A somewhat similar view is expressed by the biographer of Henderson. “The Nobles,” says Dr. Aiton, “were of one opinion, and guided by a single sentiment, and that sentiment evidently was a determined resistance to the Government, engendered by the spirit of revenge ever since the transference to the Crown of the Church lands which had been long in possession of the old Court favourites. Most appropriately did Bishop Leslie of The Isles compare the behaviour of the Presbyterians towards Charles to that of the Jews, who one

* History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 415, 416.

day saluted Christ with loud acclamations, and the next day vociferously demanded his crucifixion."

The Privy Council was to meet at Stirling to issue the King's proclamation approving the Liturgy on the 20th of February, and the "Supplicants" prepared a remonstrance against it and the intended prohibition of their future meetings. In opposition to the urgent advice of Traquair they resolved to appear in Stirling for mutual defence, as numerously as they could muster, with their protest. The Privy Council attempted to anticipate their march thither. Very early on the morning of the day previous to the meeting Traquair and Roxburgh left Edinburgh to publish the proclamation before the disaffected had risen from their nocturnal slumbers, but their intention was accidentally discovered by the folly of Traquair's servant, who halted at a hostelry for refreshment, and mentioned to some persons in the house that he must immediately follow his master who was riding before him to Stirling. Lord Lindsay was in this hostelry on his way to Stirling with the Earl of Home and two gentlemen on behalf of the "Supplicants;" and his domestic, who overheard the conversation of Traquair's attendant, informed his master. Lindsay knew well the Earl's object. Summoning his friends, they were all soon on horseback, passed while it was still dark Traquair and Roxburgh, and entered Stirling before them. Ignorant of the movements of Home and Lindsay, who had stationed themselves at the Cross with their protestation attended by notaries, Traquair and Roxburgh entered the town about eight in the morning, and after breakfast, and waiting two hours for the specified number of the Privy Council to ratify the proclamation enforcing the Liturgy, they published it on their own responsibility at the Cross. The proclamation is inserted by Rushworth in his Historical Collections. All meetings of the "Supplicants" on those matters were prohibited under the pain of rebellion, and all who were not members of the Privy Council were to leave Stirling within six hours, or be held as rebels.

The proclamation was no sooner read than Home and Lindsay affixed a copy of their protestation on the Cross. It stated their objections to the Liturgy and Canons, and their refusal to allow the Archbishops and Bishops to be their judges, until they "purge themselves of such *crimes* (!) as they [the Supplicants] had

already laid to their charge ;" and embodied their usual arguments, political, civil, and ecclesiastical, against the Liturgy and Book of Canons. During the whole of the day armed men resorted to Stirling from distances of forty miles, and no fewer than 2000 eventually assembled. They met in the old parish church near the Castle, and demanded a copy of the proclamation, which was refused till it was announced in the other towns. The presence of so many armed and dangerous enthusiasts in such a small town as Stirling was of a sufficiently alarming aspect, and, though the Privy Council met in the Castle, the report of a meditated attack on Archbishop Spottiswoode increased their apprehensions. They sent for Rothes, Montrose, and Wemyss, to induce their adherents to leave the town, assuring them that the "Supplicants" who might remain would be allowed to present their declinature. The proposal to leave Stirling was at first resolutely opposed, but the influence of the three noblemen at length prevailed, and they agreed to retire from the town in the afternoon, leaving a deputation to manage their affairs, who were admitted to a meeting of the Privy Council held after the departure of the "Supplicants," which was attended by Bishops Whiteford of Brechin and Sydserff of Galloway. The deputation contended that those Bishops ought to be placed at the bar with themselves as parties, which caused some altercation. It seems that Bishop Sydserff was personally insulted by the populace of Stirling, and he encountered a mob of female enthusiasts at Falkirk, who pelted him with stones.

On the 21st of February the royal proclamation in favour of the Liturgy was published in Linlithgow, and on the following day at the Cross of Edinburgh. In the former town three persons appeared with a protestation, but in the latter a large assemblage of the leading "Supplicants" mustered with their document at the Cross. They resolved to appeal to the inhabitants of those districts who had not declared in their favour, and Rothes submitted a letter to their consideration against the "Service-Book, Book of Canons, High Commission, and divers Proclamations." Loudon and Dickson also drew up an "Information" to be sent to other parties. Those inflammatory documents summoned all friendly to their movement to Edinburgh with the utmost expedition. A committee was chosen, consisting of four barons, four burgesses, and four ministers, to act with the Nobility; and

they “fell upon the consideration,” says Rothes, “of a Bond of Union to be made legally ; also, after his Majesty was supplicated, and would not return an answer, a Declaration was thought on as the last act.” This “Bond of Union” was the *National Covenant*, which embodied the Confession of Faith drawn up in 1580 and 1581, condemning episcopal government as existing in the Church of Rome, signed by King James in his youth, and again subscribed in 1590 and 1596. It was now proposed to adopt this Confession as a Covenant, and its supporters were to engage by oath to maintain religion as it appeared to them in 1580, rejecting what they considered “innovations” since that time.

On the 23d and 24th of February the disaffected “Supplicants” resorted in great numbers to Edinburgh in defiance of the proclamation. They agreed to a motion by Loudon, that none of them should hold farther intercourse with the Privy Council without general consent. Meanwhile Henderson and Johnston of Warriston were appointed to superintend the Covenant, which was to be revised by Loudon, Rothes, and Balmerino. On the following day, which was Sunday, a fast was ordered to be observed, and some of the more violent of the preachers were enjoined to prepare the minds of the people for the intended Covenant. Two days afterwards a scroll of the Covenant was produced, and sent to the Presbyterian ministers for their concurrence.

The *National Covenant* is inserted by Rushworth, who quotes the opinion of Dr Walter Balcanqual, the undoubted author of the King’s celebrated Large Declaration. “The first dung,” said the Dean of Rochester, “which from these stables was thrown upon the face of authority and government was that lewd Covenant and seditious bond annexed to it.” It consists of three divisions, the first being the Confession of 1580 ; the second enumerates all the Acts passed against the Church of Rome in the reign of James, and in the Parliament of 1633 ; and the third refers to their own circumstances. The subscribers covertly swore to maintain Presbyterianism, and to resist what they designated “contrary errors to the uttermost of their powers, all the days of their lives.” They were also to defend one another—that “whatsoever should be done to the least of them for that cause should be taken as done to all in general, and to every one in particular.” The first part of the bond annexed to this Covenant was the production of Johnston of

Warriston, whose legal profession rendered him familiar with the Acts of Parliament, and the second part, against the Papal Church, was also his composition. The third part, in which they pretended “obedience to the commandment of God,” immediately following the enumeration of the Acts, was written by Henderson, “and this,” Baillie observes, “was all the difficulty.” Although this document on the principles of common law sanctioned an illegal combination, Lord Advocate Hope declared that it contained nothing inconsistent with the allegiance of a true and loyal subject.

Yet the so called National Covenant was threatened with opposition even in Edinburgh. It seems to have been apparently suggested by Henderson to some of the Nobility and a few of the preachers. Baillie says—“The Noblemen, with Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr David Dickson, resolve the renewing of the old Covenant for religion. *A little inkling of this is given out at first to the rest.*” At one of the meetings on the day before it was submitted and approved, a gentleman from Ayrshire stated, as the decided conviction of many persons belonging to his district, that the renewal of this Covenant implied that it had been previously void—and that some scrupled to sign because it contained opinions on some points contrary to their own, though they objected to the Liturgy. The Five Articles of Perth were also seriously discussed. Several of the ministers said that they had sworn to observe those Articles, and to deny them would be to perjure themselves. The Earl of Rothes records that he contrived to remove this important difficulty. One of them, however, was not satisfied, alleging that he had “positively sworn to observe the Articles during the time of his ministry.” Rothes replied, in reference to kneeling at the Communion—“At that time the memory of superstition and idolatry was past, and therefore it was thought good to kneel; now, superstition and idolatry are re-entering, why should we not also abstain from the gesture? A man is not tied to an unreasonable oath. When the oath appears now unreasonable he is no longer bound.” This miserable sophistry satisfied the objector. Another asked—“As an oath could only be exacted by a superior, how could this oath [the Covenant] be exacted of them?” Rothes alluded to Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council, shewing that ministers were bound to exact an oath to the Confession of Faith from their parishioners, though it was

unnecessary from those who were ready to swear ; and besides, the Covenant was “ an oath whereunto none were to be compelled, but it was expected that all would willingly condescend, and make their oath to Almighty God.”

On the last day of February, or on the 1st of March, probably on both days, this “ National Covenant” was signed in the Greyfriars’ church and church-yard at Edinburgh. It is said that 60,000 partizans had resorted to the city, but considering its then limited extent, and the population of Scotland at the time, this must be an exaggeration. It appears that doubts and perplexities marked the discussions on the Covenant, some arguing that it was illegal, others that it went too far, and others that they were not exactly prepared to receive it as binding them by an oath. The Earl of Cassillis, Baillie, and others from the Western counties, were most reluctant to have any connection with the Covenant at the preliminary arrangements. Referring to sundry sermons preached at the time, Baillie states that the “ plainness” of Mr Rolloock “ made him suspect their intention in this new Covenant to make them forswear Bishops and ceremonies in their meetings.”—“ I had,” he continues, “ discovered the same mind in some, alleging over and over [again] that the Achian of our land was the breach of our Covenant, in admitting against the oath of our nation the government of Bishops and Articles of Perth. To this I gave so sharp and so modest a reply, that excluded thereafter this motion from this meeting. But I was filled with fear and great perplexity, that the bond which I found was conceiving should contain any such clauses ; for this, I thought, would inevitably open a gap, and make a present division in the ministry, which was the earnest desire and sure victory of the Bishops.” Baillie adds—“ Some other clauses also, which might have seemed to import a defence in arms against the King, these I would could not yield to in any imaginable case.” These explanations were at length considered satisfactory, and Baillie writes—“ It is expected that this day the hands of all estates shall be put to it [the Covenant], and thereafter a declaration shall be made of our innocence in this whole proceeding, and of the injustice of the Bishops, with an earnest desire to have our Prince informed in the truth of this cause by way of the most humble Supplication. We have yet no assurance or warrant that any one line of the Book shall be remitted, but hopes are made of

withdrawing Liturgy, and Canons, and Commission, and all, if we would let the Bishops alone ; but the most part are peremptorily resolved not to endure any longer their lawless tyranny."*

Having adjusted all their disputes, sophistical arguments, and very questionable explanations, it was agreed that the leaders should meet in the Greyfriars' church in the afternoon to subscribe the Covenant. Henderson opened the proceedings in the church with a long prayer, and the Covenant was then read by Johnston of Warriston from " a fair parchment above an ell square." Those from the southern and western counties who had any doubts were ordered by Rothes to go to the west end of the church, where Loudon and Dickson would act as confessors ; and those connected with the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington, and from the north side of the Frith of Forth, were to wait on him and Henderson in the east end for the same purpose. About four o'clock the leaders among the Nobility subscribed, and after them the small barons. The signing of the Covenant continued till eight that evening. John thirteenth Earl of Sutherland was the first who signed, and the second is said to have been Sir Andrew Murray of Balvaird, minister of Abdie in Fife, who had been *knighted* by Charles I. at his coronation in 1633, and was created Lord Balvaird in 1641, which elicited the censure of a subsequent General Assembly, who ordered him not to assume *improper titles*. The Covenant was then carried to the burying-ground, spread upon a flat grave-stone, and signed by as many as could approach. It is mentioned as an extraordinary instance of their fanaticism, that hundreds not only added to their names the words *till death*, but actually cut themselves, and subscribed it with their blood. Every part of the parchment-sheet of " above an ell square" was crowded with names, the margins were scrolled over, and at last many were obliged to be content with adhibiting their initials. While this was in progress many of the enthusiasts wept bitterly, numbers groaned as if convulsed, others seemed to be completely happy, and a few shouted with joy. All confirmed their subscriptions by a solemn oath. A general oath was then administered, to which they assented by tumultuously lifting up their right hands, and the crowd retired.

On the following day Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and others

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 52, 53, 54.

of their party, went to the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate, where the Presbyterian preachers from the country were assembled. Nearly three hundred of them, exclusive of the delegates from the burghs, signed it that night. The Covenant was next carried for signature through the city, and it was followed in its itinerating progress from house to house by numbers of women and children, howling, groaning, and weeping. It is said that multitudes of the latter were allowed to subscribe, or rather, as many of them could not write, their hands were guided in their signatures, though Rothes states that only communicants were permitted to put their hands to the parchment. It is certain that much violence was used in some of the towns to procure names, especially in St Andrews and Glasgow, and personal compulsion was inflicted in numerous instances. All classes were admitted, and many were terrified into compliance by most appalling threats of Divine judgments. In the case of those who could not write public notaries were constantly in attendance. On Friday the 2d of March, a copy was transmitted to every county for signature in the parishes. Some of the Nobility took copies of it, signed by themselves, and solicited the signatures of those whom they met. This accounts for the existence of so many originals. In the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh five copies written on parchment are preserved, with the original signatures of Rothes, Loudon, Montrose, and many others of the leaders among the Nobility and gentry. Only one of these five copies, however, is apparently connected with the first signing of the National Covenant, and the other four, which are dated 1639, were subscribed after it was ratified by the General Assembly.

When Archbishop Spottiswoode returned to Edinburgh, and was informed of the subscription to the Covenant, he is said to have exclaimed—"All which we have been attempting to build up during the last thirty years is now at once thrown down." On the 1st of March the Privy Council met at Stirling, which was attended by the Officers of State, Bishop Whiteford of Brechin, and eleven of the Nobility. The cause of this meeting was the "combustion within the country." A letter was read from Archbishop Spottiswoode, excusing himself from attending according to his promise. Traquair informed the Council that he had requested the Archbishop as Lord Chancellor to meet them, and the Council

adjourned till the following morning. The Archbishop's letter was ordered to be entered in the Register of the Privy Council, and is a proof of the moderate principles of that great and good man. His letter, which is very short, is dated "Edinburgh, the last day of February 1638," and he states, as his deliberate opinion—"Your Lordship knows my mind in the chiefest business which is to be entreated, which I assure myself will be the mind of all good clergymen, that is, to lay aside the Book, and not to press the subjects with it any more, rather than to bring it in with such trouble of the Church and the kingdom as we see; but I should wish all this to be fairly carried, without any touch to his Majesty's honour, and the opening of a door to the disobedience of ill-affected people." On the following day the Privy Council unanimously resolved that the causes of the "combustion" were the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commission, which were considered by many as "contrary or without sanction of the laws of the kingdom." At another meeting they declared that having in vain attempted to prohibit large assemblages by proclamations, they "can do no farther than is already done;" and they appointed the Lord Justice-Clerk Hamilton of Orbiston to proceed to London, and lay before the King a true representation of the state of the kingdom. Other letters of the same date were written by members of the Privy Council to the King and the Marquis of Hamilton.*

The Covenanters, as they may now be designated, were not behind in exercising such influence at Court as they possessed. We have seen that in addition to their opposition to the Liturgy and Book of Canons, their public allegation against both was that they were introduced without the sanction of Parliament and the General Assembly. This specious objection had great influence with many, yet it could not include the Five Articles of Perth. Although they furiously complained of them as "innovations," they well knew that those Articles were sanctioned by the Parliaments of 1621 and 1638. After signing the Covenant, and organizing themselves throughout the country, their leaders soon saw that they were imitating the very course they denounced—that of adopting a Confession of Faith and Covenant without the sanction of a General

* Those letters are inserted by Bishop Burnet in his "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," in which work are several important original letters and documents connected with that eventful period.

Assembly, while they were also levying subsidies without the authority of the Government. Henderson and his party, called the *Easterns*, coincided with Loudon, Baillie, and the *Westerns*, and it was resolved to demand a General Assembly and a Parliament, to "sanction," as Dr Aiton says, "their daring measures." On the 13th of March they concocted another "Supplication" directed to the King, justifying their own conduct, insolently blaming the Bishops, requesting a General Assembly and a Parliament, and hypocritically concluding with an assurance to his Majesty that next to their salvation they would render him dutiful obedience, praying that his reign might be long, peaceable, and prosperous. They also resolved to send Livingston, of Irish notoriety, who was now a preacher in Scotland, to the Court with letters to the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earls of Haddington and Morton, soliciting their influence in behalf of their "Supplication." The Earl of Traquair had already written to the Marquis of Hamilton by the Lord Justice-Clerk, stating that unless the King withdrew the Liturgy he must be prepared to oppose force to force. The Justice-Clerk passed Livingstone on the road, arrived first at Court, informed the King of the object of the Covenanter's mission, and added that before he came to Scotland he had been deposed, degraded, and excommunicated by the Church of Ireland. The Earl of Haddington protected him from prison by secreting him for a few days, and sent him back to Edinburgh with a mass of important private correspondence. It seems, however, that they had employed a Mr George Hallyburton on their mission. The "Supplication" was returned to the Covenanters in his hands unopened, and they were informed merely as individuals that the King would consult the Privy Council, and intimate his sentiments by a proclamation. Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lorne, were summoned to Court, carrying with them the extraordinary opinion of some lawyers in Edinburgh that the Covenanters had not acted illegally, or were guilty of sedition.

Meanwhile the Covenanters proceeded in their ramifications. On the 5th of March the delegates from the burghs were ordered to write to their constituents "not to be afraid of proclamations," and to send them a copy of the protest and of the Covenant. Their partizans in the burghs were enjoined to keep a list of those who signed and those who refused, which they were to transmit to

Edinburgh. A deputation of four lairds was appointed to "go North," and confer with the Marquis of Huntley and other chiefs of influence in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Morayshire. On the 6th it was unanimously resolved, that if any individual Covenanter was "criminally pursued," or "processed," all should be ready to assist. Sundry noblemen and others were appointed to visit the Colleges of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews, and Aberdeen, to "press the subscription of the Confession and Covenant;" minor details were arranged; and some of the preachers were authorized to refute the Service-Book and Canons for "information and public use, and that with convenient expedition."

The reception of the Covenant was different in the Colleges. Those of St Andrews and Edinburgh subscribed with few exceptions, but in Aberdeen it encountered the most determined opposition from the two Colleges, the Professors in which, men of great learning, known as the *Aberdeen Doctors*, who, as Burnet says, "were an honour to the Church," would listen to it on no conditions. Dr Barron and Dr Forbes, the latter then Professor of Divinity in King's College, the son of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, defended the Liturgy, and assailed the whole system of Presbyterianism. In the College of Glasgow, too, the Covenant was vigorously resisted. "The greatest oppositionists in the West to this subscription," says Baillie, "are our friends in Glasgow; all the College without exception; Mr John Maxwell, Mr John Bell younger, and Mr Zachary [Boyd], are not only withdrawers of their hands, but all of them pathetic reasoners against it." He mentions only two—"old Mr John Bell and Mr Robert Wilkie"—as "passionately for it, albeit half derided by the others as simple fools." Baillie farther states that Lord Boyd, four others, and "I, went in as commissioners from the meeting at Edinburgh to join with the rest, but I foresaw it was in vain, for no reasoning could move any of them to pass from the smallest of their scruples, which they yet multiplied. We left them resolved to celebrate the communion on Pasch [Easter] day in the High Church kneeling, but Mr Robert Wilkie and Mr John Bell are resolved to pass that day, and the next Sabbath to celebrate sitting in the Low Kirn." The Covenanters were more successful in the towns, and their peregrinations to procure signatures occupied them considerably during the months of April and May.

On the 20th of April a meeting of the Covenanting noblemen was held to consider the answers of the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Morton, brought on the 16th by Mr George Hallyburton in reply to the letters from the "Supplicants." Lennox wrote to Rothes, Hamilton to Montrose, and Morton to Cassillis. Rothes has preserved his, and mentions that the other two were similarly expressed. Lennox stated that Hamilton, Morton, and himself, had jointly read their letters, and acquainted the King with the contents, who commanded them to write that he was ever willing to receive petitions properly "conceived in matter and form"—that the Privy Council had duly transmitted their Supplications, respecting which various directions had been issued—and that the King would soon declare and explain his intentions, and thereby free his subjects from any fears of "innovations of religion." Rothes, Montrose, and Cassillis, sent in reply a document to the Duke of Lennox, with a long note written by Henderson, containing eight "Articles for the present peace of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland." Those were, 1. Withdrawal of the Liturgy and Canons. 2. Abolition of the High Commission. 3. Revocation of the Perth Articles. 4. Limitation of Churchmen to vote in Parliament. 5. That the act of 1592, conferring on Presbyteries the power of collating and ordaining ministers to benefices, or of depriving, should be restored. 6. An annual General Assembly. 7. The summoning of a Parliament. 8. That if such were sanctioned, more particular suggestions for restoring peace would be submitted to the said General Assembly and Parliament.

As to the *National Covenant* itself, although its object could not be misunderstood, it contains no direct denial of the royal authority and the episcopal government of the Church. This obtained for it signatures from many who were opposed to violent measures, and who never contemplated the overthrow of the Episcopal Church. In a letter to Principal Strang of Glasgow, who had signed it, "so far as that it was not prejudicial to the King's authority, the office of episcopal government itself, and that power which is given to Bishops by lawful Assemblies and Parliaments," Baillie says—"If ye saw any thing into this Covenant which, either in express terms, or by any good consequence, could infer the contradiction of any of these things ye name, ye might

not in any terms, on any exposition or limitation, offer to subscribe it." He declares that he could see no word in it against the King's "full authority," or "against the office of Bishops;" and he says—"Not only I believe this, but have professed so much more before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, often both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction to this hour." But he at once assigns the reasons for the whole movement, which he credulously believed—"Our main fear [is] to have our religion lost, our throats cutted, our poor country made an English province, to be disposed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bishop of Canterbury." Such were the false and infamous statements which roused into madness the Covenanting populace. The intolerance of the faction is well described by Bishop Mitchell, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in a letter, dated Edinburgh, 19th March, to Dr John Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, translated from the Diocese of The Isles in 1633, who must not be identified with Bishop Henry Leslie of Down—"Truly it is like enough I will be brought to that necessity to leave my charge here, and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholding [than to your Lordship.] It would cause any man's ears to tingle to hear what a pitiful plunge this Church and kingdom are in. The greater part of the kingdom have subscribed, and the rest are daily subscribing, a Covenant. It is the oath of the King's house 1580, with strange additions, a mutual combination for resistance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have been brought in since that time; so as if the least of the subscribers be touched (and there be some of them not *ten years of age*, and some not worth *twopence*), that all shall concur for their defence, and for the expulsion of all Papists and adversaries, that is, all that will not subscribe, out of the Church and Kingdom, according to the laws, whereof one hundred are cited in the *carta*. This goes on apace. The true (!) pastors are brought in to Edinburgh to cry out against us wolves; and they, with our brethren, Mr A. Ramsay, Mr H. Rollock, and your whilome friend the Principal [Adamson], crying out that they are neither good Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe, nay, nor in covenant with God, have made us so odious that we dare not go on the streets. I have been dogged by some gentlemen, and

followed with many mumbled threatenings behind my back ; and then, when I was up stairs, swords drawn, and [they exclaimed]—‘ If they had the papist villain, O !’ Yet I thank God I am living to serve God and the King, and the Church and your Lordship. There is nothing expected here but civil war. There is no meeting of Council. The Chancellor [Spottiswoode] may not with safety attend it, nor any Bishop ; the very name is more odious among old and young than the devil’s. Galloway takes shelter under the Treasurer’s [Traquair] wings ; he draws him out to known dangers, and then makes a show of protection. Ross keeps at home still, and keeps up the Service in his cathedral, but I fear shall not be able long. What was told your Lordship of his disclaiming the [Service] Book was most false ; Dun and he never spake together. Concerning the other point of your postscript, that the Book is a transcript of King Edward’s Book, that is not true neither. I know my Lord [Bishop] of Ross sent a copy of ours to your Lordship, and the other you may have, and can compare them. They are somewhat like in the Communion, and great need there was to return to it *propter sacramentarios*. But now, when all shall be discharged, Service-Book, Canons, and High Commission, they will not rest there ; there is some other design in their heads. There are still here 500 commissioners of the estates ; they relieve one another by course, as Castor and Pollux went to hell. They sit daily, and make new laws ; their protestations and decrees begin thus—‘ We, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons.’ They depose moderators of Presbyteries, and choose new. Mr Matthew Wemyss subscribed on Friday, preached for the Covenanters on Sunday, and discharged the organ. I have neither more time nor paper. God send this Church peace, preserve yours, and send you better news next.”*

* Original in Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. No. 49, in Appendix to Principal Baillie’s Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. 1, p. 463-464.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE CHURCH AND THE RIVAL
COVENANT.

JAMES third Marquis of Hamilton and second Earl of Cambridge, created in 1643 first Duke of Hamilton, whose fate in March 1649 was as unfortunate as that of his sovereign, was nominated Lord High Commissioner to Scotland by the King, to allay the religious and political distractions, and to restore peace to the kingdom. Charles announced his selection of the Marquis, in preference to certain others of the Scottish Nobility, to Archbishops Laud and Spottiswoode, and to the Bishops of Galloway, Brechin, and Ross, in his closet at Whitehall. On the 7th of May the appointment was intimated in Scotland ; and on the 16th the Marquis received his instructions, which were remarkably moderate and conciliatory. The only direct references to the Church are short. He was to admit no petition against the Five Articles of Perth, though for the present he was not to press the observance of them ; the Acts of the Privy Council enjoining the Liturgy were suspended ; and the Privy Council and Supreme Courts were to return to Edinburgh as soon as the citizens abrogated the Covenant, which was to be within six weeks or less, as set forth in the royal Declaration.

About this time the Scottish Bishops transmitted to Archbishop Spottiswoode and their brethren, then in London, a detail of grievances, signed by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Argyll, and by Mr Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, and Messrs Mitchell and Fletcher. They complained of the violent and illegal conduct of the Covenanters in changing the moderators of Presbyteries, maltreating several of the parochial clergy, giving “ imposition of hands” without the knowledge of the Bishop—inducting

sedition and banished preachers from Ireland into parishes—threatening to depose the clergy—removing Alexander Henderson from Leuchars to Edinburgh without the consent of the Bishop—that “the ministers of Edinburgh who have not subscribed the Covenant were daily railed and cursed to their faces, and their stipends not paid; and that all ministers who have not subscribed are in the same case and condition with them.”

The Marquis of Hamilton commenced his journey on the 26th May, and on the 3d of June he reached Berwick. He was there informed by the Earls of Roxburgh and Lauderdale, and Lord Lindsay, of the state of Edinburgh, that there was little hope of the abandonment of the Covenant, and that they demanded the abolition of the Five Articles of Perth, and a Parliament and General Assembly, otherwise they would call the latter themselves before they left the city. Notwithstanding this discouraging intelligence the Marquis resolved to try the influence of his authority as High Commissioner. The leaders of the Covenanters prohibited any of their party to wait on him; and his escort from Berwick, with the exception of his own friends, relations, and attendants, was limited. Even at Haddington a very few of the Nobility and Barons waited to escort him; yet when he approached Dalkeith he was conducted into that town by a splendid cavalcade, consisting of the Privy Council, the Judges of the Supreme Courts, and a great number of the Nobility and gentry who were opposed to the Covenant. Previous to his arrival at Dalkeith he was convinced, from the intelligence he had received, that there was no chance of treating with the Covenanters, and he despatched a messenger to the King to prepare him for strong measures, especially advising him to prevent the purchase of arms by the agents of the Covenanters on the Continent.

The nomination of the Marquis of Hamilton was by no means popular among the Covenanters, though some writers have doubted his sincerity, and accuse him of secretly encouraging the movement. It is true that his mother, Lady Anne Cunningham, a daughter of James seventh Earl of Glencairn, had become a zealous adherent of the Covenanters, and her father's family since the Reformation were noted for their attachment to the then democratic Presbyterianism. So zealous was this lady in the cause, that in 1639, when the Marquis arrived in the Frith

of Forth with a force to overawe the Covenanters, his mother appeared on the shore at the head of a body of mounted troopers, drew a pistol from her saddle-bow, and declared that she would be the first to shoot her son if he landed and attacked his countrymen. Yet they recollect that he was a courtier—the relative of the King—and that his father, the second Marquis, had zealously promoted the Five Articles of Perth, which were ratified by the Parliament in 1621. The Marquis was aware of the arduous duty devolved upon him by the King, to whom he candidly stated that he considered his chance of success utterly hopeless and the employment hazardous. After his arrival at Dalkeith the Covenanting preachers soon declared against him. Before his proposals or intentions could be known he was violently denounced in their sermons, the King was charged with treachery, and their followers were warned to listen to no terms of accommodation, which were so many snares laid for their destruction. They maintained that the whole was a plan devised by Archbishop Laud to introduce Popery, and this falsehood was accompanied with every anathema which their ingenuity could devise. Their adherents were told that if they submitted they would be perfidious traitors, betrayers of Jesus Christ and of the true religion, endangering the salvation of their souls; and addresses and resolutions were circulated throughout the kingdom with incredible celerity. New committees were constituted, and measures were adopted to procure a supply of arms. Nor were the praises of the Covenant forgotten. As Prynne in England had declared that *Christ was a Puritan*, so in Scotland the people were taught to believe that *Christ was a Covenanter!* He was the “Covenanted Jesus;” they declaimed about their “Covenanted God” and “Covenanted Kirk;” and as they now had a “Covenanted Bridegroom,” they would never rest till they had a “Covenanted King.” Mr Cant, in a sermon at Glasgow, told his audience that he was “sent to them with a commission from Christ to bid them subscribe, it being Christ’s contract—that he came as a wooer for the bridegroom to call upon them to be hand-fasted by subscribing the contract—and that he would not depart till he had got the names of all refusers, of whom he would complain to his Master.”

Such was the state of public feeling when the Marquis summoned the Privy Council at Dalkeith. A deputation arrived from the

Town-Council of Edinburgh entreating him to reside at Holyroodhouse, which would be more convenient for the public. The Marquis refused to enter Edinburgh, because the city was in the hands of armed rebels under the guidance of the *Tables*, who on the other hand declared that they would not wait on him at Dalkeith, under the pretence that they were likely to be blown up with gunpowder taken some days previously from a vessel at Leith, and removed for security to Dalkeith, as all access to the Castle of Edinburgh was then prevented by the Covenanters. At length, however, he consented on the condition that the peaceable conduct of the multitudes in the city was guaranteed, and the guards at the gates and before the Castle were withdrawn. To this they agreed, and Friday the 9th of June was appointed for his arrival at Holyroodhouse.

The Covenanters on this occasion resolved to make a display of numerical force. For some reasons of his own, instead of proceeding direct from Dalkeith to Edinburgh the Marquis diverged by Inveresk to Musselburgh, four miles from the former town on the shore, and six miles from Edinburgh. From Musselburgh the Marquis and his cortege rode along the coast on the present line of the post road, passing over the ground on which the large modern parliamentary burgh of Portobello is built, and the now irrigated tract of land then covered with furze, known as the *Figgate Whins*, to the common called Leith Links. During this progress the Marquis was followed by thousands who uttered loud exclamations against Popery, Bishops, and the Book of Common Prayer. It is stated by the contemporary writers that no fewer than 60,000 persons appeared, of whom a large proportion were women, though the Earl of Rothes limits the numbers to above 20,000. When the Marquis was approaching Leith Links he was met by thirty of the Covenanting Nobility, and the gentry marshalled themselves in a line along the sea-side extending nearly two miles in length. Passing through this array of the Covenanters, he perceived on an eminence near the east end of Leith Links from 500 to 600 of their preachers all dressed in their black Geneva cloaks. It was here intended to edify him with a speech, though Burnet states that four were to be delivered. Baillie, who was present, says—“ We had appointed Mr William Livingstone, the strongest in voice and austerest in countenance of us all, to make him a short welcome.” This individual, then a presbyterian preacher at Lanark

was the brother of savoury Mr John Livingstone. But the Marquis was spared this infliction to the no small disappointment of the Covenanters. Dr Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, who attended him as chaplain, informed him that the repulsive-looking Mr Livingstone, whom he described as “one of the most seditious of the whole pack,” would deliver an invective against the Bishops; and the Marquis merely bowed to the Covenanter, telling him that he was aware of his intention, but that “harangues on the field were for princes, and above his place, yet what he had to say he should hear it gladly in private.” The crowd on the Links, and on the road to Edinburgh, upwards of a mile distant, was immense. At the Watergate of the Canongate, close to the Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Marquis was received by the Magistrates of the city. Baillie records that Hamilton was affected to tears during his progress at the sight of the vast assemblage, and at the apparent earnestness expressed in the countenances of the Covenanters.

As Dr Walter Balcanqual is here noticed as attending the Marquis in the capacity of his chaplain, and as he is repeatedly mentioned in the present volume, it may be here stated that he was well acquainted with many of the Covenanting preachers. He was a native of Edinburgh, of which his father had been a turbulent minister for forty-three years previous to 1616. The son, who was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, enjoyed the patronage and friendship of King James and King Charles. Dr Balcanqual, it is stated by Burnet in his “Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,” came with the Marquis “as his council in Church affairs, which trust he discharged faithfully and diligently, and received those informations which were made public in the Large Declaration as penned by him.” He is intimately connected with one of the noblest charitable institutions in Great Britain—George Heriot’s Hospital at Edinburgh. Heriot, at his death in February 1624, ordained Dr Balcanqual to be the principal of the three executors of his last will, and to undertake the important charge of the erection of his Hospital in their native city. The building was in very slow progress in 1638, though the foundation-stone had been laid by Dr Balcanqual in person in 1628. One private object of his attendance on the Marquis of Hamilton on this occasion was the affairs of the Hospital. It was, however, surmised by the Covenanters that he was deputed by Archbishop

Laud as a spy both on the Marquis and on themselves. The Marquis had resolved after his arrival at Holyroodhouse to attend Divine service in the Chapel-Royal, where Dr Balcanqual was to officiate. The Covenanters contrived to enter the chapel secretly and nail up the organ, and they intimated to the Marquis that if the "English Service-Book" was again used the person who officiated would hazard his life. Much of their enmity was directed against Dr Balcanqual, although the manner in which he offended them is not recorded. In the "Canterburian's Self-Conviction," written by Baillie against Archbishop Laud, he is mentioned with such asperity as to show that if he had fallen into the hands of Covenanters, he would not have been forgotten in their infamous and vindictive persecution of the martyred Primate of England.

The Marquis of Hamilton delayed to publish the King's Declaration, lest it should be met by a protestation from the Covenanters. In reality, on the Tuesday after his arrival, in a long conference at Holyroodhouse, where he stated to the leaders that they would receive an answer by a public proclamation, he was insolently told that for every such document a protestation would be in readiness. He wrote to the King that their demands must be conceded, or they must be opposed by arms, at the same time recommending leniency rather than the disastrous consequences of a civil war. On the 15th of June the Marquis was informed in a letter from the King that the proceedings of the Covenanters were so intolerable that he had resolved to reduce them by force—that the Marquis was to take possession of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling—that he might flatter them as he pleased, but that he was not to consent to the summoning of a Parliament and General Assembly "until the Covenant be disavowed and given up"—that he [the King] "would rather die than yield to their impudent and damnable demands," as he [the Marquis] rightly called them—"in a word," concluded the King, "gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your ground."

When the Covenanters found that no concessions would be offered unless they relinquished the Covenant their rage was unbounded. In the four sermons which their preachers were in the habit of delivering every day, except Saturday, the most furious and inflammatory imprecations were uttered, not forgetting to compliment the Marquis that *faggots were prepared for him in hell!*

As for the Covenant, they bound themselves to abide by it with their lives. They were duly informed of the preparations against them. They received letters from the Earl of Haddington and others at the Court, announcing that the King had resolved to "speak to them from the cannon's mouth." They had also learned that a powerful fleet was preparing to sail for the Frith of Forth and blockade the east and south-east coast of Scotland—that a strong force was to be landed from Ireland in the Western counties—and that the loyal Clans and followers of the influential Nobility opposed to the Covenant, assisted by the Roman Catholic Chiefs and their numerous dependants, were to act against them in the centre of the kingdom. All this intelligence induced them before the arrival of the Marquis to form a secret treaty, one of the articles of which enjoined their former committee to act with diligence about arms and other warlike preparations. The secret arrival of the stores at Leith for the use of the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, which were disembarked at Fisherrow harbour, close to Musselburgh, and sent up to Dalkeith, although they quadrupled the number of those stores, served to convince them that they must prepare for action.

It is unnecessary to enter into minute details of the proclamations, and the protestations to the same by the Covenanters. On the 16th of June they presented a petition to the Marquis in Holyroodhouse, and demanded instant redress of their grievances as they could no longer delay. He told them that he had resolved to summon a General Assembly and Parliament, but they considered even this answer as now unsatisfactory. They wanted the King to accept an *Explanation* of their Covenant, by which it would be seen that it was not illegal or derogatory to the royal authority. Rushworth asserts that the draught of this Explanation was made by Archbishop Spottiswoode. Bishop Burnet also observes—"To this I shall add a surprising thing, that I find the Archbishop of St Andrews was for accepting an Explanation of the Covenant, for a draught of it yet remains under his pen," and he inserts the document entire.* It ostentatiously set forth their regret that the King was offended at their "Bond or Covenant for the maintaining of the true religion and purity of God's worship in this kingdom, as if they had thereby usurped his Majesty's

* Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 58.

authority," and they affected solemnly to protest that all their proceedings " were only for the maintaining of the true religion by them professed." They concluded by requesting a General Assembly and Parliament, for removing their fears of the " introduction into the Church of another form of worship than that to which they had been accustomed." This " Explanation" was transmitted to the King, who on the 25th of June returned an indignant reply. His Majesty declared that as to the " Explanation" of their " damnable Covenant, whether with or without it," he was left with no more power in Scotland than a Duke of Venice, which he would rather die than suffer, yet he recommended the Marquis to prudently listen to it that he might gain time. He said that he would not be sorry if they called a General Assembly and Parliament without his authority, which would the more loudly shew them to be traitors and justify his actions. He thought his Declaration should no longer be delayed, but that was a mere opinion, not a command. The Marquis of Hamilton in vain expostulated, in his numerous and tedious conferences with the Covenanters, that they were driving matters to such an extremity by insulting the King's honour, that the result would be such as to render the Scottish nation the basest under the sun. When the Marquis was at one of those wearisome interviews he asked Rothes what the Covenanters intended to do in the General Assembly and Parliament, the reply was that the latter would doubtless satisfy the proceedings of the former, but no one could say what those would be till the Assembly met. The dissimulation of Rothes is obvious. He knew well that his party had concocted the business of the Assembly. Their grand object was to procure the meeting of the Assembly before the Parliament, and towards this all their plans were directed.

The Marquis of Hamilton at this crisis resolved to return to London. He told Rothes that he would " rather lose his life and all he had before he was put to such trouble and vexation as he had been this time past." He obtained leave on the 29th of June, which he intimated to the Covenanting leaders, stating that he would lay all their petitions before the King, and return them an answer within three weeks or a month. The Marquis induced the Covenanters to dismiss their adherents. He restored the Court of Session to Edinburgh, pledged himself that no proclama-

tions or alterations would be allowed in his absence, and that the Bishops should not be allowed to go to London. Some days before Sunday the 24th of June the Covenanters were informed that Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane had arrived from Seton House in Haddingtonshire, the seat of the Earl of Winton, about eleven miles from Edinburgh on the coast, and that he intended to read the Liturgy and officiate before the Marquis in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Those very Covenanters, who while they were then in rebellion against the King for alleged violations of their conscience, were at the same time the bitter enemies of toleration, and cherished the most tyrannical hatred towards their opponents, sent a remonstrance to the Marquis, demanding that he should prohibit the use of the Liturgy on that Sunday in his presence, otherwise it would subsequently " disable him to do any good." Bishop Wedderburn knowing their disposition to violence, " willingly," says the Earl of Rothes, " absented himself." Disgusted at their insufferable interference with his religious duties, the Marquis, on the following Sunday, which was the 1st of July, proceeded in the morning on a visit to Seton Home, and heard a sermon preached by Dr Balcanqual in the parish church of Tranent. This sermon is designated " cold and wise," and probably it may have been both, yet we are assured by Bishop Burnet that Dr Balcanqual was a " man of great parts, of subtle wit, and so eloquent a preacher, that he seldom preached in Scotland without drawing tears from the auditors." The Presbyterian writers allege that this visit to Seaton Home, where the Marquis remained during the night, and returned to Edinburgh on the following day, was " for the purpose of practising a trick"—that he then set out as if for London—and that " most of the leading Covenanters had gone home till the time he was to return from Court." The Presbyterians assign as their reason the publication of the proclamation which followed " in the absence" of the said " leading Covenanters." It is needless to observe that not the slightest evidence exists to substantiate this charge.

On the 28th of June the King authorized a " Declaration" to be published, dated at Greenwich, promising to call a General Assembly and a Parliament at his earliest convenience, withdrawing the Liturgy and the Book of Canons, and promising to rectify the High Commission with the advice and assistance of the Privy

Council, that it “ shall never impugn the laws nor be a just grievance to his loyal subjects.” He again declared that he neither was nor would be “ ever stained with Popish superstition,” but was resolved to “ maintain the true Protestant religion already professed within his ancient kingdom.” This Declaration or proclamation was submitted to the Privy Council on Tuesday the 3d of July, was signed by all present, and an act passed that it ought to be satisfactory to the people; yet this is the very document about which the charge is brought against the Marquis, that he resorted to a trick to get the leading Covenanters out of the way. It was almost impossible that he could announce it to the Privy Council sooner, considering the mode of travelling in those days. It is dated on the 28th of June, which was Thursday, and the Marquis submitted it to the Privy Council on the following Wednesday, exactly six days from the time it was sent from Greenwich. It was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the following day, but the Covenanters, notwithstanding all their complaints, were ready for its reception. When the heralds appeared with their trumpets, Cassillis and Johnston of Warriston were at their side with a long protestation, in which all their objections to the Liturgy, Canons, High Commission, defences of the Covenant, and complaints against the Bishops, are enumerated.

Before the departure of the Marquis to London he made such arrangements for the security of the fortresses as his circumstances permitted. The King had also instructed him to relieve those of the Bishops and clergy who were suffering for his interest out of the Treasury; but the Exchequer was exhausted, and the Marquis liberally advanced to them money from his own private resources, without even taking legal security for repayment. A letter was written by Bishop Maxwell of Ross to the Marquis, dated Berwick, 29th June, which is printed by Burnet in his “ Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.” Bishop Maxwell and some of his brethren were then enduring considerable privations at Berwick, from which the Marquis had advised them to remove, and they express their willingness to comply. The Bishop alludes to the expences already incurred by the Marquis—“ Yet,” he says, “ your Lordship’s noble and generous offer, and the necessity we are cast into at this present, that what is our own or due to us we cannot command, and know as little who will do us the favour at this

time to trust us, hath made us, seeing obedience is better than sacrifice, to cast ourselves upon your Lordship's bounty and favour, fearing on the one part your Lordship may be offended if we do it not, and on the other that otherwise we cannot be provided." Bishop Maxwell requests an advance of "one hundred and fifty pieces, payable at Whitsunday next with the interest, or Martinmas, as your Lordship pleases," for which he sent his personal bond, and adding—"Here and at this time I cannot give better security, but by God's grace your Lordship shall be in no danger, come the world as it will."

Archbishop Spottiswoode himself was then in a position not much more enviable. Rothes relates that on the 2d of July the Covenanters were afraid he would sit as Lord Chancellor in the Court of Session, where their cases would be heard, and they resolved to serve him with a declinature, refusing to acknowledge him in his judicial capacity. They devised the same procedure against Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the Lord President, whom Burnet describes as "among the most accomplished of his nation, equally singular for his ability and integrity, but he was the Archbishop of St Andrews' son," and this was sufficient to constitute them his deadly enemies. His relative Sir John Hay, the Clerk Register, was also honoured with their vituperation, and they renewed their declinature against the three. But this was not the whole present extent of their hatred. On the 6th of July they resolved to prosecute Sir Robert Spottiswoode and Sir John Hay, first before the Marquis of Hamilton for alleged "faults committed in their places," and also criminally before the Lord Justice-General of the Justiciary Court for causing sedition between the King and his subjects. They concerted a bill, demanding a warrant from the Marquis to Sir Thomas Hope, authorizing him as Lord Advocate to concur with them in the prosecution. The Marquis advised them, as the matter was of great importance, and deeply concerned such high public functionaries, to wait till he returned. Before leaving Edinburgh the Marquis held a conference with the Covenanting leaders, and proposed four articles of agreement—1. That during his absence those ministers who were not Covenanters should not be molested. 2. That the people should not be forced to subscribe the Covenant. 3. That the stipends of the ministers should be paid. 4. That if his return

should be delayed longer than the 12th of August they would wait with patience, and not consider that he had broken faith. To the first they replied, that if any of the ministers should be deposed it would not be for refusing to subscribe the Covenant, but for other causes, according to the laws of the Kirk, as they would prove to the Marquis at his return. They declared—the contrary of which was notorious—that none were forced to subscribe the Covenant; but that those who did so were persuaded conscientiously, and the “matter was so holy that they held it irreligious to use wicked means for advancing so good a work.” As to the third, they alleged that those ministers whose stipends were refused were themselves blameable by “railing upon their people.” They agreed to the fourth, in the hope that the Marquis would be enabled to return on the 12th of August, and requesting him to manage affairs “to a quiet issue.”

During the absence of the Marquis, though no public commotion occurred, the Covenanters were not idle. They pretended that the Marquis had sanctioned, or at least approved, the Covenant in the form they had presented to him—a falsehood which had a powerful effect on the people in their itinerating journeys through the Lowland countries to procure additional subscriptions. But of all the districts of Scotland the northern counties were the most averse to the practices and principles of the Covenanters. The *Doctors of Aberdeen*, as the clergy of that city and the Professors in the two Colleges were designated, were loud in their denunciations of the Covenant. The Doctors of Aberdeen became “distinguished,” says Burnet, “from all the rest in Scotland, so that when the troubles in that Church broke out the Doctors there were the only persons that could maintain the cause of the Church, as appears by the papers which passed between them and the Covenanters; and though they began first to manage that argument in print, there has nothing appeared since more perfect than what they wrote.” A deputation of Covenanters was appointed to proceed thither, and convince the said Doctors of its “lawfulness.” This deputation consisted of Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, known in consequence as the *Three Apostles of the Covenant*, the Earl of Montrose, the Master of Forbes, and others, to obtain signatures. They arrived in Aberdeen about the end of July, and met with a very cool reception from the clergy, Professors, and the Magistrates, some of

whom violently opposed the Covenant on the ground that it was in every respect illegal. In New Aberdeen the Provost and Magistrates, who had previously decided by a majority in the Town-Council that the citizens should not be allowed to sign the Covenant, waited on them at their lodgings, and courteously offered to welcome them with a treat of wine which they had prepared, but they were told that the deputation would drink no wine with them till the Covenant was signed. Montrose spoke against the danger of “popish and prelatical innovations.” The Provost replied that they were Protestants and not Papists—that they were satisfied with the King’s Declarations—and that they would sanction nothing contrary to the King and the government. The Magistrates then abruptly left them, and distributed the wine among the poor. The Covenanting deputies received a paper, containing fourteen questions signed by the clergy of the town, who stated that if satisfactory answers were given they would subscribe the Covenant. A pamphleteering warfare commenced between the clergy and Professors on the one side, and the *Three Apostles of the Covenant*, in which the whole subject of the episcopate was ably maintained by the Doctors to be of Divine institution. On Sunday, the 23d of July, the three *Apostles* resolved to preach in the church of St Nicolas and enforce their doctrines upon the people; but they were prohibited by the incumbents, and were compelled to be content with a more humble station in the court of the Earl Marischal’s house in Castle Street, in which Lady Pitsligo, who favoured their cause, resided. Their discourses, however, had little influence on the people, and many of their hearers publicly ridiculed them. It is said that five hundred signatures were obtained, and a few signed the Covenant *conditionally*, especially Dr William Guild and another minister, under the limitation that they merely had scruples to the Perth Articles, but that they could not condemn episcopal government. The King was so well pleased with the conduct of the Magistrates, that he wrote a letter of thanks to them on the 31st of July, and one to the Professors on the 4th of August; and on the 9th of September he granted to the Corporation and community a new charter, ratifying in the most ample manner all their ancient rights, privileges, and immunities. This charter was confirmed by the Parliament in 1641.

The Marquis of Hamilton returned to Edinburgh on the 10th of August, and one of his first acts was to impeach the veracity of Henderson. That individual had twice declared in Aberdeen that the Marquis was satisfied with the loyal professions of the Covenanters—that he had sanctioned to a certain extent their Covenant—and that the Privy Council had issued or sanctioned certain proclamations connected with the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, and the High Commission. The Marquis most solemnly denied these statements, and appealed not only to Henderson himself, and his associates Dickson and Cant, but to every nobleman and gentleman with whom he had ever any public or private intercourse.

The King's instructions to the Marquis were to renew the Confession of Faith drawn up at the Reformation and ratified by Parliament in 1567—to induce the Privy Council to sign it—and to summon, if necessary, a General Assembly at any time after the 1st of November. He was to use every exertion that the Bishops should vote as usual in the Assembly—that the Moderator, if possible, should be one of the Bishops—that the Articles of Perth were to be held as matters indifferent—that he might, if he considered it necessary, approve the act of the Privy Council of the 5th July at Holyroodhouse recalling the Liturgy, Book of Canons, and the High Commission—that he was to protest against the abolition of the episcopal dignity—and allow as few restrictions or limitations to it as he possibly could. He was authorized to concede that the Bishops should be amenable to the General Assembly, which, however, was not to interfere with the precedence of the Bishops, that “being no point of religion, and totally in the Crown.” The Bishops who were accused of any particular offence, and also the Officers of State, were to have a free trial, and the Marquis was to exercise his own discretion in the case of those Bishops who were then out of the kingdom, while those in Scotland were to be advised not to attend the meetings of the Privy Council “till better and more favourable times for them.” With these general instructions the Marquis was authorized to see that internal peace was restored before he called the Assembly—that the moderators of the Presbyteries nominated by the Bishops were reinstated, and to be officially members of the Assembly, according to the act of 1606—that all the

incumbents expelled from their parishes were to be recalled, and preachers admitted without the license of the Bishops were to desist from exercising their functions—that all persons resorted to their parish churches—and that the Bishops and clergy who refused to sign the Covenant were not to be molested, and their stipends were to be regularly paid. Finally, if “need required,” the Marquis “might call a Parliament against April next.” A letter was also addressed by the King to the Privy Council, and a Declaration published, embodying the Confession of Faith of 1567, with a bond annexed, which was to be signed by the people, pledging themselves to “profess and maintain” that Confession as the “true faith of Christ established by the laws of the country,” and to defend the King’s person and authority, the laws and liberties of the country.

The Marquis found that the Covenanters had increased their demands during his absence. At a convention of the burghs it was resolved that no magistrate should be chosen who had not subscribed the Covenant; and it was determined that the Bishops were not to vote in the General Assembly unless chosen by the Presbyteries, which they knew well they could prevent. They had so far organized their plans that Episcopacy was to be declared unlawful—the Five Articles of Perth were to be denounced—the Bishops prohibited from voting in Parliament—and all persons compelled to sign the Covenant. They resolved to elect as their lay delegates individuals of the greatest local power and influence; and as at a meeting of one hundred and twenty ministers held at Edinburgh four-fifths were only for “limiting Episcopacy,” none of those persons were to be eligible as members.

The Marquis, under these circumstances, declined to call a General Assembly until he received more definite instructions from the King. After various interviews, explanations, and statements, he found himself much in the same position in which he was before he went to London. By the recommendation of Rothes and Argyll, the Covenanters consented to delay their resolution to call a General Assembly on their own authority till the 20th of September, on the condition that it should be speedily summoned after that date, and that none of their letters should be intercepted in England. The Marquis was again compelled to return to Court, and report the more violent aspect of affairs.

He commenced his second journey on the 25th of August, and on that night he remained at Broxmouth, the seat of the Earl of Roxburgh, a short distance beyond Dunbar. There he found the Earls of Roxburgh, Traquair, and Southesk, and they all wrote and signed articles of advice to the King, to be presented by the Marquis. The usual complaints of the Covenanters were stated in this document against the Liturgy, Canons, High Commission Court, and the Articles of Perth. They declared that all those “evils” had stirred up the Covenant, and they earnestly recommend to the King to propose such a Confession of Faith, with a covenant or bond annexed, as that signed by his father King James in 1580, which they thought would satisfy the people. The Marquis laid this representation before the King, who evinced the most resolute dislike to that Confession, the signing of which his father had always regretted. He considered the “proposed remedy as bad, if not worse than the disease,” and the Marquis admitted the fact, but he declared there was no other remedy, for the Covenant was now the “idol of Scotland.” The King consented to a General Assembly, notwithstanding the opposition of Bishop Maxwell of Ross, who had arrived on a mission from the Bishops.

The Marquis received his new instructions on the 10th of September. They consisted of eighteen articles, revoking the Liturgy, the Canons, the High Commission Court, and the Perth Articles ; authorizing the Confession of Faith of 1580, with the bond thereto annexed—declaring also, that the censures of the Parliament and the General Assembly shall be inflicted on all subjects in a legal manner—and that the “episcopal government already established shall be limited” to “stand with the recognized laws of this Church and kingdom.” The Marquis was empowered to summon a General Assembly in any other town than Edinburgh at his discretion, and a public fast was to be observed before the meeting. He received almost similar instructions with regard to the Parliament. But though the Marquis was to summon a General Assembly in any town he pleased except Edinburgh, the King himself suggested Glasgow in a written paper. Burnet states that “as the city was large and convenient, so the Magistracy there was right set : besides, it was next to the place of the Marquis’ interest [the town of Hamilton, the family seat of the Dukes of Hamilton], whereby his power of overruling them might have been greatest.” The extent and

importance of Glasgow at that time are greatly exaggerated. Dr Cleland shows that the population scarcely amounted to 10,000, and the people enjoyed the unenviable character of being “ malignant, superstitious, ignorant, and profane.”

The Marquis, on his journey to Scotland, met several of the Scottish Bishops at Ferrybridge in Yorkshire, five miles from Pontefract, long one of the great thoroughfares between Scotland and the North of England. He informed them of his instructions, and that the King would maintain Episcopacy, but that the Bishops were to be limited in their diocesan authority. The Bishops loudly complained of those concessions, as most fatal to the Church, and as in reality resigning them to the Covenanters. They nevertheless resolved to attend the General Assembly, and sent one of their number to the King. At this interview Archbishop Spottiswoode was offered £2500 as a compensation to resign the Chancellorship, which he signified his willingness to accept. The Marquis returned to Scotland on the 15th of September, the day before the one appointed to be held as a public fast by the Covenanters, and on the 17th he removed to Holyroodhouse. He informed their leaders at a special interview that the King had granted all their demands, but he refused to enter into any details except through the Privy Council. It was alleged that the Assembly was to be held at Aberdeen in the spring of 1639, and Burnet states that this was the suggestion of Archbishop Spottiswoode. Though this rumour was altogether unfounded, it annoyed the Covenanters. Aberdeen was too distant for many of them at the season of the year; and the Professors in King’s and Marischal Colleges, and the clergy, had already defeated them in argument. The town was considered the very stronghold of the Episcopal Church; and the surrounding district was the property of powerful noblemen and gentlemen opposed to the Covenant, who could summon thousands of armed retainers to overawe the meeting.

As soon as the Privy Council met, the Marquis of Hamilton produced the Confession of Faith of 1580, and urged its renewal in opposition to the Covenant, both by his own recommendation and by a letter from the King. He induced the Earls of Rothes, Argyll [then Lord Lorn], and Wigton, and the Lord Advocate Hope, to sign it, on the written condition that they did so according to its meaning when first sworn. The Marquis and about

thirty of the Privy Council signed it on the 22d September, after a wordy discussion of two days, and all subjects were ordered to adhibit their signatures to it, and to the annexed bond of 1589. The Privy Council authorized two public proclamations, the one calling by royal authority a General Assembly to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of November; and the other a Parliament to be held at Edinburgh on the 15th of May 1639, to deliberate on measures for the “glory of God, and the peace of the Kirk and commonwealth.” The Archbishops and Bishops were summoned to attend both the General Assembly and the Parliament, and the fourteenth day before the meeting of the former was to be observed as a fast.

Considerable divisions and jealousies existed between the Covenanting Nobility and the preachers about the appointment of the persons designated in Presbyterian phraseology “ruling elders,” but these were for a time forgotten when the proclamation appeared enjoining subscription to the Confession of 1580 and 1581. As this rival Covenant, which was accompanied by the unequivocal revocation of the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commission, tended much to benefit the royal cause by representing the King’s proceedings in the most favourable light, the Covenanters became alarmed that it would completely overthrow their party, and that the King’s sincerity would revive the loyalty of all peaceable and well disposed subjects. They accordingly met the royal proclamation by a long protest, in which they elaborately detailed their sentiments. The burden of the whole argument was to shew that they preferred their own Covenant to the Confession of 1580. Their seditious designs were now the more apparent, for that Confession formed *verbatim* a part of their Covenant, and the only difference was the bond of 1589 attached to it, which was levelled against the Roman Catholics. Delegates were accordingly sent to every Presbytery, advising the preachers to warn their hearers not to sign the Covenant authorized by the King, and a copy of their protest was transmitted to every town in which the proclamation was made. It consequently in many towns and districts met with decided opposition. On the other hand letters were circulated throughout the kingdom to procure signatures to the King’s Covenant. At Glasgow the activity of the Justice-Clerk Hamilton and the eloquence of Dr Balcanual induced numbers

to sign, but Baillie, and other ministers acting with the Town-Council, caused the subscription to be delayed till after the meeting of the Assembly. In the northern counties upwards of 28,000 persons subscribed the King's Covenant, of whom 12,000 were procured by the Marquis of Huntly in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. The Bishop and the Doctors of Aberdeen readily signed it, adding several explanations—distinctly stating that by so doing they were not to be considered as abjuring “episcopal government as it was in the days and after the days of the Apostles in the Christian Church for many hundreds of years, and is now, conform thereto, restored in the Kirk of Scotland”—that they were not to be understood as abjuring the Perth Articles—that they did not presume by their personal oath either to prejudge the liberty of the Church of Scotland, or to change, reform, and correct the ambiguities and obscure expressions of the Confession—and that their present signatures were not to be held as binding their descendants.

In accordance with their designs and principles the Covenanters usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the “Brethren” of the “Exercise” or Presbytery of Edinburgh summoned Mr David Mitchell to appear before them, and be censured “for certain points of erroneous doctrine delivered by him from the pulpit,” with intimation that they would either suspend or depose him if found guilty. This induced Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh to write a letter to the said “Brethren,” dated Holyroodhouse, 9th October, reminding them of the Act of the Glasgow Assembly of 1610, and of the Act of Parliament of 1612, restricting that power “as an inviolable law in all time coming” to the Bishop of the Diocese, who was “to associate to himself the ministry of the bounds wherever the delinquent serveth, to take trial of the fact, and upon just cause found,” either to suspend or deprive. Bishop Lindsay strictly prohibited them to proceed against Mr Mitchell until he himself acted with them, or “to continue the process, and all other of this kind,” till the meeting of the General Assembly. About this time Rothes and other Covenanters petitioned the Marquis of Hamilton for a warrant to cite the Bishops before the Assembly at Glasgow, but this was refused on the ground that “the law was open for citing all such as were either within or without the country—that it was beyond all precedent for him

[the Marquis] to grant such warrants—and that it was enough for them that he did not protect the Bishop against trial." Foiled in that quarter, they applied to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who had the presumption to grant the warrant to summon the Bishops. In this document, which was read in Trinity College church in Edinburgh after the administration of the Communion, and in all the other parish churches, the Bishops were actually cited as guilty of every atrocious crime.

The Marquis was urged by the Bishops and others to prorogue the meeting of the Assembly, but though this would have been a fair retaliation on the Covenanters it was considered inexpedient. Indeed, as matters had proceeded to such a length, and as the event proved, they would have disregarded the prorogation and held their Assembly in defiance. The great object now was the approaching meeting. The Covenanters were indefatigable in procuring the election of lay elders from the small burghs—men who were the mere creatures of the leaders, and on whom the latter could depend. They also attended at the election of the commissioners chosen for the approaching Parliament at Michaelmas, and by their violence so terrified the loyal and peaceable that they also managed to pack that Parliament. The Marquis of Hamilton was deeply grieved at the result of the elections, and dreaded the almost inevitable consequences. He saw that few or none were chosen except those who were Covenanters, and who were noted for their violent sentiments. In a letter from Dr Balcanqual to Archbishop Laud, dated Holyroodhouse, and supposed to have been written in October, he asks—"One thing I desire your Grace to advise in—whether I shall not cause to be printed their general and public instructions to the several presbyteries for the election of their commissioners, as also their private ones, which they think are not known, that so the rest of the hoodwinked Covenanters may see how much they have been abused? or shall we reserve that private paper to upbraid them with it in their teeth at the opening of the Assembly? I send your Grace likewise their new instructions, sent throughout the kingdom, by which your Grace may easily see what tumultuous and violent proceedings they [intend] to use, not without force if they see cause.*

* Original from Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. No. 33, printed in Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. p. 477.

The Marquis of Hamilton was most anxious that the Aberdeen Doctors should attend the Assembly, and he wrote to them offering to send one of his coaches for their conveyance. They originally intended to be present, as appears in a letter from Mr William Wilkie, minister of Govan near Glasgow, dated 6th November, to Dr Balcanqual :—“ I received your letter, with the Doctors of Aberdeen their reply, for which I humbly thank you. All here are heartily glad of their intention to be at this Assembly ; and you may be sure they will not want lodgment, although my Lord Commissioner’s Grace had not taken such particular care to have them provided. We could cause some of our students quit their chambers, and confine themselves in less bounds, ere they lacked.” Yet when the time approached, the state of the weather, and their forbodings of the fall of the Church and the rebellion which was to ensue, prevented their appearance. “ That road, being always bad for a coach,” says Burnet, “ was impassable in winter, and the Doctors were so extremely averse from coming, that he could not importune them any farther, since he said it was resolved, though an angel from heaven should come to plead for Episcopacy, all would be rejected.”

The Marquis exerted himself to procure subscriptions to the King’s Confession in that part of Lanarkshire with which he was more particularly connected, and though his tenants and others at first refused, he succeeded in overcoming the scruples of many. Numbers in all parts of the country readily offered to sign, but the agents of the Covenanters prevented them by circulating reports that the King was insincere in his promises, and never intended to fulfil his offers ; and that it was deliberate perjury for those who had taken *their* Covenant to sign the King’s. Burnet truly observes—“ The sins of Scotland being so great that they were to be punished with a track of bloody civil wars, God in his holy and wise judgments permitted the poor people to be so blind in their obedience to their leaders, that these arts took universally with them, to which may be justly imputed all the mischiefs that kingdom hath smarted under ever since.” The King wrote repeatedly on the manner in which affairs were conducted in Scotland, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the proceedings both of the Marquis and the Privy Council, complaining particularly of the protest of the Covenanters to his Confession. “ I see by yours of the

27th of September," said the King to the Marquis, "that the malignity of the Covenanters is greater than ever; so that if you who are my true servants do not use extraordinary care and industry, my affairs in that kingdom are likely rather to grow worse than better. In my mind the last protestation deserves [punishment] more than any thing they have yet done, for if raising of sedition be treason this can be judged no less.—And this I will say confidently, that until at least the adherers to this last protestation be declared traitors, nothing will go as it ought in that kingdom. I say this not to alter your course, but only to shew you my opinion of the state of affairs. As for the danger that episcopal government is in, I do not hold it so much as you do, for I believe that the number of those who are against Episcopacy, who are not in their hearts against monarchy, is not so considerable as you take it. And for this General Assembly, though I can expect no good from it, yet I hope you may hinder much of the ill; first, by putting divisions among them concerning the legality of their elections; then by protestations against their tumultuous proceedings; and I think it were not amiss if you could get their freedom defined before the meeting, so that it were not done too much in their favours." On the 29th of October the King again wrote—"As for the opinions of the clergy to prorogue this Assembly I utterly dislike them, for I should more hurt my reputation by not keeping it than their mad acts can prejudice my service; wherefore I command you, hold your day; but as you write, if you can break them by proving nullities in their proceedings, nothing better." This explains a statement of Bishop Burnet respecting the Assembly, that the Covenanters "carried the elections as they pleased, for there being an elder out of every parish, they equalled the ministers in number, but exceeded them when the election was voted; all the ministers who were on the list, and were ordinarily six or seven, being removed, yet in many presbyteries protestations were used against them by some ministers. The Marquis seeing how things were carried, and having informations from all places of the unlucky elections, began to draw up the nullities of the Assembly, sending the particulars to the King as he had them; advising him withal to go on more frankly with his preparations, since he saw it impossible to prevent a rupture."

On the 1st of November, when the Court of Session sat at Edinburgh, nine of the then fifteen Judges signed the King's Confession, two were absent, and four refused, but those Judges who subscribed were exposed to insult on the streets. Burnet states that about this time the Marquis gave Archbishop Spottiswoode security for the L.2500 as a compensation for the office of Chancellor, yet it is expressly stated of the Primate that he continued Lord Chancellor till his "dying day." As the Scottish Exchequer was entirely exhausted the Marquis became bound for that sum. It appears that he requested L.10,000 sterling from the King for distribution among the Bishops and those of the clergy who were "ruined for their duty to the King." This sum was not remitted, and the Marquis continued to supply their necessities from his own resources.

The infamous libels prepared against the Bishops in this General Assembly are subsequently noticed. A letter from Mr William Wilkie of Govan to Dr Balcanqual, dated 29th of October, contains a curious account of the manner in which the libel against Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow was concocted. The Earl of Loudon and Lord Boyd attended the Presbytery of Glasgow to accuse the Archbishop of every possible crime in the catalogue of human depravity. This libel was read publicly in the Cathedral before the sermon by a "writer boy," who pronounced the word *colleagues*, referring to the other Bishops, as *colleges*. The congregation were astonished, says Mr Wilkie, that the Archbishop and his *College*, presuming that *Glasgow College* was intended, should be "accused of incest, adultery, drunkenness, &c. for they believed that both the Bishop and we were free of these. Also they believed that Bishops only should have been removed by this reformation, but for the Colleges they marvelled why they would remove these."—"My heart," adds this honest Presbyterian, "was truly sorry to see such spiteful and insulting carriage."

CHAPTER XV.

THE GLASGOW GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE Marquis of Hamilton attended a meeting of the Privy Council on the 16th of November, and stated explicitly that in the affairs of the Church the King's "positive pleasure was, that Episcopacy might be limited, but not abolished." The Privy Council were commanded to follow him to Glasgow, and he intimated to Sir Thomas Hope that, as Lord Advocate, it was expected he would defend the Episcopal Establishment as the Church of the kingdom; but that individual answered that this would be against his conscience, because he considered episcopal government to be unlawful, and opposed to the Scriptures. This extraordinary declaration—contrary to historical fact, for the Episcopal Church had been ratified by several Parliaments deliberately and solemnly—irritated the Marquis, who threatened to deprive him of his office. But the Marquis was met by the cool retort from the Lord Advocate, that his right to his office depended not on the King, having been confirmed by Parliament. The Marquis prohibited his attendance at Glasgow, and Sir Thomas Hope prudently obeyed.

On the 17th of November the Marquis proceeded to Glasgow, leaving Bishops Maxwell of Ross and Whiteford of Brechin at Hamilton until he could convey them safely to the archiepiscopal castle of Glasgow. On the 20th he received a letter from those Bishops, enclosing one from Archbishop Spottiswoode. The nature of this letter will be inferred from the following passage in it:—"But above all, we two, for ourselves, and in name of our brethren, do with most thankful hearts acknowledge your Grace's most pious care of the liberties of this poor and distracted Church, and espe-

cially the solicitude and care your Grace hath that *our Protestation be orderly done, secretly kept, and seasonably presented*, before either the cause, or we that are Bishops, suffer wrong. The difficulties are great, the hopes none, but too pregnant fears to the contrary ; yet it is more like to be God's cause, that his work may appear, and it may be called *digitus Dei*, and marvellous in our eyes. Man's extremity is God's opportunity."

An immense concourse of people resorted to Glasgow on this occasion, drawn together by the Covenanting Nobility, gentry, and preachers, in consequence of a rumour that the Marquis, the Privy Council, and those opposed to the Covenant, intended by the numbers of their followers to occupy all the accommodations for strangers. Baillie says—"The town did expect and provide for large multitudes of people, and put on their houses and beds excessive prices ; but the diligence of the Magistrates, and the vacancy of many rooms, did quickly moderate that excess." Meetings were held by the Covenanters to organize their proceedings, fasts were observed, and inflammatory sermons preached. Baillie, who was now one of the most active and influential of them, states that a Mr Alexander Sommerville, minister of Dolphington, an "old half-blind man, sore against his will" was induced to preach one of those preliminary sermons on the day before the meeting of the Assembly—"He did pretty well ; at length he insisted on the extirpation of Bishops, little to the contentment of some, but greatly to the mind of most." The election of the Moderator was discussed in a secret conclave, and after carefully discussing the merits of Dickson, Ramsay, Cant, Livingstone, and other such amiable worthies, with all of whom, according to Baillie, "there were some thing evidently wanting," Henderson was unanimously selected, as "incomparably the ablest man among us," says Baillie, "for all things." The only objection to him was one of expediency. They fully expected "much dispute with the Bishops and Aberdeen Doctors," of the latter of whom they were in great dread, and Baillie observes—"We thought our loss great, and hazardous to tyne [want] our chief champion, by making him a judge of the party."

After the arrival of the Marquis of Hamilton the Earl of Rothes and some of the delegates waited on him, to intimate that it was their custom to commence their General Assemblies with

solemn fasting. The Earl also told the Marquis that it was the practice of the senior minister of the town or district, or the moderator of the Presbytery, to preach and open the Assembly in the absence of the Moderator of the former Assembly, who in this case happened to be Archbishop Spottiswoode; and that they had selected "old Mr John Bell," one of the ministers of Glasgow, to perform that duty until the new Moderator was chosen. The Marquis agreed to both proposals, and sent Dr Balcanqual to "old Mr John Bell" to express his approval of him. But although the Covenanting preachers were zealous in delivering sermons throughout Glasgow, Mr John Maxwell refused to admit any one of them into the pulpit of the cathedral during the time the Marquis acted as Lord High Commissioner, and "preached after his fashion," says Baillie, "nothing to the matter in hand, so ambiguously, that himself knew best to what side he inclined."

The Bishops of Ross, Brechin, and Galloway, repaired from Hamilton to the archiepiscopal castle of Glasgow, and the Covenanters expected their appearance in the Assembly; but in this they were disappointed, for those Prelates were persuaded not to appear, and soon returned to Hamilton Palace at the request of the Marquis. On Wednesday the 21st the Assembly met in the cathedral church. According to an accurate analysis the Assembly comprised 140 preachers, two Professors not preachers, and 98 *ruling elders*; in all 240 persons. Of those *ruling* or *lay elders* seventeen were noblemen of high rank, nine were knights, twenty-five were landed proprietors, or lesser barons of such station as entitled them to sit in Parliament; and forty-seven were burgesses, generally the magistrates or bailies of the respective towns.* A number of persons also attended who had no right to vote, but who pretended to be ready to give their advice. A throne was provided for the Marquis as Lord High Commissioner, and on each side were seats for the Privy Council and Officers of State. At a long table on the floor were the Covenanting Nobility and gentry who acted as "elders from parishes" and "commissioners from presbyteries." Round this long table, rising gradually above each other, were rows of seats for the preaching "commissioners" from the most of the

* Speech of Principal Lee at the "Commemoration of the Second Centenary" of this Assembly in December 1838 at Glasgow; and Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 109, 110, 111.

sixty-three Presbyteries into which the kingdom was then divided, and on these also sat the delegates from the Universities. In the centre, fronting the chair of state, was a small table for the accommodation of the Moderator and clerk. At the end a gallery was constructed for the young Nobility, and “huge numbers of people,” says Baillie, “ladies and some gentlemen in the vaults above.” Yet it is a curious characteristic of this motley conclave that, as Burnet truly observes, “some commissioners there were who could *neither read nor write*, and yet these were to judge of heresy and condemn Arminian points! All depended on a few that were learned and grave, who gave law to the rest.”*

The proceedings commenced with a sermon by “old Mr John Bell,” the acting Moderator, which Baillie describes as “very good and pertinent, sharp enough against our late novations and Episcopacy,” but the preacher, on account of his age, was not heard by a sixth part of the audience. After his sermon he constituted the Assembly by a prayer. They adjourned till the afternoon, when they proposed to elect their Moderator. The Marquis of Hamilton intimated that some things were necessary

* Burnet’s statement, however, was denied by Principal Lee of Edinburgh in his speech at the Second Centenary Commemoration of this Assembly at Glasgow in December 1838. “It has indeed been alleged,” said Principal Lee, “that a large proportion the elders consisted of illiterate men. I have seen it asserted in several books of late, even in some written by Presbyterians, that many of those in that Assembly who judged of the gravest questions concerning theological learning and soundness in the faith could neither read nor write. There is no authority for this insinuation except the random assertion of Bishop Burnet—supposed sometimes to have been a contemporary, though he was not born for five years afterwards.” After disputing Burnet’s “ignorant and erroneous statement” that ruling elders never came to the Assemblies till 1638, Principal Lee discovers—“If the elders were unable to read or write, so much the less credit is due to the system of education which had prevailed nearly forty years before 1638 under auspices not Presbyterian.” This is of little moment, and rather reflects on the conduct of the Covenanting preachers who intruded into the parishes. The Acts of the Scottish Parliaments amply prove that the prevailing ignorance was not the fault of the Bishops, but was caused by the fanaticism of the age. Yet Principal Lee, who is a high reputed authority, was valiant in the defence of his Covenanting friends.—“There was not a peasant, as has been insinuated,” he said, “or even a farmer or yeoman, in the number.” They were all, in short, profoundly learned scholars, and this *notable Presbyterian pluralist* adds—“From what I know of the personal history of many of these men, and from documents which I have seen and now possess, I could undertake to prove that not one was illiterate.” He refers to “most of the original commissions,” which he had obtained twenty years previous, and asserts that “the signatures are for the most part in a superior style of penmanship.” Be it so. This only makes their rebellious conduct the more inexcusable.

to be done before that business, and that his commission must be first read to show whom he represented. This document was in Latin, and was handed to Mr Thomas Sandilands from Aberdeen, whom the Marquis had appointed clerk. After this was read and recorded an anxiety was again manifested about the Moderatorship, but the Marquis insisted that the King's letter, dated 29th October, should be read. He then addressed the Assembly in a speech, regretting that his "education and profession" precluded him from making long harangues, and maintaining that the King was sincere in all his professions. He vindicated the King from all the "sinistrous aspersions," and "foul and devilish surmises," circulated against him. At the conclusion of his address he presented a paper containing the King's offers, with which the reader is familiar. The calling of the roll of the presbyteries, burghs, and universities, appears to have terminated the principal business of the preliminary meeting.

During the afternoon the Marquis sent a gentleman to the Bishops of Ross and Brechin, who were with the Archbishop of Glasgow, to consult them as to the manner in which he ought to proceed in the Assembly. He desired the advice of the Bishops on three points—the first, whether the King's letter should be produced before the election of the Moderator; the second concerned the valid election of the delegates; and the third referred to the proper time for presenting the intended Declinature of the Bishops. The Bishop of Ross in reply stated his opinion, that the King's letter to the Archbishops, Bishops, and others mentioned, should be presented and read by the clerk before the election of the Moderator. Bishop Maxwell maintained on the second point that both the "commissions and commissioners" are "most illegal, and there is more than sufficient ground from this one, if there were no more, to void this Assembly and make it null;" but he feared that if this were done the Covenanters would renew their accusation against them that the King was "only deluding them for other ends." As to the third, concerning the Declinature of the Bishops—"My Lords of Glasgow and Brechin," said Bishop Maxwell, "are fully of the mind, that at the very first it is to be read before the Assembly is established, and these reasons seem very pregnant; first, because all declinatures are so used; next, if the Assembly be once established how can it be declined, or your Grace admit our Declinature or Protestation?"

The discussions were numerous in the Assembly on all the preliminaries and points of forms; debates succeeded protestations, objections were moved, sustained, or disregarded; and the Assembly, as described by the Presbyterian writers themselves, was the very personification of confusion. Much occurred to irritate the Marquis, who was often treated with comparatively little ceremony, and some allusions to the King were most uncourteous. At length the list of names from which the Moderator was to be chosen was presented, and Alexander Henderson was unanimously elected. He took the chair, and commenced an address concluding with a long extemporary prayer. The Marquis proposed that Sandilands of Aberdeen, whose loyal principles he well knew, and who had ably discharged the duties of clerk to the General Assembly in 1616, should be continued clerk, but this was opposed by Henderson on the pretence that he was old and inefficient, and Johnston of Warriston was elected with only one dissenting voice, the Covenanters binding themselves to recompence Sandilands in another way.

Henderson now required that all who were in possession of any of the acts of the former General Assemblies should produce them, and Johnston of Warriston presented five folio manuscript volumes. The first and second volumes contained all the acts of the General Assemblies from 1560 to 1572, duly signed by the clerk; the third included those from 1572 to 1579, five leaves of which were torn out; the fourth comprised those from 1586 to 1589; and the fifth, which Henderson stated was the private property of Mr James Carmichael, minister at Haddington, contained all the acts from 1560 to 1590, margined by the then clerk. Those books after careful examination were declared to be authentic registers. Sandilands also exhibited some acts from 1590 to the Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1616, with several minutes of that meeting on a separate paper; also the minutes of the Assembly held at St Andrews in 1617, and the acts of the Assembly at Perth in 1618 subscribed by his father, which he had received from Archbishop Spottiswoode. But the five volumes presented by Johnston were considered the most important. Three of the above volumes were subsequently bequeathed by Bishop Archibald Campbell to Sion College. The first extended from 1560 to 1589, the second from 1590 to 1597, and the third from 1597 to 1616. It is already mentioned

that they were burnt in the great fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in 1834.

Various tedious and paltry preliminaries having been adjusted, the Marquis of Hamilton insisted that the Declinature of the Bishops should be read, but after some discussion this was delayed. The Marquis protested, and in reply to the Earl of Traquair it was contended by Lord Loudon that the Assembly must first be acknowledged as qualified judges before they could receive the Declinature of the Bishops. This extraordinary claim induced even the Covenanting Earl of Argyll to allege that as exceptions against any jury were always lodged before that jury was sworn, in like manner, if the Bishops had any thing against that Assembly, it was time to urge those exceptions. Henderson in a furious passion told Argyll that the Marquis of Hamilton could speak for himself, and that the Assembly were not to be thwarted by the witty remarks of noblemen who had no right to interfere. Argyll, who was not a member, was enraged at this rebuke, and it would probably have led to a "scene," if it had not been stopped by an observation of Loudon, that Argyll's argument was good if the Bishops had appeared before the Assembly as defenders before the jury.

The "Declinature and Protestation of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, and others their adherents within that kingdom, against the pretended General Assembly holden at Glasgow, November 21, 1638," is a long document preserved by Rushworth and other collectors. It is such a complete exposure of the seditious, rebellious, and partial conduct and wild principles of the Covenanters, that their opposition to it is no matter of surprise. The whole memorial is a masterly, comprehensive, and summary historical reply to the pretensions and assumptions of the Presbyterians. While the Bishops acknowledged the advantages to be derived from a "General Assembly lawfully called, and duly and orderly convened by royal authority," for adjusting the affairs of the Church, they declared that they could not recognize the legality of the Glasgow Assembly on account of the preposterous, partial, and notorious proceedings of the "so called *Tables*," who ordered the Presbyteries to elect their delegates or representatives before the King's warrant authorizing the meeting was proclaimed, and this was in opposition to the act of Parliament 1572. The Bishops maintained that as most of

those “ministers” convened at Glasgow had not “assented to and subscribed the articles of religion ratified by acts of Parliament in presence of the Archbishop, Superintendent, or Commissioner of the Province,” acknowledging the King’s authority, and had otherwise disqualified themselves according to law, they were precluded from exercising any function in the Church. It was farther contended that the Covenanters had vitiated their meeting by “impugning the dignity and authority of the Bishops as one of the three Estates of Parliament,” denying them the right to vote, in opposition to the ratification of various General Assemblies, and affirming that the Archbishops and Bishops had “no warrant for their office in the Kirk.” They held that the meeting was also illegal, because the constant moderators appointed by the Bishops to preside in the Synods, according to the decision of the General Assembly in 1610, and the act of Parliament in 1612, had been deposed, and others elected in their place. Moreover, that their lay elders, chosen out of every kirk-session and parish, were functionaries unknown in the Church, and that the “ministers” in that Assembly were chosen by laymen, contrary to all order, decency, and custom observed in the Christian world, in no way according to the custom of that Church which they pretended to follow—the Presbyteries never associating to themselves lay elders in the elections to the General Assembly, but “only for their assistance in discipline and correction of manners, calling for them [only] at such times and occasions as they stood in need of their godly concurrence, declaring otherwise their meeting not necessary:—nor have lay elders sat ordinarily in Presbyteries upon any occasion these forty years and upwards, and never had any place or voice in the election of ministers for the General Assembly.”

The Bishops farther maintained that the “persons ecclesiastical pretended to be authorised to this General Assembly have so behaved themselves, that justly they may be thought unworthy and incapable of commission to a free and lawful General Assembly.” Two reasons are assigned for this statement. The one was their habitual “railing and seditious sermons and pamphlets” against the King; and the other that they were known to be “either schismatically refractory, opposed to good order settled in the Church and State,” who, though they have sworn obedience to the Bishops, their Ordinaries, have never observed their oath, or have deliberately

violated it, “to the contempt of authority and disturbance of the Church ;” or such as are “under the censures of this Church” for “divers transgressions deserving deprivation.—1. For uttering in their sermons rash and irreverent speeches in the pulpit against his Majesty’s Council and their proceedings, punishable by deprivation, by the Act of Assembly at Edinburgh, May 22, 1590. 2. For reproving his Majesty’s laws, statutes, and ordinances, contrary to the Act of the Assembly at Perth, May 1, 1596. 3. For expressing men’s names in pulpits, or describing them vividly to their reproach where there is no notorious fault, against another Act of the same Assembly. 4. For using applications in their sermons not tending to the edification of their auditory, contrary to another Act of the same Assembly. 5. For keeping conventions not allowed by his Majesty, without his knowledge and consent, contrary to another Act of the same Assembly. 6. For receiving of people of other ministers’ flocks to the Communion, contrary to order, Acts of Assemblies, and Councils. 7. For intruding into other men’s pulpits without calling and authority. 8. For usurping the authority to convene their brethren, and proceeding against them to the censures of suspension and deprivation. 9. For pressing the people to subscribe a Covenant not allowed by authority, and opposing and withholding the subscribing of a Covenant offered by his Majesty, and allowed by the [Privy] Council ; besides many personal faults and enormities, whereof many of them are guilty, which in charity they [the Bishops] forbear to express.” The Bishops farther protested that by “reason, Scripture, or practice of the Christian Church,” no laymen “should be authorized to have voice in a General Assembly except delegates by sovereign authority,” for which they refer to several of the ancient Councils. They conclude by stating that as the majority, if not all the persons then convened at Glasgow, “have precondemned episcopal government,” and resolved to maintain their Covenant, as “doth appear by their Covenant, petitions, protestations, pamphlets, libels, and sermons,” they cannot judge honestly or impartially on “persons and points which beforehand they have so unjustly condemned.” They finally appeal to the “consciences of all honest men,” whether it is reasonable and lawful for the “same persons to be both judges and parties”—declaring that those persons are avowed parties “against the Bishops, whom they have not only declined but

persecuted by their calumnies and reproaches, vented by word and writ, in public and in private, by invading their persons, and opposing and oppressing them by strength of an unlawful combination."

This Declinature was presented by Dr Robert Hamilton, minister of Glassford, and after it was read in the Assembly the Covenanters entered a declaration that the Bishops had acknowledged their citation, and that as they had appeared by Dr Hamilton, their alleged procurator, their absence was wilful. Dr Hamilton was then cited as procurator for the Bishops. A committee was appointed to examine the Declinature, and two answers, subsequently compressed into one, were concocted. A long discussion ensued in which the Marquis and Dr Balcanqual on the one side, and Henderson and a preacher named Dalgleish on the other, took part. Henderson, as Moderator, at length asked the Marquis of Hamilton whether the question should be put—that the Assembly were to find themselves competent judges of the Bishops? The Marquis requested that it might be deferred. Henderson replied that this was impossible, for the Declinature was under consideration. This appears to have occurred on the morning of the 28th of November. After the Marquis had intimated to a number of the leaders, in the chapter-house of the cathedral, that he would be compelled to dissolve the Assembly by royal authority and leave them, if they sat in judgment on the Bishops, which he announced to Henderson in the Assembly, Rothes and others defended their conduct in constituting the *Tables*, admitting lay elders, and their mode of electing the members. The Marquis denied that the Assembly was free, for it consisted of an undue proportion of lay elders, some of whom were not even inhabitants of the parishes they pretended to represent within the bounds of the Presbytery, while others had been constituted elders for party purposes after the Assembly had been summoned. He advised them to dissolve of their own accord, and rectify those errors in a new election, promising that the King would sanction another Assembly. Rothes had the effrontery to impute their disagreeable position to the Bishops, and the ferocious Loudon alleged that if the Bishops declined the judgment of the Assembly, the only judgment-seat for them was the King of heaven's. The Marquis replied, with tears in his eyes—"I stand to the King's prerogative as supreme judge over all causes civil and ecclesiastical. To him

the Lords of the clergy have appealed, and therefore I will not suffer their cause to be farther reasoned here."

The concluding addresses of the Marquis are inserted at length by Bishop Burnet in his "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton." He cited most of the arguments in the Declinature of the Bishops, complained of the illegal preponderance of the lay elders and their office, "it being unknown," he said, "to the Scripture or Church of Christ for above fifteen hundred years. Let the world," continues the Marquis, "judge whether those laymen be fit to give votes in inflicting the censures of the Church, especially that great and highest censure of excommunication, none having power to cast out of the Church by that censure except those who have power to admit into the Church by baptism.—And [let the world also know] whether all the lay elders present at this Assembly be fit to judge of the high and deep mysteries of predestination, the universality of redemption, the sufficiency of grace given or not given to all men, the resistibility of grace, total and final perseverance, or apostacy of the saints, the antilapsarian or postlapsarian opinion of election and reprobation, all which they mean to ventilate if they determine against the Arminians, as they give out they will." The Marquis then described many of the preachers and their principles. He said that "choice was made of some who are under the censure of the Church, of some who are deprived by the Church, of some who have been banished and put out of the University of Glasgow for teaching their scholars that monarchies were unlawful, some banished out of the kingdom for their seditious sermons and behaviour, and some for the like offences banished out of another of his Majesty's dominions—Ireland; some lying under the fearful sentence of excommunication, some having no ordination or imposition of hands, some admitted to the ministry contrary to the standing laws of this Church and kingdom; all of them chosen by lay elders. What a scandal were it to the Reformed Churches to allow this to be a lawful Assembly, consisting of such members, and so unlawfully chosen! Of this Assembly divers are under a writ of outlawry, and by the laws of this kingdom are incapable of sitting as judges in any judicatory.—Ye have cited the reverend Prelates of this land to appear before you in a way unheard of not only in this kingdom, but in the whole Christian world, their citations being read in the pulpits, which is not usual

in this Church ; nay, and many of them were read in the pulpits after they had been delivered into the Bishops' own hands. How can his Majesty deny unto them, being his subjects, the benefit of his laws, in declining all those to be their judges who by their Covenant do uphold the principal thing in question, to-wit, Episcopacy to be abjured, as many of you do ; or any of you to be their judges, who adhere to your last protestation, wherein you declare that it is an office not known in this kingdom, although at this present it stands established both by Acts of Parliament and Acts of General Assemblies ? Who ever heard of such judges as have sworn themselves parties ?" The Marquis concluded by again recommending them to "dissolve," and "amend all these errors in a new election," assuring them that he would exert his influence with the King to summon another Assembly.

Henderson, as Moderator, replied in a long speech, in which, to the astonishment of many of the zealous Covenanters, he "magnified," says Burnet, "the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical, calling him the *universal Bishop of the Churches in his dominions*, with other such like expressions." He defended their proceedings against the Bishops, and several of the Covenanting Nobility maintained the legality and freedom of the Assembly. The Marquis stated his opinion on what had been advanced, and after ordering some papers to be read, which were disowned by the Assembly as merely the "private opinions of some," he told them that for many months the *Tables* had been obeyed by all in preference to the King, but that he would now try their declarations of loyalty. He stated that "one of the chief reasons which moved him to dissolve this Assembly was to deliver the ministers from the tyranny of lay elders, who, if not suppressed, would, as they were now designing the ruin of episcopal power, prove not only *ruling* but *overruling elders*. Having in vain requested Henderson, as Moderator, to close the Assembly with prayer, the Marquis rose so visibly overcome with grief as to affect most of the persons present, and solemnly protested in the name of the King, on behalf of himself and the Bishops, that no act after his departure would be legal. He then by royal authority dissolved the Assembly on the 29th of November, and prohibited their farther proceedings. While the Marquis and the Lords of the Privy Council were leaving the cathedral, the Earl of Rothes handed to Johnston of Warriston a written

protest, prepared in anticipation of this result, which was publicly read.

The concluding scene, before the departure of the Commissioner, is worthy of perusal. “ Before ye proceed farther,” said the Marquis, “ I will renew all my protestations made in name of my master and Lords of the clergy here, and will present unto you his Majesty’s gracious pleasure signed with my own hand by his warrant.” The clerk then read the document presented by the Marquis, containing the withdrawal of the Book of Canons, Liturgy, and High Commission—that the Five Articles of Perth were not to be urged—that the Assembly were to have liberty to declare their opinion of those Articles to the ensuing Parliament—that the only oath to be taken by ministers was to be that according to the Act of Parliament—that General Assemblies were to be summoned when necessary or expedient—that the Bishops were to be liable to the censure of General Assemblies—that no change of religion was intended—and that the Covenant and bond of 1580, revived in 1589, was to be subscribed. The Marquis then addressed the Assembly on those topics, to which Henderson replied, and a desultory discussion ensued on the competency of the Assembly to be judges of the Bishops, in which the Marquis, Henderson, Lord Loudon, and the Earl of Rothes, were the speakers. The presence and voting of the “ ruling elders,” and the conduct of the Tables, were also warmly debated. The latter subject elicited a facetious speech from the Earl of Rothes, in concluding which he asked—“ When the Commissioners from shires and presbyteries met and sat down, what absurdity was there to call them so met a *Table*, seeing it is not called a *Council Table*, or a *Judicial Table*, such as Prelates called their Tables? If we called it a *Judicial Table*, let us be hanged for it. A *tailor’s table* sitting with his men sewing upon it is called a *table*, or a company eating at such a man’s table; there is no absurdity in the speech, and we did not call ourselves the *Tables*, but others gave it that name.” “ I except not much,” said the Marquis, “ against the name of *Table*. I have no cause of passion to hear their meetings called a *Table*, for there is passion enough at my heart that I find so much power at these *Tables*, and so little at the Council Table, for it is well known your positive councils are more regarded than the King’s Council Table.” In reply to an observation of Rothes the Mar-

quis repeated his statement, and before he dissolved the Assembly he said—"I heard these men [the Bishops] swear that for procuring the peace of the land they were content to lay down their offices and livings, and leave this kingdom. I grant the offer is but small, for the Prince whom they serve can make it up another way." He subsequently observed—"I am sure the Bishops desire nothing more than to have a lawful hearing before a judge free of partiality, but no man will submit himself to a judge whom he thinks is party, as they think this Assembly to be." He soon afterwards dissolved the Assembly and retired; but the question was nevertheless renewed by Henderson—"Whether they found themselves lawful and competent judges to the pretended Bishops and Archbishops of this kingdom, and the complaints given against them and their adherents, notwithstanding their Declinature and Protestation?" Only four dissented from declaring the affirmative.

Baillie alleges, as the opinion of some of his friends, who, he confesses, were "but short-sighted, and dived not deep into the mysteries of state," that if the Marquis had remained some days longer it would have been "in nothing prejudicial to his master's service; yea, very conduceable to have kept all from those irremediable extremities all men saw by that departure to be inevitably consequent. The question about the judges of the Bishops," continues Baillie, "which his Grace took for the occasion of his rising, was brought on by his urgent pressing of reading their Declinature." To all this and many other opinions it may be replied, that the Marquis of Hamilton could not have acted otherwise without compromising the honour and dignity of the Crown. Baillie observes on the "Bishops and their opposites," that "there can be no possible agreeance but by yielding all to the one side." This was probably the fact. The law, to say nothing of truth, was on the side of the Bishops and of the Church, and the Covenanters contended for victory. "For my own part," says Baillie, "I thought that the standing of Episcopacy in any the least degree could not be yielded." The sincerity of the Marquis of Hamilton on this occasion and during his subsequent career has been variously discussed. Bishop Henry Guthrie asserts that he secretly encouraged the Covenanters in their designs, but this is indignantly denied by a contemporary in his annotations on some passages of

the Bishop's work.* It is certain from Baillie's narrative that the Presbyterians were at least pleased with his external demeanour. " My Lord Commissioner's Grace," Baillie writes to his friend Spang, 12th February 1639, " seemed to us one of the ablest and best spoken statesmen the King has; a great lover both of the King and his country; as he left nothing unassayed among us to get the King his will, so we hope he has done his en-

* Sir James Turner's Memoirs of his own Life and Times, printed for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 4to. 1829, p. 231-235. The Bishop alleges that the Marquis after a certain interview said to the Covenanting Nobility and preaching leaders in private—" My Lords and gentlemen, I spoke to you before these Lords of the Council as the King's Commissioner; now, there being none present but yourselves, I would speak one thing to you as a kindly Scotsman. If you go on with courage and resolution you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone; a word is enough to wise men." The Bishop alleges that he would not have mentioned this private advice, if various contradictory accounts of it had not become public—that " some made it better, others worse than it was; but that very same day Mr Andrew Cant told it to Mr Guild [of Aberdeen], as also to Mr Dagleish, minister of Cupar [Fife], to Mr Robert Knox, minister of Kelso, and to Mr Henry Guthrie [the Bishop himself, then] minister of Stirling." Sir James Turner has the following severe remarks on this story:—" The Bishop, after so foul an aspersion, should have endeavoured to prove his accusation by some more habile witnesses than Mr Andrew Cant, yea, or any of the Covenanters, not excepting the best of them, for all of them were then party; all of them knew but too well that many public affairs are carried on by lies, and the business ordinarily done before the people be undeceived. But the Bishop himself makes Mr Andrew Cant the reporter of this tale, and consequently father of the lie; and indeed he [Cant] could not have told it to three fitter trumpeters, whereof this Bishop was himself one. But let this [the Bishop's] manuscript be examined; it will be found the Bishop accuses the same Mr Cant in another case to have made a concatenation of lies in the pulpit to his audience in a sermon, and blasphemous lies in his prayers to God Almighty. With what malice and impudence, then, can the Bishop make use of the same Mr Cant as a habile witness against James then Marquis since Duke of Hamilton? This Mr Guild, if it be he I mean, was an honest man at the time and a royalist, and therefore Cant hath purposely told this lie to him, that Guild being once persuaded to believe it, might also labour to bring other honest and loyal men to a distrust of the Commissioner, that they might provide for their own safety by leaving him and joining with the Covenanters—Cant and all his crew knowing well enough that when one is boldly calumniated something will stick and adhere; and assuredly their design at that time, and long afterwards, was to make honest men jealous one of another, and particularly of James then Marquis of Hamilton, wherever they were but too successful, none contributing more to it than the Bishop, the author of this manuscript. But how wickedly and falsely the Bishop hath represented this story may appear perfectly by this, that he writes of the famous then Earl since Marquis of Montrose, as one who believed this ridiculous narration to be true." The indignant cavalier denies that Montrose gave it the slightest credit, and adds—" Assuredly he looked upon it as a fable invented by Master Cant, with some additional notes by Bishop Guthrie."

deavours, and will continue to obtain the country justice at the King's hand. Though he has done all against our proceedings which the heart of the Bishops in any wisdom could have commanded him yet we take it all in good part, remembering the place that was put on him. My thoughts of the man before that time were hard and base ; but a day or two's audience did work my mind to a great change towards him, which yet remains, and ever will, till his deeds be most notoriously evil." And describing the disappointed feelings of the Marquis when dissolving the Assembly Baillie says—" It kythed [appeared] by his extraordinary grief at their miscarriage ; many days thereafter he forgot to eat his bread, and through grief fell in sickness. My heart pitied the man."

The Marquis after dissolving the Assembly summoned the Privy Council, who approved his conduct, with the exception of the Earl of Argyll, who declared that he would acknowledge the Assembly and take the Covenant. The Earl induced a few others of the Privy Council to follow his example, but their defection was considered by the Marquis an advantage. The Privy Council also wrote to the King commanding the whole proceedings of the Marquis. On the morning of the ensuing day most of the Privy Councillors signed the proclamation dissolving the Assembly, which was published at the Cross of Glasgow, where it was met by a protestation subscribed by Johnston of Warriston. The Marquis then retired to his family mansion of Hamilton, carrying with him Bishops Maxwell of Ross and Whiteford of Brechin, and a few days afterwards he went to Edinburgh, where he received a letter from the King, dated 7th December, applauding his proceedings, and intimating that early in the spring the military preparations would be completed. The Marquis also received two letters from Archbishop Laud. The one, dated Lambeth, 3d December, was the Archbishop's reply to a letter from the Marquis of the 27th November. The Primate mentions two long letters he had received at the same time from Bishop Maxwell of Ross and Dean Balcanqual, in which were full details of the proceedings of the Assembly.—" I heartily pray your Lordship," says Laud, " to thank both the Bishop of Ross and the Dean [Balcanqual] for their kind letters, and the full account they have given me ; but there is no particular that requires an answer in either of them, saving that I find in the Dean's letter

that Mr Alexander Henderson, who went all this while for a quiet and calm-spirited man, hath shewed himself a most violent and passionate man, and a *moderator without moderation.*" The Archbishop's other letter, dated Whitehall, 7th December, is an answer to one from the Marquis written on the 2d. It chiefly contains the King's sentiments on the state of affairs and some general details. Yet although the Marquis was zealously thanked by Archbishop Laud and others for his conduct, he so far adopted the Presbyterian notion in his letter to the King on the 27th of November, two days before he dissolved the Assembly, as to allege that the conduct of the Bishops in the matter of the Liturgy was illegal, though it is now evident that Archbishop Spottiswoode and others were opposed to its introduction. He most erroneously states—" Their pride was great, but their folly greater ; for if they had gone right about this work nothing was more easy than to have effected what was aimed at. As for the persons of the men, it will prove of small use to have them characterized by me ; their condition being such as they cannot be too much pitied, yet lest I should lay upon them a heavier imputation by saying nothing than I intend, therefore I shall crave leave to say thus much. It will be found that some of them have not been of the best lives, as St Andrews, Brechin, Argyll, Aberdeen ; yet for my Lord of Ross [Bishop Maxwell], the most hated of all, and generally by all, there are few personal faults laid to his charge more than ambition, which I cannot account a fault so it be in lawful things."*

Henderson, after the departure of the Marquis, addressed the illegal conclave in a long speech. He said—" All who are present know how this Assembly was indicted, and what power we allow to our sovereign in matters ecclesiastical. Although we have acknowledged the power of Christian kings for convening Assemblies, and their power in them, yet that must not derogate from Christ's right ; for he has given warrant to convocate Assemblies whether magistrates consent or not." The arguments adduced in support of these opinions may be easily inferred. The accession of Argyll to the now rebellious movement imparted fresh courage to the leaders, and Lord Erskine, then a youth, the son of the Earl of Mar, signed the Covenant, though three years afterwards he became a devoted loyalist. The question

* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 113.

was discussed—Whether they would adhere to the protestation against the Commissioner's departure, and continue to meet till their business was concluded? With the exception of a few from the county of Forfar this was decided in the affirmative. The next question, similarly decided, was—Whether they were lawful and competent judges of the Archbishops and Bishops of the kingdom, and of the complaints given in against them and their adherents, without any regard to their Declinature and Protestation?

On the 30th of November the Earl of Traquair wrote from Falkirk to the Marquis of Hamilton—"The Service-Book will be condemned in general as repugnant to the tenets of this Church; episcopal government as not agreeable to the government thereof; and presently all the Bishops of this kingdom are condemned, and presently excommunicate.—If I should subscribe any covenant or confession which in my judgment excluded episcopacy or episcopal government, I behoved to subscribe *against the light of my own conscience*, and this I declared publicly, *as I shall do while I breathe.*"* On the 8th of December a long proclamation was issued against the continuation of the Assembly, dated Whitehall, but the royal authority was set at defiance. Their proceedings, as affecting the Episcopal Church, while sitting in defiance of the law, may be thus summarily stated. They vindicated those of their own party who were under the censures of the Church, and answered the objections of the Court against the lay elders. They set forth their peculiar explanation of the Covenant, and condemned the Perth Articles, the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the High Commission. They denounced as illegal and corrupt the several General Assemblies of Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, Glasgow in 1610, Aberdeen in 1616, St Andrews in 1617, and Perth in 1618. They enacted, as they alleged, in accordance with the Confession of Faith of 1560, 1581, and 1590, that Episcopacy, or any ecclesiastical function differing from that of an ordinary Presbyterian minister, was illegal. But the conduct of the episcopally ordained Mr Baillie at the discussion of the abjuration of Episcopacy evinced some compunction of conscience. When the vote was put—*Removed and abjured*—in accordance to their Covenanting interpretation that all episcopal government had been condemned by the Confession of Faith, Baillie drew upon himself universal attention

* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 121.

when he alone declared—" *Removed now, but never before abjured.*"* He was similarly situated at the vote for the abjuration of the Perth Articles, and he describes the proceedings of his friends as most unprincipled and contemptible. " I pitied much," he says, " to see men take advantage of the time to cast their own conclusions in Assembly Acts, though with the extreme disgrace or danger of their brethren. The question was stated very cunningly, as ye may see in the act about the removal of these Articles out of our Church." The hypocrisy of Henderson was here prominently displayed. He professed that it was not intended to injure any man's conscientious scruples by pronouncing the Perth Articles " idolatrous or superstitious, as some esteemed them," and that he had no wish to condemn other Churches, who were " to be judged by their own Master." Baillie says that he saw the " snare," and though he was resolved not to dispute, yet before the vote he complained of the evident purport of the question, and maintained— " that to ask if [the] Perth Articles were to be removed according to our Confession, which was conceived by way of oath and covenant with God, [it] was all one as if to ask if they were truly abjured before, and all who had defended them since were truly perjured, which was a very hard matter for many to grant." Henderson lost temper at this declaration, and denied that his language could be so construed. When the vote was taken, they all answered—" *Abjured and removed.*" Baillie, who had, like many of them, acknowledged the Perth Articles, says—" No man was

* Baillie's narrative of his conduct on the occasion is very sophistical. He says— " The question was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacy in such terms as I profess I did not well at the time understand, and thought them so cunningly intricate, that hardly could I give any answer either *ita* or *non*.—When it came to my name, many eyes were fixed on me, expecting some opposition, but all I said was—that according to the express words of the Assembly 1580 [and] 1581 Episcopacy was to be distinguished. Episcopacy as used and taken in the Church of Scotland I thought to be removed; yea, that it was a Popish error, against Scripture and antiquity, and so then abjured; but Episcopacy *simpliciter*, such as was in the ancient Church, and in our Church during Knox's days in the persons of the Superintendents, it was for many reasons to be removed, but not abjured in our Confession of Faith. This Argyll and Loudon, and many, took out of my mouth as not ill said, and nothing against their mind, who spoke not of Episcopacy *simpliciter*, but in our own Church, whether or not it had been condemned at the time of the Covenant's first subscription." The approbation of Argyll and Loudon proves that Baillie's notions of what he designates " Episcopacy" were of no value. Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 158.

opposed but myself, for here I saw no place for distinction as before in Episcopacy, and so without any hesitation I voted—*Removed now, but never before abjured.*”

But the great business was the mock deposition of the Bishops and numbers of the clergy. Every little foible, and every alleged error of conduct, without reference to time or place, were magnified into enormous crimes ; lies innumerable were invented and willingly credited ; and all, however immoral, disgraceful, and unprincipled in their own characters and conduct, were gladly welcomed if they brought charges against the Bishops and clergy. It is some consolation to know that the Covenanting Presbyterians would have similarly treated the Apostles, the Fathers, and the illustrious Bishops and Martyrs of the Primitive times.

On the evening of the very day of the dissolution of the Assembly they commenced by referring to processes against some of their associates in the High Commission Court. After sundry speeches and the discussion of some minor points, Lord Montgomery moved that the summons and claim against the *pretended* Archbishops and Bishops be read. Henderson replied from the chair that the Prelates were summoned in the best form they could devise. “ Let us now,” he said, “ hear what is said against one of the Bishops, and remove the rest to be looked on by those that have charge of the bills. We need not spend time in reading the general complaint against the Bishops ; but here is a particular condescending upon some things which will clear the general. This is against the Bishop of Galloway.”

On the 1st of December the first process read was against Mr David Mitchell, minister of Edinburgh, Dr Panter, Principal of St Mary’s College in St Andrews, and Dr Alexander Gladstones, who were accused of Arminianism, and “ many erroneous and Papistical points of doctrine.” This was followed two days after by a singular discussion on Arminianism conducted by David Dickson and Andrew Ramsay. The extraordinary absurdities uttered by those two men are apparent throughout all their statements on election, predestination, reprobation, and other Calvinistic tenets. A letter was then read from Bishop Graham of Orkney, produced by his son, or probably his son-in-law, Patrick Smyth of Braco, a member of the conclave, offering to “ submit himself in all respects to the Assembly.” Mr David Mitchell was then deposed—

the very *charitable* and *amiable* Mr Robert Douglas stating in reply to Mr Moderator Henderson—"He is clearly convicted of Arminianism and many points of Popery, and the censure of the Kirk is deprivation for his false doctrine, and excommunication for declining the General Assembly; therefore I think this Assembly should extirpate such birds lest the Kirk should receive prejudice hereafter." Baillie says—"Mr David Mitchell this long time had delighted to grieve the whole land with the doctrine of the faction: Arminianism in all the heads, and sundry points of Popery, proved by sundry witnesses, besides his declining of the Assembly, which alone, according to the Acts of our Church, imports deposition. He came to Glasgow, at least remained some days in Hamilton with the Bishop of Ross. No man could have such a one in our Church without serious repentance for his manifold errors." The delegates from Edinburgh presented their grievances against the Dean [Hannay] and his colleagues, Messrs Thomson, Fletcher, and Dr Elliot—"the first three," says Baillie, "as decliners of the Assembly and practitioners of the Service-Book; the last as obtruded on them by Sir John Hay's [Lord Provost] authority, and as too weak for that ministry; also as one who had read the Liturgy in a Diocesan Assembly" [Synod].

On the 4th of December Mr William Maxwell of Dunbar and Mr George Sydserff of Cockburnspath in Haddingtonshire were referred to a committee appointed to meet in Edinburgh, and eventually deposed for their alleged "corrupt doctrine" and forcing their parishioners to conformity. "It is marvellous," adds Baillie, whose horror of Arminianism amounted to insanity, "how impudent all the familiars of the Bishops of Ross and Galloway were grown in avowing pertly Arminianism and much Popery." On this day Dr Gladstones of St Andrews was unanimously deposed. Baillie's attack on him is so gross and rabid as to carry its refutation. He describes him as a "monster of drunkenness and atheistic profanity; Rome pagan could not have suffered such a beastly man to have remained a priest even to Bacchus! I hear [for the pious Mr Baillie was not even acquainted with Gladstones] that the man once had a very great appearance of many good parts. They say he was a trim personage of a man, had a pretty estate, was a scholar in all faculties; right eloquent, wise, and discreet, and free of all scandalous vices; in favour with the King, Court, and country;

but long since, having cast away the fear of God [not becoming a Covenanter], all these gifts of the body, estate, and mind, have evidently left him." At a subsequent stage of the proceedings Dr Panter of St Mary's College experienced their tender mercies. Of him Baillie writes—"I never saw the man; but his *Valladios** makes me love him as one of the best poets I know now living. The man has a bonny spirit, some things in all sciences, but St Andrews [Spottiswoode] was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity profession before he had well learned the grounds of that science. He was never diligent; but he had not sooner settled himself in his chair when he began to recommend the English method of study to our youth, to begin with the Popish schoolmen and Fathers, and to close with Protestant Neoterics—a most unhappy and dangerous order. I hear in his public notes he has deboirded [swerved] to the Popish justification, and his discourses to the grossest Pelagianism in original sin, besides other points of Arminianism."

On the 5th of December two of the parochial clergy were consigned to the committee at Edinburgh, and the process against Dr Robert Hamilton, who presented the Declinature of the Bishops, was read. The official reported that Dr Hamilton had told him to *hang himself* when he summoned him—that he was not a traitor to appear before rebels—and that he was an honester man than any who sat in that Assembly.† "Besides his open affronting of the Assembly," writes Baillie, "he was found to have been absent at Court and at Edinburgh often twelve, fifteen, eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reason but pleas for augmentation [of his stipend] and suits of farther promotion. The man's gifts are every way mean; he had a good estate, and was well [in circumstances], but being smitten by the ambition of his brother-in-law Dr Whiteford [Bishop of Brechin], trode his steps of vain lavishness and dilapidation of what he had, to seek what he did not deserve." After this specimen of prying into private affairs—a common practice of the Presbyterians generally—Baillie unhesitatingly affirms that Dr Hamilton was "according to the

* "A Latin Poem in hexameter verse, dedicated to King Charles, entitled—'Valladios Libri Tres opus inchoatum auctore Patricio Pantero, ad Fanum Andreæ Theologo.' Edinburgh, 1633, small 8vo." Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 149.

† Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 162.

English fashion a profaner of the Sabbath," inducing his parishioners to dance and play at football :—“ He was, *as we call it*, an ordinary swearer, for the faction delighted, as I have heard sundry of them, to adorn their speeches with the proverbs—*Before God ; I protest to God : By my conscience ; On my soul !* and higher asseverations, by these phrases to clear themselves of Puritanism. He was a violent persecutor, even to excommunication, and denying of marriage and baptism, of those who would not communicate with him kneeling.” Dr Hamilton intimated to Henderson that he declined to appear before that illegal Assembly, and maintaining that, if even all those falsehoods charged against him were true, he considered them unworthy of a rebuke from the Presbytery. He was eventually deposed, but he continued to officiate several weeks in his parish church in defiance of their fulminations. Dr Hamilton soon afterwards retired into England, and the Covenanters were alarmed at the intelligence that he was nominated to the See of Caithness in room of Bishop Abernethy, who acknowledged the authority of the inquisitorial conclave, and actually subscribed the Covenant. The Doctor, however, was never consecrated. Another Robert Hamilton, minister of Lesmahago, was accused of “ breaking the Sabbath, borrowing from his parishioners, detaining the penalties of delinquents, banishing some of his parishioners out of the parish for not kneeling at the Communion, preaching Arminianism, and declining the Assembly.” In addition he was charged with insolent behaviour before the Presbytery of Lanark, by designating some of his Covenanting parishioners *debauched villains* ; but the great query about him was—“ If he had cleared himself before the Presbytery concerning universal grace ?” He appeared, and as his replies were considered unsatisfactory he was suspended, declared worthy of deposition, ordered to appear before the Presbytery of Lanark, and next before their Commission at Edinburgh, after giving the former “ satisfaction,” or to proceed against him. He was eventually deposed on the 31st of January 1639. He sent a letter to the said Presbytery declaring his contempt for the Assembly, and that he intended to “ continue preaching notwithstanding his deposition ;” for which he was summoned before the Presbytery to “ hear the sentence of the Kirk, under pain of excommunication.” This Mr Hamilton

was considered a person of some importance, as Mr Moderator Henderson expressed himself very anxious to "gain the man."*

Mr John Crichton, minister of Paisley, was deposed on a charge of "many blasphemous points both of Arminianism and Popery—about forty-eight—besides his scandalous life."† A similar order was taken with Mr John M'Naught, minister at Chirnside, for "deserting his parish, declining his Presbytery, and preaching Arminian doctrine." Mr William Annand of Ayr was ordered to be deposed by the Presbytery of Ayr for "maintaining Saints' Days and many points of erroneous doctrine," especially those advanced in his sermon before the Diocesan Synod of Glasgow in 1637. As it was also considered necessary to get up a charge of "scandalous life" as well as "erroneous doctrine" against Mr Annand, this very kind duty was volunteered by Mr John Sempill, Provost of Dunbarton, and a Mr John Ferguson or Fergushill, who "gave a large testimony." "I pitied him much," says Baillie; "the man in my mind had exceeding great gifts; but profaneness and a resolute opposition to all things he counted puritanical did spoil all. His ditty was, that in a common head—*De Invocatione Sanctorum*—he had maintained Saints' Days; he had preached in a Synod in defence of our Liturgy, with many invectives against conceived [extraordinary] prayers; he was frequently drunk, and an ordinary swearer; that he had deserted his flock above eight months." Baillie, however, unwittingly records the real origin of those false charges—"It is strange to see that man's unhappiness; *he subscribed our Covenant*; his people, and *we all*, had he been constant, were ready to have done him much pleasure." Mr Thomas Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, was also deposed for "many foul crimes," such as "fornication, drunkenness, marrying of adulterers, &c." Dr Scrymgeour, whom Baillie calls his "old comrade"—stating that Moderator Henderson was "his neighbour and singular friend"—had been "suspended by the Presbytery [of St Andrews] for the Service, pressing conformity, preaching too grossly [the] necessity of Baptism, fornication since his ministry, drunkenness, playing at cards on Sunday." He presented a "con-

* Extracts from the Register of the Presbytery of Lanark, printed for the Abbotsford Club, 4to. 1839, p. 16.

† Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 163.

fession and supplication" to his tyrannical inquisitors, but Sir John Leslie of Newton, uncle of the Earl of Rothes, was zealous for his deposition, and was only pacified by that farce being delegated to the Presbytery.

Another "old comrade" of Baillie was a Mr John Macmath. His sentence of deposition by the Presbytery was produced and ratified for teaching "all Arminianism, prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, Christ's local descent to hell, damnation of children without Baptism, regeneration *ex opere operato* by Baptism, his obligation to say mass if King Charles commanded, his disdain to come near the Presbytery." Also Mr Francis Hervey, "for his erecting an altar with rails at his own hand [risk or expence], drinking and carding on Sunday, and without proclamation marrying our Bishop's son with Blantyre's daughter."^{*} Mr Thomas Forrester, minister of Melrose, was also deposed, and the Covenanting hatred towards him is amusingly developed by Baillie, who designates him "a monster." He was accused of "avowing that the Service was better than preaching—that preaching was no part of God's essential worship—that all prayers should be read off books; he made his altar and rails himself; stood within, and reached the elements to those who kneeled without; he avowed Christ's presence there, but whether sacramentally, or by way of consubstantiation, he wist not, but thought it a curiosity to dispute it; he maintained Christ's universal redemption, and all that was in our Service-Book was good; yet he used to sit at preaching and prayer; baptize in his own house; made a way through the church itself for his kine and sheep; made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peats in; that to make the Sabbath a moral precept was to Judaize; that it was lawful to work on it; he caused lead his corn on it; that our Confession of Faith was faithless—only an abjuration of many things better than there we swore to; he kept no thanksgiving after Communion; affirmed our Reformed to have brought more damage to the Church in one age than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years." It is singular that the usual charges of drunkenness, adultery, and other licentiousness, were forgotten in Mr Forrester's case. "This *monster*," adds Baillie ferociously, "was justly deposed."[†] Mr Forrester "is

* If Baillie means that a son of Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow married a daughter of Lord Blantyre, no such marriage is recorded in the Peerage Lists and other records.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 165, 166.

said to have often expressed himself in some ironical petitions of his own composition, containing such expressions as—"From the *knock-down race of Knoxes*, good Lord, deliver us."* He probably held the memory of Mr John Knox in no great estimation, but the real cause of this witty deprecation of the "*knock-down race of Knoxes*" may have resulted from the circumstance, that Mr Forrester's immediate predecessor as minister of Melrose was Mr John Knox, a nephew of the "famous John."

Such are examples of the summary mode in which the rebellious Covenanting conclave "dealt with" the parochial episcopal clergy. To the pretended charges of Popery and Arminianism were invariably appended false accusations of immorality, and this was designedly done to render the clergy odious to the people. Numbers of them were transferred to the tender mercies of eight inquisitorial tribunals constituted by the leaders under the title of Commissions, which were appointed to convene at Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Irvine, Dundee, Chanonry of Ross and Forres, Kirkeudbright, and the Colleges of Aberdeen and Glasgow; the first in December, and the others in the following months of January, February, March, and April. Justice from such tyrannical and illegal committees was not to be expected, and they continued the work of deprivation and deposition. The High Commission Court was succeeded by *Commissions* of another kind far more odious and intolerable—the very personification of oppression and cruelty on the part of the Covenanters.

The proceedings of those men against the Bishops now come under our notice. Lord Loudon alleged that when on one occasion their petition was presented to the Privy Council, Archbishop Spottiswoode rejected it because it was expressed in the name of the "Kirk and clergy," the Primate observing—"Whom call ye the Kirk? a number of baggage ministers worthy to be banished. Ye shall understand that we are the Kirk." The narrator of this choice anecdote was followed by one named Bonar, who affirmed that he heard the Bishops declare in a convention at Leith—"They say that they are the Kirk, but we are the Kirk, and it shall be so; who will say the contrary?" Witnesses were suborned to depone against all the Bishops. They began as already noticed with Bishop Sydserff, who was accused of "preaching false doctrine, Arminianism, and bringing in the Service-Book."—"Besides com-

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 68.

mon faults," says Baillie, " he was proven to have preached Arminianism, to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and spoken for the comfortable use he found into it ; to have indicted two anniversary fasts in his Diocese, and enacted in his Synod a communion for his ministers at all posterior Synods ; he was proved to have deposed ministers, fined and confined gentlemen for un conformity, embraced excommunicated Papists, and professed more love to them than Puritans ; to have contemned exercise of prayer in his family ; to have profaned the Sabbath-day by buying horse ; doing any of his civil matters openly on it." It is hardly necessary to observe that all these were either gross lies, or wilful misrepresentations to suit their purpose. Archbishop Spottiswoode, in addition to preaching " Arminianism and papistical doctrine," was accused, besides his common faults, of ordinary profaning of the Sabbath, carding and diceing in time of Divine service [meaning their *preachings!*], riding through the country the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falsifying with his hand the Acts of Aberdeen Assembly, lying and slandering our old Assemblies and Covenants in his wicked book.* Not content with such falsehoods, those unscrupulous men actually charged the venerable Primate with " adultery, incest, sacrilege, and frequent simony." Bishop Whiteford of Brechin was the next denounced. In addition to the usual charges, they procured a woman who had been a domestic servant to a nobleman falsely to allege that he was the father of her illegitimate child ; and she was ordered to attend and be examined in the Assembly. Dr Whiteford had heard of this scandal invented by his enemies, and went to Glasgow to prove his innocence in the Assembly ; but the Marquis of Hamilton persuaded him not to appear, lest it should be considered an acknowledgment of their jurisdiction.

These affairs occurred on the 7th of December. On the 8th Henderson commenced the proceedings by stating—" We began at the Bishop of Galloway, and then at St Andrews and Brechin, and lest it may seem a neglect that we are long in coming to the Bishop of Glasgow, whose residence is so hard by us, let us go on to the trial of him." The Earl of Wemyss replied—" The Bishop of Glasgow sent a gentleman to me desiring me earnestly to speak with him ; and because I could not go to him before the Assembly,

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. i. p. 155.

he entreated me to desire the Assembly that nothing might be done anent him till I speak with him." This was granted, and a few "discreet members" were associated with the Earl to confer with the Archbishop—"For," said Henderson, "it is better to wound one, than to lose twenty." They then proceeded to discuss the alleged meaning of the Confessions of Faith of 1580, 1581, and 1590, and concluded their debate by the abjuration of Episcopacy.

On the following day the Five Articles of Perth were condemned. A letter was next read from Bishop Abernethy of Caithness, setting forth that "bodily sickness and his extreme disease" were the sole causes of his absence from the Assembly; and on the following day a committee was appointed "for clearing of the process" against him. Meanwhile the Earl of Wemyss stated that he had seen the Archbishop of Glasgow, who expressed his regret at putting his hand to the Declinature of the Bishops, which he did suddenly, having been strongly urged to it, and that he was only dissuaded by the Marquis of Hamilton from attending the Assembly. The Earl also mentioned that he requested Archbishop Lindsay to "give two lines under his hand declaring his submission to the Assembly;" but he replied that "he had not his wits about him," and desired to be "dealt with as those who had submitted themselves." This was considered unsatisfactory, and it was found that as he had subscribed the Declinature of the Bishops "he be-hoved to have his own place." Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh was the next. Two of them declared that they had seen him "bow to the altar," and other two alleged that they saw him "dedicate a kirk after the popish manner." Baillie says of the Bishop of Edinburgh—"He was proven to have been a presser of all the late novations, an urger of the Liturgy, a refuser to admit any to the ministry who would not first take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rochet, a consecrator of churches, a domineerer of Presbyteries, a licenser of marriages without bands to the great hurt of sundry, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached at Edinburgh, an elevator at consecration, a defender of ubiquity in his book.* We pronounced him to be deposed and

* This refers to the "True Narration of all the Proceedings in the General Assembly holden at Perth the 25th of August 1618," written by Dr Lindsay when Bishop of Brechin.

excommunicated." Two of them stated of Bishop Bellenden of Aberdeen that when informed that the way to reform abuses in the Church was a free General Assembly, he passionately exclaimed—"The first article he would make then would be to pull the crown off King Charles' head." Another alleged that he was accidentally present when he consecrated a chapel at the request of a lady named Gordon, locally known as Lady Wardhouse. "The lady," said the witness, "came in, and gave him a catalogue of the things that are within, which she had wrought with her own hands, and so desired that they might be dedicated to God, and so delivered the key to the Bishop, who went in and preached a sermon of consecration, and baptized a child, and then went to feasting. His text was Solomon's dedication of the Temple."^{*} Baillie's character of Bishop Bellenden is expressed in his usual style—"His proper faults were great slanders of frequent simony; that though he was removed from the Chapel-Royal [of Holyrood] to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterbury's new ways, yet he had been found [as forward] as any to press the Canons and Liturgy; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sundays; that he enacted in his Synods without voting public fastings to be kept on Wednesdays only; consecrated the chapel of an infamous woman, the Lady Wardhouse;† stayed at his pleasure processes against Papists and incestuous persons. He had not subscribed the Declinature, as was thought for lack of no good will, but only through distance of place the write in time could not be conveyed to him." The "defect in his process" was supplied by Moderator Henderson, who assailed him for being once "by appearance but too zealous against Bishops and all their courses." Bishop Maxwell of Ross was next in order, and he was the object of their peculiar ferocity. His "process" also was "no way perfect," but the Covenanters were not scrupulous in observing forms of justice. Mr John Irving, formerly Provost of Dumfries, alleged that one Sunday when he was in that town they placed cushions for him in the church, expecting him to attend, but he chose rather to remain all day in an "excommunicated Papist's house." Lord Loudon complained that though he went to Court by advice of the Bishops to procure the pro-

* Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 170, 171.

† Called "infamous" by the very charitable and amiable Mr Baillie because Lady Wardhouse was not a Presbyterian.

secution of the Roman Catholics, yet he brought Articles from thence, and came to Glasgow to present the Declinature of the Bishops. Baillie says of Bishop Maxwell—" It was proven that two years ago he was a public reader in his house and cathedral of the English Liturgy ; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rochet, a deposer of the godly ministers, a companion of Papists, an usual card [player] on Sunday ; yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at *the Beast*; had often given absolution ; consecrated deacons ; robbed his vassals of about 40,000 merks ; kept fasts each Friday ; journeyed usually on Sunday ; had been a chief decliner of the Assembly, and a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State. Of his excommunication no man made question." The process against Bishop Wedderburn was next discussed. He had neither been personally cited, nor had he subscribed the Declinature, and they well knew that he was then in England—" Yet," says Baillie, " he was excommunicated as one who had been a special instrument of all our mischiefs, having corrupted with Arminianism divers by his discourses and lectures in St Andrews ; whose errors and perversness kythe [appear] this day in all the nooks of the kingdom ; having been special penner, practiser, urger of our Books and all novations, a man set in the Chapel [Royal of Holyrood] to be a hand to Canterbury in all his intentions. What drunkenness, swearing, or other crimes were libelled, I do not remember." Mr James Forsyth, minister of Kilpatrick in Dunbartonshire, whom they had already suspended, was deposed on the charges of " reading an inhibition for the teinds against his people on the first communion day, at the table and betwixt sermons and celebration ; for teaching the lawfulness of the bowing at the name of Jesus ; that our Covenant was seditious, treasonable, Jesuitic ; that who knelt not got no good at the Communion ; he gave money at his entry for his place ; he struck a beggar on the Sabbath-day." Baillie admits that " they say he might have cleared himself for the most part," but Mr Forsyth would on no account acknowledge the Assembly ; and Baillie was silent on his behalf, at which he alleges that he was the less grieved when he recollects the " evil reward" he had experienced from Mr. John Corbet, " one of that fraternity" whom he had befriended, and who printed in Dublin in 1839 the " Ungirding of the Scottish Armour"—" one of the

most venomous and bitter pamphlets against us all that could come from the hands of our most furious and enraged enemy."

On the 11th of December Bishop Graham of Orkney, Bishop Guthrie of Moray, Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow, Bishop Fairlie of Argyll, and Bishop Campbell of The Isles, were severally denounced. Bishop Graham was accused as "a curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day; a setter of the tacks to his sons-in-law to the prejudice of the Church; he overlooked adultery, slighted charming (!), neglected preaching, and doing of any good there; held portions of ministers' stipends for building his cathedral." As he had acknowledged the Assembly, and professed his dislike to the Canons and Liturgy, he was ordered simply to be deposed. Bishop Guthrie had "all the ordinary faults of a Bishop." The veracious Mr Andrew Cant alleged that "he knew him to be a common rider on the Sabbath-day, and that he was a pretty dancer; at his daughter's bridal he danced in his shirt; also that he conveyed a gentlewoman to a chapel to make penance all barefooted." A person named Carmichael deponed that on one occasion, when the Bishop was riding from a church on a Sunday morning, he was asked to stay all night as it was then the Sabbath-day," but he answered that he would "borrow that piece of the day from God, and be as good to him some other way." Moderator Henderson opposed his excommunication, and Baillie says he assented in the hope of obtaining that favour "to poor Glasgow." That Archbishop was charged with "enjoining the Book of Canons in the Diocesan Synod, urging the Liturgy, oppressing his vassals, causing oaths of his own invention to be subscribed by preachers, and interfering with the stipends of the ministers." He was ordered to be deposed and excommunicated. Bishop Fairlie of Argyll was accused as "an urger of the wicked oath on entrants, obtruding the Liturgy, oppressing his vassals, a preacher of Arminianism, a profaner of the Sabbath, and beginning to do all that Canterbury could have wished." It is astonishing that they preferred none of their usual falsehoods against Bishop Campbell of The Isles. Bishops Lindsay of Dunkeld and Abernethy of Caithness "obtained favour" by their submission to the Assembly, and requested "to be continued in the office of the ministry—"Otherwise," says Baillie, "*there were truly alleged the common faults, and as foul pranks of simony and avarice as any of the others.*" This admission sufficiently intimates that

the whole charges against the Bishops were false, infamous, and unworthy of the slightest credit.

On the 13th of December the contemptible sentences against the Bishops were pronounced in the cathedral of Glasgow by Moderator Henderson, who preached a sermon on the occasion on Psalm ex. 1 :—“ The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies my footstool.” This sermon, with the act of the pretended deposition, was published as a small pamphlet in 1762 at Edinburgh, entitled “ The Bishops’ Doom.” Henderson enumerated all the preceding calumnies against the Bishops, eight of whom were deposed and excommunicated by him in name of the so called “ honourable and reverend Assembly,” and the other six deposed from the episcopal office. The eight then “ *deposed and excommunicated* ” were Archbishops Spottiswoode and Lindsay, Bishops Lindsay of Edinburgh, Sydserff of Galloway, Maxwell of Ross, Whiteford of Brechin, Bellenden of Aberdeen, and Wedderburn of Dunblane. This farce was followed by the *deposition*, from the episcopal office merely, of Bishops Guthrie of Moray, Lindsay of Dunkeld, Abernethy of Caithness, Graham of Orkney, Fairlie of Argyll, and Campbell of The Isles. The rebellious and self-constituted conclave continued its meetings for seven days afterwards till the 20th of December, when it was thought expedient to separate, after conditionally appointing the third Wednesday of July 1639 for the meeting of the next General Assembly, and valedictory speeches from Henderson, Dickson, Ramsay, and Argyll, the last of whom exhorted the persons present to be exemplary in their lives and peaceful in their conduct—“ For we must not think,” said the Earl, “ that because we want Bishops therefore we may live as we will.” It is said, and has been often repeated by the Presbyterian writers, that after Argyll’s speech, and some concluding observations, Moderator Henderson, imagining himself a second Joshua, exclaimed—“ We have now cast down the walls of Jericho ; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.” This extraordinary instance of the perversion of Scripture rests solely on the authority of one acrimonious Presbyterian historian ;* but if it were true, it

* Stevenson’s “ History of the Church and State of Scotland.” It is however observed by Mr Peterkin—“ As Mr Stevenson does not state on what authority this is given, and as it is not mentioned in any other work that we have seen, we merely add

only shews the danger of such daring applications of sacred history to the peculiar actions of any sect of religionists.

The pretendedly excommunicated and deposed Bishops and their inveterate Presbyterian enemies have long been gathered to their fathers, and men at this distance of time can reason on the preceding melancholy narrative of the extent of human passion and hatred with different feelings. The observations of Mr Scott, in the MS. Perth Registers, on the sentence of deposition pronounced against Bishop Guthrie of Moray are applicable to all the other Bishops, and are worthy of notice as the candid admissions of a Presbyterian minister.—“The first ground on which it proceeded was his having acted contrary to the regulations agreed to in the Assembly at Montrose in 1600, restricting the powers of such as should sit and vote for the Church in Parliament. But the constitution of the Church had altered exceedingly after that date. Bishops were restored to all their ancient privileges in 1606, with which after Assemblies had found no fault; therefore Mr Guthrie might think himself fully authorised to neglect regulations which had been virtually repealed. It is to be noted, that in the old Confession of Faith, ratified by Parliament in 1560 and 1567, the office of a Bishop was only negatively condemned by its not being mentioned at all. If he [Bishop Guthrie] was otherwise persuaded of the lawfulness of the episcopal office, or of its agreeableness to the word of God, which it is to be presumed he was, its being condemned by the old Confession, and by some of the old acts of the Church, would have little effect with him, especially as a new Confession had been framed in 1606, and acts had been passed favourable to Episcopacy. The third ground was his refusal to underly the trial of the reigning slander of sundry other gross transgressions and offences laid to his charge; but if he looked upon himself as lawfully a Bishop, he could not otherwise than decline the judgment of the Assembly. The ‘other transgressions and offences laid to his charge’ are not specified; but it is plain they were of such a nature as to have been overlooked, if he had not otherwise fallen under the displeasure of the [Presbyterian] church.”

it in a note—the expression being frequently referred to—without having before us any contemporary voucher for its accuracy.” Records of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 193.

CHAPTER XVI.

OVERTHROW OF THE CHURCH—THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—THE CIVIL WAR—THE PRESBYTERIANS SELL THE KING.

THE Covenanters in their Assembly at Glasgow exhibited their tender mercies in the most approved style of sectarian hatred. But notwithstanding the melancholy display of unscrupulous passions, prejudices, and errors, recorded in the preceding narrative, the Episcopal Church was still the lawful ecclesiastical establishment of the kingdom, and the despicable deposition and contemptible excommunication of the Archbishops, Bishops, and others who belonged to it, or the project of punishing them, was preposterous, tyrannical, and illegal. The Covenanting Assembly had no power to usurp judicial functions, which could only be derived from the supreme legislature of the country. The pretended deposition of the Bishops, the self-constituted prohibition of Episcopacy and the practice of the Five Articles of Perth, and their act against the press, were so many assumptions of civil power and jurisdiction. But the rebellion and tyranny of the Covenanting Assembly are now fully admitted. “It would be disingenuous as well as absurd,” says a Presbyterian writer of high authority, “to disguise the fact that several acts of the Assembly of 1638 were violations of, and irreconcileable with, the existing law of the land, and imported an assumption of authority identical with that of the state. In fact, that Assembly was a political convention, as much at least as an ecclesiastical synod, having fully a hundred members of Parliament in its composition, and in many of its enactments and decrees it directly rescinded, and superseded a great number of acts of Parliament. Without entering at all on controversial

ground, we may remark as a matter of fact and notoriety, established on the face of the Statute-Book, and by the tenor of the Assembly's acts, that that Assembly virtually and explicitly abrogated a series of acts of Parliament by which Prelacy was fully and distinctly settled as the Established Church of Scotland for a period of above thirty years preceding, under which the greater number of the clergy in that Assembly had received ordination and benefices, and in which the lay members had acquiesced without any visible opposition. In addition to the assumption of civil authority in practically repealing acts of Parliament, the Assembly sustained complaints against the Prelates and others at the instance of miscellaneous and self-constituted public prosecutors—a practice never recognised as competent in the laws of Scotland at any period. It deposed the Prelates not solely for erroneous doctrine or immoralities, but chiefly because they held offices conferred on them under the existing law of the country. It superseded the uniform and settled law both of the Church and State from the time of the Reformation on the point of ecclesiastical presentations to benefices, and transported ministers from place to place regardless of the rights of patrons and the wishes of incumbents. It imposed an absolute veto on the liberty of the press, and, above all, it issued an edict for coercing the whole people into an adoption of the Covenant or Confession ; and in obedience to its decrees, under the terrors of excommunication—a penalty at that time tantamount to outlawry, confiscation of property, and proscription—in each and all of these particulars deviating from the spiritual into the civil track of jurisprudence and legislation.* It cannot be denied that the Covenanting leaders in the Glasgow Assembly, who began what some fanatical and republican Presbyterian writers fondly designate the *Second Reformation*, were most intolerant and grasping tyrants. “The triumph of the Covenanters,” continues the above authority, “was not more distinguished than any other portion of the period referred to for greater relaxation in this respect [toleration] than either the Popish or Episcopal Churches ; and during all the vicissitudes of their fortune we cannot find even a trace of any proposal to give freedom of conscience to others, even when they

* Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 194, 195.

were waging war against Popery and Prelacy in the name of religious liberty."

The canonical constitution of the Episcopal Church of Scotland during the *Spottiswoode Succession* of the Bishops has been disputed. It is contended that the defect lay in the want of the essential preliminaries to valid consecration—that Spottiswoode and his brethren ought to have been first ordained deacons and presbyters in England. This subject is casually noticed in the proper place in the present work. As the subsequent Scottish Episcopal Church derives its Succession from another consecration, previous to which the orders of deacons and presbyters were duly conferred, it is unnecessary to discuss the validity of the Episcopate under the Primates Gladstones and Spottiswoode. It is worthy of remark, however, that this validity seems never to have been disputed by Archbishop Laud.

Immediately after the illegal Assembly closed its sittings the several inquisitorial Commissions proceeded to "purge out" of the parishes all who adhered to the Episcopal Church, or who were obnoxious to the dominant faction. Baillie states that "many ministers who remained obstinate in scandals were deposed at Edinburgh, St Andrews, Dundee, Irvine, and elsewhere;" though by two acts of another Assembly, held in 1639, their depositions were to be removed if they submitted to the new oligarchy. But at Aberdeen the injunctions of the Glasgow Assembly encountered the most determined opposition, and Professor Lundie, the delegate from King's College, was summoned before the Senatus Academicus, by whom he was threatened with deprivation for remaining after the Marquis of Hamilton dissolved the Assembly.

We may here summarily notice the subsequent proceedings of the Scottish Bishops after their so called excommunication in eight instances, and the deposition of all, by the Covenanting Presbyterians. Archbishop Spottiswoode, at the time of the Glasgow Assembly, was in England, "knowing," says a writer of the period, "that although he had moderated in the last General Assembly held at Perth in 1618, yet he would not be welcome, or by any means admitted to preside in or open this Assembly."* This seems to imply that he was compelled to leave Scotland. In the sketch of

* History of Scots Affairs, from 1637 to 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay, printed for the "Spalding Club," 3 vols. 4to. 1841, vol. i. p. 139.

the Archbishop's life by Dr Brian Dupper, Bishop of Winchester, it is stated that he was forced "for safety of his life to retire into England, where grief and age, with a sad soul in a crazy body, had so distempered him, that he was driven to take harbour at Newcastle, till by some rest and the care of his physicians he had recovered so much strength as brought him to London." It is stated that he resigned the seals as Lord Chancellor for the pecuniary consideration of L.2,500 Sterling, and if this is the case, that sum was probably all he now possessed for his subsistence. A contemporary writer of his day alleges that he placed the seals in the hands of the Marquis of Hamilton, who retained them till the Earl of Loudon was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1641; yet Bishop Dupper expressly states that he enjoyed the honour of the Chancellorship to his death. After the Archbishop arrived in London he again relapsed, and was visited in his last illness by Archbishop Laud and other Bishops, with whom he received the holy Communion. The Marquis of Hamilton was among the number of the persons of rank and distinction who waited on the aged and dying Primate, and Bishop Dupper's account of the interview is affecting. The Marquis approached his bed-side and said—"My Lord, I am come to kiss your Lordship's hands, and humbly to ask your blessing." "My Lord," replied the Archbishop, "you shall have my blessing; but give me leave to speak these few words to you. My Lord, I visibly foresee that the Church and King are both in danger to be lost, and I am verily persuaded that there is none under God so able to prevent it as your Lordship; and therefore I speak to you as a dying Prelate, in the words of Mordecai to Esther—' If ye do it not, salvation in the end shall come elsewhere, but you and your house shall perish.'" The Marquis declared that "what he [the Primate] foresaw was his [own] grief, and he wished from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the sacrifice of his life and fortune; after which, upon his knees, he received the Archbishop's blessing and departed." In his addition to his last will, immediately before his death he professed that he died in the faith of the Apostles' Creed;—"For matters of rites and government," he declared, "my judgment is and hath been, that the most simple, decent, and humble rites should be chosen, such as the bowing of the knee in the receiving of the holy

Sacrament, with others of the like kind ; profaneness being as dangerous to religion as superstition. As touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government episcopal is the only right and apostolic form, parity among ministers being the breeder of all confusion, as experience might have taught us. And for those ruling elders, as they are a mere human device, so they will prove, when the way is more open to them, the ruin of both Church and State." Archbishop Spottiswoode's " History of the Church and State of Scotland" from the year 203 to the accession of Charles I. in 1625, was published in London in 1655. The whole, with the exception of the first hundred and twenty pages, is valuable as the narrative of a contemporary, containing details not recorded by other writers, and is written in a clear though plain style, without the pedantry and quaintness peculiar to his time. This work, it is stated, was written by command of King James, who told the Archbishop, in reply to an observation that he could not approve of all the actions of his mother Queen Mary—" Speak the truth, and spare not." The Archbishop dedicated it to Charles I. in an epistle dated " from the place of my peregrination, 15th November 1639," in which it is singular that, though it extends to three pages, the writer alludes neither to his illness nor his exile, but speaks as if he were still in Scotland ; yet this date was only eleven days before his death, which, according to the inscription on his monument, occurred on the 26th of November 1639, in the 74th year of his age, and this is more likely to be authentic than the statement of other authorities that he died on the 26th or 27th of December. " The manner of his burial," says Bishop Dupper, by the command and care of his religious King, was solemnly ordered ; for the corpse being attended by many mourners, and at least 800 torches, and being brought near the Abbey Church of Westminster, the whole Nobility of England and Scotland then present at Court, with all the King's servants and many gentlemen, came out of their coaches, and conveyed the body to the west door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendaries of that church in their clerical habits, and buried according to the solemn rites of the English Church, before the extermination of decent Christian burial was come in fashion."

Without reference to the infamous lies and atrocious charges set forth by the Covenanters in their pretended libel against Arch-

bishop Spottiswoode, we find his character assailed by the gossip of the day. Burnet describes him as “a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his course of life,” for, according to a statement in his work first printed at Oxford in 1823, “he was a frequent player at cards and used to eat often in taverns; besides, that all his livings were scandalously exposed to sale by his servants.” But Bishop Burnet was not born till nearly four years after the Archbishop’s death, and his partial delineations are well known. It is evident that the Primate, like most of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, made no secret of his aversion and contempt for the austerity of the Puritans, and thus would appear to evince a laxity of decorum which his traducers magnified into egregious crimes; yet it ought to be remembered that even Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury, puritanically inclined though he notoriously was, often joined in the diversion of the chase, of which the melancholy homicide he committed in Lord Zouch’s park is a memorial. Martine describes Archbishop Spottiswoode as “a grave, sage, and peaceable Prelate, ‘deserving a singular note and mark of honour,’ for, among other things, ‘composing an excellent Liturgy’;”* but in this he is mistaken, and the Scottish Primate appears rather to have been averse to the introduction of any Liturgy, knowing that he could gain nothing by disturbing the then established order, or exciting the prejudices of the Presbyterians, though he did not openly oppose it in deference to the King. The testimony of Bishop Dupper is a warm eulogium on the piety and conduct of the Archbishop. “In his life he had set so severe a watch upon himself, that his conversation was without reproof, even in those times when the good name of every clergyman was set at a rate as formerly were the heads of wolves.—For piety he was more for substance than for show; more for the power of godliness than the bare form of it. Frequent he was in his private prayers, and in the public worship of God of such an exemplary carriage as might warm the coldest congregation to gather heat, and to join with him in the same fervency and height of his devotion.” Archbishop Spottiswoode left two sons and a daughter by his wife Rachel, daughter of Bishop Lindsay of Ross. Sir John Spottiswoode of Dairsie, the elder son, was alive in 1655, and it is said of him that he was then, “though not in a plen-

* Reliquæ Divi Andreæ, p. 251.

tiful, yet in a contented condition, not any way cast down or ashamed of his sufferings, but comforting himself rather that in this general ruin brought upon his country he hath kept his conscience free though his estate hath suffered." He died before the Restoration of Charles II., surviving a short time his only son, John Spottiswoode, a devoted royalist, who was the follower of the Marquis of Montrose, and executed as a *Malignant* soon after the Covenanting murder of that nobleman. The fate of Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the Archbishop's other son, is subsequently noticed. He married a daughter of Sir Alexander Morrison of Prestongrange in Haddingtonshire, a judge in the Court of Session under the title of Lord Prestongrange, and left three sons—John, who died unmarried before the Restoration—Sir Alexander, who carried on the succession of the family—and Robert, appointed by Charles II. physician to the governor and garrison of Tangiers, who was the father of General Alexander Spottiswoode, constituted Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in 1710. The Archbishop's daughter, Anne, married Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, by whom she had two sons. Dr James Spottiswoode, brother of the Archbishop, became rector of Wells in Norfolk in 1603, and Bishop of Clogher in 1621, in which See he continued to his death in 1644, and was interred near the Archbishop in Westminster Abbey, leaving two sons and one daughter, who married, and had descendants, "whose posterity," it is stated, referring to Sir Henry Spottiswoode, the Bishop of Clogher's elder son, "still exist in Ireland, where they are possessed of opulent fortunes."*

Archbishop Lindsay of Glasgow retired into England, and died at Newcastle in 1641. Keith says—"I have heard from some persons who knew him that he was both a good man and a very fervent preacher." The Archbishop is described as "aged and valetudinary" in 1638, and a contemporary chronicler says that he was then seventy-four years old, and confined to his bed by sickness. The Presbyterians assert that he fainted when the pretended deposition and excommunication were announced to him. It appears that he was really against the introduction of the Liturgy, and we have his statement to the Earl of Wemyss that he reluctantly signed the Declinature of the Bishops by the persuasion of the Marquis of Hamilton and Bishop Maxwell of Ross. Baillie states that he

* Douglas' Baronage of Scotland, folio, 1798, p. 447.

was at one time inclined to submit himself to the Assembly, but a promised pension of £5,000 sterling, and the hope of enjoying the revenues of the See of Glasgow for life, prevented him. "Since that time," says Baillie, "he has lived very quietly, miskent by all, and put well near to Adamson's misery; had not peace shortly come his wants had been extreme, and without pity from many, or great relief from any hand we know."

Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh withdrew into England at the commencement of the Covenanting war, and died during the troubles. A few notices of the family of Bishop Bellenden occur. His son, David Bellenden, minister of Kincardine, died at the episcopal residence in Old Aberdeen, on the 24th of November 1638, during the meeting of the Glasgow Assembly. On the 22d of March 1639 the Bishop left his palace in Old Aberdeen, and removed to New Aberdeen for "better security." He continued to preach and administer the Communion till the 24th. On the 27th he was compelled by the threats of the Covenanters to leave the town with his son and nephew. The Bishop returned to Aberdeen on the 19th of May, but he was soon forced to depart. His daughter Margaret Bellenden followed him to England, and died at Berwick in January 1640 much lamented. Bishop Whiteford of Brechin also withdrew into England, and in 1642 it was rumoured in Aberdeen that he and Bishop Bellenden had obtained benefices from the King.* Baillie, however, mentions that in December 1640 the latter was living in London "in great poverty and misery." He survived till the month of April 1642, but he died soon afterwards, and Bishop Whiteford in 1643.

Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane died at or near Canterbury in 1639, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried within the chapel of the Virgin in the Cathedral, where a monument was erected to his memory. It simply set forth that he was born at Dundee, was Dean of the Chapel-Royal [of Holyrood] and Bishop of Dunblane four years, and that he was the ornament of his country for his learning, probity, and faithfulness. Bishop Maxwell of Ross, a man of great abilities, whom the Covenanters particularly hated, retired to England after the Parliament denounced him in 1639.

* Spalding's History of the Troubles and Memorable Occurrences in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1645. Printed for the Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh, 1829, 2 vols. 4to. vol. i. p. 85, vol. ii. p. 39, 40.

His wife is mentioned as the sister of Mr Alexander Innes, minister of Rothiemay, with whom she took shelter after she was compelled to leave the episcopal residence at the Chanonry of Ross, and remained till the Bishop sent for her. Bishop Maxwell was appointed to the Sees of Killala and Achonry in Ireland in 1640 at the deprivation of Dr Adair, and to the Archbishopric of Tuam in 1645. He was found dead in his closet in 1646, on his knees in the attitude of prayer, and he is said to have died of grief at the tidings of the King's misfortunes. He was most barbarously treated by the rebels both at Killala and Tuam. He and his predecessor Archbishop Boyle of Tuam retired to Galway for protection in 1641, and were in great danger of their lives from an insurrection of the inhabitants, who took up arms against the garrison. "Bishop Maxwell," says Bishop Mant, "had been forced from his episcopal palace by the rebels, plundered of his goods, attacked, with his wife, three children, and a number of Protestants, in all about a hundred, at the Bridge of Shrule, where several were slain, and the Bishop himself, with others, was wounded, but happily escaped under the protection of a neighbouring gentleman, who took them to his house, and afforded them signal assistance."* Ireland was at the unhappy period of 1639 an asylum for many of the loyal and orthodox clergy driven from Scotland by the ferocity and tyranny of the Covenanters. "In particular," says Bishop Mant, "the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and other lawful rulers of the Church of Scotland, being driven from their episcopal seats by schismatical intruders, sought shelter in the hospitable dwelling of the Bishop [Bramhall] of Derry, and sought it not in vain. His hospitality and bounty were largely acknowledged in several letters, 'praying God to reward him for the relief which he gave to his distressed and persecuted brethren, of whom their own country was not worthy, not doubting but succeeding ages would mention it to his honour.'"

Bishop Guthrie of Moray would neither submit to the Covenant nor leave the kingdom, and he in consequence suffered great persecutions from the Covenanters. After his pretended deposition he was ordered to make his public repentance in St Giles' church at Edinburgh for preaching before the King in his episcopal habit, under pain of excommunication, and as he set this threat at defi-

* Bishop Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, 8vo. London, 1840, p. 563.

ance it was done in St Giles' church in the spring of 1639 by the preacher Rollock.* The sentence of his deposition by the Glasgow Assembly was intimated to him by three Covenanters deputed for that purpose, who met the Bishop at the door of his church at Elgin after he had preached a sermon. Those worthies also enjoined him to make public repentance. It was his usual practice to preach every Sunday, but he now desisted, though he often officiated after his illegal deprivation, and retired to the old episcopal castle or palace of Spynie, in the neighbourhood, which he had amply provided with necessaries, and garrisoned by some soldiers or retainers, resolving to stand a siege. One account states that he occupied Spynie Castle till 1640, when he was compelled to surrender to Colonel Monroe; but according to another statement the Bishop's family retained possession till May 1642, when during his absence in Arbroath his wife sent all his goods and furniture by sea from Spynie Castle to his paternal mansion and estate of Guthrie in Forfarshire, and soon afterwards joined him attended by two of their sons—Patrick Guthrie, and John Guthrie, minister of Duffus, deposed by the General Assembly in 1642.† The judicial murder of another son is subsequently noticed. This “venerable, worthy, and hospitable Prelate,” as Keith justly designates him, died during the Civil Wars. Bishop Guthrie was committed a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in 1640, where he endured many hardships and privations. On the 16th of November 1641 he petitioned the King and Estates of Parliament for “his enlargement from the grievous prison wherein he had continued these fourteen months, and for taking course for the summons of forfeiture intended against him.” He was ordered to be “put to liberty, with provision he do not return to the Diocese of Moray.”‡

Nothing is known of the subsequent retreat of Bishop Campbell of The Isles. “His censure,” says Gordon of Rothiemay, “was deposition, and, except he submit to the Assembly, excommunication. It seems this Bishop was upon the way of the Primitive

* Rollock, who was succeeded by Henderson as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, repented of his Covenanting principles before his death in 1642, for which, says Spalding, “he got small convoy to his grave by the Puritans of Edinburgh.” History of Troubles in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 56.

† Spalding's History of the Troubles and Memorable Occurrences in Scotland, vol. i. p. 99, vol. ii. p. 43, 44.

‡ Acta Parl. Scot. vol. v. p. 482.

party that resided in the West Isles about the Isle of Hya [Iona] in the times of Columba and Aidanus ; being that, beyond all the rest, nothing could be objected to him but his being Bishop, so that in all probability the episcopal sanctity was fled to the confines of Christendom, to hallow anew the barbarous appendices of the Scottish continent. It was well for him, however, that his episcopal see was at such a distance with his episcopal superintendents, and himself stood at such a near relation to Argyll as his surname.”*

Bishop Sydserff retired first to England, and afterwards to France, exercising “ his episcopal office in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown, the King’s Ambassador at Paris, by ordaining priests, and amongst the rest the laborious Mr John Durel.”† Lord Hailes printed a letter regarding Bishop Sydserff, written from Paris by Robert Burnet, Lord Crimond, then in exile for not submitting to the faction, father of Bishop Burnet, to his brother-in-law the Covenanting Johnston of Warriston. “ For Mr Sydserff, sometime Bishop of Galloway, he came here five or six weeks ago, and by [without] my knowledge, by the address of other Scotsmen, he took his chamber in the house where I am, and has been since my being here. I could have wished he had not come here as long as I had been here, rather to have satisfied other men’s scruples, whom I have no intention to offend, than my own ; for the Lord is my witness, to whom I must answer at the last day, I think there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced against some of these Bishops, and particularly against this man, since the creation of the world, and I am persuaded that those who did excommunicate him, did rather excommunicate themselves from God than him ; for I have known him these twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him ; and I know him to be a learned and more conscientious man, although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others, than any of those who were upon his excommunication. And, alas ! brother, what would you be at, that now when you have beggared him, and chased him by club-law out of the country ? Would you have him reduced to despair, and will you

* Gordon of Rothiemay’s History of Scots Affairs, printed for the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1841, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.

† Skinner’s Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 348.

exact that every man, yea, against his conscience, shall approve your deeds, how unjust soever, yea, out of the country?—As I wrote to you before, none of the ministers of Paris would believe me that you would or durst excommunicate any for not subscribing that Covenant, and the ministers declared to him, that notwithstanding his excommunication they would admit him to the Communion, since his excommunication was not for any crime, but *par raison d'état*; but he communicates with the English. All Scots and English here, both of our party and others, respect him; and I assure you he defends the Protestant religion stoutly against Papists, and none of our Scots Papists dare meddle with him after they have once essayed him. Be not too violent then, and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet.* Bishop Sydserff is subsequently noticed as the only surviving Scottish Bishop at the Restoration.

The four Bishops who basely submitted to the rebellious Assembly were Graham of Orkney, Abernethy of Caithness, Fairlie of Argyll, and Lindsay of Dunkeld. Keith says that Bishop Graham was “very rich,” and was proprietor of the estate of Gorthie, which by his compliance with the times he contrived to save “and the money he had upon bond, otherwise it would all have fallen under escheat.” He acknowledged the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, and in that at Edinburgh in 1639 a letter from him was read, “testifying his repentance and demission of his pretended office,” at which Moderator Dickson “thanked God who had extorted a testimony out of the mouth of a man who was once an overseer.” This truculent Prelate’s renunciation of the episcopal function induced Bishop Hall, then of Exeter, afterwards of Norwich, to write his celebrated treatise entitled—“Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted,” at the recommendation of Archbishop Laud, which was published in 1640. It is an answer to the Presbyterian and Puritan allegation then set forth that Episcopacy was unlawful and antichristian, and the venerable Bishop Hall comments with great severity on the conduct of Graham, and by implication his three companions. Bishop Abernethy was to be provided with a charge in the “ministry” by the Covenanters, when one could be found

* Memorials and Letters relating to the Reign of Charles I., Glasgow, 1766, p. 72-75, cited in a note to Gordon of Rothiemay’s History of Scots Affairs, printed for the Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.

for him, of which no notice occurs. Mr Scott mentions in his Perth MS. Registers that Bishop Abernethy was his mother's great-grandfather, and that on his death-bed he desired to be relaxed from the "excommunication," which must have been a subsequent procedure against him, but as he refused to admit that Episcopacy was unlawful and unscriptural, the usurping Presbyterians continued their puny sentence. Bishop Fairlie of Argyll became Presbyterian minister of Lasswade, a parish about five miles south of Edinburgh ; and Bishop Lindsay of Dunkeld, who in 1639 also declared "his unfeigned grief and sorrow of heart for undertaking the unlawful office of Episcopacy, swearing never to meddle, directly or indirectly, with that pretended office any more," was allowed to officiate in his former parish of St Madoes near Perth as the Presbyterian incumbent. Well might Bishop Hall exclaim at the commencement of the first section of his work with reference to those four unhappy men—"Good God ! what is this I have lived to hear ? A Bishop in a Christian Assembly renounce his episcopal functions, and cry mercy for his now abandoned calling !—The world never heard of such a penance ; you cannot blame us if we receive it both with wonder and expostulation, and tell you that it had been much better you had never been born than to give such a scandal to God's Church, so deep a wound to His holy religion.—For a man held once worthy to be graced with the chair of Episcopacy to spurn that once honoured seat, and to make his very profession a sin, is so shameful an indignity, as will make the wise in succeeding ages shake their heads, and not mention it without just indignation."

In the spring of 1639 the Covenanters indicated the hypocrisy of their professions of loyalty by taking up arms and appearing in rebellion against the King. Military committees were appointed for every county to assemble and train the peasantry, and to forward to their main army such levies and supplies as were necessary. Artificers were everywhere employed in the fabrication of muskets, carbines, poleaxes, halberts, and other implements of strife ; magazines were provided for the troops ; and beacons were constructed in each county to call together their partizans when occasion required. The celebrated General Alexander Leslie, afterwards created Lord Balgonie and Earl of Leven, was invited by the Covenanters from Sweden, where he had continued in the ser-

vice of Queen Christina after the death of Gustavus, at the suggestion of the chief of his name, the Earl of Rothes ; and as the reputed oppressions of the Covenanters had been diligently circulated on the Continent, he brought with him a number of Scotsmen who had served in the wars of Gustavus as soldiers of fortune, who had nothing to lose, but every thing to gain, from a civil commotion in their own country. Arms to the amount of 30,000, exclusive of those of home manufacture, were obtained from Holland ; a foundry for cannon was established in the then suburban street of Edinburgh known as the Potterrow ; and Leith was soon placed in a state of defence by the plan of a new fort laid down by Sir Alexander Hamilton, General Leslie's acting engineer, which in less than a week was completed. The whole coast of Fife with its numerous towns was strengthened by cannons carried on shore from the ships ; and the Covenanters were soon in a state of preparation greatly superior to the King, though he had long meditated his hostilities before declaring against them.

General Leslie was at this time an old man, little in stature and deformed in person, but his great reputation, and the affected piety of his deportment, rendered him, according to Baillie, who attended him, a most popular and respected leader. He was, moreover, powerfully supported by the zeal of his peasant soldiers—for the most part ploughmen from the Western counties—stout rustics whose bodies had been rendered muscular by their avocations, and who were impressed with the principle that the object was to defend their religion, their families, and their homes. The final muster of the Covenanters previous to their march southward was on the Links of Leith, 20th of May, when many thousand appeared, all equipped in the German fashion, and they were constituted an army by the reading of the Articles of War, drawn up by Leslie on the model of those of Gustavus, every one receiving a printed copy. On the 21st of May they marched for the English Border, displaying their blue flags with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, and the inscription—"FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT." The preachers accompanied this force in great numbers, attended by little parties of their associates, and sermons were delivered every morning and evening in various parts of the camp, with the exercises of psalm-singing, praying, and reading the Scriptures. Leslie advanced toward the English Border, and halted at the little rural

town of Dunse, fourteen miles from Berwick and ten miles from Coldstream, at the base of the hill called Dunse Law. His army, strengthened by reinforcements, is variously estimated at from 20,000 to 28,000 men. Leslie fortified the hill to the very summit, and his soldiers lay encamped on the sides. The King had advanced with a large army to a locality called Birks, on the English side of the Tweed, a few miles beyond Berwick, and is said to have been the first to descry the encampment of the Covenanters on Dunse Law. An amicable arrangement, however, was formed between the King and the Covenanters, and the negotiation was proclaimed in both camps on the 18th of June, though it was of no long duration. On the summit of Dunse Law are still seen the vestiges of General Leslie's entrenchments, and an original copy of the National Covenant was discovered upwards of one hundred and sixty years afterwards in that old part of the present splendid mansion of Dunse Castle said to have been erected by Randolph Earl of Moray, nephew of King Robert Bruce. The room is also preserved in which Leslie and his officers entertained their visitors.

The Covenanters held their next General Assembly at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, the Earl of Traquair appearing as the King's Commissioner. In the treaty of the 18th of June it was stipulated by mutual consent that as all discussions concerning the General Assembly of 1638 should be waived, all *ecclesiastical* matters were to be settled in a General Assembly, and *civil* matters in the Parliament and Courts of Law. Nevertheless, as Episcopacy was the unrepealed law of Scotland, the King, in his warrant of the 29th of June authorizing the Assembly of 1639, directed that "all Archbishops, Bishops, and commissioners of kirks," should attend and vote as members. It is unnecessary to state that none of the Bishops appeared. The opening sermon was preached by Henderson, and Mr David Dickson was chosen Moderator. They indulged in some of their usual tirades against the Liturgy, Canons, Perth Articles, and the Bishops; and the King had so far yielded to them that Traquair stated—"My master was pleased at the camp to say, that if it could be made apparent to him by the Assembly of the Kirk, notwithstanding his own inclination and opinion, which his education and the Church of England possibly give him of Episcopacy, that it was contrary to the constitution of this Church [of Scotland], he commandeth me

not only to concur with you, but to do all that could be expected from so good and gracious a King, both by my consenting to it and ratifying it in Parliament." The penitential letters, submitting themselves to the Assembly, of Bishop Graham of Orkney and Bishop Lindsay of Dunkeld, were read, and much coarse ribaldry was uttered against the episcopal function in general. Although the Episcopal Church was still by law the ecclesiastical establishment of the kingdom, they resolved to punish every man who adhered to it, whether clerical or lay. Numbers of the clergy were deposed, and the depositions of others by the Presbyteries were sanctioned. They brought forward "a motion for authorizing the Covenant, by way of new swearing and subscribing thereto by the whole kingdom :" and produced a lengthy reply to the King's Large Declaration written by Dr Balcanqual, designating it "dishonourable to God—to the King's Majesty—to this national Kirk—It is stuffed full of lies and calumnies." These formed as many distinct heads, which they endeavoured to prove, and concluded their sittings on the 30th of August, appointing their next General Assembly to be held at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July 1640.

The Parliament met on the last day of August, the day after the Assembly was dissolved, and the Earl of Traquair was also in it as the King's Commissioner. On the 6th of September Traquair subscribed the National Covenant in the Parliament, which he intimated and caused to be recorded that he did so not as the King's Commissioner, but in his official capacity of Lord Treasurer. This reservation, however, was ordered to be expunged on the 17th as illegal. The acts of the recent Assembly, entitled the "Six Causes of bygane evils," and the act prefixed to the Covenant, were read and passed, as was also the "supplication" of the Assembly against Dr Balcanqual's Large Declaration of the King, which caused some altercation between Traquair on the part of the King, and Argyll and Rothes. It was ordered that "the act anent the establishing of this Parliament to be a perfect judicatory, the act abolishing Episcopacy and the civil power of Churchmen, and another on the future constitution of the Parliaments, be drawn up in three separate acts." On the 24th of September the "act rescissory of the acts introduced in favour of Episcopacy and other Prelates, &c. for their places," was read and voted, Traquair as

Commissioner declaring that he would cause the Lord Advocate to “ produce his reasons in writ against the article foresaid, or any other article which shall be voted to the Lords of the Articles to be presented to the Parliament prejudicial to his Majesty.”* Acts were also passed regulating the “ presenting of ministers to kirks ; hearers of mass ; admission of ministers to kirks which belonged to Bishopries ; planting of and presentation to kirks usurped by Bishops ;” and “ suppressing the distinction and difference of spiritual and temporal Lords in the Court of Session.”†

Previous to the meeting of the General Assembly the “ seeds of disunion,” we are informed, were sown among the Presbyterians by “ a miserable controversy among the Covenanters themselves about private meetings for devotional purposes, which some of their leading men countenanced and others reprobated—a schism which was agitated at the Aberdeen Assembly, and at a future period increased, till the Presbyterian Church was divided into two furious factions, denouncing, excommunicating, and persecuting each other.”‡ The Scottish Parliament again met in 1640, and on the 11th June, Robert Lord Balfour of Burleigh was appointed President in absence of the King’s Commissioner. The Covenanters were at the time again collecting their forces under General Leslie against the King, having renewed their rebellion in April, though it was not till the end of August that they crossed the Tweed nearly thirty thousand strong, and defeated the royal troops at Newburn, by which they obtained possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, and several large magazines of provisions. In the acts of the above mentioned Parliament the pen is drawn through the usual introductory words—“ *Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament;*” and the phraseology substituted, or rather interlined, is—“ *The Estates of Parliament presently convened by his Majesty’s special authority.*” The Parliament ratified the acts of the Covenanting Assembly of 1639, denouncing the Liturgy, Canons, Five Articles of Perth, and High Court of Commission ; and ordained that “ the foresaid Service-Book, Book of Canons and Ordination, and the High Commission, be still rejected—that the Articles of Perth be no more practised—that episcopal government, the civil places and power of Kirkmen, be held still as unlaw-

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. v. p. 263.

† *Ibid.* p. 278.

‡ Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. vol. i. p. 278.

ful in this Kirk—that the pretended Assemblies at Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, at Glasgow in 1610, at Aberdeen in 1616, at St Andrews in 1617, at Perth in 1618, be hereafter accounted as null and of none effect; and that for preservation of religion, and preventing all such evils in time coming, General Assemblies rightly constitute as the proper and competent judge of all matters ecclesiastical hereafter be kept yearly, and oftener *pro re nata* as occasion and necessity shall require.”* The “Supplication” and “Act of the General Assembly, ordaining by ecclesiastical authority the subscription of the Confession of Faith and Covenant,” and the Covenant itself, were approved and ratified. An act rescissory was passed, annulling the right of the Bishops to vote in Parliament, and declaring that “the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this Kirk stands in the Kirk of God as it is now reformed, and in the General [and] Provincial Presbyterial Assemblies, with the sessions of the Kirk established by act of Parliament made in June 1592.” All the acts against the Roman Catholics were renewed, and the former authority of the Archbishops and Bishops to prosecute them was vested in the Covenanting Presbyteries. An act of the third Parliament of James VI. was revived, enjoining “letters of horning and caption by the Lords of Session against the excommunicated Prelates, and all other excommunicated persons.” All the judges of the Court of Session were ordered to be laymen. Various other acts were passed in favour of the Covenanters and their proceedings without the royal sanction, which were consequently illegal.

The next Covenanting General Assembly was held at Aberdeen on the 28th of July. No Commissioner was appointed by the King, and after waiting one day for the appearance of such a representative they proceeded to business according to their own views of “the liberties of the Kirk.” They ordered all “idolatrous monuments,” such as “crucifixes, images of Christ, Mary, and Saints departed,” to be demolished; all “witches and charmers” were to be prosecuted; ministers who subscribed and afterwards “spoke against” the Covenant were to be deprived and excommunicated; “any other man” was to be “dealt with as perjured;” and no preacher or schoolmaster was to be allowed even to *reside* within a “burgh, university, or college,” who refused to sign the Covenant. But their

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. v. p. 291, 292.

most important act was their “ commission for visiting the University of Aberdeen,” which was in reality a crusading persecution of their formidable and dreaded opponents the justly celebrated Doctors. Their proceedings against the Aberdeen Doctors are noticed by Baillie, who was present. “ We found,” he says, “ a great averseness in the hearts of many from our course, albeit little in countenance. Doctors Sibbald, Forbes, and Scroggie, were resolved to suffer martyrdom before they subscribed any thing concerning [contrary to] Episcopacy and Perth Articles ; but we resolved to speak nothing to them of these matters, but of far other purposes. We found them irresolute about the Canons of Dort, as things they had never seen, or at least considered. They would say nothing against any clause of the Book of Canons, Liturgy, Ordination, and High Commission. Dr Forbes’ treatises, full of a number of Popish tenets, and intending direct reconciliation with Rome farther than either Montacute or Spalato, or any I ever saw among their hands and the hands of their young students, together with a treatise of Bishop Wedderburn’s and an English priest Barnesius, all for reconciliation. Dr Sibbald in many points of doctrine we found very corrupt, for the which we deposed him, and ordained him without quick satisfaction to be processed. The man was there of great fame. It was laid upon poor me to be their examiner and moderator to their process. Dr Scroggie, an old man, not very corrupt, yet perverse in the Covenant and Service-Book. Dr Forbes’ ingenuity pleased us so well that we have given him yet time for advisement. Poor Barron, otherwise an ornament of our nation, we find has been much *in multis* in the Canterburyan way. Great knavery and direct intercourse with his Grace [Laud] was found among them, and yet all was hid from us that they possibly could.”

As an offset to this account the contemporary narrative of Gordon of Rothiemay, the successor in that parish of Mr Innes, who was deposed by the Covenanters, the brother-in-law of Bishop Maxwell of Ross, is worthy of notice. This candid Presbyterian honourably mentions the Aberdeen Doctors, and the inquisitorial proceedings against them. The Committee met in the Earl Marischal’s house, and summoned the Principals and Professors of both Colleges, Dr Alexander Leslie, minister of Old Aberdeen, Dr James Sibbald, minister of New Aberdeen, Mr John Gregory, minister

of Drumoak, Mr John Ross, minister of Birse, Mr Alexander Strachan, minister of Chapel-of-Garioch, Mr Andrew Logie, minister of Rayne, Archdeacon of Aberdeen—all of that Diocese ; Mr John Guthrie, minister of Duffus, son of Bishop Guthrie, and Mr Richard Maitland, minister of Aberchirder, in the Diocese of Moray. Some were also cited who were not questioned, but numbers of the Diocese of Moray had been deposed by the committees before the meeting of the Assembly.

Dr Scroggie was accused of “ preaching long upon one text—that he was cold in his doctrine, and edified not his parishioners ; finally that he refused to subscribe the Covenant ; and with little ceremony he was sentenced and deposed from his ministry by the voice of the Assembly.”—“ To my knowledge,” says Gordon of Rothiemay, “ he was a man sober, grave, and painful in his calling : his insisting upon a text long was never yet made nor could be matter of accusation to any, if the text were material and the discourse pertinent ; and for his cold delivery his age might excuse it.” Dr Scroggie obtained a pension from the King in 1641, and after his pretended deposition lived privately till his death at Rathven in 1659, in the 95th year of his age. He was preferred from the parish of Drumoak to be ordinary minister in the cathedral church of Old Aberdeen in 1621 by Bishop Patrick Forbes. He left two sons, the elder of whom became minister in that church, and the younger was consecrated Bishop of Argyll in 1666.

Dr Sibbald was accused of Arminianism and not subscribing the Covenant. The informer against him was the “ flower of the Kirk,” the savoury Samuel Rutherford, who had resorted to his sermons when exiled to Aberdeen for his seditious conduct. “ It will not be affirmed by his very enemies,” says Gordon of Rothiemay, “ but that Dr James Sibbald was an eloquent and painful preacher, a man godly, and grave, and modest, not tainted with any vice unbeseeming a minister, to whom nothing could in reason be objected, if you call not his uncovenanted a crime.” He went to Ireland, and at Dublin he maintained his reputation for piety, learning, and zeal in his sacred office. He is probably the *James Sybald* who subscribed a declaration of the clergy of Dublin in favour of the Liturgy in 1647.

Against Dr Leslie, Principal of King’s College, it was objected “ that he was lazy,” says Gordon of Rothiemay, “ and neglective

in his charge ; they strove to brand him with personal escapades of drunkenness, and finally that he would not subscribe the Covenant. I must plead for him as for the rest, wherever I shall speak truth. His laziness might be imputed to his retired monastic way of living, being naturally melancholy, and a man of great reading, a painful student, who delighted in nothing else but to sit in his study, and spend days and nights at his books, which kind of life is opposite to a practical way of living. He never married in his lifetime, but lived solitary, and if sometimes to refresh him his friends took him from his books to converse with them, it ought not to have been objected to him as drunkenness, he being known to have been sober and abstemious above his accusers. He was a man grave, austere, and exemplary. The University was happy in having such a light as he, who was eminent in all the sciences above the most of his age. He had studied a full encyclopædia, and it may be questioned whether he excelled most in Divinity, Humanity, or the Languages, he being of course Professor of the Hebrew and Divinity." He was succeeded by Dr William Guild, a regular "vicar of Bray," whose exploits are noticed in the following chapter. Principal Leslie resided some years after his " deposition" with the Marquis of Huntly, and latterly with his relative, a gentleman named Douglas, till his death, which occurred during Cromwell's domination in Scotland. "The many high encomiums," says another Presbyterian authority, "bestowed on Dr William Leslie, must excite the deepest regret that he should have bequeathed so small a portion of his knowledge to posterity. Although he was regarded as a profound and universal scholar, he never courted the fame of authorship."^{*} It is already noticed that he was, according to Keith, brother of John Leslie, successively Bishop of The Isles, Raphoe, and Clogher, who was the father of the illustrious and learned Charles Leslie, author of "A Short and Easy Method with the Deists," and other well known works.

Dr John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity, is subsequently mentioned. "He was," says Gordon of Rothiemay, "the bone of any that troubled the Covenanters to digest ; for as he stood opposed to the Covenant, which he had evinced in his Warning,[†] and

* Dr David Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, 1814, vol. i. p. 136.

† "A Peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland, given in the year of God 1638. Aberdeen, imprinted by Edw. Raban, the year above written."

had disputed against them in his queries ; so they knew him to be a man most eminent for learning and for piety, and they feared it would be a scandal to depose him. But all this would not do ; therefore he got his sentence of deposition as the rest had gotten before him." This excellent son of the great and good Bishop Patrick Forbes had conveyed his house in Aberdeen as a future residence for the Professor of Divinity in King's College, and his Covenanting successor was mean enough to take advantage of the donation. We are told that his enemies would hardly allow him to " stay in Scotland till he put his affairs in order." He retired to his wife's relatives in Holland, and he was not permitted to return till 1646.

Dr Barron, a man of extraordinary learning, died during the previous year, yet " they thought him not orthodox in some of his tenets ; therefore such of his papers as were unprinted they must see, and they must be censured and purged." They compelled his widow, who had retired to her native district of Strathisla in Banffshire, to appear as a prisoner before them, and produce his manuscripts, but nothing farther was done in his case. " Thus," says Gordon of Rothiemay, " the Assembly's errand was thoroughly done—those eminent Divines of Aberdeen either dead, deposed, or banished, with whom fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland beside at that time. Nor has that city, nor any city in Scotland, ever since seen so many learned Divines and scholars at one time together as were immediately before this in Aberdeen. From that time forward learning began to be discountenanced, and such as were knowing in antiquity and the writings of the Fathers were had in suspicion as men who smelled of Popery ; and he was most esteemed who affected novelty and singularity most ; and the very form of preaching, as well as the materials, was changed for the most part. Learning was nicknamed human learning, and some ministers so far cried it down in their pulpits as to be heard to say—*Down doctrine, and up Christ.*"* Well might Archbishop Laud tell Alexander Henderson that " he would do well to let Canterbury alone, and answer the learned Divines of Aberdeen, who have laid him and all that

* History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay. Printed for the Spalding Club, 4to. Aberdeen, vol. iii. p. 226, 244.

faction open enough to the Christian world, to make the memory of them and their cause stink to all posterity."*

As for the sermons of the Covenanting Presbyterians, we are told by Gordon of Rothiemay that they " were either declamations or invectives against the King's party, or Bishops, or ceremonies ; or persuasives to own the Covenant cordially, and to contribute liberally for the maintaining the *good cause*, for so it was ordinarily called. And it is very remarkable that those ministers who in the times of the Bishops pleaded tolerance for their non-conformity, and argued from the tenderness of their consciences, how soon as they got the power in their hands they spared not other men's consciences, but pressed them to obedience, with threatenings of civil and ecclesiastic punishments. The work was begun at Glasgow Assembly, 1638 ; and promoted at Edinburgh, 1639. In this Assembly they got a full conquest and victory over the Episcopal party, and dislodged such of them as were either in eminent places or universities. Aberdeen was the last place where they voided pulpits and chairs. Neither failed they as soon as they had driven out the contrary faction to fill their places with men who were most zealous for Presbytery and the Covenant. Mr Alexander Henderson was already transplanted to Edinburgh from a country charge. Mr Robert Blair and Rutherford to St Andrews ; Mr David Dickson must be Professor in Glasgow ; and Mr Andrew Cant must once more step up in Dr Forbes' chair in Aberdeen, as he had done before at Alford. He wanted learning to take upon him the profession of Divinity in the University. Churches so far were decried, lest people should imagine any inherent holiness with Papists to be in them, that from the pulpits by many the people were taught that they were to have them in no more reverent esteem than other houses ; sometimes they were worse used. Finally, whatever the Bishops had established it was their work to demolish."†

This part of the history of the Episcopal Church of Scotland might with propriety be concluded here, for the future commotions had no reference to its Bishops and clergy. A few general notices, however, will explain the subsequent proceedings. A Covenanting

* Wharton's History of Laud's Troubles and Trials, p. 112, 113.

† Gordon's (of Rothiemay) History of Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 249, 250.

Assembly was held at St Andrews on the 20th of July 1641, the Earl of Wemyss appearing as Commissioner, but none of its acts are of any importance. One was “for drawing up a Catechism, Confession of Faith, Directory of Public Worship, and form of Kirk Government.” This may be regarded as the commencement of their project to extend Calvinistic Presbyterianism into England—a scheme which was soon matured by the well known Westminster Assembly, and by the future Solemn League and Covenant. Bishop Guthrie petitioned this Assembly at St Andrews, that his benefice might be kept vacant for some time, but this was peremptorily refused. A feud still continued among them about private conventicles; and Henry Guthrie, then minister of Stirling, the future Bishop of Dunkeld, fanned the flame of discord. One of the Covenanting preachers at this Assembly contrived to get himself hanged for murder, which he committed during its sittings. This was a certain Mr Thomas Lamb, who killed a man on the road between Edinburgh and Leith, for which he was tried, condemned, and executed. It is surprising that they did not interfere and rescue this wretch.

A treaty of peace was concluded between England and Scotland on the 7th of August, and immediately after the 9th the King left London for Scotland. He arrived in Edinburgh about the middle of the month, but his reception was very different from that of 1633. The prerogatives of the Crown were now usurped by the Estates, and the King was compelled to enter the Palace of Holyrood under the rebellious banner of the Covenant. He submitted to the infliction of hearing Henderson preach in the Chapel-Royal, and conformed himself to the forms and peculiarities of his Covenanting masters. In July a preparatory meeting of the Parliament was held, in which, among other preliminary measures, the proceedings against the “incendiaries” commenced. These were the Earl of Traquair, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Sir John Hay, Dr Balcanqual, and Bishop Maxwell of Ross; and in the list of the proscribed, or of those consigned to destruction by the Covenanters, were the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Lewis Stewart of Blackhall. Those loyal noblemen and gentlemen were the supporters of the King, and the feelings with which he received their denunciation may be easily understood. On the 17th of August the King attended

the Parliament in person, which was adjourned on the 17th of November, though it virtually continued its sittings till the beginning of June 1644. It was during the month of November that the King was informed at Holyrood of the horrible massacre in Ireland, which he immediately communicated to the Parliament. On the 18th of November he left his kingdom of Scotland, which he was never again to revisit. He created Argyll a Marquis, Lord Loudon and General Leslie were promoted to the rank of Earls,—the former of Loudon and the latter of Leven, and four of his attendants were knighted. The remaining patrimony of the Church was consigned in this Parliament to its Covenanting enemies. The Bishoprics and Deaneries of Edinburgh and Orkney were bestowed on the University of Edinburgh. That of St Andrews obtained £1000 sterling per annum out of the Archbishopric and Priory : the Bishopric of Galloway and spirituality of Glasgow were given to its University ; and King's College in Old Aberdeen received the episcopal revenue of that See. The Bishopric of Dunkeld furnished a portion of its scanty revenue to the town of Perth for the erection of a bridge over the Tay ; and an incorporated body of mechanics in Edinburgh, called the *Hammermen*, obtained the remainder. The Marquis of Argyll secured the revenues of that See and of The Isles to *his own use* ; and those of the Bishoprics of Ross, Moray, and Caithness, were appropriated to other Covenanters. "These vulgar facts," it is well observed by a Presbyterian writer, "go far to explain some of the public phenomena of the *Second Reformation*, and to account for the zeal which had been manifested under the banner with *Christ's Crown and Covenant* in letters of gold inscribed upon its foldings."*

Scotland was now left under the sway of a Parliamentary Commission, controuled, guided, and animated at will or caprice by the Covenanting Presbyterians. Another of their General Assemblies was again held at St Andrews on the 27th of July 1642, the Earl of Dunfermline appearing as the King's Commissioner. Some months previous to that Assembly a complete rupture had taken place between the King and the English Parliament, and both parties were preparing an appeal to arms. The delegates of the Scottish Covenanters had proffered their mediation, and announced their rebellious project of overturning the Church of England, and

* Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317, 318.

setting up Presbyterianism as the means of allaying the animosities between the King and his subjects. The royal letter to the Covenanting Assembly at St Andrews assured it of the King's friendly disposition towards the now dominant Presbyterianism, and exhorted the leaders to promote order and obedience to the laws. In their answer they expressed their "great joy and gladness" at this intimation, with hypocritical assurances of their anxiety to secure loyalty and peace; but they immediately followed this insincere statement by a most urgent demand for "unity in religion, and uniformity of church-government, as a mean of a firm and durable union between the two kingdoms, and without which former experiences put us out of hope long to enjoy the purity of the gospel." A Declaration was sent to this Assembly from the English Parliament, the language of which was craftily suited to the principles of their Covenanting confederates, ascribing all their troubles to "the plots and practices of Papists and ill-affected persons, especially of the corrupt and dissolute clergy," as they falsely designated those of the Church of England; and to the "instigation of Bishops and others," who were "actuated by avarice and ambition, being not able to bear the Reformation endeavoured by the Parliament." The Covenanters returned an elaborate reply to this communication, stating their earnest desire for unity of religion—"that in all his Majesty's dominions there might be one Confession of Faith, one Directory for public worship, one public Catechism, and one form of Kirk Government"—that "the names of heresies and sects, Puritans, Conformists, Separatists, Anabaptists," &c. should be "*suppressed*," by which they meant *extirpation*—and that, "the Prelatical Hierarchy being put out of the way, the work will be easy, without forcing any conscience, to settle in England the government of the Reformed Kirk by Assemblies."

It is curious to observe that the Covenanters in this their brief triumph imitated the alleged conduct of Archbishop Laud and others, whom they accused of endeavouring to assimilate the Church of Scotland to that of England. They concerted a project of establishing Presbyterianism by compulsion in England, without any toleration whatever, and their proposals were equivalent to an announcement that they were ready to co-operate with the English agitators to force their humanly devised and republican system upon the King and the English nation. This led to

numerous negotiations, deputations, and new agitations, until they appointed delegates to mediate between the King and the English Parliament, including Henderson and some other leaders, who were instructed to demand from the King a complete uniformity of religion, the immediate dismissal from his service of all alleged Roman Catholics, and his own renunciation of the Church of England.

The King declined to accede to those insolent proposals; but without entering into the details of their subsequent proceedings it may be noticed, that as the Covenanters had obtained the ascendancy in all the executive departments of the State, a messenger arrived from the English Parliament during the meeting of a Convention at Edinburgh in May 1643. He announced that, in conformity to the communications with the last General Assembly, an “Assembly of Divines” was about to be convened at Westminster, to regulate the worship and polity of England, and the uniformity in these matters between the two kingdoms. This was one of the chief preliminaries to the meeting of the Covenanting Assembly at Edinburgh on the 2d of August 1643, at which Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, who was still Lord Advocate, appeared as the King’s Commissioner. The proceedings of that meeting were in accordance with those of the Westminster Assembly, and one of the results was the new bond of rebellion—the *Solemn League and Covenant*.

Of that infamous, intolerant, and blood-thirsty document, or its concoctors, it is unnecessary to say much. The pretended uniformity of religion, which it enjoined in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was to be achieved by the extirpation, *without respect of persons*, “of popery, prelacy, usurpation, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.” They were also “with all faithfulness to endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from the other, or making any faction or parties among the people contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve.” This Solemn League and Covenant emanated from the Covenanting General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1643, and was dated the 17th of August.

After it was sanctioned, it was carried to London for the concurrence of the English Parliament and the "Westminster Assembly of Divines"—the latter, it is well known, a convention without the royal authority. It was presented to both Houses of Parliament on the 28th of August, and also to the Westminster Presbyterian conclave. After some discussion it was approved by them, and by the House of Commons, the members of which were ordered to subscribe it, and all the people imperatively enjoined to sign, under the penalty of being denounced and punished as *Malcontents*. On the 25th of September this atrocious charter of a new reign of terror was signed and sworn by both Houses of Parliament, the Westminster Presbyterian Convention, the Scottish Covenanting delegates, and many others, in St Margaret's church at Westminster, which probably never had such a congregation within its walls convened for such an unholy purpose. The 13th of October was appointed for its final adoption in Scotland at Edinburgh, when the Presbyterian Commission of the Covenanting Assembly, the Committee of the Estates of Parliament, and the English delegates, met in one of the parish churches, and after devotional exercises in their own way the Solemn League and Covenant was signed and sworn by all present. On the 22d of October the Committee of Estates issued an edict, enjoining all subjects in Scotland to subscribe; threatening recusants with most summary punishment, as enemies to religion, to the King, and to the peace of the kingdoms. The Lords of the Privy Council were imperatively commanded to appear on the 2d of November and take the new Covenant. The Marquis now Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lanark, and other noblemen and gentlemen who resisted the mandates of the usurping tyrants, were denounced as enemies to God, the King, and the country; their estates were confiscated; soldiers were sent to seize them, and to put to death all who opposed them. Many fled to the Continent, though not a few were compelled by circumstances to comply with the Covenanting injunctions. It was now resolved to proceed to the extirpation of the devoted adherents of the Church of England by the sword. Before the end of November the Covenanting Presbyterians were in force under old General Leslie, the Earl of Leven, and on the 19th of January 1644 this army of dangerous fanatics and rebels, consisting of 18,000 foot, and 3,500 horse, crossed the

Tweed near Berwick, and invaded England. The most dreadful anarchy, bloodshed, and terror, pervaded the two kingdoms. During the march of the Covenanters into England, Archbishop Laud, after a vindictive, unjust, and infamous imprisonment of three years in the Tower, was tried by the English Parliament to gratify the Scottish Presbyterians, who soon glutted themselves with the blood of the venerable and martyred Primate on the 10th of January. The fate of that great and illustrious Prelate ought ever to make the Covenanting Presbyterians of Scotland odious to every sincere member of the Church of England.

On the 15th of July the Scottish Parliament passed an “Act anent the Ratification of the calling of the Convention, Ratification of the League and Covenant, Articles of Treaty betwixt the kingdom of Scotland and England, and remanent Acts of the Convention of Estates, and Committee thereof.” In 1645 the Covenanting Assembly held at Edinburgh ratified and approved the Solemn League and Covenant, which was enforced till the subjugation of Scotland by Cromwell. The identity of the real original of this blood-thirsty document appears to be disputed. An original is said to be in the possession of the University of Cambridge; but in September 1843 a statement appeared in the public prints, setting forth that another original of the Solemn League and Covenant was exhibiting in the Museum of Antiquities at Leeds, and that it was the property of a private individual in Glasgow, who had refused four hundred guineas for it, offered by some amateur who had evidently more money than common sense. It would be an appropriate present to the sect of Presbyterian Dissenters in Scotland founded in May 1843 by Dr Chalmers and others, aided and abetted by some hundreds of preachers of the Presbyterian Establishment, who left their kirks, and bestowed on themselves the magniloquent title, as empty as it is fallacious, of the “*Free Protestant Church of Scotland!*”

The Scottish Covenanters concluded their rebellion and bloodshed by the violation of every solemn pledge which they had given to Charles I., who was induced to entrust himself to their protection. On the 8th of December 1646 an agreement was made between the English Parliament and the Scottish Presbyterian army, that the former should pay the latter £400,000 in payment of arrears for the surrender of the King to the English com-

missioners sent to receive him. Of the above sum one-half was to be paid before the Scottish army passed the Border, and the remainder to be secured by the public faith. The King's treatment by the Covenanters before this infamous transaction was concluded, his interesting correspondence with Henderson on the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, and other personal events, are well known. On the 30th of January 1647 the King was delivered up to the English commissioners ; but the Scottish leaders only received one-fourth of the money, or L.100,000 sterling, the remainder to be paid within two years and a half ; and it may be safely assumed that this mode of settlement, by accepting the money then and subsequently doled out to them from time to time in instalments, was fully understood on the part of the Covenanters as a pledge of their acquiescence in the decrees of the English Parliament as to the fate of the unfortunate monarch. Some Scottish historians have endeavoured to prove that the Presbyterian Covenanters were not guilty of *selling the King* ; and even Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh is adduced as an authority in their favour. "The Parliament of Scotland" [in 1661], says the Lord Advocate of Charles II., "taking to their consideration how much and how unjustly this kingdom was injured by an aspersion cast upon it for the transactions at Newcastle in 1647, at which time the King was delivered to the Parliament of England, which was called in some histories a *selling of the King*, did by an express Act condemn and reprobate their treaty, and declare that the same was no national act, but was only carried on by some rebels who had falsely assumed the name of a Parliament. Nor wanted there many even in that Parliament who protested against all that procedure, and who had the courage and honesty to cause registrate that protestation. And I must here crave leave to expostulate with our neighbours of England for inveighing so severely against our nation for delivering their King, seeing he was only delivered up to their Parliament, who first imprisoned and thereafter murdered him ; whereas, how soon our rebels discovered their design they carried into England a splendid mighty army for his defence ; and when his murder came to their ears they proclaimed his son their King, and sent Commissioners to treat with him and bring him to Scotland ; and when he was arrived, they did contribute their lives and fortunes for his safety."*

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of Charles II., A. D.

To all this it may be replied, that Charles II. was not invited to Scotland by the loyal part of the nation, but by the Covenanters, who were in arms against Cromwell and his “sectarian army” for checking and restraining their Presbyterian intolerance. No man knew better than Sir George Mackenzie, that if Charles II. had not conformed to the Solemn League and Covenant the battles of Dunbar and Worcester never would have been fought. No morbid patriotism or party prejudices—no sophistry—no ingenious and elaborate defences—can remove the infamy of the charge of selling the King from the Scottish Covenanters. It may be conceded that the nation as such was not involved, for the loyal population was ruled with a rod of iron by the dominant faction; but every attempt of the modern Presbyterian writers to vindicate the Covenanters from the charges of double-dealing, dissimulation, bad faith, and sordid treachery, which are too justly laid to their charge, has completely failed, and can be refuted by the most conclusive facts. The very attempt of the Scottish Parliament to rid themselves of this odious stigma is a proof that they considered it a national disgrace; and the *selling of Charles I.* will ever remain an indelible consummation of all the enormities connected with the history of *Scottish Covenanting Presbyterianism*. The subsequent feeble and vain attempts of the Earl of Loudon and others of the leaders to rescue the King from the grasp of infuriated and murdering democrats offer no palliation. The deed was done at Newcastle on the 30th of January 1647, and Charles I. was judicially murdered on the scaffold at Whitehall by the sordid means and treacherous agency of the Scottish Covenanters.

1660, by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, and edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Depute Clerk Register of Scotland. Edinburgh, 4to. 1821.

CHAPTER XVII.

FANATICISM, OPPRESSION, AND CRUELTIES OF THE COVENANTING
PRESBYTERIANS.

THE people of Scotland are often told of the persecutions calumniously said to have been inflicted by the Episcopal Church after the Restoration of Charles II. on the Presbyterians. Those unhappy and obstinate enthusiasts are brought forward as contending for civil and religious liberty—as martyrs for every thing sacred and patriotic. They are the “*Scots Worthies*” and the “*Cloud of Witnesses*;” while their dangerous and intolerant principles are carefully concealed. In like manner the Covenanting Presbyterians of the reign of Charles I. are also represented as the enemies of political and ecclesiastical tyranny, and the Bishops and Episcopal clergy are delineated in the most odious manner as the supporters of arbitrary rule—as Papists, Arminians, addicted to the most scandalous vices, and perpetrators of the most atrocious crimes. The preceding narrative shews the principles and conduct of the Covenanting Presbyterians, until it was necessary to restrain them by the strong arm of military power. Their *fanaticism, oppression, and cruelties*, now come under our notice.

As to their fanaticism and impieties, selections from their printed productions would amply shew the deplorable condition in which Scotland was placed under the galling tyranny of the faction. “The pulpits,” says Bishop Burnet, “sounded with the ruin of their religion and liberties, and that all might now look for Popery and bondage if they did not acquit themselves like men. Curses were thundered out against those who went not out to help the angel of the Lord against the mighty, so oddly was the Scriptures applied; and to set off all this the better, all was carried with so many fastings and prayers. By this means it was that the poor and well-meaning people were animated into great extremities of zeal, resolving to hazard all in pursuance of the cause.” As it respects their writings, we have those, for example, of Samuel Rutherford,

one of their greatest saints, which are justly designated a compound of blasphemy, hypocrisy, obscenity, falsehood, calumny, and nonsense. Yet this Covenanting hero, who is yet held in great esteem by those in whom the old leaven effervesces, and whose "Letters" to various "godly ladies" contain the most disgusting ribaldry, was in 1625 compelled to resign an office in the University of Edinburgh for "some scandal on account of his marriage." The Earl of Loudon, a great chief of the Covenant, was a man of bad morals. His Countess, by his marriage with whom he acquired the estates of Loudon, threatened him with a process of adultery, of which she had undoubted proof, if he would not assist the Covenanters, and break certain engagements he had made with the King in England.* Yet Samuel Rutherford addresses Loudon on one occasion in these terms—" You come out to the streets with Christ on your forehead, when many are ashamed of him, and hide him under their cloaks as if he were a stolen Christ."

Rushworth collected some specimens of the fanaticism of the Covenanting Presbyterians of the time, which, as already observed, could be easily extended from their writings. One refused to pray for Sir William Nisbet, a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, when on his death-bed, because "he had not subscribed the Covenant;" and another "entreated God to scatter them all in Israel, and to divide them in Jacob, who had counselled them to subscribe the Confession of Faith authorized by the King." Numbers of their preachers refused to admit to their communion those who had not subscribed the Covenant, and classified them in their addresses before their administration of it as "adulterers, slanderers, and blasphemers;" and many would not allow children to be baptized except by Covenanting preachers, often compelling the parents to carry the infants several miles. One declared in a sermon that all "the non-subscribers of the Covenant were Atheists," among whom he included the Judges of the Supreme Court and those members of the Privy Council who had refused to sign. Another preached that "as the wrath of God never was diverted from his people until the seven sons of Saul were hanged up before the Lord in Gibeon; so the wrath of God would never depart from the kingdom till the *twice seven* Prelates were hanged up before the Lord"—referring to the two Archbishops and the twelve Bishops of Scotland. A third maintained that "though there were ever so

* Lamont's Chronicle of Fife, 4to. p. 38.

many acts of Parliament against the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintained against them all." Another said in his sermon—" Let us never give over till we have the King in our power, and then he shall see how good subjects we are." One also held that " the bloodiest and sharpest war was rather to be endured than the least error in doctrine and discipline." Another strangely wished that " he and all the Bishops of Scotland were in a bottomless boat at sea together, for he would be well content to lose his own life so that they lost theirs."

In a General Assembly held in August 1639, at which the Earl of Traquair was the Commissioner, Mr Alexander Carse, who was the buffoon of the Glasgow Assembly, stated, when denouncing the " unlucky bird of Episcopacy," which was " then to be slaughtered" —" There is not so much as a little cockle or darnell of perverse or heretical doctrine that shall spring up, but presently it shall be cut down and trod under ; and if it escape two or three, it shall not miss the fourth. If it shall happen to escape sessions, presbyteries, and synodal assemblies, it will happily be digested and concocted in such an assembly as this.—And here for this point I give this Episcopacy an eternal *vale*." This miserable rhapsody may be adduced as a favourable specimen of the Covenanting oratory at the various meetings.

Several curious instances are found of their pulpit exhibitions in numerous pamphlets of the day. One of the most ludicrous is the " *Redshanks Sermon*, preached at St Giles's church in Edinburgh, the last Sunday in April [1638] by a Highland minister, London, printed for T. Bates, 1642." Another amusing version of it was printed in 1828, from an original MS. in the possession of David Laing, Esq. It is called the *Redshanks Sermon*, probably from a name given to the Highlanders, who made buskins of the deer's hide. The " Highland minister," or preacher of the *Pockmanty Sermon*, by which it is also known, was Mr James Row, minister of Monievaird and Strowan in the Highlands of Perthshire, who was the son of Mr John Row the Reformer, minister of Carnock in Fife from 1558 to 1637, the author of " The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland" during that period. The text of the *Redshanks*, or *Pockmanty Sermon*, is Jer. xxx. 17. and as it was delivered extempore, the portion of it printed merely contains notes of what was said from the pulpit by the preacher, who is described in a pasquil circulated in 1638, in allusion to the sermon—" a springald

pulpit spouter." The latter part of the text states—" Sion is wounded, and I will heal her saith the Lord."—" I need not trouble you," said the preacher, " to set forth who is meant by Sion ; ye all know well enough that it is the poor Kirk of Scotland, who is now wounded in her head, in her heart, in her hands, and in her feet. In her head by government, in her heart by doctrine, in her hands by discipline, and in her feet by worship." The Redshanks orator illustrates these assertions in a homely and ludicrous manner. " She is wounded in her heart," he says, " which is by the doctrine of the Kirk through the abundance of Popery and Arminianism now common in our kirks and schools." He says that the said Presbyterian Kirk was " once a bonny grammar school," and was " wounded in her hands" by a " pilgrimage to Rome, where she was taken stealing of some of their trumpery ; yet when they knew her mind, and saw it was but only a Book of Common Prayer and the Canons of High Commission, which they saw made much for their matter, therefore they let her go, and flattered her to follow the order of the mother Kirk in other kingdoms, which she promising to do, then they bound her hands with a silken cord of canonical obedience to the Ordinary, and she took much delight to be bound with so bonny a band ; but after they got her fast, they made that silken cord a cable rope, with which they have girded her so fast as she cannot stir." A most amusing part of this specimen of Covenanting fanaticism is the following—" Now I come to tell you how she is wounded in her feet, that is in the worship of the Kirk. The office of the feet is to travel withall, and they have made a very hackney of religion : the Kirk was once a bonny nag, and so pretty as every man thought a pity to ride her, till at last the Bishops, those rank-riding loons, got on her back, and then she trotted so hard as they could hardly at the first well ride her ; yet at last they so cross-legged her and hopshackled her, that she became a pretty pacing beast, and so easy that they took great pleasure to ride upon her." The preacher illustrated his ideas by identifying Presbyterianism with Balaam's ass, and alleged that the Scottish Bishops had been riding to Rome with a *pockmancy* [or *portmanteau*] behind them, filled with the Liturgy, Canons, and Orders of the High Commission.

One of the most extraordinary instances of their fanaticism combined with credulity is the story of the daughter of a preacher

named Mitchelson, one of their female partizans, whom they considered a prophetess, and whose raptures in favour of the Covenant were received as divine communications. Persons of rank visited her in the house of a noted Covenanter, where she lay in a large bedroom, which was daily crowded to the door. Those who justly held this wretched female as insane were afraid to hazard their opinion of her peculiar distemper or condition. The story is narrated by Bishop Burnet in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, and by other writers. "She was acquainted," says a contemporary authority, "with the Scripture, and much taken with the Covenant; and in her fits spoke much to its advantage, and much ill to its opposers, that would, or at least that she wished to, befall them. Great numbers of all kinds of people were her daily hearers; and many of the devout sex, the women, prayed and wept with joy and wonder to hear her speak.—She had intermissions of her discourses for days or weeks, and before she began to speak it was made known throughout Edinburgh. Mr Henry Rollock, who often came to see her, said that he thought it was not good manners to speak while his Master was speaking, and that he acknowledged his Master's voice in her. Some misconstrued her to be suborned by the Covenanters, and at least that she had nothing that savoured of a rapture but only of memory, and that she still knew what she spoke; and, being interrupted in her discourse, answered pertinently to the purpose. Her language signified little. She spoke of Christ, and called him *Covenanting Jesus*—that the Covenant was approved from Heaven—that the King's Covenant was Satan's invention—that the Covenant should prosper, but the adherents to the King's Covenant should be confounded; and much other stuff of this nature, which savoured at best but of senseless simplicity. The Earl of Airth upon a time, getting a paper of her prophecies, which was inscribed—"That such a day and such a year Mrs Mitchell awoke, and gloriously spoke"—in place of the word *gloriously*, which he blotted out, and wrote over it the word *gowk-edly*, or *foolishly*, was so much detested for a while among the superstitious admirers of this maid, that he had like to have run the fate of one of the Bishops by a charge with stones upon the street."*

* History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641. By James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay, Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, 4to. vol. i. p. 131, 132.

Early in August 1640, the Earl of Seaforth, accompanied by the Master of Forbes, Dr Guild, Covenanting Principal of King's College, and others, met in the King's College at Old Aberdeen, from which they adjourned to the cathedral of St Machar. They ordered all the curiously carved crucifixes and those ornaments which had escaped the fury of the first Reformers to be destroyed. Bishop Dunbar's tomb was mutilated, and they “chissell out the name of Jesus drawn cipherways J. H. S. out of the timber wall on the front of St Machar's Aisle anent the consistory door; the crucifix on the Old Town Cross thrown down: the crucifix on the New Town [Cross] closed up, being loth to break the stone; the crucifix on the west end of St Nicholas' kirk in New Aberdeen thrown down—which was never troubled before.”* Guild commenced his career as Principal of King's College by demolishing a church called the Snow kirk, and built the college-yard walls with the materials, inserting the hewn stones in the decayed windows of the College. The local chronicler says of this exploit—“Many Old Town people murmured, the same being the parish kirk some time of Old Aberdeen, within which their friends and forefathers were buried.” In 1641, when two-thirds of the revenue of the Bishopric of Aberdeen were granted to King's College, and the remaining one-third to Marischal College, Guild contrived to secure for himself the episcopal residence, garden, and grounds. In 1642 he “caused take down the organ case, which was of fine wainscot, and had stood within the kirk since the Reformation.” He soon afterwards completely demolished the episcopal residence, and gutted it of all its materials, with which he repaired the College. The barbarous architectural alterations which Guild perpetrated are dolefully narrated by Spalding. This Covenanting enemy of every thing venerable for antiquity and curious workmanship was farther accessory in 1642 to the destruction of the “back of the altar in Bishop Gavin Dunbar's Aisle, curiously wrought in wainscot, matchless within all the kirks of Scotland, as smelling of popery—“pitiful,” adds Spalding, “to behold.” The wood was taken to ornament a hideous gallery which Guild ordered to be constructed within the cathedral, occupying the breadth of the church south and north. The incident mentioned by Grose in his “Antiqui-

* Spalding's History of the Troubles, &c. in Scotland, printed for the Bannatyne Club, vol. i. p. 235.

ties of Scotland" is duly recorded by Spalding as occurring under the direction of Guild and his preaching colleague William Strachan. "It is said the craftsman would not put his hand to the down-taking thereof [the back of the high altar in Bishop Dunbar's Aisle] until Mr William Strachan, our minister, had put hand thereto, which he did, and then the work was begun. And in down-taking of one of the three timber crowns, which they thought to have gotten down whole and unbroken by their expectation, it fell suddenly upon the kirk's great ladder, broke it in three places, and itself all in blads, and broke some pavement with the weight thereof." Spalding adds his denunciation of the "loft," or gallery, constructed by Guild "athwart" the church, "which took away the stately sight and glorious show of the whole body of the kirk:"—"With this back of the altar, and other ornaments thereupon, he decorated the front and back of this *beastly loft*, whereas L.40 would have purchased as much other timber to have done the same, if they had suffered the foresaid ornament to stand." The "fine wainscot, so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece," which Guild and Strachan destroyed, is described as "having three crowns uppermost, and three other crowns beneath, well carved with golden knaps."*

The magnificent though then and now roofless cathedral of Elgin was also profaned by "Mr Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, the young laird Innes, the laird Brodie, and some others;" and this desecration was mere wantonness, as the church was not used for Divine service. "They broke down," says Spalding, "the timber partition wall dividing the kirk of Elgin from the choir, which had stood since the Reformation, near seven score years or above. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done, that the colours and stars never faded nor evanished, but kept whole and sound as they were at the beginning, notwithstanding this college or chanony kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no entire window thereunto to save the same from storm, wind, sleat, nor wet, which myself saw. And, marvellous to consider, on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment. All is thrown down to the ground. It was said this minister caused

* Spalding's History of the Troubles, &c. in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 106.

bring home to his house the timber thereof, and turn the same for serving his kitchen and other uses ; but each night the fire went out whenever it was burnt, and could not be holden in to kindle the morning fire as use is ; whereat the servants and others marvelled, and thereupon the minister left off any further to bring in or turn any more of that timber on his house. This was marked and spread through Elgin, and credibly reported to myself. A great boldness, without warrant of the King to destroy churches at that rate ; yet it is done at *command* of the [General] Assembly, as said was.”*

These are instances, which could easily be multiplied, of the unhallowed proceedings of the Covenanters at what the Presbyterians term the *Second Reformation*, and to which they proudly refer as the “ golden age of Presbyterianism,” when religion, honour, principle, and truth, were trampled under foot by a faction as daring, unscrupulous, and tyrannical, as ever disgraced the annals of any country. Every thing was prostrated and desecrated by those wild and desperate men, whose public and private conduct was in unison with their insolent pretensions and their wicked rebellion. The oppressions practised by the Covenanters, from 1639 to the time of Cromwell’s victory near Dunbar in 1650, are amply detailed in the contemporary narratives of the period. The whole kingdom was under the tyranny of intolerant zealots, who ruled the people with a rod of iron. If the King’s friends met in private, they were denounced as *Plotters* by the dominant faction; and if those noblemen attached to the royal cause appeared with any number of followers such as their rank entitled them, or who were necessary by the state of the times and the example of Argyll and other Covenanting chiefs, they were ferociously assailed as a hostile array about to deluge the country with blood. The Covenanters pretended to the most exclusive infallibility, while, in their language, all the opinions and proceedings of the loyal party were infamous and damnable. It was the avowed doctrine of the Earl of Leven, Johnston of Warriston, and others, that every oath should be received with a mental reservation. Persons were ordered to be punished for simply conversing with *Malignants*, and to have any intercourse with them hazarded the lives of those concerned. The censure of excommunication was brought into contempt by its

* Spalding’s History, vol. i. p. 286.

frequency, and its application to improper objects. After the Marquis of Montrose espoused the royal cause, numbers were proscribed for merely speaking to him. His followers were designated *Banders*, and he was himself usually styled the *excommunicated traitor James Graham*. "In time of Presbytery," says a Presbyterian writer, "after the year 1638, ministers who would not subscribe the Covenant, or who conversed with the Marquis of Huntly or the Marquis of Montrose or who took a protection from them, were suspended, deprived, or deposed; and gentlemen who took part with Huntly or Montrose were tossed from one judicatory to another, made to undergo a mock penance in sackcloth, and to swear to the Covenant."*

In 1639 the town of Aberdeen was saved from conflagration solely by Montrose, at that time in the Covenanting interest. He resisted the urgent demands of the Covenanting preachers, who accompanied his troops, that both Old and New Aberdeen should be given up to indiscriminate plunder and then burnt. Forty-eight of the citizens were thrown bound into prison, and a fine of several thousands of merks was exacted. In Baillie's "Letters and Journals" are evinced the Covenanting disposition to cruelty in the North of Scotland. Andrew Cant, who was forcibly installed minister at Aberdeen, acted as a complete tyrant, and was slavishly obeyed by the Magistrates in every thing which he "daily devised, to the grievous burden of the people."† Numbers of the clergy, the Professors in the Colleges, and others, were deposed and persecuted in the most wanton manner. The treatment of the learned Dr John Forbes of Corse and the Aberdeen Doctors is already mentioned. On the brow of the Hill of Corse, in Leochel parish, nearly opposite the castle, is a small natural cave known as the *Laird's hiding-hole*, in which Dr Forbes frequently concealed himself from the vengeance of his Covenanting enemies. After the treaty of Berwick he returned to Aberdeen and often preached; but he was again deposed for pretended contumacy, and the new persecution occasioned by the Solemn League and Covenant compelled him to retire to Holland, where he resided two years. He returned in 1646, and died in his castle of Corse on the 29th of April. Shortly before his

* Lachlan Shaw's History of Moray, edition of 1837, 4to. p. 346.

† Spalding's History of Troubles, &c. printed for the Bannatyne Club, vol. ii. p. 114, 115.

death this pious and virtuous man applied to be interred beside his wife and his father in Bishop Dunbar's Aisle in the cathedral, but this was refused by the Covenanting rulers, and his body was buried in the church-yard of St Marnan of Leochel without any monument. The complete edition of his Latin works, published by the Wetsteins, was edited by Dr Garden. "His learning," says Dr Irving, "was such as to obtain the warm approbation of those eminent scholars Vossius, Usher, Morhof, Ernesti, and Cave; and to this it would be superfluous to add any commendation." In 1644, Aberdeen was visited by Argyll's men, eight hundred strong, who spared neither Covenanter nor Anti-Covenanter. The greatest tyranny and oppression at that time prevailed. The people groaned under burdens inflicted by the Covenanters, and their enthusiasm in the national movement had greatly subsided. "The country," Baillie writes, "was exceedingly exhausted with burdens, and, which was worse, a careless stupid lethargy had seized on the people, so that we were brought exceeding low." This state of affairs induced them to resort to their old device of seditious agitation, by enforcing a fast day throughout the kingdom. Its compulsory observance in Aberdeen is well described by Spalding. "No meat durst be made ready; searchers sought the town's houses and kitchens for the same; thus are the people vexed with these extraordinary fasts and thanksgivings upon the Sabbath-day, appointed by God for a day of rest, more than their bodies are vexed with labour on the week day, through the preposterous zeal of our ministers."* Robertson and Hallyburton, ministers of Perth, were deposed for lukewarmness in the cause; but the latter was restored because "Dame Margaret Hallyburton, Lady of Cowpar," says Bishop Henry Guthrie, "come over the Frith, and with oaths vowed to my Lord Balmerino that unless he caused her cousin to be reinstated he should never enjoy the favour of the Lordship of Cowpar. This communication set Balmerino at work for him."

The fate of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, may be here noticed. He was appointed by the King next in command to the Marquis of Huntly to oppose the Covenanters in 1639; and in October 1643 he protested against the Solemn League and Covenant. The pretended General Assembly excommunicated him and Huntly in April 1644, and he fell into

* Spalding's History of Troubles, &c. vol. ii. p. 47, 48.

the hands of his enemies soon afterwards. He was tried at Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, found guilty, forfeited, and ordered to be executed by an act of the usurping Estates of Parliament. Sir John Gordon was brought to the scaffold with Captain John Logie, a companion in suffering, on the 19th of July, at the Cross of Edinburgh. He was infested in his last moments by the Covenanting preachers, one of whom scrupled not to announce to the spectators an infamous falsehood, which Sir John instantly contradicted, and his persecutors in retaliation railed against him in the most atrocious style of abuse. The only favour he requested from them was to be released from their sentence of excommunication, as it affected the worldly condition of his family, which was granted. While engaged in his devotions Captain Logie was beheaded before his eyes, but he continued unmoved in prayer, concluding in these affecting words—"I recommend my soul to Almighty God, and my six children to his Majesty's care, for whose sake I die this day." He then submitted to the fatal stroke of the machine called the *Maiden*, and his body was interred by his sorrowing friends in the Greyfriars' churchyard, where Captain Logie was also buried. Sir John Gordon was only thirty-four years of age—"of good life and conversation, temperate, moderate, and religious," when he was thus judicially murdered; or, as Spalding says—"borne down by the burghs, the ministers of Edinburgh, the Parliament, Argyll, Balmerino, and the Kirk, because he would not subscribe the Covenant.* The place of his imprisonment in Edinburgh was a horrid dungeon in the north-west part of St Giles' church adjacent to the old Tolbooth, and designated in consequence *Haddo's Hold* or *Hole*, until its demolition in 1830.

The cruel spirit of the Covenanters was particularly conspicuous in February 1645, when a Committee of the General Assembly presented a remonstrance to the Parliament "anent executing of justice on delinquents and malignants." This Committee consisted of James Guthrie, who was afterwards hanged himself, David Dickson, Robert Blair, Andrew Cant, and Patrick Gillespie. They pressed the execution of all the prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, which the Parliament, after complimenting the Covenanting preachers for the "zeal and piety" of the Assembly, only delayed lest some of their own friends should fall into the hands of Montrose. Dr Wishart,

* History of Troubles, &c. in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 249, 250.

the future Bishop of Edinburgh, and his whole family, were reduced to a state of starvation. The sufferings of that eminent man ought not to be omitted. He was deposed by the General Assembly with his colleague Dr Gladstones, when both were ministers of St Andrews, and they were succeeded by the Covenanting worthies Samuel Rutherford and Robert Blair. Dr Wishart was detected in a correspondence with the royalists, plundered of all his property, and thrown into a loathsome dungeon called the *Thieves' Hole*, one of the most nauseous parts of the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, then not the least disgusting prison in the kingdom, where he was almost killed by rats. He records of himself that he thrice suffered spoliation, imprisonment, and exile before 1647, for his attachment to royalty and the Episcopal Church. In January 1645, Dr Wishart petitioned the Estates of Parliament from the Tolbooth for maintenance to himself, wife, and five children, who were in a state of starvation, but the result is not stated. The ancient family of Irving of Drum near Aberdeen also severely suffered. The father and his two sons were imprisoned in the vile Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which one of the latter died from the cruel treatment he received, and the other son, who was also sick, was only relieved from his prison to be sent to the Castle, whither he was conveyed on a “wand bed.”

Another instance of their cruelty was their cowardly execution of James Small, a messenger from Montrose to the King. This unfortunate individual, who had passed through the Highlands in safety, was recognized on his journey southward by an individual who had known him in England, and he was betrayed to Lord Elphinstone, a member of the Committee of Estates, the uncle of Balmerino. Elphinstone sent him to the merciless tribunal at Edinburgh, and on the 1st of May 1645, the *day after* he appeared before the Committee, he was hanged by their orders at the Cross “*to the great satisfaction of the Kirk!*” This is one of the many instances of the thirst for blood, particularly for the lives of their religious and political opponents, which characterized the councils of the Covenanters. After the battle of Auldearn the Committee of Estates seized Lord Napier of Merchiston, then verging towards seventy years of age, the brother-in-law of Montrose, his lady, who was a daughter of the Earl of Mar, his brother-in-law Stirling of Keir, and his two sisters, one of them the wife of Keir, who

had suffered much for his religion and loyalty, and cast them all into prison.

But the Covenanting cruelty during this *reign of terror* in Scotland was most conspicuous after the defeat of the Marquis of Montrose at Philiphaugh near Selkirk in 1645. The massacre of the prisoners taken in that engagement is an indelible atrocity on the annals of Scottish Covenanting Presbyterianism. The principal slaughter was of defenceless and unresisting prisoners who had sought and obtained quarter; and the court-yard of Newark Castle is said to have been the spot upon which many were shot by order of General David Leslie, the Covenanting commander. Bishop Henry Guthrie states that the preachers complained of quarter "given to such wretches as they, and declared it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them, wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the *clergy*"—meaning the Covenanting preachers, and "the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces." The preachers actually justified this massacre by adducing the case of Agag and the Amalekites, and other allusions to the Old Testament, by which they enforced the duty and lawfulness of their bloody work. In addition to the slaughter of the prisoners, hundreds were deliberately thrown from a high bridge, and thus destroyed. This fact has been denied by some writers, who try to convict Bishop Wishart of invention by asserting that "from Berwick to Peebles there was not a single bridge on the Tweed;" but Sir Walter Scott observes—"There is an old bridge over the Etterick only four miles from Philiphaugh, and another over the Yarrow, both of which lay in the very line of the flight and pursuit; and either might have been the scene of the massacre." Though Father Hay transferred the scene of this massacre to Linlithgow bridge, upwards of forty miles from the field of battle, yet it is to be observed that Bishop Wishart does not mention the Tweed at all in his narrative, but simply states that the unfortunate victims of Covenanting tyranny were "thrown headlong from off a high bridge, and the men together with their wives and sucking children drowned in the river beneath."

The fate of most of the prisoners of distinction taken on this occasion may be anticipated. The Committee of the Estates were inclined to spare their lives, but the Covenanting Presbyterian ministers urged their execution in the *name of the Kirk!* Ten were marked

for execution—the Earl of Hartfell, Lord Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquharity, William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tullibardine, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Captain Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray, and an officer named Stewart, all of whom had been delivered into the hands of the Covenanters by the peasantry, who found them wandering in tracts unknown to them. Sir William Rollock was the first who suffered, and on the following day Ogilvy of Inverquharity, a youth of only eighteen; and it was on this occasion that David Dickson exultingly uttered the exclamation which afterwards became a proverb—"The work goes bonnilie on!" With him perished Sir William Nisbet, a brave officer, who had commanded a regiment of royalists in England. Those butcheries took place at Glasgow.

The fate of the others was delayed till the meeting of the Parliament at St Andrews on the 20th of November 1645. Robert Blair, the Covenanting successor of Dr Wishart, opened the session with a sermon on the eighth verse of the 101st Psalm—"I will early destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord." The Earl of Hartfell, Lord Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Gordon, Murray, and Guthrie, were condemned. Murray was not nineteen years of age. They were all sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of St Andrews on the 20th of January 1646, four days after the sentence was pronounced. Spottiswoode, Guthrie, and Gordon, were executed on the same day in the South Street of St Andrews, and young Murray, who had been respite to give time to inquire into a pretended plea of insanity brought forward by his friends, two days afterwards. The dying conduct of those loyal gentlemen, who were literally murdered by the Covenanters, was most heroic, pious, and affecting. Though persecuted, insulted, and denounced in their last moments, they displayed a courage and magnanimity which must have smote their enemies to the very soul. The Earl of Hartfell and Lord Ogilvy were "appointed to open the tragedy;" but the latter contrived to escape from prison in the dress of his sister, whom he left behind, and who at the discovery of the lady, and the flight of their victim, the Covenanters were restrained with difficulty from putting to death. Argyll imagined that Lord Ogilvy had been favoured by the Hamiltons,

his relatives, and to mortify them he procured the pardon of their enemy the Earl of Hartfell.

The account of this tragedy by an eye-witness, now published, is worthy of perusal as connected with Sir Robert Spottiswoode. Argyll had brought with him to that “bloody Assembly” at St Andrews his ward, Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, then scarcely seventeen years old, and we are told in the Memoirs of Lochiel—“Though that gentleman was too young to make very solid reflections on the conduct of his guardian, he soon conceived an aversion to the cruelty of that barbarous faction. He had a custom of visiting the state prisoners as he travelled from city to city; but as he was ignorant of the reasons why they were confined, so he could have no other view in it but satisfying his curiosity; but he had soon an opportunity of being fully informed.”

The young Lochiel’s interview with Sir Robert Spottiswoode took place the night before the execution of that distinguished person and his brave companions, who, after the escape of Lord Ogilvy, were so narrowly watched, that their most intimate friends and relations were denied access to them. Lochiel’s connection with his guardian Argyll induced the keeper of the prison to admit him into Sir Robert’s cell, with whom the young Chief was left to converse. He was cheerfully received by Sir Robert, who appeared as if he was at complete liberty, and was not in the least dejected at his approaching fate. Informing the prisoner who he was, and of his visit to St Andrews, Sir Robert exclaimed—“Are you the son of John Cameron, my late worthy friend and acquaintance, and the grandchild of the loyal Allan M’Coildui, who was not only instrumental in procuring that great victory to the gallant Marquis of Montrose, which he lately obtained at Inverlochy, but likewise assistant to him in the brave actions that followed, by the stout party of able men that he sent along with him?” Sir Robert then tenderly embraced Sir Ewen, and inquired how he came to be placed under the guardianship of such a man as Argyll. Young Lochiel explained this to him as well as he could, and Sir Robert replied—“It is surprising to me that your friends, who are loyal men, should have entrusted the care of your education to a person so opposite to them in principles, as well with respect to the Church as to the State. Can they expect you will

learn any thing at that school but treachery, ingratitude, enthusiasm, cruelty, treason, disloyalty, and avarice?" Sir Ewen apologised for his friends, and assured him that Argyll was as kind to him as if he were his father. He asked Sir Robert why he accused one whom he considered his benefactor of such vices? Sir Robert Spottiswoode replied that Argyll's kindness and civility were the more dangerous snares for one who was then so young, and hoped that he would imitate the loyalty and good principles of his family rather than the example of his patron. He then narrated to Lochiel the history of the rebellion from its commencement, gave him a "distinct view of the tempers and characters of the different factions that had conspired against the mitre and the crown," explained the nature of the constitution of the kingdom, and "insisted on the piety, innocence, and integrity of the King." Lochiel was astonished and affected at these statements, and, we are told, "conceived such a hatred and antipathy against the perfidious authors of these calamities that the impression continued with him during his life." Sir Robert perceived the influence of his observations on the mind of the youthful Chief of the Camerons. "He conjured him to leave Argyll as soon as possibly he could; and exhorted him, as he valued his honour and prosperity in this life, and his immortal happiness in the next, not to allow himself to be seduced by the artful insinuations of subtle rebels, who never want plausible pretexts to cover their treasons, nor to be ensnared by the hypocritical sanctity of distracted enthusiasts; and observed that the present saints and apostles who arrogantly assumed to themselves a title to reform the Church, and to compel mankind to believe their impious, wild, and undigested notions, as so many articles of faith, were either excessively ignorant and stupid, or monstrously selfish, perverse, and wicked."—"Judge always of mankind," said Sir Robert, "by their actions; there is no knowing the heart. Religion and virtue are inseparable, and are the only sure and infallible guides to pleasure and happiness. As they teach us our several duties to God, to our neighbours, to ourselves, and to our King and country, so it is impossible that a person can be endued with either who is deficient in any one of these indispensable duties, whatever he may pretend. Remember, young man, that you hear this from one who is to die to-morrow for endeavouring to perform

those sacred obligations, and who can have no other interest in what he says than a real concern for your prosperity, happiness, and honour."

"Several hours," continues the narrator—said to have been John Drummond of the family of Drummond of Balhaldy in Stirlingshire, "passed away in these discourses before Lochiel was aware that he had stayed too long. He took leave with tears in his eyes, and a heart bursting with a swell of passions which he had not formerly felt." Captain Andrew Guthrie is not mentioned; but we are informed that Lochiel next visited Colonel Nathaniel Gordon—"a handsome young gentleman of very extraordinary qualities, and of great courage and fortitude," and having condoled with him a short time, he waited on William Murray, "a youth of uncommon vigour and vivacity, not exceeding the nineteenth year of his age. He bore his misfortune with a heroic spirit, and said to Lochiel that he was not afraid to die since he died in his duty, and was assured of a happy immortality for his reward. This gentleman was brother to the Earl of Tullibardine, who had interest enough to have saved him, but it is affirmed by contemporary historians that he not only gave way to but even promoted his trial, in acquainting the Parliament, which then demurred upon the matter, that he had renounced him as a brother since he had joined that wicked crew, meaning the Royalists, and that he would take it as no favour to spare him. Of such violence was that faction as utterly to extinguish humanity, unman the soul, and drain off nature herself; and it may be observed that an ungovernable zeal for religion is more fruitful of mischief than all the other passions put together. The next day the bloody sentence was executed upon those innocents. Two preachers had for some days preceding endeavoured to prepare the people for the sacrifice, which, they said, 'God himself required, to expiate the sins of the land!' And because they dreaded the influence that the dying words of so eloquent a speaker as Sir Robert Spottiswoode might have upon the hearers, they not only stopped his mouth, but tormented him in the last moments of his life with their officious exhortations and rhapsodies. Lochiel beheld this tragedy from a window opposite to the scaffold, in company with the Marquis [Argyll] and other heads of the faction." After mentioning that their melancholy fate drew tears from the eyes of

those spectators who were most prejudiced against them, the narrator continues—"When the melancholy spectacle was over, Lochiel, who still concealed the visit he had made them, took the freedom to ask my Lord Argyll—'What their crimes were? For nothing of the criminal appeared from their behaviour. They had the face and courage of gentlemen, and they died with the meekness and resignation of men that were not conscious of guilt. We expected to have heard an open confession from their own mouths; but they were not allowed to speak, though I am informed that the most wicked robbers and murderers are never debarred that privilege.' " Argyll, surprised at these observations from a person so young as Lochiel, replied in an insidious speech, denouncing the principles of the sufferers; maintaining that as the crimes of robbery, murder, and the like, were commonly committed by "mean people," and "were too glaring, ugly, and odious in their nature to bear any justification," it was "for the benefit of mankind that the criminal should be allowed to recite them in public, because the design was not to make converts but to strike mankind with horror—that the Provost [of St Andrews] did wisely in not allowing the criminals to speak, and especially Sir Robert Spottiswoode, for he was a man of very pernicious principles, a great statesman, a subtle lawyer, and very learned and eloquent; and therefore the more capable to deduce his wicked maxims and dangerous principles in such an artful and insinuating manner, as would be apt to fix the attention of the people, and to impose upon their understanding." Argyll then detailed to his youthful ward his own version of the origin of the war, inveighing against Montrose and his followers, and would have completely swayed Lochiel "if he had not been wholly prepossessed by the more solid reasonings of Sir Robert Spottiswoode." The young Chief embraced the first opportunity of returning to Lochaber, became a devoted loyalist, and is prominent in many transactions of Scottish history till his death in 1719 at the patriarchal age of ninety.* It is some consolation to know that Argyll, who glutted his hatred by this tragedy, met with the same fate nearly sixteen years afterwards.

Thus fell Sir Robert Spottiswoode with his brave companions

* Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Chief of the Clan Cameron. Edinburgh, 4to. printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1842, p. 76-82.

in his father's archiepiscopal city of St Andrews—a martyr like them for loyalty, law, and religion, cruelly put to death by those relentless oppressors. It may be said that they were executed by authority of the Parliament, and this is the fact; but the Parliament was composed altogether of Covenanters, and was completely under the controul of the Covenanting preachers, who in their sermons and exhortations justified the atrocities perpetrated by their advice. Another of many instances may be given of their thirst for blood. After Montrose had disbanded his army by the King's order, Argyll returned to Inverary, followed by General David Leslie and his army, who marched into the peninsula of Cantyre against Sir Alexander Maedonald and the Irish auxiliaries. The latter safely escaped to The Isles and thence to Ireland, and the inhabitants submitted on the promise of life and liberty; but a John Nevay, who is appropriately styled a "bloody preacher," seconded by Argyll, persuaded Leslie to disarm the wretched peasantry, and put them all to the sword without mercy. Leslie, struck with horror when it was too late, seeing the infamous Covenanting preacher Nevay and Argyll coolly surveying the scene of carnage, exclaimed—" Well, Mess-John, have you not for once got your fill of blood?" These words saved eighteen persons, who were carried prisoners to Inverary, where they would have been allowed to starve in the dungeons of the unfeeling and treacherous Argyll if Lochiel had not daily visited them, and secretly conveyed to them provisions.*

The Covenanting reign of terror which oppressed Scotland from 1639 to the occupation of the kingdom by Cromwell is affectingly described in the " Memoirs of Lochiel." We are told of this " most cruel tyranny that ever scourged and affected the sons of men"—that " the jails were crammed full of innocent people, in order to furnish our governors with blood, sacrifices wherewith to feast their eyes ; the scaffolds daily smoked with the blood of our best patriots ; anarchy swayed with an uncontroverted authority ; and avarice, cruelty, and revenge, seemed to be ministers of state. The bones of the dead were digged out of their graves, and their living friends were compelled to ransom them at exorbitant sums. Such as they were pleased to call *Malignants* were taxed and pillaged at discretion ; and if they chanced to prove the least

* Memoirs of Lochiel, 4to. Edinburgh, 1842, p. 84.

refractory or deficient in payment their persons or estates were seized. *The Committee of the [Presbyterian] Kirk sat at the helm*, and were supported by a small number of fanatical [persons], and others, who called themselves the *Committee of the Estates*, but were truly nothing else but the barbarous executioners of their [the Presbyterian] wrath and vengeance.—Every parish had a [preaching] tyrant, who made the greatest lord in his district stoop to his authority. The kirk was the place where he kept his court; the pulpit his throne or tribunal from whence he issued out his terrible decrees, and twelve or fourteen sour ignorant enthusiasts, under the title of *Elders*, composed his council. If any, of what quality soever, had the assurance to disobey his edicts, the dreadful sentence of excommunication was immediately thundered out against him, his goods and chattels confiscated and seized, and himself being looked upon as actually in the possession of the devil, and irretrievably doomed to eternal perdition. All that conversed with him were in no better esteem.”* In addition to those parochial “tribunals” of the Covenanting preachers, and the *elders* whom they constituted as such, subjecting all and sundry to their caprice, their General Assemblies nominated what was called a *Commission of Assembly*, which in despotic power far exceeded the former High Court of Commission, against which the Covenanters furiously complained during the establishment of the Episcopal Church. Mr Scott, in his notes on the MS. Hospital Registers of Perth, under date 1644, candidly states that “the Commission of the General Assembly was at that time perhaps the *most formidable Court that had ever existed in this country*. All liberty of private judgment, it has been often and justly complained, was taken away by the Commission. The [peaceable] ministers throughout the kingdom were intimidated, and frequently at a loss how to act so as to please that Court.” Those Commissions, which were always composed of the most turbulent and ferocious of the Covenanting preachers and their specially selected *elders*, took cognizance of every one who “haunted the company of an excommunicated person,” or any one not a Covenanter, or seen conversing or reported to correspond with the Marquis of Montrose, or having any relationship to or intimacy with *Malignants*, as the Covenanters designated all loyalists and adherents of the Episcopal Church. The Commissioners

* Memoirs of Lochiel, Edinburgh, 4to. 1842, p. 87, 88.

ordered “inquisition” to be taken with all such persons, of whatever rank, station, or profession, against whom they thundered their curses loud and deep, by which the peasantry were both intimidated and excited to acts of violence, and many of the best men in the kingdom were driven into exile to preserve their lives.

The execution of the Marquis of Montrose was, on account of the rank and importance of the victim, the last great judicial murder which the Covenanters were allowed to perpetrate. The fate of the great Marquis is affectingly narrated by his eloquent biographer.* In his second attempt in 1650 to raise the royal standard he was surprised and defeated by an inferior force, and he escaped to be basely betrayed by Macleod of Assynt in Sutherlandshire, from whom he had sought protection, for a thousand *bolls of meal!* The Marquis was brought to Edinburgh by the Covenanting General Leslie, received with every mark of indignity which the Presbyterians could devise, publicly insulted, tormented by the preachers, condemned on his former pretended attainder to be executed on a gibbet thirty feet high at the Cross, his head to be placed on the Tolbooth, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on the gates of Aberdeen and Glasgow, and his mangled body to be buried by the hangman in the tract on the south of the city known as the Boroughmuir—this last part of the sentence only to be relaxed if the Covenanters removed their mock excommunication against him. This inhuman sentence was rigidly inflicted under circumstances of peculiar atrocity on the part of the Presbyterian preachers, who embittered the last moments of their illustrious victim by their blasphemies, revilings, and denunciations. They exulted over the fate of the “*truculent traitor*,” as they falsely called him—“that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the Estates of Parliament have since declared traitor, the Church hath delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor;” and he who, with almost no resources, gained six victories, reconquered the kingdom—the poet, the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier—was numbered by the Covenanters in their impious phraseology among “the troublers of Israel, the fire-brands of hell, the Koraks, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rabshakeks, the Hamans, the Tobiahhs, and Sanballats of the time.” Montrose, though he commenced his

* The Life and Times of Montrose, by Mark Napier, Esq. Advocate.

public career in Scotland as a supporter of the National Covenant, never had any connection with the Solemn League. "For the League and Covenant," said the Marquis in his dying speech, "I thank God I was never in it, and therefore could not break it." In reference to the charge of cruelty against him he truly declared—"Never was any man's blood spilt but in battle, and even many thousands have I spared."

Into the details of the invasion of Scotland by Cromwell, his victory over the Covenanting forces under Leslie near Dunbar, and his subjugation of the kingdom, it is unnecessary to enter in the present work. Cromwell returned in triumph to London, and one of his first proceedings was to depress the Scots, because, in his phraseology, they had "withstood the work of the gospel." An act was passed abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing the kingdom as a province to the Commonwealth of England, but allowing some representatives to be sent to the English Parliament. Judges were appointed for the administration of justice in the Supreme Courts; and the people at large, now freed from the odious and insupportable tyranny of the Presbyterian preachers, soon became reconciled to the new government. Though many of them were royalists, they experienced a security which had been unknown since the outbreak for the National Covenant in 1638, and the strong arm of military power afforded them a sufficient protection. It may be truly said that from this period, during the whole of Cromwell's domination, Scotland was quiet, contented, and comparatively prosperous. One great cause of this was, the determination to prevent the meetings of General Assemblies of the preachers, though this at first scarcely restrained the Covenanting turbulence. A General Assembly had met at Edinburgh in July 1650, according to the appointment of a preceding Assembly, and Andrew Cant, described as then minister of Aberdeen, was elected Moderator, but none of the Acts are printed. Another met at St Andrews in June 1651, and adjourned to Dundee, where it was held for some days in July, and Robert Douglas was after a noisy discussion chosen Moderator. This meeting terminated in a ludicrous manner. The parties were informed that Cromwell's soldiers were marching towards Perth, and intended to visit Dundee. Panic-struck at this intelligence a certain Mr Alexander Gordon, who was one of them, and preserved a record of their proceedings transcribed by

Wodrow, in 1703, states—"The Assembly arose, and dispersed themselves the best way they could for escaping the enemy and their own safety ; yet some of them, notwithstanding, did fall into the enemy's hands, as Mr Robert Douglas, moderator, and some others." The Acts of this Assembly were never recognized or printed among the Acts of the Presbyterians as a party since the Revolution. A protestation was presented against the lawfulness of the Assembly, dated at St Andrews, 18th July 1651, chiefly on account of "the allowing and carrying on of a conjunction with the Malignant party, and bringing them in to places of power and trust in the army and in the judicatories, contrary to the word of God, the Solemn League and Covenant," and various other enumerated documents, such as Declarations, Warnings, Remonstrances, Letters, and Supplications. A third convened at Edinburgh in July 1652, at which the Anti-Resolutionists protested against the lawfulness of those of 1650 and 1651. On the 20th of July 1653, another General Assembly was held at Edinburgh, but no sooner had Mr David Dickson, the moderator, concluded his prayer than Colonel Cotterell surrounded the place of meeting by a body of troops, entered and dispersed the members for sitting without the authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, the commanders-in-chief of the English forces, and the English Judges in Scotland. The Presbyterian preachers, who had for years bearded a King and the whole Government, and at whose command thousands of ignorant enthusiasts repeatedly rose in defence of the Covenants, could now offer no resistance. It was in vain that Dickson pretended they were "an ecclesiastical synod, a spiritual court of the Lord Jesus Christ, which meddled not with any thing civil"—that their "authority was derived from God"—and that by the Solemn League and Covenant the most of the English soldiers were bound to defend them. Cotterell was inexorable. "He told us," says Baillie, who was present, "his order was to dissolve us : whereupon he commanded us all to follow him, else he would drag us out of the room. When we had entered a protestation against this unheard of and unexampled violence, we did rise and follow him." Cotterell led them like so many culprits through the streets surrounded by cavalry and foot soldiers, and when a mile from the city he informed them that they must "never dare to

meet above three in number," and that they were to leave the city by eight o'clock on the following morning under pain of breaking the public peace. On that day they were commanded to depart by sound of trumpet, or "present imprisonment."* It was nevertheless attempted to hold a General Assembly at Edinburgh in July 1654, but before the meeting was constituted it was peremptorily suppressed by the military. No more General Assemblies were held till the first of the new Presbyterian Establishment after the Revolution.

The Covenants were thus utterly prostrated by Cromwell, and though the Presbyterian preachers were allowed to retain possession of the parishes and enjoy the stipends, they were happily under the only safe controul for the country at the time—that of military law. As it respects the result of Cromwell's proceedings, we have the admission of a noted Presbyterian writer of the time, Mr James Kirkton, who may be considered the Calderwood of his day :—“The English became peaceable masters of Scotland for nine years following. So, after all the counties of Scotland had formally acknowledged the English for their sovereigns, they appointed magistrates, and constituted judicatories to govern the land for their time. They did indeed proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters among Protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course, and presbyteries and synods to continue in the exercise of their powers; and all the time of their government the work of the gospel prospered not a little but mightily. It is also true that because they knew the generality of the Scottish ministers were for the King upon any terms they did not permit the General Assembly to sit, *and in this I believe they did no bad office*, for both the authority of that meeting was denied by the Protesters, and the Assembly seemed to be *more set upon establishing themselves than promoting religion.*” Kirkton gives a most flattering account in his own style of the morals and the spiritual condition of the people, which is rightly pronounced by a very competent Presbyterian authority “to be in its leading points an enthusiastic fable. There is in every ecclesiastical record of the time,” continues this writer, “the most redundant and revolting proof that instead of the unspotted morality on which he [Kirkton] descants, enormities of every kind prevailed, and such records are

* Baillie to Mr Calamy, minister at London, July 27, 1653.

unimpeachable evidence."* We have the statement of Sir James Turner that " he never saw either public or private sin more abound than in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by many."† Baillie, however, gives a less inflated representation of the Presbyterian cause than Kirkton:—"As for our church affairs" he writes to his friend Mr Spang, 19th July 1654, " thus they stand :—The Parliament of England had given to the English judges and sequestrators a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they saw cause. According to this power they put Mr John Row in Aberdeen, Mr Robert Leighton in Edinburgh, Mr Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow ; and Mr Samuel Colville they offered to the Old College of St Andrews. All our Colleges are likely to be undone. Our churches are in great confusion. No intrant gets any stipend till he has petitioned, and subscribed some acknowledgement to the English. When a very few of the Remonstrants and Independent party will call a man he gets the kirk and the stipend ; but whom the Presbytery and the whole congregation call and admit, he must preach in the fields, or in a barn, without stipend." Truly we may well exclaim, after perusing this and other statements—How were the mighty Covenanters fallen !

And what became of the other actors in this said tragedy of the Covenanters ? The Earl of Rothes, one of the great leaders of the rebellion, died at Richmond-upon-Thames, in the house of his aunt the Countess of Roxburgh, on the 23d of August, soon after the Parliament in that month had confirmed a pension of L.10,000 Scots, which had been settled on him for life. Rothes in reality abandoned the Covenanters, but " premature death put an end to all his projects, and perhaps saved him from the disgrace of apostacy."† Most of the Nobility and gentry, disgusted with the Covenanters, repudiating their religious and political principles, their horrid cruelties and oppressions, and their officious interference in all public and private affairs, left them to their fate, or could render them no assistance. Baillie writes in 1654—"As for our state this is its case—our Nobility near all wrecked. Dukes Hamilton, the one executed, the other slain ; their estate forfeited ; one part of it

* Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin. Edin. 8vo. vol. i. p. 626.

† Sir James Turner's Memoirs. Edinburgh, 4to. 1829, p. 160.

‡ Appendix to Earl of Rothes' " Relation," printed for Bannatyne Club, 4to. p. 226.

gifted to English soldiers ; the rest will not pay the debts ; little left to the heretrix ; almost the whole name undone with debt. Huntly executed, his sons all dead but the youngest ; there is more debt on the house [family] nor the land can pay : Lennox is living as a man buried in his house of Cobham ; Argyll almost drowned with debt in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country ; he courts the Remonstrants, who are averse from him ; Chancellor Loudon lives like an outlaw about Atholl, his lands confiscated for debt under a general very great disgrace ; Marischal, Rothes [only son of the Covenanting Earl], Eglinton and his three sons, Crawford, Lauderdale, and others, prisoners in England ; and their lands either sequestrated or forfeited, and gifted to English soldiers ; Balmerino suddenly dead, and his son for public debt, comprizings, and captions, keeps not the cause-way ; Warriston [Johnston], having refunded most of what he got for places, lives privately in a hard enough condition, much hated by the most, and neglected by all except the Remonstrants, to whom he is guide. Our criminal judicatures are all in the hands of the English ; our civil courts in their hands also.—The commissariot and sheriff courts are all in the hands of the English soldiers, with the adjunction in some places of some few Remonstrants. Strong garrisons in Leith, Edinburgh town and castle, Glasgow, Ayr, Dunbarton, Stirling," and other places.

This, then, was the result of the rebellion engendered by the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. After all the blood which had been shed, the cruelties perpetrated, the infamous prosecution by the Presbyterians of Archbishop Laud, their selling of the King, and their war of extermination against those whom they chose to consider *Malignants*, to say nothing of the bitter hatreds, feuds, and factions, which prevailed among themselves, the Covenanters gained not even one political or religious advantage, and all their struggles for supremacy ended in the ruin of themselves. Their principles never permanently triumphed ; their Presbyterian successors, when established at the Revolution by mere political expediency, found that the new Government would not listen for a moment to their pretensions ; and thus ended the " golden age " of the pretended second Reformation.

BOOK III.

THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
FROM 1661 TO 1688.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

THE restoration of the Monarchy in the person of Charles II. in 1660, introduces us to new actors in the public events of the time both in the State and in the Church. Some of the former heroes of the Covenant were still alive at that era of our national history. Among the Nobility may be noticed the Earl of Loudon, who became a royalist after the murder of Charles I., but submitted to General Monk, and died in 1663. The Earl of Eglinton, who also became a royalist, and was detained a prisoner in Hull and Berwick till the Restoration, died in 1661 ; the Earl Marischal also died in 1661, and the Earl of Wigton in 1665. The Earl of Cassillis, who never renounced his Presbyterianism, and whose eldest daughter, Lady Margaret Kennedy, by his first Countess, married Bishop Burnet, survived till 1668. The Earl of Haddington, who, however, though a favourer of the party, can hardly be considered a Covenanter, died in 1669. The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, and the fate of the Marquis of Argyll, are subsequently noticed. The Earl of Sutherland died in 1663. The Earl of Home, before 1641 a Covenanter, died in 1666. The Earl of Lothian, who in 1638 manifested the greatest zeal for the Covenant, but became a royalist after the murder of Charles I., survived till 1675. Lord Sinclair, who also became a royalist, died on the following year. Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, who was fatally retained by Charles I. in the office of Lord Advocate, which of all others required the most active zeal in the royal service, predeceased the Restoration nearly five years, dying in 1646.

We have seen that he was appointed by the King to be his Commissioner to the General Assembly in August 1643—an office never before or since conferred upon a commoner, and the royalists were so much exasperated at this nomination of an avowed enemy instead of a friend, that they with very few exceptions refused to attend. Johnston of Warriston occupies a prominent place in the Covenanting Presbyterian martyrology.

Of the Covenanting preachers it may be noticed that Henderson died in August 1646. The cause of his death is variously stated. It is alleged by Heylin, Collier, Saunderson, Hollingworth, and other writers of the time, that after his correspondence on Episcopacy with Charles I. at Newcastle he retracted all his Presbyterian opinions, and denounced the proceedings of the Scottish army against the King; but this is founded on very disputable authority, although it was subsequently maintained by men of the highest integrity. It is, however, a matter of little moment. Henderson was interred in the churchyard of St Giles, near the grave of John Knox; but when that cemetery was partly converted into the Parliament Close or Square his remains were exhumed, and removed to the Greyfriars' burying-ground; and a monument was erected by his nephew—a homely square pedestal with inscriptions on three of the sides, surmounted by an urn, at the southwest end of the New Greyfriars' church, near the gate leading into the pleasure-grounds of George Heriot's Hospital. Wodrow alleges that in June or July 1662, the Earl of Middleton, the King's Commissioner, procured an order from the Parliament to eraze the inflated Latin inscriptions on Henderson's mnument. This statement is erroneous, for the Parliament issued no such order. Sir George Mackenzie says that the *Committee of Estates*, who met in August 1660, enjoined the inscriptions to be defaced on Henderson's tomb at Edinburgh and Gillespie's at Kirkcaldy. The difference is important, for Wodrow, by assigning 1662 as the year when this unnecessary spleen was authorized, and by connecting it with the Parliament, evidently wished to implicate the Bishops, all of whom, of the second succession, were then consecrated, and sat in that Parliament. In 1660 there were no Bishops in Scotland, and this procedure of the Committee was their own act.

Baillie, who is often noticed in the preceding narrative as a zealous Covenanter, died Principal of the University of Glasgow in

1662. “The “flower of the Kirk,” Mr Samuel Rutherford, the author of the book entitled “*Lex Rex*,” which was burnt with every mark of indignity at the Cross of Edinburgh, and beneath his windows in front of St Salvador’s College in St Andrews, died in March 1661. His associate and colleague at St Andrews, Robert Blair, was allowed to retire to the parish of Aberdour, on the south shore of Fife, where he resided till his death in 1666. Andrew Cant, one of the famous apostles of the Covenant, died in 1664, and David Dickson in the previous year. John Livingstone was banished in 1663, and retired to Rotterdam, where he died in 1672. James Guthrie was hanged for high treason on the 1st of June 1661. The above were the principal Covenanted “Scots Worthies” alive at the Restoration, and they were soon succeeded by a race of most violent, sullen, and dangerous fanatics, whose extraordinary conduct as rebels and the enemies of toleration involved many of them in the most summary punishment.

On the 10th of August 1660 a letter was written by Charles II. to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to be communicated to other Presbyteries, in which the King declared—“We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church *as it is settled by law*, without violation.” This letter was delivered by Sharp, soon afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, to Mr Robert Douglas, on the 1st of September. The Presbyterians considered this as guaranteeing the support of their system, and some of their writers assert that the King for several months after his restoration entertained no design of re-establishing the Episcopal Church. A letter to this effect is cited from the Earl [Duke] of Lauderdale, dated Whitehall, 23d October 1660, addressed to this Mr Robert Douglas, the moderator of the Covenanted General Assembly in 1649—a person of very fickle and unsettled mind, who was almost induced to accept the Archbischopric of St Andrews, and whom even the credulous and gossiping Wodrow was inclined to consider a grandson of Queen Mary by a child born by her to George Douglas, younger of Lochleven, while she was a prisoner in that castle.* “As to the concerns of our mother Kirk,” writes

* This atrocious calumny against Queen Mary was readily believed by the Presbyterians, and probably Mr Robert Douglas was not slow to give credence to a scandal which every one conversant with the history of the unhappy Queen, and especially her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, knows to be false.

Lauderdale to the pretended bastard of royalty, “ I can only promise my faithful endeavours in what may be for her good ; and indeed it is no small matter to me, in serving my master, to find that his Majesty is so fixed in his resolution not to alter any thing in the government of that Church. Of this you may be confident, though I dare not answer ; but some would be willing enough to have it otherwise. I dare not doubt of the honest ministers continuing in giving constant testimonies of their duty to the King, and your letter confirms me in these hopes ; and they doing their duty, I dare answer for the King, having of late had full contentment in discoursing with his Majesty on that subject. His Majesty hath told me that he intends to call a General Assembly, and I have drawn a proclamation for that purpose, but the day is not yet resolved on. The proclamation shall, I think, come down with my Lord Treasurer [John Earl of Crawford], who says he will take journey this week.” Whatever credit may be assigned to these statements, Lauderdale was the avowed friend of the Covenanting Presbyterian interest, and as the whole power and patronage of Scotland were virtually placed in his hands after the disgrace of the Earl of Middleton in 1662, his principles could not be misunderstood as those of one of the most ambitious, designing, and unscrupulous men of his time. After 1638, when he joined the Covenanters, he was a confidential manager of their affairs, and appointed one of their delegates to the Westminster Assembly in 1643. It is true that he suffered considerable hardships, and an imprisonment of nine years before the Restoration, but for these he was amply rewarded by honours and pecuniary advantages.

We are told in a well known journal “ that the restoration of Episcopacy [in Scotland], whatever may be thought of its wisdom, must be owned to have been a natural measure.”* It is indeed astonishing, after their rigorous enforcement of the Covenant, their excommunication of the Bishops and others, their undeniable oppressions and cruelties, and their bitter hatred of toleration in any form, that the Presbyterians could expect their system to be sanctioned as the national establishment after the Restoration. But the proceedings of the Parliament, which met at Edinburgh on the 1st of January 1661, sufficiently intimated that whatever was to be done the Covenants and their supporters were to expect no countenance.

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 29.

The Earl of Middleton was the King's Commissioner, and the Parliament was opened by a sermon preached by Mr Robert Douglas. The very first act enjoined the administration of the oath of allegiance to the members at every Parliament, in which it was declared that the King was the only supreme governor of the kingdom *over all persons and in all causes.** This rescinded the acts of August and November 1641, the former of which was "anent the oath to be given by every member of Parliament," and pronounced the "same to be void and null in all time coming." The Earl of Cassillis was the only member of the Parliament who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and deserted the meeting, because, says Sir George Mackenzie, he would not allow the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, which was implied in the oath.† This was followed by an act against the noted Covenanting Johnston of Warriston, then a fugitive for high treason, depriving him of all his offices, especially that of Clerk-Registrar, which he held during the Covenanting domination in the Parliament. On the 4th of January an act was passed "that the bodies, bones, and heads of the late Marquis of Montrose and Sir William Hay of Dalgetty should be gathered and honourably buried at his Majesty's expence," ordering the Magistrates of Edinburgh to "see his Majesty's will and pleasure herein punctually obeyed." Various acts of the Parliament of 1641, affecting the royal prerogative in choosing the Officers of State, the Privy Council, and the Lords of Session, were rescinded. On the 16th of January an act was passed denouncing, generally, all "leagues, councils, or conventions" not authorized by the King and his successors. The body of Colonel George Drummond, another sufferer to Covenanting tyranny, which "was unworthily buried, was to be raised by his friends, and buried where they should think fit." On the 22d, an act was passed annulling the Convention of Estates of 1643, and "rescinding any acts ratifying the same." The meetings of Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchy Men, were strictly prohibited. On the 1st of February the "saying of mass, seminary and mass priests, and trafficking papists" were ordered to be punished by the exist-

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 7.

† An Act was passed against the Earl of Cassillis on the 5th of April, declaring him incapable of any public office for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 162, 163.

ing laws. The forfeiture of the Marquis of Montrose was honourably removed and rescinded on the 8th ; and on the following day the Engagement of 1648 was ratified, while the Parliament and Committees of 1649 were rescinded. On the 20th an act was passed "condemning the delivery of the King," and the act of the 16th January 1647, entitled, "Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the King's Majesty's person," was by the same authority ordered to be "expunged out of all records, and never to be remembered but with due abhorrence and detestation." Two days afterwards a commission was appointed to visit the Colleges of Aberdeen, consisting of nine or ten noblemen, a number of gentlemen and several ministers, among whom are the names of *James Sharp, George Hallyburton, David Strachan, and John Paterson*, afterwards Bishops. On the 27th all "public ministers were enjoined to take the oath of allegiance, and acknowledge the King's prerogative," in the latter of which the swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant, or of "any other oaths concerning the government of the Church or kingdom," was peremptorily prohibited ; and it was declared that the said League and Covenant was not obligatory on the subjects to "meddle or interpose by arms or any seditious way in any thing concerning the religion and government of the Churches in England and Ireland." This caused the retirement of Lord Balmerino, his relative Lord Cowpar, and others from the Parliament. Acts were also passed in favour of a number of parochial incumbents and their families who had been annoyed during the usurpation. On the 28th of March the most important act was passed, annulling, rescinding, and rendering null and void, all the acts of the "pretended Parliaments" from 1640 to 1648. This was followed by an "act concerning religion and church government," in which the King declared his firm resolution to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion *as it was established within this kingdom during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather* ; "and as to the government of the Church," continues the act, "his Majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom: And in the meantime his Majesty, with advice and consent foresaid, doth allow the present administration by [kirk] sessions, presbyteries,

and synods, they keeping themselves within bounds, and behaving themselves as said is, and that notwithstanding of the preceding Act Rescissory of all pretended Parliaments since the year 1633."

At subsequent proceedings of this Parliament the forfeitures and attainders of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, and other gentlemen who were victims to or sufferers from the Covenanting tyranny, were recalled and rescinded, and on the 13th of May a "solemn anniversary thanksgiving" for the King's Restoration was enjoined to be observed every 29th of May. On the 15th, Mr John Wilkie, collector of the vacant stipends, was ordered to pay Mr Patrick Wemyss and Mr James Aitken, "suffering ministers for their loyalty," the former L.2000 Scots, and the latter L.100 sterling, out of the vacant stipends in Orkney. On the 28th, the said Mr Wilkie was authorised to pay Mr William Ogilvie, sometime minister at Kingoldrum—"a suffering minister"—three hundred merks Scots. On the 18th of June a long proclamation by the King "anent Church affairs," dated Whitehall, 10th June, was read, extending and explaining the act of the 28th of March; and ordered to be published at the Cross of Edinburgh and in all the other towns. On the 9th of July was passed an "act concerning the disposal of vacant stipends." This act chiefly alluded to the deprived Episcopal clergy during the Civil War. It set forth that, "considering during those troubles many learned and religious persons in the ministry and universities, for their expressions of duty and loyalty to his Majesty, or not concurring in the confusions of the time, have been deposed or suspended from their charge and ministry, and have been otherwise under great sufferings, and they and their families reduced to extreme misery and want"—it was enacted that all stipends of benefices vacant by death, deposition, suspension, translation, or otherwise, shall be "employed for the supply and maintenance towards the reparation of the sufferings and losses of the personsforesaid, and of the wives and bairns of such as are dead"—the act to continue in force seven years, or longer, "as his Majesty shall think fit."*

The above were the principal acts of the first Scottish Parliament after the Restoration which had reference directly or indirectly to ecclesiastical affairs. The condemnation of the Cove-

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. v. p. 303.

nants as illegal excited the fruitless opposition of the Covenanters. "The ministers," says Sir George Mackenzie, "did begin to thunder after their usual manner, and resolved to issue remonstrances in the ensuing provincial assemblies; but to prevent any such disorder Rothes was sent to Fife, and Atholl to Perth, and some to each of their other provincial meetings, with power to dissolve them if any such thing had been proposed; and by their presence all disturbances were then quieted, and Mr Andrew Cant, and many others who were violent Remonstrators, were deposed. Such also as preached before the Parliament, who were men picked out for their enmity to rebellion, did inveigh against the Covenant, and the irregular proceedings of these times; and some were so forward as to recommend Episcopacy as that ecclesiastical government which suited best with monarchy, and was *most consonant to the word of God.*"*

In this Parliament numerous warrants were issued to grant relief to "suffering ministers," intimating the Episcopal clergy, and to the widows and children of those who were deceased. On the 15th of April, Dr Wishart petitioned the Parliament, shewing that "for his loyalty he had suffered as early, as much, as long, as constantly and patiently, as any of his station in the kingdom, being in 1637 forced to flee to another kingdom from his charge at St Andrews, and since once and again robbed of all his goods, imprisoned, banished; and for persisting in his known avowed loyalty, and in that Christian duty of holding up his Majesty's condition and just cause to Almighty [God] in public worship, followed with persecution even beyond seas by the late usurpers, and that even till the blessed day of his sacred Majesty's wonderful restitution." He also states that he is "not only valetudinary, and past sixty already," but that his "poor wife and children" would be destitute "in case Providence should remove him." Mr John Wilkie was ordered to pay Dr Wishart L.300 sterling "out of the first and readiest of the vacant stipends."† On the 21st of June a list of suffering ministers and their widows and children was presented to the Parliament, when various sums were ordered to be paid from the vacant stipends for

* Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Edinburgh, 4to. 1821, p. 23.

† Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. Appendix, p. 59.

their losses. The loyalty of the Aberdeen Doctors was not forgotten. The widow and children of Dr Barron were voted L.200 sterling; the widow and children of Dr Sibbald, L.200;* and the widow and children of Dr Ross, L.150. The children of Mr James Hannay, formerly Dean of Edinburgh, received L.100; those of Mr John Brown, Professor in the College of Edinburgh, killed at Preston, L.100; those of Mr John Logie, sometime minister at Ruthven, L.50: the widow of Mr John Heatly, minister at Wamphray, L.50; the widow and children of Mr Samuel Douglas, L.100; those of Mr John Fyffe, minister of Foulis, L.100; the children of Mr James Drummond, L.50; and those of Dr Scrimgeour, L.100. To Mr David Mitchel, minister of Edinburgh, was voted the sum of L.200; to Dr Panter, formerly of St Andrews, L.200; to Mr John Rose, minister of Birse in Aberdeenshire, L.200; to Mr William Douglas, minister of Aboyne and Glentanner, L.100; to Mr William Wilkie, minister of Govan near Glasgow, L.100; to Mr George Hannay, L.100; and to Mr John Macmath, L.100. Several others were voted L.50 each.† At subsequent meetings of the Parliament Mr William Colvin was voted L.200. Mr William Hume, minister of Ayton, 2,400 merks; Mr William Annand of Ayr, L.200: James Maxwell, son of Bishop Maxwell of Ross, L.200; Mr Robert Balcanqual, L.200; and sums of L.100 severally to the widows and children of the deceased clergy.‡ On the 5th of July the sum of L.1050 was ordered to be paid, in sums of L.100 each, and one of L.150, to ten clergymen or their children, and one of the latter was Mr John Whiteford, described as son of the Bishop of Brechin. On the 9th of July Mr Robert Forbes was authorised to be the sole printer for ten years of the Replies of the Aberdeen Doctors to the Covenanters: Mr James Ramsay of Linlithgow was voted L.100; and Mr Henry Guthrie, then minister of Kilspindie, L.150. On the 12th of July a sum upwards of L.2000 sterling, exclusive of 2000 merks,

* It appears, however, that Mr John Wilkie refused to pay the L.200 to Dr Sibbald's widow, and in consequence "Elizabeth Nicolson, relict of the deceased Dr James Sibbald," presented a petition to the Parliament on the 15th of August 1662, complaining of the said Mr Wilkie, who refused, not because he wanted funds, for it is stated in the lady's petition that "he has paid and satisfied several persons whom he has been pleased to favour." The Parliament ordered Mr Wilkie, as collector of the vacant stipends, to pay the money. *Acta. Parl. Scot. vol. vii. Appendix, p. 89.*

† *Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. Appendix, p. 78.*

‡ *Ibid. p. 79.*

was ordered to be paid to various clergymen, and the widows and children of others, in sums chiefly varying from L.50 to L.100 each. Others are mentioned who were to be recommended to the King.*

With all these undeniable facts, as recorded in the Minutes of the Parliament, it is really preposterous for the Presbyterians to allege that they were deceived by the King at the Restoration. It is true the Episcopal Church was not in existence till upwards of one year and a half after the return of Charles II., for Bishop Sydserff of Galloway was the only one of the old Prelates who survived, and he appears to have been in England at the time. The King owed no favour to the Presbyterians, who in 1650 took up arms in his favour from no feeling of loyalty, but because he had conformed to the Solemn League and Covenant. Their principles were completely influenced by their fanaticism, and by their hatred to Cromwell's "sectarian army." The proceedings of the Parliament of 1661, therefore, though nothing was said or enacted in favour of the Episcopal Church, sufficiently decided that Presbyterianism would not be established.

On the 12th of July the Parliament was adjourned to the 12th of March 1662, and the Earl of Middleton, attended by the Clerk Register, proceeded to Court, carrying with him all the acts passed during the sittings. It appears from an entry, dated April 29, that Dr James Sharp, who is designated one of the King's chaplains, was appointed to accompany the Lord Chancellor Glencairn and the Earl of Rothes to London. The prudence of Middleton, in "quashing all the fanatic zeal," secured for him a flattering reception at the Court, and immediately after his arrival a Scottish Privy Council was called, which was attended by the King and those of the English Privy Council who were appointed members of that of Scotland. The grand discussion was on the establishment of the Church in Scotland, and Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh has preserved an account of this important meeting. He states that to surprise the Earls of Lauderdale, Crawfurd, and such others as were suspected of Presbyterianism, the Earl of Middleton was appointed to introduce the subject. Addressing the King his Lordship said—" May it please your Majesty, you may perceive by the account I have now given of your affairs in Scotland that there is no present government as yet established in that Church. Pres-

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. vii. Appendix, p. 83, 84, 85.

bytery is, after a long usurpation, now at last rescinded ; the Covenant, whereby men thought they were obliged to it, is now declared to have been unlawful, and the acts of Parliament whereby it was fenced are removed ; so that it is arbitrary to your Majesty to choose what government you will fix there, for to your Majesty this is, by the last act of supremacy, declared to belong. But if your Majesty do not interpose, then Episcopacy, which was unjustly invaded at once with your royal power, will return to its former vigour." This was followed by a speech from the Earl of Glencairn, as Lord Chancellor, the sentiments in which are extraordinary, considering the Covenanting and Presbyterian zeal which his Lordship's family had evinced from the Reformation. "The insolence of the Presbyterians," said his Lordship, "had so far dissatisfied all loyal subjects and wise men that six for one in Scotland longed for Episcopacy, by which no rebellion was ever hatched, that government having still owned the royal interest ; whereas [Calvinism and] Presbytery had never been introduced in any country without blood and rebellion, as at Geneva, in France during their civil wars, in Holland, when they revolted from Spain, and now twice in Scotland—once by the Regent Moray, when Queen Mary was banished, and lastly in 1637." The Earl of Rothes here added to Glencairn's statements, that though he was too young to have "seen the rise of that innovation [in 1637], yet in 1648 he was witness to their ruining of the Engagement, and in 1649 and 1650 to their indiscreet usage of his Majesty." The Earl of Lauderdale argued that this was a motion of great importance, on which they required to think seriously, and obtain the most authentic information, as on the result of it depended the peace of the Scottish people, who were not very manageable in religious matters ; and he suggested that either a General Assembly be called, the Provincial Synods consulted, or that the King should summon some of the leading ministers to a conference at Westminster. "All these three ways," replied the Earl of Middleton, "tend to continue Presbytery, for it was most probable that [the] ministers who had governed all of late would have such influence as to choose ruling elders of the same minds, and both would be unwilling to quit their hold ; or at least, the leading men, whom the inferior clergy durst not disown whilst that Hierarchy stood, durst not quarrel the resolutions of their Rabbis, who would adhere to the oath thay had

taken, and defend stoutly their own supremacy ; and, therefore, neither a General nor a Provincial Assembly were fit judges, nor could they be now called together, seeing Presbytery was abrogated ; and to call these were to restore them, and to infringe the Act-Rescissory." Silence ensued after this declaration, which was interrupted by the English Chancellor Clarendon, who observing the Earl of Crawford carefully abstaining from taking any part in the debate, pressed the King that all should express their opinions on a matter with which all were concerned. Sir George Mackenzie declares that Clarendon wanted Crawford either to disown Presbyterianism, or by maintaining it to displease the King, which would hazard his office of Lord High Treasurer, and transfer it to Middleton. Thus compelled to speak, the Earl of Crawford earnestly urged that the Provincial Synods should be consulted, assuring the King that six for one in Scotland were in favour of Presbytery. He contended that the offences of reformers ought not to be charged on the Reformation—that irregularities had attended the most salutary changes—and that it was better to continue that form of [church] government which was now past all unavoidable hazards and errors, than attempt another which would at first be liable to similar inconveniences. He denied that the Act-Rescissory excluded Presbytery, which had been secured by acts of General Assemblies sanctioned by the late King's High Commissioners, and still unrepealed. The Duke of Hamilton, who was then a supporter of Lauderdale, and opposed to Middleton, here observed, that the Act-Rescissory was only passed smoothly, because his Majesty had promised to continue Presbyterian government in his letter to the ministers of Edinburgh. Lord Chancellor Clarendon, turning to the King, said—"Indeed, Sir, Lauderdale has spoken like a judicious sober man, and has given your Majesty a very secure advice ;* but, Sir, the Earl of Crawford has owned all that ever was done in Scotland in their rebellion, and God preserve me from living in a country where the Church is independent from the State, and may subsist by their own acts, for then all Churchmen may be kings." This closed the debate, the King declaring that the majority were in favour of the Episcopal Church, and that he would settle it with

* Sir George Mackenzie observes—"For he [Clarendon] used to compliment Lauderdale, that his Majesty might think he loved his person, and so might not construct any thing that he said against him as proceeding from malice."

out delay. Clarendon perceived Crawford much displeased, and whispered to him in a kind tone that if he were not such a rigid Presbyterian he [Clarendon] would be his friend and servant. " My Lord," answered Crawford, " I was your friend when you needed much my assistance," referring to his intercession by letters with the King on his behalf in 1653, when he incurred the resentment of the Queen-mother and the Duke of York.

The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes were ordered to Scotland, by the advice, it is said, of the Earl of Lauderdale, who disliked the inclination of the former to support the Earl of Middleton's interest, and a letter from the King, dated 14th August, was presented to the Scottish Privy Council on the 5th of September, which contained the official announcement of the re-establishment of the Church. This important document is as follows—
" Whereas in the month of August 1660 we did, by our letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland settled by law, and our Parliament having since rescinded all the acts since the troubles began referring to that government, but also declared all these pretended Parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing church government: therefore, in compliance with that act-rescissory, according to our late proclamation, dated at Whitehall the 10th of June, and in contemplation of the inconveniences from the church government, as it hath been exercised these twenty-three years past, of the unsuitableness thereof to our monarchical estate, of the sadly experienced confusions which have been caused during the late troubles by the violence done to our royal prerogative, and to the government civil and ecclesiastical, settled by unquestionable authority: We, from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that Church, and its better harmony with the government of the Churches of England and Ireland, have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our Council here our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for the restoring of that Church to its right government by Bishops,

* Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of Charles II. to 1670, edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Edinburgh, 4to. 1821, p. 52-56.

as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law. Of this our royal pleasure concerning church government you are to take notice, and to make intimation thereof in such a way and manner as you shall judge most expedient and effectual.—Our will is, that ye forthwith take such course with the rents belonging to the several Bishoprics and Deanries, that they may be restored and made useful to the Church, and that according to justice and the standing law. And, moreover, you are to inhibit the assembling of ministers in their several synodal meetings throughout the kingdom until our further pleasure ; and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretence whatsoever, shall, by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular and unlawful way, endeavour to alienate the affections of our people, or dispose them to an ill opinion of us and the government, and to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom.”

It thus appears that no deception or treachery was practised towards the Presbyterians. If they understood the King’s declaration in his letter of August 1660 to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, that he would “ maintain the government of the Church of Scotland *settled by law* ”—to refer to the Presbyterian system which they had established from 1639 to 1649, it was a most erroneous notion, for which they could only blame themselves. The King, on the other hand, by the phrase *settled by law*, now evidently indicated the episcopal government before the outbreak of the Covenant, which it is undeniable was the legal establishment, solemnly ratified by several Parliaments and General Assemblies. The proceedings of the Parliament of 1661, rescinding and declaring null and void all the Parliaments from 1639 or 1640 to 1649—the sums voted to the suffering Episcopal clergy, their widows, and children—the denunciation of the Covenants as illegal—and all acts in connection with ecclesiastical matters, to say nothing of private information—were conclusive that the Episcopal Church would be re-instated, and the Church was at least as much entitled to be established as Presbyterianism.

Sir George Mackenzie states, that after the King’s letter was read the Privy Council were silent, until the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine urged that they should write to the King, and

advise him to consult the provincial synods, by which course, whatever was the result, the King would not be blamed. This, however, was opposed, and the Earl of Tweeddale consented to the proclamation which was immediately issued, and a letter was sent to the King, intimating that the Privy Council had rendered due obedience to his command.

On the 18th of September the Privy Council issued a proclamation, prohibiting any who were “fanatically principled” to be elected magistrates of royal burghs under severe penalties, and though this was not ratified by an act of Parliament it was in no instance opposed by the burghs. In another letter on the 19th of November the King ordered the Privy Council to enjoin that in all congregations Queen Catherine, the Queen his mother, and the Duke of York his brother, should be prayed for by name, and assigned as his excuse for sending such a command to the Privy Council “the not restitution as yet of Episcopacy.” “In the same letter likewise it was ordered,” says Sir George Mackenzie, “that a proclamation should be issued against Papists; and generally it was observed in those times that whenever any thing was done in favour of Episcopacy, there was also at the same time somewhat done against Popery, for allaying the humour of the people, who were bred to believe that Episcopacy was a limb of Antichrist.” On the 12th of December all Presbyteries were prohibited to admit or induct ministers to parishes; and in obedience to a letter from the King, dated the 2d of January 1662, forbidding the “meetings of all synods and [kirk] sessions,” the Privy Council on the 19th “discharged them by express proclamation, which,” says Sir George Mackenzie, “was disliked by many as tending to encourage all profanity, since after that proclamation there was no visible authority ecclesiastic whereby scandals could be punished;” but we shall soon see that this was a most erroneous opinion. Every arrangement was thus made for the re-establishment of the Church, and it is undeniable that it would have been achieved without the concurrence and in defiance of the opposition of the individual who was at the time nominated to the Archbishopric of St Andrews.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS OF THE SECOND ANGLICAN CONSECRATION.

THE re-establishment of the Episcopal Church being determined by the Government, a new consecration was necessary, as Bishop Sydserff, formerly of Galloway, was the only survivor of the Spottiswoode succession of Prelates, and the Church was virtually extinct. The persons selected for the episcopal function to be consecrated in London were James Sharp for the Archbishopric of St Andrews, Andrew Fairfoull for the Archbishopric of Glasgow, James Hamilton for the Bishopric of Galloway, and Robert Leighton for the Bishopric of Dunblane. As a reward of Bishop Sydserff's sufferings and loyalty it was resolved to translate him to Orkney, where in his declining years he was less likely to be annoyed by any agitation or clamour. A short account of the Bishops of the Second Consecration is an appropriate introduction.

Who in Scotland has not heard of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews? Execrated by the Presbyterians as their *Judas, traitor, and betrayer*, and denounced by them as one of the most odious, cruel, and immoral of men; extolled by their opponents for his dignified conduct, great abilities, and personal virtues! Heartily hated by one party, sincerely beloved and zealously defended by another, Archbishop Sharp must have been no ordinary man thus to obtain the transmission of his name to posterity through the two extremes of unmitigated abuse, any allusion to whom still excites his maligners to a state of insanity—and of devoted respect, whose atrocious murder by Presbyterian fanatics will never be forgotten.

It is unnecessary to enter into biographical details of the early career of this celebrated Prelate. The Presbyterians, in accordance with their vindictive principles, were so mean as to asperse

his very birth, and to record the most infamous falsehoods of his parentage, which was a thousand times more respectable than that of many of their own. His paternal grandfather, David Sharp, a native of Perthshire, became a merchant of considerable eminence in Aberdeen, and married Magdalene, a daughter of Hallyburton of Piteur; and his father, William Sharp, was sheriff-clerk of the adjacent county of Banff. His mother, Isabel Leslie, a daughter of Leslie of Kininvie, was nearly related to the Earls of Rothes, and is described as a woman of extraordinary endowments, held in honour for her wisdom and piety, who lived to see the Restoration, and, as some allege, her son elevated to the Scottish Primacy. The Archbishop was born in the castle of Banff, the county town, in May 1618, and was baptized by the episcopal incumbent according to the form then recognized by the Established Episcopal Church. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and heard the prelections of the celebrated Doctors Forbes and Barron; and he is allowed to have greatly distinguished himself, and to have given ample indications of his abilities. After he left King's College he went to England, where he appears to have resided during the turmoils of the Covenant in 1638, when he was only twenty years of age. In England he became acquainted with Hammond, Saunderson, and Jeremy Taylor, and it is said that he was only prevented from prosecuting his studies at Oxford by the distracted state of the kingdom. At his return to Scotland he met his relation the Covenanting Earl of Rothes at the house of Viscount Oxenford, a few miles south of Dalkeith, and this must have been before August 1641, when the Earl of Rothes died, leaving his son and heir only eleven years of age. It is said that by the interest of Rothes he was appointed a regent or professor in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, now united to St Salvador's College, though this statement is by no means clear, and no less a person than Alexander Henderson is said to have recommended him to the situation which he obtained. Mr James Guthrie, hanged in 1661 for high treason, was at the time a Professor in St Andrews, and he exerted his influence unsuccessfully against Sharp in favour of a Mr John Sinclair, to whom he afterwards demitted his own professorship. Sharp was on bad terms with Sinclair for some time, and one Sunday he struck him in the presence of the Principal and others at the

college table. This, it is alleged, was caused by Sinclair giving him the lie direct in a discussion which the latter maintained in favour of Episcopacy and against the Covenant ; but it is certain that Sharp made a most ample acknowledgment for this outrage, of which he sincerely repented. At that period he unavoidably conformed, like many others, to the Presbyterian system established by the Covenanters after 1639. In January 1648 he was admitted minister of the parish and royal burgh of Crail in the east of Fife, to which he was appointed by the Earl of Crawford, to whom it is said he was recommended by Mr James Bruce, minister of the neighbouring parish of Kingsbarns, who, however, was not altogether *disinterested* in this matter, for, if we are to credit a ridiculous story told by Wodrow, there was a *love-affair* between Sharp and Bruce's daughter, whom the future Archbishop intended to make his wife, but this connection never took place. His predecessors in Crail were Mr George Hallyburton, admitted in 1635, and expelled in 1638, Mr Arthur Myrton, and Mr John Hart.*

It is contended by the author of a sketch of Archbishop Sharp's Life, published in 1719, that he was all along opposed to Presbyterianism, or at least to the Solemn League and Covenant ; but it is certain that he must have complied with the National Covenant when he obtained his professorship at St Andrews, and with the Solemn League at his admission to the parish of Crail. This is evident from the fact that he soon obtained the confidence of the most prominent Covenanting preachers and defenders of their system ; but he lived in exciting times, when many were induced to comply with the dominant faction for their own security, or were obliged to leave the kingdom. His affability and pleasing manners rendered him popular with his parishioners, yet he was a strict disciplinarian, and zealous in the discharge of his duty. He soon was invited to become one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but the Presbytery of St Andrews and Synod of Fife refused to accept his resignation of Crail, and though this was subsequently reversed by the General Assembly, it was prevented by the invasion of the English under Cromwell. In August 1651 he incurred

* Catalogue of the Ministers in the Synod of Fife from 1560 to 1700, in Appendix to Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife from 1611 to 1687. Edinburgh, 4to. printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1837.

the displeasure of General Monk, who put him and several preachers on board a vessel at Broughty Ferry near Dundee, and sent them prisoners to England ; but he contrived to obtain his liberty by “ certain base compliances” to Cromwell according to his Presbyterian enemies, though the nature of these “ base compliances” is not stated. He was probably less violent than his wild companions, whose fanatical principles he held in detestation. He obtained his liberty, leaving his associates in bondage, and returned to his parish of Crail.

These were the principal events of Sharp's life to the time he was sent to London on a special mission to Cromwell, though the Presbyterians after his elevation to the Primacy circulated all kinds of gossipping and scurrilous stories against him. The origin of this mission will be explained by a reference to the state of parties in Scotland before and after the murder of Charles I. In 1648 the “ Engagement,” approved by the Scottish Parliament in 1641, was formed for liberating the King, and this caused a violent schism among the Presbyterians, who denounced in their General Assembly those who were connected with it as *Engagers*. This continued till a new feud was excited by some preachers in the western counties, who in a public remonstrance maintained that it was sinful, and a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, to associate or have any intercourse with Malignants, including as such all the Engagers, and the royalists who had served under Montrose. They even maintained that it was dishonouring to God to accept their assistance in any way against their common enemy Cromwell. This party were known as *Remonstrators* or *Protestors*, while their Presbyterian opponents, who thought differently, were designated *Resolutioners*. The *Resolutioners* may be considered as the conservatives, and the *Remonstrators* as republican enthusiasts, both parties bitterly hating each other, yet submissively courting Cromwell. Sharp was accordingly sent to London as the agent of the *Resolutioners*, and James Guthrie, then minister of Stirling, Patrick Gillespie, and others, were deputed to manage the affairs of the *Remonstrators*. Sharp and Guthrie were thus again brought into collision, and probably Guthrie's treatment of him at St Andrews commenced that animosity which continued between them during the whole of their after life. It is probable that Sharp was selected for this mission on account of

the connections he had formed in England. Bishop Burnet says of him—" He had been long in England, and was an active and eager man. He had a very small proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher : but having some acquaintance with the Presbyterian ministers in London, whom Cromwell was then courting much, he was by an error that proved fatal to the whole party sent up in their name to London, where he continued for some years soliciting their concerns, and making himself known to all sorts of people." This outline of Sharp's character, however, must be received with suspicion, as Burnet was his personal enemy, and the Bishop of Salisbury delineated his foes in the most unscrupulous manner. He adds that Sharp then " seemed more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery ;" and when on one occasion Dr Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who had married Cromwell's sister, declared to him his belief that if order was not restored the Protector would be compelled to set up Episcopacy in the kingdom, apparently meaning both England and Scotland, Sharp " could not bear the thought, and rejected it with horror." If there is any truth in this story, Sharp would doubtless " reject with horror" any " Episcopacy" which such a man as Cromwell could possibly " set up."

The future Primate so much distinguished himself at London by his talents and address that Cromwell is said to have remarked to some of his friends—" That gentleman after the Scotch way ought to be styled *Sharp of that Ilk.*" As long as he was connected with the Presbyterian party for whom he acted, his piety, zeal, and general conduct, were the themes of their loudest praise. The eminent " flower" Samuel Rutherford on one occasion embraced him affectionately, declaring that " he saw that out of the most rough and knotty timber Christ could make a vessel of mercy ;" and Baillie, after expressing his horror at the Protestors, adds— " The great instrument of God to cross their evil designs has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr James Sharp." But his negotiations with Cromwell, Monk, and others before the Restoration, are affairs with which the Episcopal Church had no concern, though these materially affected his circumstances and influenced his change of sentiments. His abilities recommended him especially to General Monk, who at Coldstream induced him to draw up the able declaration of his own intentions, which

prepared the English nation for the great event of the restoration of the monarchy. In a word, Sharp was employed by the Resolutioners to attend to their interests at London and at Breda. Now, those very Resolutioners were actually hesitating about the principles they were inclined to adopt. They sent a deputation to Breda to assure King Charles II. that they were attached to his interest, and were happy to hear of his constancy to the Protestant religion—"that for themselves they were *no enemies to moderate Episcopacy*, and only desired not to be pressed with such things in God's worship as by many were reckoned indifferent, and by tender consciences unlawful." Mr Robert Douglas, who was a great leader of the Resolutionists, declared, in allusion to the measures projected by the English Privy Council to reinstate the Church of England, that "whatever kirk-government be settled there [in England] will have an influence upon this kingdom, for the generality of the new upstart generation have *no love to presbyterian government*, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the *fancy of Episcopacy, or moderate Episcopacy*." These, however, were not the real sentiments of Mr Robert Douglas, but his recorded admission of the state of public feeling; for in a sermon which he preached, on the 1st of May 1660, at the opening of the Synod of Lothian, if we are to credit Wodrow he stated—"The government of presbytery is good, but Prelacy is neither good in Christian policy or civil. Some men say, May we not have a moderate Episcopacy? But it is a plant God never planted, and the ladder whereby Anti-christ mounted his throne. Bishops got caveats, and never kept one of them, and will just do the like again. We have abjured Episcopacy; let us not lick it up again." Yet notwithstanding this senseless raving, Wodrow thus corroborates in his own way the public feeling towards Presbyterianism described by Douglas;—"Our Nobility and gentry were remarkably changed to the worse. Few of such as had been active in the former years were now alive, and those few were marked out for ruin. A young generation had sprung up under the English government, educated under penury and oppression; their estates were under burden, and many of them had little other prospect of mending their fortunes but by the King's favour, and so were ready to act that part he was best pleased with. Several of the most leading managers and members of Parliament had taken up a dislike to the strictness of Presbyterian

discipline. Middleton had not forgot his excommunication, or the pronouncing of it, and others had been disgusted at their being obliged to satisfy for their lewdness and scandals, and upon this turn they were willing to enjoy a little more latitude.* All this is another conclusive proof of the oppressions and cruelties inflicted on the people by the Covenanting Presbyterians during their domination.

Wodrow asserts that the letter from the King to Douglas and the Presbytery of Edinburgh, delivered by Sharp on the 1st of September, was his own “ penning.” In addition to the declaration that the King was to “ protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland *as it is settled by law,*” it was stated in the letter—“ We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St Andrews and [adjourned to] Dundee 1651, be owned and stand in force until we shall call another General Assembly, which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit.” Now, although Wodrow designates the words—“ *as it is settled by law*”—a “ double-faced expression,” there was no inconsistency in the reference to the General Assembly convened at St Andrews in 1651, and adjourned to Dundee, where it terminated in a ludicrous and abrupt manner. The legality, so far as it went, of that Assembly was acknowledged by the *Resolutioners*, from whom Sharp was the delegate to London; while it was violently denied and denounced by the *Remonstrators* or *Protesters*, such as James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and others—by Wodrow himself, who raved against it as a “ packed meeting.” But it is impossible in these limits to enter minutely into the Presbyterian feuds and disputes. Wodrow acknowledges that Sharp designed this letter *against the Protesters*,† and this is an important admission in favour of the Archbishop. It was also in accordance with the King’s announcements to the Privy Council and the Parliament that until the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom was properly arranged, the several kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods, were in the meanwhile to continue, on the condition that “ the ministers will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of such who, by preaching, or private conven-

* Wodrow’s History, vol. i. folio, 1721, p. 20.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 14.

ticles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling by endeavouring to corrupt the people, or sow seeds of disaffection to us or our government." All the negotiations of the Presbyterians with Charles II. were *conditional*. They were to acknowledge him as their sovereign only if he conformed to the Solemn League and Covenant; but as the King was restored without any terms, and without the aid of the Presbyterians, they as a party had no claim upon him.

When General Monk commenced his march from the North of England to London in January 1660, Mr Robert Douglas, and other leading men of the Resolutioners, applied to him to receive Sharp as their representative. During the seven following months Sharp was in close communication with the principal persons of all parties; with Monk, and the chief of the English and Scottish Nobility then in London; with the Episcopal clergy and the Presbyterian ministers there; and with the King and the members of his Court. He set out for Breda on the 4th, and returned to London on the 26th of May. While thus engaged he maintained an active correspondence with Douglas and other preachers. Those letters are now preserved in the Library of the University of Glasgow, but a very elaborate abstract of them is given by Wodrow.* It was evidently the opinion of Douglas, with which Wodrow coincides, that Sharp was persuaded to abandon the Presbyterians at Breda, where he was much in the company of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and often with the King, who treated him with marked attention and familiarity. Previous to this he had been elected Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St Mary's College, St Andrews;† and while at Breda he was appointed chaplain to the King for Scotland, with an annual salary of L.200. Wodrow is accused of garbling Sharp's letters to Douglas, but this is denied by Dr Burns of Paisley, who states in his Glasgow edition of Wodrow's History that he compared the letters with the abstracts, and asserts "without hesitation, as a general result of the inquiry, that while the historian does by no means conceal his design of exposing Sharp's treachery,

* In his Introduction to his "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution."

† On the 16th of January 1660. Catalogue of the Ministers of the Synod of Fife, in Appendix to Selections from Minutes of the Synod, printed for the Abbotsford Club. Edinburgh, 4to. 1837.

he had it in his power from these documents to have held him up to detestation in still blacker colours had he quoted all the expressions of devoted affection—all the solemn protestations of attachment to Presbytery—all the specimens of mean adulation—and all the bitter vituperations against his opponents, which these letters contain.” This is strong language, but when we consider the peculiar opinions and partizanship of Dr Burns, and his bitter hatred to the Episcopal Church, it is what was to be expected from him ; and it is as impossible for a Roman Catholic to cease from abusing Luther as it is for a Presbyterian to write with temper on Archbishop Sharp. Without disputing the correctness of Wodrow’s abstract of the letters to Douglas, they in reality afford no evidence of his insincerity, and there is no reason to believe that he was unfaithful to the cause of his mission. We have seen that the Resolutioners actually intimated to Charles II. at Breda that they were “no enemies to moderate Episcopacy.” When Sharp returned to Scotland, in the beginning of September 1660, he received the thanks of his friends for his conduct ; and he distinctly declared to them that “he had found the King very affectionate to Scotland, and resolved not to wrong the *settled government* of the Church ; but he apprehended *they were mistaken who went about to establish the Presbyterian government.*”

The fears entertained by the Presbyterians of the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church are indicated in Baillie’s letters to Sharp. In one, dated April 16, 1660, the former writes in reference to the expected restoration of the King—“ If it please God to work out this wonder, his only work, marvellous in our eyes, and more in the eyes of the posterity, to bring home our sweet prince in peace, *I think in this case the greatest pull will be about Episcopacy;*” and he then says to Sharp—“ Concerning this great difficulty, I suggest unto you this my advice to cause set with all possible speed some serious and judicious pen, I think Dr Reynolds’ were the fittest, in a few sheets of paper to print the tenets and point out the writings of the present leaders of the Episcopal party—Dr Taylor, Mr Pearce, Dr Hammond, Mr Thordyke, Dr Heylin, Bishop Wren, Bishop Bramhall, and others.”* In a letter to Baillie, dated at Edinburgh, 5th September 1660, Sharp writes—“ His Majesty hath been pleased to send by me a gracious

* Baillie’s Letters and Journals, edited by David Laing, Esq. vol. iii. p. 400.

letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to be communicated to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, which I am confident will satisfy all who are satisfiable : it will be printed, and within a day or two a copy transmitted to you. However the affairs of the Church of England may be disposed, which I see are tending to Episcopacy there, the blame whereof ought not to be laid on the King ; yet we need fear no violation of our settlement here, if the Lord give us to prize our own mercy and know our duty. I have brought a letter from some city ministers, bearing an account of their late proceeding to an accommodation for moderated Episcopacy ; and the Church contests there are swallowed up by those who are for Prelacy in the former way, and those who are for a regulated Episcopacy. The King, by his declaration, which will speedily be published, will endeavour a composing of these differences until a Synod be called.* On the 13th of December Sharp again wrote to Baillie—“ I shall only tell you this, that I am confident at this Parliament there will be no meddling with the matter of our Church ;” and Baillie replies—“ If the Parliament meddle with our Covenants they will grieve many, and me with the first ; for the time you can help many things [as much] as *any man I know*, but be assured no man’s court lasts long.” Sharp wrote to Baillie in January 1661, announcing that he had secured to him the presentation from the King to be Principal of the University of Glasgow, and complaining of some violent conduct exhibited by the Synod of Glasgow. Various of Baillie’s letters to Sharp are preserved, but they contain no allusions to the contemplated ecclesiastical arrangements of any importance.

Baillie nevertheless anticipated the abrogation of Presbyterianism, and we find him thus writing, in a short letter to Sharp, dated 15th April—“ The matter of our changes be near my heart ; I think they will hasten my death, yet I make no noise about them.” Five days afterwards he addressed a long letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, complaining of the passing of the Act-Rescissory on the 28th of March, annulling the Covenanting Parliaments between 1640 and 1649 inclusive—“ pulling down,” he says, “ all our laws at once which concerned our Church since 1633.—If you have gone with your heart to forsake your Covenant, to countenance the introduction of Bishops and [Service] Books, and

* Baillie’s Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 410.

strengthening the King by your advice in these things, I think you a prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer to God for that question, and opening a door which in haste will not be closed, for persecution of a multitude of the best persons and most loyal subjects that are in all the three dominions.—If you or Mr Sharp, whom we trusted as our own souls, have swerved towards Chancellor [Clarendon] Hyde's principles, as now we see many do, you have much to answer for."

On the 23d of April, which was the day of the King's coronation, Sharp preached before the Scottish Parliament, and on Monday the 29th he set out from Edinburgh to London with the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes, as appointed by the Parliament. Before he left Edinburgh he wrote to Baillie—"I am commanded to take a new toil, but I tell you it is not in order to a change of the Church. I easily foresee what occasion of jealousy and false surmises this my journey will give, but whenever the Lord shall return me, I trust my carriage through the Lord's help shall be such as my dear friend Mr Baillie will not condemn me. The reasons of my journey cannot be communicated in this way, but you may think they are pressing, else I may be charged with exceeding folly at this time to enter upon the stage." On the 29th of August Baillie wrote a reply to this letter, which he sent to Sharp at London, addressing him as *Dear James*. "What you are doing there now," he says, "I can learn from no man. I am sorry that none of your old friends keep correspondence with you at this so necessary a time. For myself, I rest on what you wrote to me when you went from this, that your journey was not for any change in our church. Divers times, since the King came home, by your letters you made us confident there was not any change intended for us. Blessed be God, hitherto there has been none offered. What now there among you may be in agitation you on place know. You were the most wise, honest, diligent, and successful agent of the nation in the late dangers of our church in Cromwell's time; your experience and power now are greater. In this very great danger apprehended by many of other changes and soror troubles from the Episcopal party both here and there, I hope God shall make you [an] happy instrument to prevent all our fears, and to allay all our present sorrowful perplexities, as you have oft been before. Let others think and speak of you as

they please, and in their folly give you matter of provocation, if you were not *wise, grave, and fearing of God*, yet you shall deceive us notably, and do us a very evident evil turn, before I believe it. Since first acquaintance you have ever been very faithful and loving to myself on all occasions." Baillie then requests two favours from Sharp. The one was that he would "help the College [of Glasgow] in its very great necessity, not one of the Professors having gotten a sixpence of stipend, nor will get in haste;" and the University being L.1000 behind for "last year's table," in addition to upwards of 25,000 merks of debt contracted by the alleged extravagance of Baillie's predecessor, Mr Patrick Gillespie. The other favour was—"If his Majesty be pleased to send for any from this to speak with anent our Church, as he has twice declared he purposes, you would see effectually that I be none of them; for neither am I able, in this my sixtieth year, and frequent infirmities, for any such journey, whether by sea or land, nor does my mind serve to give advice for the least change in our Church, as ye well know."* This letter induced Sharp to exert himself in behalf of the College of Glasgow; and Baillie wrote to him on the 1st of October—"I was glad when I looked on the double of my last to you, to find your mistake to be clean the contrary way. Whatever grief my heart has from our changes, and is like to have till I die, I hope it shall stand with terms of great respect to you, from whom I have received so many favours, and still expect to receive more." He concludes familiarly—"James, I doubt not of your kindness, and if I did, I would not thus trouble you with my letters;" signing himself "your twenty year old friend and servant."†

It thus appears that Dr Sharp up to October 1661 was the prominent man of his party, and held in the highest repute as "*wise, grave, and fearing of God*." His great abilities are amply certified by Baillie, who, however, was so perverted in his judgment by Covenanting prejudices, that he forgot his own episcopal ordination, and that he had once recorded his attachment to the episcopal function in the strong statement—"Bishops I love." It is unnecessary to enter into details respecting Sharp's conformity to the Episcopal Church, and his defection from Presbyterianism. One point is clear, that he betrayed the interest of no party, for

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 473, 474.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 482.

he had ably and efficiently performed the duties assigned to him while acting as the delegate of the Presbyterians. After this he was undeniably a free agent, and as such was entitled to change his opinions as much as any other man. His case, moreover, was not singular, for nine other Presbyterian ministers of the moderate party, or *Resolutioners*, most of whom were ordained before the outbreak of the Rebellion, became Bishops of the newly restored Church. The charge that Sharp was bribed by the offer of the Archbishopsric of St Andrews is unworthy of notice, but it was, after all, no very great matter as it respects income, and in 1831 the whole revenue of the See, as paid to the Scottish Exchequer, was only £1544. Baillie narrates the defection of Archbishop Sharp with less acrimony than could have been expected. He says—"At that time it was that Dr Sheldon, now Bishop of London, and Dr Morley, did poison Mr Sharp our agent, whom we trusted, who piece and piece in so cunning a way has trepanned us, as we have never win so much as to petition either King, Parliament, or Council. My Lord Hyde [is] the great minister of state who guided all, and to whom at his lodging in Worcester-house the King weekly and oftener uses to resort, and keep counsel with him some hours; and so with the King Mr Sharp became more intimate than any man almost of our nation. It seems he has undertaken to do in our Church that which now he has performed easily, and is still in acting. He had for co-operators the Commissioner [Middleton], Chancellor [Glencairn], and Rothes. Lauderdale and Crawfurd were a while contrary, but seeing the King peremptory they gave over."* This is a very different story from the extraordinary assertion of Bishop Burnet that the Act-Rescissory of 1661 was suggested at the Privy Council table in a drunken bout. Dr M'Crie's way of accounting for the restoration of the Episcopal Church is worthy of the Presbyterian sect to which he belonged. We are gravely told—"Charles II.'s maxim was that Presbyterianism was not fit for a gentleman. His dissipated and irreligious courtiers were of the same opinion, and therefore Episcopacy was re-established." This is a most extraordinary specimen of arriving at a self-complacent conclusion.

Archbishop Sharp's presentation-charter to the Primacy and

* Principal Baillie to Mr William Spang, May 12, 1662. Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 484, 485.

See of St Andrews by the King, is dated Whitehall, 14th November 1661. It sets forth that "in the time not long since past, during nearly twenty-three years of disorder, many acts were passed in pretended Parliaments and pretended judicatories in this our ancient kingdom of Scotland, for the total extirpation of the ecclesiastical constitution by Archbishops and Bishops, contrary to the stability, law, and constitution of the Church of our said kingdom, and to the prejudice of our royal power and prerogative, which things, by the act of the new session of our Parliament, held at Edinburgh on the 1st day of January last, are to be held, and are declared null and void from the beginning, so that the civil and ecclesiastical authority is now restored and renewed, according to the laws ordained previously to that most wicked rebellion and tumult ; and because, during that time, many who were appointed to the various functions of Archbishops and Bishops in our said kingdom, besides Deans and members of Chapters, are deceased, and their offices vacant, so that they cannot now be chosen according to the order prescribed by our dear grandfather James I. of eternal and glorious memory in his Parliament held at Edinburgh A.D. 1617 ; and considering also that the supplying of the said functions of Archbishops and Bishops in our said kingdom of Scotland rests with us since the death or deposition of the late incumbents, and particularly of the Archbishopric of St Andrews since the death of John [Spottiswoode] the last Archbishop, Primate and Metropolitan of Scotland; and being assured of the piety, prudence, erudition, and fidelity of our beloved Master James Sharp, Rector of the University of St Andrews, as one well qualified for our service in the Church ; therefore, by our royal authority and power, of our own free will and accord, we have made, created, and appointed, and by these presents do make, create, and appoint, Master James Sharp, Archbishop of the said Archbishopric of St Andrews, and Primate and Metropolitan of our whole kingdom of Scotland, giving and granting to him during his whole life the said Archbishopric of St Andrews, with all the benefices thereunto annexed." The words *make* and *create* in this document are to be understood as referring to the *temporalities* which the King was entitled to bestow as patron ; for Archbishop Sharp was canonically consecrated to the *spiritual* or episcopal function by those who only were competent to invest him with that authority

which the sovereign could not confer. The “lands, lordships, baronies, abbacies, provostships, mansions, castles, towers, fortresses, manors, places, gardens, meadows, mills, woods, fisheries,” are enumerated; but all these, though apparently very important in the charter, were in reality insignificant, as the proprietors had surrendered to Charles I. on certain conditions a small annual feu-duty or superiority from these lands as a provision for the Archbishop, under the name of *Bishop's rents*. It is admitted even by Wodrow that the aggregate annual amount of all the revenues of the Bishops after the Restoration did not exceed L.5000 sterling, and some of the Prelates had not above L.250. We have seen that the sum of L.1544 only was derived from the Archdiocese in 1831, and applied to temporal purposes. “This, however,” says Mr Lyon, “does not include the profits of the regality and commissary courts, as also the fines for compositions and intromissions, which must have been considerable. I should conceive the income must have been equal to L.4000 of our money, and even this was a small sum for so weighty and expensive a charge, and greatly below what it had been previous to the Reformation.”* The sum of L.130 was to be deducted from Archbishop Sharp's revenue, and paid to the Principals of St Salvador's, St Leonard's, and St Mary's Colleges, forming the University of St Andrews, till a similar sum was procured from some other source. The clause in Archbishop Spottiswoode's charter, obliging him to lay aside the surplus of his income above 10,000 merks for the rebuilding of the cathedral, was withdrawn from that purpose, and ordered to be applied by Archbishop Sharp to the erection of a suitable residence for himself and his successors, on account of the ruinous state of the castle of St Andrews, the ancient residence of the Archbishops. The “right, privilege, liberty, benefice, and quotes of testament,” granted by Charles I. at the foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh in 1633, were excluded from Archbishop Sharp's charter.†

The Archbispopric of Glasgow was conferred by a similar presentation-charter on Andrew Fairfoull. He is stated to have been a son of John Fairfoull of the town of Anstruther in Fife,

* History of St Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic, and Civil, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A. Edinburgh, 1843, vol. ii. p. 69.

† History of St Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A. vol. ii. p. 68, 69, 381-388.

who was probably John Fairfoull, mentioned as minister of Anstruther Wester in 1613, and who died in 1625.* Archbishop Gladstones, in a letter to King James, dated November 24, 1609, says if this Mr John Fairfoull, who irritated the King by praying for the “banished ministers,” that he had summoned him to answer for his “foolish behaviour” in the presence of Lord Scoon, the Magistrates and Town-Council of St Andrews, and that he was censured—“the one part voting for his warding in Blackness, of which number I was one; the other greater part decerning him to be confined in the burgh of Dundee.” His induction to Anstruther was opposed in 1610 by the people, who preferred a Mr John Dykes, and who petitioned Archbishop Gladstones in his favour.†

Bishop Keith says that Fairfoull was chaplain to the Earl of Rothes. He was minister of North Leith near Edinburgh in 1638, when he signed the National Covenant, and he is mentioned by Baillie under the name of *Forfair*, which is probably a misprint.‡ He was at the Covenanting General Assembly in 1641; and in 1643, as “every Assembly was troubled with the plantation of Edinburgh,” it was proposed to remove him thither. In 1647 he was suspected of being “favourable to Malignants,” and he took an active part against the dominant faction during the following year. Bishop Keith says that Fairfoull was afterwards minister of Dunse. “It is reported on good grounds,” he adds, “that King Charles II. having heard him preach several times when he was in Scotland in the year 1650, was pleased upon his restoration to inquire after Mr. Fairfoull, and of his own mere motion preferred him to this See on the 14th of November 1661.” The Presbyterians describe Archbishop Fairfoull as “possessed of considerable learning; better skilled, however, in physic than in theology—a pleasant, facetious companion, but never esteemed a serious divine.” This is an important admission from avowed enemies, and proves that he was a very eminent, pious, and distinguished person. As a specimen of the contemptible scandal in which the

* Catalogue of the Ministers in the Synod of Fife from 1560 to 1700, in Appendix to Selections from the Minutes of the Synod, printed for the Abbotsford Club, 4to. 1837.

† Wodrow's Biographical Collections—Archbishop Gladstones to King James, Glasgow, printed for the Maitland Club, 4to. 1834, vol. i. p. 269, 270, 276.

‡ Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 84.

Presbyterians indulged, to render their opponents odious, and malign their private characters, the gossiping Wodrow relates the following anecdote on the authority of a person named Hastie ;— “ That Archbishop Fairfoull was my Lord Rothes’ chaplain, and my Lord Colvin [Colville], from whom my narrator had this, and some others, were commanding him for a smart man. ‘ Yes,’ says Rothes, ‘ he has learning and sharpness enough, but he has no more sanctification than my grey horse.’ That the Bishop used to go out to a gentleman’s house near St Andrews, and there all the Sabbath play at cards and drink. That one day one of the servants came into the room. ‘ Have you been at sermon ?’ says the Archbishop. ‘ Yes,’ says he. ‘ Where was the text ?’ ‘ Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,’ says the servant.”* As to the opinion of such a person as the Earl of Rothes on *sanctification* it was utterly worthless, and the reader need hardly be reminded that all the rest of the above gossip is a vile falsehood ; yet such were the scandals busily circulated, and credulously believed, by the Presbyterian preachers and peasantry.

The Presbyterians represent Mr James Hamilton, the Bishop-elect of Galloway, as a man whose abilities were not “ above mediocrity, and his cunning was more remarkable than his piety.” He was the second son of Sir James Hamilton of Broomhill, and younger brother of Sir John Hamilton, created Lord Belhaven in 1647. He was admitted into holy orders by Archbishop Law of Glasgow in 1634, and was inducted minister of Cambusnethan in Lanarkshire, where he continued till the Restoration. He is sarcastically mentioned by Baillie as one of the preachers before the Parliament in 1661. “ They took a way,” he observes, “ to nominate to themselves preachers ; Mr Douglas indeed began, but was no more employed ;” and after mentioning several who were “ passed by,” Baillie continues—“ As all we of the West [were], except Mr James Hamilton of Camnethan and Mr Hugh Blair, but in all the nooks of Scotland men were picked out who were thought inclinable to change our church-government ; and according to their invectives against what we were lately doing, were printed good or feckless divines at the pleasure of a very rascal, Tom Sincerfe, the diurnaller, a profane atheistical papist, as some count him.”

* Wodrow’s *Analecta*, printed for the Maitland Club, 4to. Edinburgh, 1842, vol. i. p. 38.

This diatribe refers to Thomas Sydserff, son of old Bishop Sydserff, who edited and published the first *diurnal* in Scotland, printed weekly under the title of *Mercurius Caledonius*. The first number appeared on the 31st of December 1660, but it was of short duration, as it appears to have terminated on the 28th of March 1661. It was probably begun by Sydserff to annoy the Presbyterians, and Baillie states that it was stopped by order of the King.* Sydserff, some time after his father's death, opened a theatre in the Canongate of Edinburgh with a company of comedians, and was the author of a play entitled "Tarugo's Wiles," printed at London in 1668.

The fourth of the Bishops-elect of the Second Succession was the celebrated Robert Leighton, who was in London at the time of the Restoration, and was nominated to Dunblane. Though the son of Alexander Leighton, the author of "Zion's Plea against Prelacy"—a most violent tirade for which he was severely punished by sentence of the Star-Chamber in 1630, Leighton never was a thorough Presbyterian. He was born in Edinburgh in 1627, and educated at that University, under Robert Rankine, Professor of Philosophy, and James Fairlie, Professor of Divinity, Bishop of Argyll in 1637. His defection from Presbyterianism and the Covenant was in opposition to his father's well known principles. As the particulars of Leighton's public life are well known, it is only necessary in this sketch to shew in what estimation he was held by his contemporaries, and it will be seen that even such a man as Leighton is universally reputed to have been did not escape from the venom of slander. The following illustrations are additions to those inserted in the volume which is the continuation of the present narrative.† Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, now Moredun, near Edinburgh, Lord Provost of the city in 1649 and 1659, was an eminent merchant, and in religion a zealous Presbyterian Covenanter. In the course of his frequent journeys to London on business he became acquainted with the elder Leighton, who entrusted his son to his care, to be educated at the University of Edinburgh. "The father entreated, and the son was present," says Sir Archibald Stewart Denham, Bart., "to train him up in the

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 468.

† History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the Present Time. By John Parker Lawson, M.A. Edinburgh, 8vo. 1843, p. 11, 12, 13, 14.

true Presbyterian form, and Robert was strictly enjoined with his father's blessing to be steady in that way. While attending the University he was expelled for writing a satirical stanza on the Lord Provost of Edinburgh's name [Aikenhead], and the many pimples on his face." Leighton was afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh, previous to which he had been Presbyterian minister of Newbattle near Dalkeith, but he was always noted, and in consequence much disliked by his Covenanting brethren, for his mildness, moderation, and diligent discharge of his vocation. He carefully avoided mixing or interfering with the distractions of that period after his return from the Continent in 1641, and settlement at Newbattle when Presbyterianism became triumphant, and never made the pulpit the arena of political discussions. He rarely attended the meetings of the Presbytery, and when asked if he had complied with their usual custom of preaching twice a year *to the times*, he answered in the language of severe reproof—" For God's sake, when all my brethren preach to the times, suffer one poor person to preach about eternity." Wodrow, however, declares that " it was ordinary for Bishop Leighton, when minister at Newbattle, to engage the communicants at the Lord's table to the Covenant,"* but this is very improbable, and is at variance with his general character. " When Episcopacy became fashionable after the year 1660," continues the Coltness writer, " he forgot his father's injunction, and was Bishop and Archbishop, amicable composer of parties, and what not, in Scotland ; and in the end, disgusted with all, he threw himself free, and ended his days in a kind of monastic life in England."† Wodrow records a sarcastic anecdote of Leighton, which displays the feelings of the party. " The same person [Sir James Stewart] told Mr Muir that being big [intimate] with Bishop Leighton, he said—‘ Sir, I hear your grandfather was a Papist, your father was a Presbyterian, and suffered much for it in England, and you a Bishop ? What a mixture is this ? ’ Leighton is made to reply—‘ It is true, Sir, and my grandfather was the honestest man of the three.’ ”‡ Baillie sneers at his style of preaching, which he calls the " new guise" introduced by him and a certain Mr Hugh Binning—" contemning the ordinary way of exponing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses," but

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 361.

† Coltness Collections. Printed for the Maitland Club, 4to. 1842, p. 22, 23.

‡ *Ibid.* 4to. vol. i. p. 26.

"running out in a discourse on some common head in a high, romancing, unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving little or nought to the memory and understanding."* Wodrow mentions that Mr William Guthrie, a well known Presbyterian preacher, occasionally resorted to Newbattle to hear Leighton preach, and "his remark," says Wodrow, "was, that in the time of hearing him he was as in heaven, but he could not bring one word with him almost out of the church doors, referring to his haranguing way of preaching without heads."† As he was indebted to the English for his appointment as Principal of the University of Edinburgh, Baillie says of him under date 1658—"Mr Leighton does nought to count of, but looks about him in his chamber."‡ Wodrow explains this statement by an account of Leighton's habits as Principal, on the authority of a person who pretended that he obtained the information from his man-servant—"That frequently once a week or fourteenth night, Leighton, when Principal of the College, used to shut himself up in the room above the Library, and discharged any body to have access to him, and that for two days. He had nothing with him but his Bible, and sometimes he had a candle lighted at night; frequently not; and a choppin of ale and a bit of bread; and his servant declares that at the third day when he came out there would scarce have been any of the ale and bread made use of. This monkish retirement, and other things, give great ground for suspicions of his inclinations to Popery."|| But Wodrow inserts a different statement of Leighton's alleged principles—"I am told that Archbishop Leighton when at Edinburgh, was very much suspected to be an Arian, and vented several things in conversation that tended that way."§ Again, a certain Mr Robert Stewart told Wodrow that the "late [Lord] Advocate, Sir James Stewart, did express his suspicions to him that the late [Archbishop] Leighton was an Arian."¶ The following is a specimen of the ridiculous trash which Wodrow collected of the sayings of Leighton. He was conversing one day with a person named Law, who became one of

* Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 258, 259.

† Analecta, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 349.

‡ Baillie to Spang—Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 365.

|| Wodrow's Analecta, 4to. 1842, vol. i. p. 327. § *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 212.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 361.

the ministers of Edinburgh after the Revolution. The subject of charity was introduced, on which Leighton expatiated. Law said that Mr David Dickson often observed that “people should not make a fool of their charity.” Leighton is made to reply that “he did not know what Mr Dickson meant in these words; but the Scripture made a fool of charity, since it said that fools bear all things, and charity beareth all things!”* The eccentric Mr William Guthrie, who resorted to Newbattle to hear Leighton preach, held a different notion of *fools*. He was preacher at Fenwick in Ayrshire before the Restoration, and was commonly called the *Fool of Fenwick*—a soubriquet which he bestowed on himself in the title-pages of his printed sermons.

Bishop Burnet, who knew Leighton intimately for twenty-three years, speaks of him in the most enthusiastic strain:—“He had the greatest command of the purest Latin I ever knew in any man; he was master of both the Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and boldest sense of Divine things that I ever saw in any man; he had no regard for his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet that was like a perpetual fast. He had both a contempt of wealth and reputation; he seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile, and he kept himself in such a constant recollection that I do not remember that I ever heard him say one idle word. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion possible to the whole frame of the Church of England; but he quickly bore through the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation were such that few heard him without a very sensible emotion; I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine, but there were a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago; and yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, p. 348, 349.

ordinary a preacher that while he had a cure he was ready to employ others, and when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd. He soon came to see the follies of the Presbyterians, and dislike their Covenant, particularly their enforcing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts ; theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour, so he grew weary of mixing with them. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature, but his own practice did outshine his doctrine. He entered into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with my own father in particular, and did wholly separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure, for he could not do the things imposed on him any longer."

Leighton had a brother well known at the Court, and whose character was the very reverse—"for," says Burnet, "though he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man." This was Sir Elisha Leighton, who when secretary to the Duke of York became a Roman Catholic, or "was a Papist of a form of his own." He was in great favour with Charles II., to whom he recommended the ascetic Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Leighton was induced to accept the Bishopric of Dunblane—"a small Diocese as well as a little revenue ; but the Deanery of the Chapel-Royal [of Holyrood] was annexed to that See ; so he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the Common Prayer in the King's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders had been given." Burnet alleges that Bishop Sheldon of London disliked Leighton's "great strictness," yet "he thought such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it." According to the same authority Sharp also opposed Leighton's appointment ; but Burnet's recorded opinions of the Scottish Primate render his statements suspicious, or at least they must be received with caution.

Numerous anecdotes are chronicled by Wodrow against the Scottish Bishops of the second consecration, and particularly against

Archbishop Sharp. The Presbyterians believed that all the sermons he preached while minister of Crail were “copied out of English books.” It is alleged that one day he mentioned to the celebrated Nonconformist Calamy that he believed the King intended to restore the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Calamy replied that he could not believe that such an imprudent attempt would be made. “I assure you,” said Sharp, “of it, and he has made unworthy me [Arch]bishop of St Andrews.” Calamy answered—“That will certainly be grievous to the hearts of all serious persons.” “Sharp,” adds Wodrow, “took God to witness he embraced that place only to encourage such, and keep them from persecution.”*—“There goes a story that when Leighton, who I suppose about this time was Bishop of Dunblane, and was in a meeting with Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, he frequently termed him *my Lord*, and did not add *your Grace* to it; and the Archbishop said huffingly—‘My Lord! no more?’ ‘Aye,’ says Leighton, ‘*my Lord* is more than either you or I should have.’”† The reader is to observe that this veracious colloquy is merely told as “*there goes a story*.” The following is from a *fourth hand*, for Mr Wodrow was not very particular as to his sources of information, and the other party mentioned was Mr James Wood, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, respecting whom Baillie, in a letter to Sharp dated 17th December 1660, satirically says—“My service to James Wood, if his archiepiscopal pride will permit him to accept it, but I let him weill to wit that the Archbishops of Glasgow were large and proud as ever St Andrews could be.”—“A little before Sharp’s turning,” says Wodrow, “he was much jealous [suspected] almost by all except Mr James Wood. One day in a meeting of ministers they fell a speaking about Sharp. Mr Wood did defend him. One of them went pretty far, and alleged Mr Wood was drawn over by him, at which Mr Wood said he would know what truth was in it. He [Wood] was told—‘Sir, you are a man of far more experience and prudence than I, but allow me to tell you Sharp will shift you, and bring on another discourse, and therefore keep him by the point.’ Mr Wood went to him [Sharp], and after a little common conversation he said—‘Brother, you see the way how matters are like to go, and the Parliament are going on at a strange rate. It is the mind of several brethren a Testimony

* *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 90.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 327.

should be given against this way, and particularly Episcopacy, and for the Covenants.' Mr Sharp never noticed what he said, but as soon as he was done he says—' Mr Wood, my Lord Commissioner [Middleton] wonders you do not visit him. He has a great value for you.' Mr Wood presently took his drift, and says—' Mr Sharp, you do not answer me my question. Do not wave me this way.' When he found he was in earnest, and would not be diverted, Sharp fell in a great rage, and said—' What ! will you testify against the Parliament ? You [will] find frost in that I see '—or some expression to this purpose—' to have all such meetings upon any such head declared seditious and treasonable, and meet if you dare.' Mr Wood came back to the ministers, and told them he believed now, and found all was true, and narrated what is above. After all was overturned, and Prelacy set up, Mr Donaldson meets Mr Wood in Edinburgh, and though Mr Donaldson was a pretty violent Protester, Mr Wood embraced him with a great concern. After a little conversation, Mr Donaldson asked Mr Wood's thoughts of their differences now. ' Alas ! ' says Mr Wood, ' I see now the Remonstrants were in the right ; the Resolutions have ruined us. For my own part I still [always] hated breaches and separation, and that made me do as I did.'* We are farther told by Wodrow—" When Mr Sharp was beginning to appear in his own colours, and his villany to appear, a little before he went up to Court and was consecrate, he happened to be with Mr Douglas, and in conversation he termed Mr Douglas *brother*. He checked him, and said—' Brother ! No more *brother*, James ! If my conscience had been of the make of yours, I could have been Bishop of St Andrews sooner than you.' "†

The preceding anecdotes are specimens of the gossiping trash collected by Wodrow, and indicate the private conversations of the then Presbyterian preachers. Every scandal, however false, improbable, or trifling, was readily believed, and industriously propagated in their circles, and was the topic of their low ribaldry and indecent ridicule. Mr William Veitch, a well known fanatical preacher, is adduced by Wodrow as his authority for another example of paltry malignity. This Veitch was standing at a shop door in the Parliament Close of Edinburgh, with the before

* Wodrow's *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 117, 118, 119.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 136, 137.

mentioned Wood, “about the year 1660 or 166[2], a little after Sharp was made Archbishop, and the Chancellor’s or Commissioner’s coach came up, and Sharp came to him [Wood], and there were mutual caressings just before the shop door. Mr Wood said to Mr Veitch, pointing to Sharp—‘ O false and perfidious traitor, who hath betrayed the Church of Scotland, if thou die the common death of men, I know nothing of the mind of God.’ This was indeed a prophetic afflatus, being eight or nine years before that Prelate’s death.”* Wodrow was here in gross error as to dates, for if there is any truth in this atrocious language said to be uttered by Wood, it was *eighteen years* before the murder of the Archbishop. “I am told,” says Wodrow, “that about 1673, [Archbishop] Sharp was preaching in St Andrews, and citing that passage—‘ whoremongers and adulterers,’ the woman Isobel Lindsay rose up in the church, and charged him with guilt, but was removed and gagged for some days.” This infamous woman, it appears, was suborned to accuse the Archbishop of criminal intercourse with her, and this falsehood was readily believed by his enemies. Again—“Mr George Barclay was at St Andrews when the [Arch] bishop made his first sermon after he was Archbishop, and heard him speak to this purpose—‘ I could have lived with Presbyterians all my days, but their divisions were so great that the King saw fit to set up Episcopacy, and has been pleased to name me to this See, and those that will not submit shall be forced to it by sword and law.’”†—“Mr Warner tells me he was, before [Arch] bishop Sharp’s death, in conversation with two ladies of good sense, and very serious. They told him that the [Arch] bishop, when he and they were talking about religion, and one in the company said somewhat of the insufficiency of blamelessness and morality for salvation, the [Arch] bishop returned—‘ Be you good moralists, and I will warrant you.’” Yet this same Wodrow could complacently refer to the Archbishop when he complimented a Presbyterian. “I hear,” he writes, “when Mr Robert Blair died, that Archbishop Sharp, when he heard of it, said he was the man of the most powerful gift of prayer he ever knew.”‡ The following is another specimen of the Presbyterian hatred and superstition, related by Wodrow, on the authority of a person named Stirling.—

* Analecta, vol. ii. p. 250.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 253, 300.

‡ Analecta, vol. ii. p. 353, 354.

" That Lauderdale had no liking to Bishop Sharp ; that he said to the Lord Melville, who told it to my informer, that he was persuaded Sharp would not die a common death ; that the Bishop had two signs of this, which he had not ordinarily observed to fail him —hopping when he walked like a pyet [magpie], and winking with one eye, and another of keeping his thumb in his fingers when he spoke ; and, added the Duke—‘ My Lord, I never knew one who had these signs who died an ordinary death.’ ‘ And,’ says he, ‘ there is a good friend of yours and mine, the Earl of Argyll, who has one of these signs, his keeping his thumb bowed close in his hand.’ This was long before any of their deaths.”

But it is unnecessary to proceed farther with such contemptible scurrility. Archbishop Sharp evidently cared little for the scandals circulated against him by his enemies. Although he knew well their dispositions, and the many falsehoods, perversions of facts, and gross misrepresentations, which they uttered in reference to his public and private life, there is no intimation to be found that he ever troubled himself about the matter, or that those scandal stories gave him the slightest uneasiness. He associated with the principal Nobility and gentry of the kingdom in his time, and was intimate with their families, yet it is curious that *they* never discovered any irregularities in his conduct. He was a man who made the Presbyterians quail before him, and if he was a deserter of their cause, he was no more so than were Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, James Guthrie, and many others, who apostatized from Episcopacy.

CHAPTER III.

THE RETALIATION.

IT is a glorious maxim of Christianity to *return good for evil*, in opposition to the practice of *rendering evil for evil* which characterizes the world ; but in peculiar and exciting times the cruelties inflicted by a dominant faction often induces their opponents when triumphant to retaliate in a summary manner. That this was the case before the Restoration is now admitted by the Presbyterians. “ We cannot,” says Mr Peterkin, “ pass on from this narrative of the battle of Philiphaugh, without recording that the successful commander, David Leslie, tarnished his laurels by a cold-blooded massacre of the prisoners he had captured, at the instigation, it has been confidently affirmed, of the Covenanting clergy.—A more atrocious outrage against all the usages of civilized warfare never was committed, save in the modern times of Spanish barbarity ; and these hapless men, it must be remembered, were taken prisoners while bearing arms under the commission and in the cause of their lawful sovereign, whose title and authority the Covenanters at that time did not impugn, but on the contrary affected to vindicate and uphold. If in future turns of fortune the Covenanters became the victims of bloody persecution, let it not be forgotten that this system of wholesale murder originated in the massacre at Newark Castle.”* The writer attempts to soften these just admissions by referring to the alleged ravages committed by the Marquis of Montrose, but that nobleman has been successfully vindicated, and it is proved that many of his proceedings were so many provocations occasioned by the conduct of his opponent, the Cove-

* Records of the Kirk of Scotland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq. 8vo. 1838, vol. i. p. 442.

nanting Marquis of Argyll.* “The picture which Scotland exhibited at the time referred to,” continues Mr Peterkin, “would be incomplete were we to omit mention of the executions in form of law which soon after followed the massacre of Newark.” He then enumerates the judicial murder by the Covenanters of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and many others, with which the reader is already familiar, and adds—“Thus commenced the bloody war of party revenge which for nearly forty years afterwards polluted and dishonoured the annals of Scotland.”

One of the most expressive intimations of the prostration of the Covenanters was the extraordinary honour paid to the remains of the Marquis of Montrose, when his enemy Argyll was in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh waiting punishment for his cruelties and rebellion. In compliance with the order addressed by the King and the Parliament to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, the mutilated remains of the Marquis were collected, his body dug from the ignoble grave in the Boroughmuir, his head removed from the spike on the top of the Tolbooth, and his limbs brought from the towns of their dispersion. They were conveyed to the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, and the body lay in state in that venerable pile. A grand public funeral on the 14th of May proceeded up the Canongate and High Street—those very streets through which the Marquis eleven years before was led with every mark of barbarous and inhuman indignity. The body of Montrose was interred with due solemnity in the south aisle of St Giles’ church in the presence of the Privy Council, the Officers of State, the principal Nobility, the Magistrates of the city, and a large assemblage of spectators. Within the then adjacent Tolbooth, Argyll heard the strains of martial music which resounded in the streets at this honour rendered to the mutilated remains of his once dreaded enemy, and the gloomy adherents of the Solemn League and Covenant saw enough to remind them that their triumph was annihilated.

The Marquis of Argyll is included among the “Scots Worthies” in the Presbyterian book so called, and all the Presbyterian writers extol him as a patriot and a martyr. It would be easy to shew that he has no claim to such distinctions. His enmity to Charles I. is undeniable, and his plunder of the ecclesiastical

* *Life and Times of Montrose*, by Mark Napier, Esq. Advocate.

property in the Diocese of Argyll and The Isles proves that he had other than religious reasons for evincing his zeal in the Covenanting cause. We have seen his activity in the judicial murders perpetrated by the Covenanters, when the best blood in Scotland was shed on the scaffold for loyalty to the King ; and Argyll was a man who would have made every adherent of the Episcopal Church a victim to his dark designs, his cruel disposition, and his unbounded ambition. To trace his career through the whole of the Covenanting domination would occupy too much space in the present narrative. He opposed the “Engagement” formed in 1648 to attempt the rescue of Charles I., and in September or October that year he had an interview with Cromwell at Mordington near the English Border. He escorted Cromwell and Lambert to Edinburgh, and those noted personages affected to renew the Solemn League and Covenant ; the “Engagement” was denounced ; and all concerned in it were summoned to appear before the Parliament appointed to meet in Edinburgh on the 4th of January 1649. It is even asserted, though denied by the defenders of the Covenanting rebellion, that Argyll, in his several interviews with Cromwell at that time, approved of the intended trial and murder of Charles I. This charge has been denied, by referring to the losses which he afterwards sustained and the hardships he endured for proclaiming Charles II. as King, in opposition to Cromwell, and for his sanction of the deputation sent to that Prince in Holland ; but it could be demonstrated that these were caused by his well known duplicity, his fickleness, and his own projects of ambition. Argyll made no effort to save his brother-in-law, George second Marquis of Huntly, who was exempted in 1647 by the Parliament from pardon for his loyalty in the cause of his sovereign, taken prisoner that same year in Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, sent to the Castle and Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and after remaining in prison from December of that year was tried on the 16th of March, and on the 22d beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh. The Noble Family of Gordon were almost ruined by the tyrannical faction of whom Argyll was the prominent leader, and notwithstanding his connection with those who invited Charles II. to Scotland in 1650, he contrived to make his peace with Cromwell ; and from 1653 to the Restoration he took possession of their estates, to repay himself for a large sum of money which he lent to the Marquis of Huntly,

making Gordon Castle his usual residence. He submitted to the subsequent usurpation of Cromwell, under whose son Richard he actually sat in Parliament for the county of Aberdeen.

It is said that Argyll refused to assist at the trial of, or concur in the sentence of death passed on, the Marquis of Montrose, but this requires confirmation. A traditional anecdote shews the feelings cherished by his family towards his great rival. On the south side of the Canongate of Edinburgh is a large mansion belonging to the Earls of Moray designated Moray House. Beneath the windows of the principal apartment is a conspicuous stone balcony, overhanging the pavement of the street. When the Marquis of Montrose was brought to Edinburgh in 1650, and conducted up that street with every mark of cruel indignity which Covenanting hatred could devise, Argyll and his Marchioness [Lady Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the second Earl of Morton], and his son Lord Lorn, witnessed that treatment of the Marquis from the balcony in company with Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of the then Earl of Moray, to whom Lorn a few days previously had been married. While the Marquis was passing under the balcony on which the marriage party were stationed, the Marchioness insulted him in his misfortunes by *spitting upon him!* Argyll placed the crown on the head of Charles II. at the Covenanting coronation in Scone, but it ought to be remembered that he did so on the condition that Charles was to be rather *King of the Solemn League and Covenant*, than King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was then also currently reported that the King intended to marry one of Argyll's daughters, of which the following account is given:—“When the King came to Scotland, Argyll made great professions of duty to him, but said he could not serve him as he desired unless he gave some undeniable proof of his fixed resolution to support the Presbyterian party, which he thought would be best done by marrying into some family of quality that was known to be entirely attached to that interest, which would in a great measure take off the prejudices both kingdoms had to him upon his mother's account, who was extremely odious to all good Protestants, and thought his own daughter would be the properest match for him; not without some threats if he did not accept the offer.”* Argyll's power was then of so much importance to the King in his

* Lord Dartmouth's MS. notes on Burnet, cited in Rose's Observations on Fox, p. 176.

desperate circumstances, that, though the marriage was declined, he pledged himself in a letter, dated Perth, 24th September 1650, to create the Marquis when restored to the throne Duke of Argyll, appoint him Knight of the Garter and one of the Lords of the Bed-Chamber, "hearken to his counsels," and "see him paid L.40,000 sterling due to him."

Nevertheless, with all his pretended loyalty, Argyll at the request of General Monk attended a Privy Council of the usurping government, and was present at the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell as Lord Protector. His vacillating conduct throughout his whole career is notorious. So impressed with this were his best friends, that after the Restoration they advised him to keep out of the way on account of his compliances with the usurpation; but he disregarded this prudent admonition, and he resorted to London to compliment the King, carrying with him the letter above mentioned, containing the promise of the ducal honours in the Peerage and the payment of L.40,000. He appeared at Whitehall on the 8th of July, but as soon as his name was announced the King refused to see him, and with an angry stamp of his foot enjoined Sir William Temple to obey his orders, which were to convey him to the Tower. Argyll was confined in the Tower till December, when he was sent to Leith on board a ship of war, to be tried before the Parliament at Edinburgh. He narrowly escaped shipwreck during the voyage, and on his arrival at Leith he was instantly committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. On the 18th of January an act was passed authorizing Sir James Lamont of Inverinn, "for himself, and in name and behalf of his friends, followers, tenants, and vassals," with concurrence of the Lord Advocate Fletcher, to cite the Marquis of Argyll, Campbell of Ardkinglas, and another Campbell, and certain others, before the Estates of Parliament, for "certain crimes of treason." And because the said Marquis and his associates resided in the Highlands and mountainous parts, where it was impossible for heralds who were strangers to travel, and Sir James Lamont, "being of long time debarred from his estate, is not in a capacity to spend great sums upon heralds for executing the letters" of citation at the dwellings of the defenders, John Donald, messenger-at-arms, "who perfectly knows the whole country of Argyll, and isles thereto adjacent, and knows the defenders by face, and where

their houses lie," was employed to undertake the legal form of a personal citation at their usual residences. On the 5th of February, in compliance with a petition from the Marquis of Argyll, six advocates were nominated by the Parliament for his defence. On the 13th of that month he was brought before the Parliament, and his indictment was read, consisting of fourteen articles, comprehending an enumeration of all the transactions in Scotland since 1638. The Earl of Middleton, though Lord High Commissioner, is accused of conducting the trial without much regard to justice, in the expectation of obtaining a grant of Argyll's estate, but the truth or falsehood of this charge has no connection with the charge of high treason. Middleton inferred, from Argyll's secret interviews with Cromwell, that the abrogation of the treaty of Newport and the surrender of Charles I. were the results of those conversations; but on this point the Marquis was defended by Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session, and the accusations of treason were limited generally to his compliance with the usurpation. His two sons Lord Lorn and Lord Neil Campbell were in London interceding in his behalf, and as it was doubtful whether the Parliament would be able to convict him on points in which many of them were as equally guilty himself, the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes, accompanied by Dr. Sharp, were sent to Court, and undeniable evidence was furnished by General Monk, who possessed some of Argyll's private letters. These were sent by post to the Earl of Middleton, who submitted them to the Parliament. On the 24th of May he was condemned to be beheaded by the instrument called the *Maiden*—the Marquis of Montrose, son of the great Marquis, alone refusing to vote, alleging that he had too much reason to feel resentment for the injuries Argyll had inflicted on his family to constitute him an impartial judge. On the 27th the sentence was inflicted at the Cross of Edinburgh, and his head was placed on the spike at the west end of the Tolbooth, where that of the Marquis of Montrose had for eleven years been fixed. Such was the remarkable vicissitude of civil dissensions. His headless body was taken to the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, where it lay till his friends conveyed it to the family burying place at Kilmun on the inlet called the Holy Loch in Argyllshire. His head occupied the spike on the Tolbooth till the 8th of June 1664, when the King

granted a warrant to take it down, and it was interred with his body at Kilmun.

It will thus be seen that Argyll was no martyr to the Presbyterian cause, though he died expressing his faith in that persuasion; and that the proceedings against him, whether cruel or otherwise as they may be viewed, were altogether political. Not a word connected with religion is mentioned in his indictment, and the important fact ought to be recollected that during the whole of 1660 and 1661 *there was no Episcopal Church in Scotland*. This remark applies to the case of a person of a very different though not less dangerous character in his own way and vocation, who was also tried and condemned by the Parliament at the same time, and executed for high treason a few days after Argyll. Mr James Guthrie, Presbyterian preacher first at Lauder and afterwards at Stirling, another of the Covenanting “Scots Worthies” was the party concerned.

This person is described as a son of the laird or proprietor of Guthrie, and in consequence he must have been a near relative of Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and a connection of Bishop Henry Guthrie of Dunkeld, the latter of whom was the episcopally ordained minister of Stirling before the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Bishop Henry Guthrie and his colleague, Mr John Allan, were deposed from their ministry in the town of Stirling for *Malignancy*, or loyalty, by a Commission of the Covenanting General Assembly in November 1648, and James Guthrie was appointed to succeed him by the same authority in 1649. His religious principles in early life, and in which he was educated, were very different from those for which he was afterwards conspicuous. “Mr Guthrie,” says Wodrow, “was at first of the episcopal way, and so far engaged in it that he courted one of the Bishops’ daughters. I have not learned the particular way how he was brought off from that way.”* It is probable that a disappointment in this love affair had its due influence, but his change of sentiments is generally ascribed to the influence of the “flower of the Kirk”—Samuel Rutherford. At Stirling he became noted for his zeal in defending the Solemn League and Covenant, and he was soon considered the leader of the *Protesters* or *Remonstrators*, who were opposed to monarchy, and to certain conditions proposed by the King and

* *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 158.

sanctioned by the Committee of Estates. He had excommunicated the Earl of Middleton publicly at Stirling, an act which that nobleman never forgave. Guthrie's violent Covenanting and republican principles were well known, and the influence he exercised over his followers induced the Government after the Restoration to proceed against him as a dangerous person. He and some Covenanting preachers held a meeting at Edinburgh to concert a "supplication" to the King, but they were all apprehended, and imprisoned in the Castle. Guthrie was next removed to Dundee, and again brought back to Edinburgh. On the 10th of April he was brought to the bar, and the indictment of high treason, which Baillie describes as "tartly drawn," was read. He was accused of conspiring against the authority and dignity of the Crown, uttering "treasonable, seditious, and contumelious speeches in pulpits, schools, and otherwise, to the disdain and reproach of his Majesty's progenitors and Council"—of "so far as in him lay alienating the affections, and brangling the loyalty of his Majesty's people, to the great encouragement and advancement of that bloody usurper Oliver Cromwell"—and that he "declaimed or uttered divers and sundry wild, seditious, and treasonable remonstrances, declarations, petitions, instructions, letters, speeches, preachings, declamations, and other expressions tending to the vilifying and contemning, slander, and reproach of his Majesty and his progenitors." Among the specified charges in the indictment, the second was that his "bitterness and unsatiable malice were such" that he "caused print in 1663 a seditious pamphlet, called *The Causes of God's Wrath*," which contained "expressions of so high and treasonable a nature as that it deserves to be publicly burnt by the hands of the hangman." Various other offences are enumerated, particularly that he had endeavoured to "sow sedition among his Majesty's subjects, and render his Majesty and his Government hateful and contemptible to them, as if his Majesty intended to subvert the true Protestant religion, and bring in Popery and Idolatry among them." It was farther alleged against him that in his sermons at Stirling and other places he spoke against the King's authority and laws, and "did protest for remeid of law against his Majesty for a pretended grievance, as he termed it, in convening him before his Majesty and confining him." But probably

the most serious accusation was the following—" That you, in Stirling at a meeting with certain ministers and ruling elders in 1650, or 1651, most treasonably moved and offered as your judgment, that his Majesty should not only be barred the exercise of his royal power, but that his person might be received and imprisoned in the Castle of Stirling ; and when answer was made thereto that they might as well proceed to the taking of his life as the imprisonment of his person, you did reply that it was not yet seasonable nor time to speak to that, but it was necessary to do the one before the other."*

Guthrie's defences or replies to those charges are of great length, discussing minutely all the points. Baillie says that the indictment was " wittily answered, yet he defended all he had done ; justified the matter of the Remonstrance, Protestation, Causes of God's Wrath, and fathered all on the discipline of the church and acts of Assemblies, even his declinature of the King and Parliament at Perth, when cited for treasonable preaching."† He maintained the supremacy of the Solemn League and Covenant, denounced the Church of England, Malignants, and *Prelacy*, and contended that the acts of the Covenanted General Assemblies were superior to law and government ; but he denied the proposal to imprison the King in Stirling Castle, declaring that the same was " an unjust and false aspersion ; he had never such a purpose in his heart, much less did he utter any such words ;" and he introduced some legal technicalities in addition, even admitting it was true, to shew that this part of the libel was " irrelevant." He concluded by asserting that " what he has spoken, written, or acted, in any of these things wherewith he was charged, hath been merely and singly from a principle of conscience ; that according to the weak measure of light given him of God he might do his duty in his station and calling as a minister of the gospel," and as *conscience* in itself was not a sufficient plea, " he doth humbly say that he hath founded his speeches, and writings, and actions in these things, so far as he was accessory thereto, upon the word of God, and the Confessions of Faith and doctrine of this Church, and upon the National

* Indictment against Mr James Guthrie, sometime minister at Stirling, in Appendix to Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 34, 35, 36.

† Baillie to Spang, without date, Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 467.

Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, Solemn Public Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement unto Duties, and upon the laws of the land and declared judgment of the kingdom.”*

This was followed by “Testimonies out of the Declarations and Public Papers of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland in defence of the fifth stept [part] of the ninth article of *The Causes of God’s Wrath*,” a long document, in which the King and the Government were assailed in no very polite language. On the 11th of April “Replies” were presented by the Lord Advocate to Guthrie’s defences, to which he prepared a most voluminous answer, the reading of which evinces that the Parliament exercised toward him extraordinary patience. On the 15th the libel or indictment was found “proven,” and on the 28th of May sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him as guilty of high treason, his property was ordered to be confiscated, his children and posterity declared incapable of possessing any office, lands, and goods within the kingdom, and he was ordered to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Saturday the 1st of June at two o’clock in the afternoon, thereafter to be decapitated, and his head fixed on the top of the Nether-Bow Port or gate, between the High Street and the Canongate. A similar sentence was ordered to be inflicted on the same day, and at the same hour and place, on Lieutenant William Govan for high treason, by deserting to Cromwell’s army in 1651; but Sir George Mackenzie states that he was condemned because it was erroneously believed that he was on the scaffold at the murder of Charles I. before Whitehall.† Govan’s head, according to the barbarous custom of the age, was ordered to be set up on the West Port of Edinburgh.

The sentence was inflicted on Guthrie and Govan on the 1st of July. The former, enthusiastic in the political and religious principles he advocated, met his fate with fortitude and cheerfulness. He delivered an address on the scaffold, maintaining all for which he was to suffer, and recommending those who heard him to adhere to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. Baillie says—“After many days hearing, persisting obstinately, he was condemned to be hanged, and his head to be set on the Nether-Bow. Though few approved his way, yet many were grieved to

* Mr James Guthrie’s Defence, in Appendix to Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 36-42.

† Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, 4to. 1821, p. 51.

see a minister so severely used."* After hanging for some time Guthrie's head was struck off, and placed on the Nether-Bow Port, where it remained for twenty-seven years before it was taken down and buried, by a person named Henderson at the hazard of his life. The headless body of this dangerous political enthusiast was carried into that division of St Giles' known as the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by numbers of Covenanting females, who went thither for that purpose, many of whom dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood as a memorial of him. It is recorded that while the zealous dames were engaged in preparing Guthrie's body for the grave, a young man, who was afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named Stirling, suddenly appeared among them, silently poured over the corpse a bottle of odoriferous perfumes, and instantly departed amid the approval of the females, one of whom said—"God bless you, Sir, for this labour of love." Guthrie's principles were furiously opposed by the Presbyterian *Resolutioners*, and Baillie repeatedly mentions him in strong language of censure and vituperation, though he disapproved of the sentence against him. "Mr Guthrie," he says, "I ever opposed his way, but see that none get the King persuaded to take ministers' heads. Banishment will be worse for them than death."†

The next Covenanter against whom the Parliament proceeded was Johnston of Warriston, who had become one of Cromwell's peers by the title of Lord Warriston. Burnet of Crimond, then in exile, wrote to his brother-in-law, this very Johnston of Warriston, when expostulating on account of the Covenanting treatment of Bishop Sydserff—"Be not too violent, then; and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet." But Johnston of Warriston disregarded this prudent advice, and no man more richly deserved the punishment he suffered for his political intrigues, treasons, and connection with the Covenanting and Cromwellian usurpation. He was educated as a lawyer, but early plunged into the polemical disorders of the times, took a prominent share in opposing the introduction of the Liturgy, and was, as we have seen, the clerk of the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638. As literally the *minion* of the Covenanting leaders, he was deeply

* Baillie to Spang—Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 467.

† Baillie to the Earl of Lauderdale, 13th April 1661. Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 459.

implicated in all the transactions of the momentous times in which he lived. Restless, ambitious, and covetous, he was disappointed of several offices of preferment by superior interest, yet he was knighted by Charles I. in 1641, and was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session for life with a liberal pension. Sir Archibald Johnston nevertheless opposed the “Engagement” for the rescue of the King, eventually sat in Cromwell’s House of Lords, though a letter from Archbishop Sharp, quoted by Wodrow, intimates that through him he attempted to negotiate with Monk for the preservation of his places or the payment of his debts, which the Archbishop declined. He was particularly obnoxious to the Restoration Government, and orders were sent to Scotland for his apprehension, but he received timely notice, and escaped to Hamburg. On the 1st of February the Parliament issued a summons of high treason against Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, John Home of Kello, William Dundas of Magdalens, and others, which by their flight was according to the usual custom “several times called at the bar and at the great door of the Parliament House.” In May the depositions of several witnesses were taken against Sir Archibald Johnston in his absence, and on the 15th of that month sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him for treason, his arms were torn by the Lord Lyon in the Parliament House and at the Cross of Edinburgh, his property forfeited and confiscated, and he was ordered to be apprehended wherever he could be found, and executed at that Cross as a traitor. A reward of 5000 merks was about the same time offered to any who would seize him. This was in 1661. He remained some time in Hamburg, and early in 1663 ventured to Rouen for the recovery of his health. A plot of the Commonwealth partizans was about that time discovered, and one of the conspirators, to save his life, offered to reveal Johnston’s place of concealment. This was accepted : he was seized, brought to London, and after an imprisonment of several weeks in the Tower, was sent to Scotland. The Privy Council ordered him to be conducted from Leith to Edinburgh on foot bareheaded, and he was placed under a strong guard in the Tolbooth, his wife and family prohibited from any access to him, though this was soon rescinded. He was brought before the Parliament on the 8th of July to receive sentence in terms of the forfeiture against him, and he appeared in such an agony of mind that he ran hither and thither

on his knees begging mercy. This fear or imbecility was ascribed by his friends to the treatment of a physician named Bates, who by means of drugs and inordinate bleedings was accused of impairing his intellect ; but others alleged that it was assumed in the hope of obtaining mercy. The Chancellor Glencairn wept when he beheld his fallen condition, and though the Parliament was inclined to spare his life, the Earl of Lauderdale delivered a long speech against him while the vote was calling, and he was ordered to be executed. It is said that the Bishops who now sat in Parliament openly insulted and ridiculed his situation ; but this is a mere Covenanting tradition, and is unworthy of notice, though such a man as Johnston of Warriston, after all the miseries he had assisted in inflicting on the Episcopal Church, could hardly expect much compassion from that quarter. He was, however, condemned for high treason, and not for his opposition to Episcopacy. He was executed on the 22d of July 1663 at the Cross of Edinburgh, on “ane gallows,” says Nicoll, “of extraordinary length,” and his head was set up on the Nether-Bow. He met his fate with resolution and cheerfulness, which confirmed the suspicion that his former imbecility was feigned. The Presbyterian writers describe him as a person of great learning, eloquence, and surpassing zeal and piety. Sir George Mackenzie admits his abilities and his habits of devotion. His character, as may be expected, has not suffered any detraction from his nephew Bishop Burnet.

Baillie states that Samuel Rutherford was only prevented by death from a prosecution for high treason, and “Mr Gillespie had gone the same way, had not his friends persuaded him to recant his Remonstrance, Protestation, compliance with the English, and to petition the King and Parliament for mercy ; all did agree to supplicate the King for him ; and now [1661] he has obtained liberty to abide at Ormiston [near Tranent], or six miles about it, till the 1st of March.” He mentions several others who followed Gillespie’s example, and one named Mackmath, described as “Mr Rutherford’s servant at London four years, made minister of Glasgow, was found guilty and banished.” Mackmath expected the same fate as James Guthrie, and prepared a speech for the scaffold, which is preserved by Wodrow. “All the rest of the imprisoned ministers,” writes Baillie to Spang, “are set free, some upon one satisfaction, and some upon another.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSECRATIONS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

ON the 12th of December 1661, the Scottish Privy Council issued a proclamation, which was published at the market cross of every town, enjoining that in future all presentations of ministers to parishes were to be directed to Bishops, and strictly prohibiting the Presbyterians from exercising the functions of admission and induction. This completely annihilated the Presbyterian system, by altering the mode of admission to benefices to the state in which it was before 1638. On Sunday the 15th, Archbishops Sharp and Fairfoull, and Bishops Hamilton and Leighton, were solemnly consecrated in Westminster Abbey by Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards of Winchester, Dr Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr Hugh Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff. Archbishop Juxon of Canterbury was prevented from taking a part in the consecration by the infirmities of old age, and Archbishop Frewen of York by some other cause. On this occasion Sharp and Leighton were ordained deacons and presbyters before their consecration to the episcopate. Wodrow relates an anecdote on this important subject, on the authority of a person who said his informant “had the accompt” from Bishop Hamilton—“ That only two of them were re-ordained, that is, Sharp and Leighton ; that when Sharp got the gift of the Arch-bishopric of St Andrews from the King he came to Juxon, Bishop of London [Archbishop of Canterbury] with the order, and he says—‘ This is very good, but, Mr Sharp, where are your orders ? You must be ordained presbyter before you can be consecrate Bishop.’ He said he behoved to consult with his brethren, and returned, and told them they behoved to be re-ordained. Mr Hamilton and the other [Fairfoull] said they were ordained before the year 1638 by Bishops. Mr Leighton said—‘ I will yield ; I am persuaded I was in orders before, and my ministrations are

valid, and what they do is only cumulative and not privative ; and though I should be ordained every year I will submit.”* Little dependence can be placed on such stories, especially those recorded by Wodrow, whose sources of information were most extraordinary, and whose superstitious credulity is undeniable ; yet it is possible that Leighton may have expressed himself in language similar to the above. Sharp himself at first objected to re-ordination, and referred to the consecration of Archbishop Spottiswoode, but he was overruled, and consented. It thus appears that only two of the four consecrated Bishops, from whom the Scottish Episcopal Church derives its present Succession, were without ordination, and that the defect was supplied by investing them with the office of deacons and presbyters previous to the consecration.†

Baillie states that the newly consecrated Bishops remained in London “ some months longer than was expected, that they might be sufficiently instructed in the English way.”‡ It appears that all their expenses in England were defrayed by the King, which probably included their “ feast to all the Scots and many of the English nobility,” on the evening of the day of consecration. They set out from London for Scotland together in the same coach, but when they reached Morpeth, Bishop Leighton for some reasons of his own left them, and arrived at Edinburgh some time before them. It is said that he wished to avoid the ceremonial of a public entry into the city which he knew was to take place, and it is probable that in Edinburgh, where he was conspicuous, his inclinations were against such a display. Nicoll, who was an eye-witness, gives an account of the public reception of the Bishops in Edinburgh.—“ Upon the 9th day of January an act and proclamation following thereon, issued out by the King’s appointment, that all respect and reverence should be given to the Bishops, ordaining all and sundry sheriffs, bailies of baileries and regalities, provosts and bailies of burghs, justices of peace, and all others bearing office within this kingdom, should see this act put in execution ; and now the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Archbishop of Glasgow,

* Wodrow’s *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. i. p. 90.

† The above statement will correct the notice of the Second Consecration in the Author’s “ History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the Present Time,” 8vo. 1843, p. 15, 16.

‡ Letters and Journals, 4to. vol. iii. p. 486.

and the Bishop of Galloway, being upon their journey toward Scotland, and having come down from Court the length of Berwick, a great number of the Nobility, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, in and about Edinburgh, rode out to meet them come to Cockburnspath, others to Haddington, and many at [to] Musselburgh, and with all reverence and respect received and embraced them in great pomp and grandeur, with sound of trumpet and all other courtesies requisite. This [was] done on Tuesday the 8th day of April.*

On Wednesday, the 7th of May, the first consecration by the Bishops of the new Succession was held in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood by Archbishops Sharp and Fairfoull, and Bishop Hamilton. Nicoll says, that it was "long looked for, but could not be effectuated until his Majesty's Commissioner came from Court to countenance that work." A great concourse of the Nobility, gentry, and others were then in Edinburgh to attend the approaching meeting of the Parliament, and the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, attended the consecration in their robes. The admission into the church was by written "passports." The two Archbishops and the Bishop of Galloway entered the church from the Palace, "clothed," says Nicoll, "in their white surplices under their black gowns, except their sleeves, which were all of them white, of delicate cambric and lawn." A sermon was preached before the consecration by Mr James Gordon, minister of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire, from 2 Cor. iv. 5, and we are told that he acted his part *very learnedly*. "The Archbishop of St. Andrews," says our local diarist, "sat there covered with his episcopal cap, or four-nooked bonnet; all that was said by the [Arch]bishop was read off a book, and their prayers likewise were read. The first prayer was the Lord's Prayer, and some short prayer or exhortation; after that next was the Belief read, and some little exhortation after it; thirdly, the Ten Commands read, and after them some words of exhortation;—much more to this purpose not necessary to be written." Nicoll says that the consecration was performed "very handsomely and decently."† It appears that Leighton was absent in his town of Dunblane, and Sydserff had been nominated to Orkney.

The seven Bishops consecrated on this occasion were George Hallyburton for Dunkeld, David Strachan for Brechin, John Pater-

* Nicoll's Diary, printed for the Bannatyne Club, 4to. Edinburgh, 1836, p. 363, 364.

† *Ibid.* 4to. 1836, p. 365, 366.

son for Ross, Murdoch Mackenzie for Moray, Patrick Forbes for Caithness, Robert Wallace for The Isles, and David Fletcher for Argyll. David Mitchell, Bishop-elect of Aberdeen, and George Wishart, Bishop-elect of Edinburgh, were absent in England, and did not return till the 24th of May. They were consecrated on the 1st of June at St Andrews.

It is commonly stated that all the above Bishops were mere Presbyterian ministers, but such is not the case. They had been ordained by the Bishops of the Spottiswoode Succession, and were in holy orders as deacons and presbyters. It is undeniable that many of the most violent Covenanters, such as Henderson, Baillie, Dickson, and others, were similarly situated ; for previous to 1638 all the parochial clergy of Scotland were episcopally ordained, collated, and inducted by the Bishops of the respective Dioceses. Such men as Sharp and Leighton entered public life after 1638, when the Bishops for the most part had retired from Scotland. A few notices of the Bishops consecrated in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood on the 7th of May 1662 may be here introduced.

Bishop Hallyburton before the Restoration had been one of the ministers of Perth. Before his removal to Perth he was admitted minister of Crail by Archbishop Spottiswoode in 1635, from which he was deposed for resisting the Covenant in 1638 or 1639. He was thus a predecessor of Archbishop Sharp in Crail, and his Presbyterian successors in that parish before the Primate were Arthur Myrton and John Hart. Mr Scott, in his Perth MS. Registers, says of Bishop George Hallyburton—" Whatever his political principles were, his life and conversation were irreproachable ; but he seems ever after what he suffered in the affair of [the Marquis of] Montrose to have inclined to the royal party, and as far down as 1655 was under ecclesiastical prosecution. Mr Wodrow, therefore, was not fully informed when he said in his History that Mr George Hallyburton had made many changes."

Of several of the Bishops consecrated at Edinburgh in 1662 little personally is known, and the vile scurrilities recorded by Kirkton and other Presbyterians against them are utterly worthless. Bishop Strachan of Brechin was a near relative of the Earl of Middleton, and was of the ancient family of Strachan of Thornton in Kincardineshire, on whom the honour of a Baronetcy of Scotland was conferred in 1625, in the person of Alexander Strachan of

Thornton. Bishop Strachan before his consecration was incumbent of the parish of Fettercairn in Kincardineshire, in which is the Earl of Middleton's estate of Fettercairn or Middleton, and the old part of the mansion of Fettercairn House was the Earl's family residence. His initials, coronet, and arms, with the date 1670, are on the old cross of Fordoun in the village market place, that date being the year of its removal thither. The estate of Fettercairn was purchased from the heirs of Lady Diana Middleton in 1777.

Bishop John Paterson of Ross, was minister, first at Foveran, in Aberdeenshire, and afterwards one of the ministers of Aberdeen. Bishop Mackenzie of Moray was descended from a younger son of Mackenzie of Gairloch, in Ross-shire, a most ancient family, on whom a Baronetcy of Nova Scotia was conferred in 1629, in the person of Kenneth Mackenzie, the ancestor of the Noble Family of Seaforth. Bishop Mackenzie was born about 1600, ordained by Bishop Maxwell of Ross, and became chaplain to a regiment under Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. After he returned from Germany he became successively minister of Contin, of the town of Inverness, and of Elgin, the cathedral town of the diocese of Moray.

Bishop Forbes of Caithness was the son of the turbulent Presbyterian minister of Alford in Aberdeenshire, who figures in the pretended Aberdeen Assembly. Bishop Wallace of The Isles was minister of a parish in Ayrshire before his elevation to the episcopate. Bishop Fletcher of Argyll was the brother of Sir John Fletcher, appointed Lord Advocate at the Restoration. He was one of the ministers of Edinburgh before 1638, afterwards of Melrose, and continued incumbent of that parish till his death. Baillie says that Bishop Fletcher at first refused the See of Argyll, the "rent being nought." It is stated of him that in Melrose he was "much respected during his ministry for his benignity, public spirit, and attention to the education of the people. The schoolhouse was built with funds bequeathed by Bishop Fletcher, as is commemorated by a Latin inscription on the wall."*

Bishop Mitchell of Aberdeen is already mentioned as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and as deposed by the Covenanting Assembly in 1638. He retired to England, and is said by Keith to have obtained a benefice, but he endured considerable hardships

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 68, 69.

during the Civil War. In 1661, he was one of the Prebendaries of Westminster, and was made Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. Bishop Wishart of Edinburgh, who was consecrated with Bishop Mitchell, is already mentioned as chaplain to the Marquis of Montrose, and a severe sufferer for the royal cause. He was translated from Monifieth in Forfarshire in 1626 to be second minister of St Andrews, and he was deposed in 1639 for refusing to take the Covenant. Bishops Wishart and Mitchell are the special objects of Baillie's vituperation, and the Presbyterian writers assail their personal characters with the most wanton abuse. Wodrow speaks of Bishop Wishart as a man who could not refrain from common swearing even on the public streets, and alleges that he was a known drunkard. "He published something in divinity," says this credulous collector of scandal—"but then I find it remarked by a very good hand, his lascivious poems, compared with which the most luscious parts of Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, are modest, gave scandal to all the world." The reader need hardly be reminded that few statements are of less value than the Presbyterian tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the habits of their opponents.

Baillie writes to his friend Spang, dated May 12, 1661—"The guise now is, the Bishops will trouble no man, but the State will punish seditious ministers." In this letter he gives an account of Archbishop Fairfoull's favourable reception in Glasgow, and of his interview with him. "Our Bishop the other week took a start to come to Glasgow. The Chancellor [Glencairn] convoyed him, with Montrose, Linlithgow, Callender, and sundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our town's folks, both horse and foot, with all our bells a ringing, brought them to the Tolbooth to a great collation. He preached on the Sunday soberly and well, but Mr Hugh Blair in the afternoon ridiculously worse than his ordinary. Some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he [the Archbishop] should have a collation in the College on Monday morning. Against this I reasoned much, but was overruled, to our great and needless charge; two hundred pounds paid not our charge. Mr John Young made the [Arch]Bishop a speech of welcome beside my knowledge. The Chancellor, my Noble kind scholar, brought in all to see me in my chamber, where I gave them sack and ale the best of the town. The [Arch]Bishop

was very courteous to me. I excused my not using his styles [title], and professed my utter difference from his way, yet behoved to entreat his favour for our affairs of the College, wherein he promised liberally."* Wodrow tells a story of Archbishop Fairfoull, much of course to his disadvantage, which occurred either in 1662 or 1663. The Earl of Eglinton had requested his son-in-law, Chancellor Glencairn, to intercede with the Archbishop in favour of Mr William Guthrie, the presbyterian preacher of Fenwick, who had resolved not to conform. When Glencairn went to Glasgow he waited on the Archbishop. "At parting," says Wodrow, "he told him he had one favour to ask, and the [Arch]bishop answered—Anything [that] lay in his power to do he would do it. The Chancellor desired him to spare and no way molest Mr William Guthrie. The Archbishop took it very short, and answered—' My Lord, that cannot be done ; he is a turbulent disaffected person.' The Chancellor said little more, but came down stairs. At the stair-foot the laird of Rowallan and some other gentlemen that would not go up with the Chancellor were waiting. Rowallan observed the Chancellor in a mighty commotion, and as he came down the buttons were springing off his coat and vest. ' What is the matter, my Lord ? ' says he to him : ' you seem to be troubled at somewhat.' The Chancellor said—' Woes me ! we have advanced these men to be Bishops, and they will trample on us all ! ' "† Were Wodrow's excellent friends the Covenanters tolerant to the episcopal clergy during their domination ?

The Church was thoroughly organized in 1662, the Episcopal Succession had been conferred, and the lawful Bishops again filled the ancient Dioceses. But the Presbyterians had to encounter other humiliations. In most of the royal burghs the Solemn League and Covenant was publicly burnt with every mark of contempt amid the acclamations of the people, whose principles were now those of devoted loyalists, and many of whom were delighted at their emancipation from the merciless bondage of what Wodrow himself admits to have been "*the strictness [tyranny] of Presbyterian discipline.*" No town was more conspicuous in such demonstrations of dislike to the former Covenanting taskmasters than was the ancient royal burgh of Linlithgow on the 29th of May 1662,

* Letters and Journals, 4to. 1842, vol. iii. p. 486, 487.

† Analecta, vol. i. p. 284.

the anniversary of the King's Restoration. That was "an event," it is appropriately observed, "which called forth a universal expression of loyalty, yet we question if anywhere in Scotland, and we may almost add England, were such striking proofs given of sincere joy as were exhibited in the humble burgh of Linlithgow. It is generally known that the inhabitants celebrated its anniversary by burning the Solemn League and Covenant."* We are told that "the persons who distinguished themselves on this occasion were Mr Mylne [formerly] one of the Bailies, [then Dean of Guild] and Mr Ramsay, the minister of the parish. The conduct of the latter is the more remarkable, as he had not only taken the Covenant himself, but pressed it upon others with extreme rigour."† It appears, however, that all the Magistrates, George third Earl of Linlithgow, and a number of gentlemen, were present at the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant. They attended the parish church in the forenoon and heard a suitable sermon from Mr Ramsay, after which they assembled in an open space in front of the Town-House, where a large table was covered with luxuries, and the ancient beautiful fountain or public well, of which the present fine structure is an exact model, discharged from its many carved mouths the choicest wines instead of water. A Psalm was sung, and grace said by Mr Ramsay, and the viands were then distributed among the crowd. At the Cross four pillars were erected supporting an arch, on one side of which was placed the figure of an old virago, with the Solemn League and Covenant in the hand, and the words—"A glorious Reformation." On the other side was the figure of a Covenanter, the hand holding the "Remonstrance," and the well known Covenanting maxim—"No association with Malignants." A figure designed to represent the devil surmounted the arch, with a label in the mouth, on which were the words—"Stand to the Cause." Beneath this ironical caricature, distaffs, repenting-stools, horse-collars, wooden dishes, and spoons, were depicted. Within the arch were painted a "Committee of the Estates," with the words—"Act for delivering up the King"—"A Commission of the Kirk"—and "Act of the West Kirk" [of Edin-

* Chambers' Picture of Scotland, 12mo. Edinburgh, 1830, vol. ii. p. 43.

† Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiv. p. 573. The local writer, the Presbyterian minister of the parish in 1795, adds—"Changing his principles with the times he was first made Dean of Glasgow, then Bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards raised to the See of Ross."

burgh. In the centre of the arch was suspended the following lines, the production of a local rhyme :—

“ From Covenanters with uplifted hands ;
From Remonstrators with associate bands :
From such Committees as governed this nation ;
From Kirk-Commissions and their Protestation ;
Good Lord deliver us.”

Behind the arch was exhibited Rebellion in the disguise of Religion in a devotional posture, with Rutherford’s “ Lex Rex ” in one hand, and Guthrie’s “ True Causes of God’s Wrath ” in the other. Above was inscribed—“ Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft ;” and around were scattered acts of the Covenanting Parliaments, General Assemblies and Commissions, Protestations, Declarations, and other Covenanting documents published during the twenty years previous to 1660. When the King’s health was drank the pile was set on fire, amid derisive shouts and an explosion of fireworks, from the ashes of which arose two figures of angels bearing the following rhyming verse—

“ Great Britain’s monarch on this day was born,
And to his kingdom happily restored :
The Queen’s arrived ; the Mitre now is worn ;
Let us rejoice—this day is from the Lord.
Fly hence all traitors who did mar our peace ;
Fly hence schismatics, who our Church did rent ;
Fly Covenanting, Remonstrating race ;
Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent.”

The Magistrates then accompanied the Earl of Linlithgow into the court of the Palace, where the usual loyal demonstrations were again made ; and this severe burlesque on the Covenanters, who would have hanged every one concerned in it if they had then been powerful, was concluded by a procession through the town.*

The reception of Archbishop Sharp in Fife, when he took possession of his See, is reported by a local contemporary, and proves that he was not unpopular in the county. He crossed the Frith of Forth from Edinburgh on the 15th of April, and dined at Abbotshall, in the mansion so called long since removed, at that time the residence of Sir Andrew Ramsay, formerly Lord Provost of Edinburgh. He then proceeded to Leslie House, the seat of the Earl of Rothes, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen,

* The above is lugubriously narrated by Wodrow in his “ History,” vol. i. p. 151, 152.

where he remained during the night. On the following day the Archbishop left Leslie House for St Andrews, attended by the Earl of Rothes and sixty persons on horseback. In the way he was complimented with addresses from individuals and the corporations of several of the burghs, particularly Falkland, Auchtermuchty, Cupar-Fife, and Crail, who had been previously advised to meet the Archbishop by the Earl of Rothes. About one hundred and twenty horsemen from St Andrews and the neighbourhood met the Primate, and we are assured that the escort was at one time calculated to consist of 700 or 800 men on horseback. The Nobility were the Earls of Rothes and Kellie; the second Earl of Leven, who was the grandson of the Covenanting General Alexander Leslie the first Earl, and the nephew of Rothes; and Lord Newark, the other Covenanting General David Leslie defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar, created Lord Newark in 1661. Numbers of the Fife-shire gentry were also in the procession. During the progress the Archbishop rode on horseback, having the Earl of Rothes on his right and the Earl of Kellie on his left. When he approached St Andrews he was met by his son, afterwards Sir William Sharp, and by two of the clergy, Mr William Barclay, formerly deposed by the Covenanters from Falkland, and Mr William Comrie of St Leonard's College. The Archbishop entered the ancient archiepiscopal city amid the congratulations of the inhabitants, and resided in Archbishop Spottiswoode's former house within the precincts of the Priory at the east end of South Street, close to St Leonard's College. Rothes, Kellie, Newark, and a number of gentlemen supped, and some remained with him during the night, and Rothes and others dined with him on the following day. On Sunday forenoon the Archbishop preached in the town church from the passage, 1 Cor. xi. 2—"For I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." The contemporary chronicler states—"His sermon did not run much on the words, but in a discourse of vindicating himself, and of pressing of Episcopacy, and the utility of it; shewing since it was wanting there had been nothing but troubles and disturbances both in Church and State." On the 30th of April the Archbishop returned to Edinburgh, to preside at the consecration of the Bishops in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, accompanied by about fifty horsemen, most of them from St Andrews, halting for a short

time at Lundie, a mansion between Largo and Leven, the property of Lundie of that Ilk, with whose family he was acquainted. He came there with only five or six horsemen, which intimates that the escort had left him.*

The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 8th of May, the Earl of Middleton again representing the King as Lord High Commissioner. The names of the two Archbishops and of all the Bishops appear on the roll. The first act passed was “for calling in the Bishops to the Parliament”—that “considering the Clergy did always in the right constitution of Parliament represent the first Estate, and that now Archbishops and Bishops being restored, it is fit the Parliament be returned to its ancient constitution, and the Clergy have their place and vote as formerly.” The Earls of Kellie and Wemyss, Lord Torphichen, Sir Robert Murray of Blackbarony, William Cunningham, and Andrew Carstairs, the burgesses respectively for Edinburgh, Ayr, and St Andrews, were constituted a deputation to “go and in his Majesty’s name invite the Archbishops and Bishops to come and take their place, and vote in Parliament, as in former times before these troubles began.” The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Brechin, Caithness, and The Isles, were assembled with Archbishop Sharp in his lodgings when the deputation appeared. They proceeded to the Parliament, the two Archbishops walking between the Earls of Kellie and Wemyss, and the seven Bishops attended by barons, gentlemen, and the magistrates of Edinburgh in their robes. They were addressed in a congratulatory speech from the throne, the act restoring them was read, they took the oath of allegiance and the oath of Parliament, and they were added to the Lords of the Articles. They afterwards dined in Holyroodhouse with the Lord Commissioner, who walked with them in procession from the Parliament House near St Giles’ church, preceded by six mace-bearers, three gentlemen ushers, and the purse-bearer uncovered, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor Glencairn and a number of the Nobility. A select party of members of the Parliament sat down with the Bishops “at four of the clock to ane sumptuous entertainment, and remained at table till eight.”

On the 13th of May it was resolved that all the members should

* Lamont’s Chronicle of Fife from 1649 to 1672, Edinburgh, 4to. 1816, p. 183, 184.

be regular in their attendance, under the penalty of L.12 Scots from each of the Nobility and Bishops absent, L.6 Scots from every baron, and L.3 from every burgess. Those who appeared after the rolls were called were to be fined one half of these sums. An act was also passed fining each Archbishop, Bishop, and nobleman, who did not attend at all after the 27th of May, L.1200 Scots, each baron or commissioner from a county, L.600 Scots, and every burgess from a royal burgh, L.300 Scots. None were to be allowed access to the Parliament except the eldest sons and heirs of the Nobility, the Judges, certain officials, and the Clerk Register's deputies and servants. The Nobility and the Bishops were exclusively to occupy the benches, and the seats of all the other members were distinctly arranged.* On the 27th of May a long act was passed, entitled—"Act for the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops." It set forth that his Majesty and Estates of Parliament, "taking to their serious consideration that in the beginning of, and by the late rebellion within this kingdom, in the year 1637, the ancient and sacred order of Bishops was cast off, their persons and rights were injured and overturned, and a seeming party among the clergy factiously and violently brought in, to the great disturbance of the public peace, the reproach of the Reformed religion, and violation of the excellent laws of the realm for preserving an orderly subordination in the Church," whereby the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject, have "suffered by the invasions made upon the Bishops and episcopal government, most agreeable to the word of God, most convenient and effectual for the preservation of truth, order, and unity, and most suitable to monarchy and the peace and quiet of the State; therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, hath thought it necessary, and accordingly doth hereby redintegrate the state of Bishops to their ancient places and undoubted privileges in Parliament, and to all their accustomed dignities, privileges, and jurisdictions, and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of the episcopal function, presidency in the Church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, and all other acts of church discipline, with advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 371.

of known loyalty and prudence. And his Majesty, with advice foresaid, doth revive, ratify, and renew all acts of any former Parliaments, made for the establishment, and in favour of this ancient government." The acts of the Privy Council since the 1st of June 1661, "in order to the restitution of Bishops," were declared "valid and effectual;" and to remove all doubts or scruples which from "former acts or practices may occur to any concerning this sacred order," his Majesty "doth therefore, of certain knowledge, and with advice foresaid, rescind, cass, and annul, all acts of Parliament by which the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this Church doth stand in the Church, and in the General, Provincial, and Presbyterial Assemblies and Kirk Sessions." The first act of the Parliament of James VI. in 1592, sanctioning Presbyterianism, was repealed, and declared "null and void in all time coming;" the sixth act of the Parliament of 1609 was ratified and renewed; and "ordains that in all time coming the quotes of testaments be paid into the Archbishops and Bishops in their respective Dioceses as formerly; and rescinds and annuls the 28th act of the last session of this present Parliament anent the quotes of testaments, and declares the same void in all time coming," without prejudice to the then commissaries, their clerks, and fiscals; that "no act, gift, lease, or deed, passed by whatsoever authority since the interruption of the government by Archbishops and Bishops in the year 1637, to the prejudice of their rights, patronages, &c., pertaining to the several Bishoprics, stand valid or be in force; but that the said Archbishops and Bishops may have their claim, right, and possession for the year 1661, and all years following, to whatsoever was possessed by, or by the laws of the kingdom was due to, their predecessors in anno 1637."^{*} Other enactments are enumerated respecting the lands held off the Bishops, and other legal matters. This Act, it is said, was prepared by Archbishop Sharp.

On the 11th of June was passed the important "Act concerning such benefices and stipends as have been possessed without presentation from the lawful patrons," and was intended seriously to affect the Covenanting incumbents. "His Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, doth statute and ordain that all these ministers who entered to the cure of any parish in burgh or land within this kingdom in or since the year 1649, at

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. vii. p. 372, 373, 374.

and before which time the patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of their patronages, *have no right unto, nor shall receive, uplift, or possess, the rents of any benefice, modified stipend, manse, or glebe, for this present year 1662, nor for any year following*, but their places, benefices, and kirks, are *ipso jure* vacant ; yet his Majesty, to evidence his willingness to pass by and cover the miscarriages of his people, doth, with advice foresaid, declare that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of these ministers in what they have possessed or is due to them since their admission ; and that every such minister who shall obtain a presentation from the lawful patron, and have collation from the Bishop of the Diocese where he liveth betwixt and the 20th of September next to come, shall from thenceforth have right to and enjoy his church benefice, manse, and glebe, as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully presented and admitted thereto at his entry, or as any other minister within the kingdom doth or may do." The patrons were enjoined to grant presentations to all the then incumbents, and those of the latter who refused to be so " provided before the 20th of September were to be held as demitted, the patrons were to present betwixt that day and the 20th of March 1663 ; and if they neglected, the presentations were to lapse to the Bishop of the Diocese, *jure devoluto*, " according to former laws."*

Various sums were ordered by the Parliament to be paid to numerous " suffering ministers," and the " relicts and bairns" of others, from the vacant stipends. An act was passed on the 31st of July regulating the teinds belonging to Bishops and other beneficed persons," enjoining them to be collected according to the Decrees-Arbitral pronounced in 1633 by Charles I. On the 7th of August an act was passed, constituting the chapter of the Diocese of Argyll to consist of the Dean, Archdeacon, Treasurer, Chancellor, Chantor, and three incumbents. Mr James Hamilton, Mr John Smith, and Mr George Hutchison, were discharged from their office as ministers of Edinburgh by a special act for refusing to "join and concur with the Bishop in the acts of the church discipline, conform to the laws and acts passed in this Parliament in that behalf." On the 3d of September the Archdeaconry of The Isles was constituted. On the 5th the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant were ordered to be renounced by a signed declara-

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 376.

tion “ by all persons in public trust.”* On the 9th an act announced “ the King’s Majesty’s gracious and free pardon, act of indemnity, and oblivion, to all except “ such persons who have been forfeited or declared fugitives in this present Parliament, or by the Committee of Estates since August 1660, especially the Marquis of Argyll, Johnston of Warriston, and certain others. Ratifications were given to Archbishop Sharp of the Archbischopric, Priory, and Abbey of St Andrews ; to Bishop Strachan of Brechin and his successors of the monastery of Arbroath ; to Bishop Fletcher of Argyll of the jurisdiction of the commissary-court of that Diocese ; and to Bishop Wishart of the Bishopric of Edinburgh. On the above date the Parliament adjourned to the 20th of May 1663. One of the last acts was an “ Act containing some exceptions from the Act of Indemnity,” fining a great number of persons in all the counties who had been conspicuous in the Covenanting cause, and, as is narrated at length in the act, had grasped at sovereign authority in those Parliaments, aggravated by numerous insults to the King and Royal Family. Wodrow sums up the whole of those fines at L.1,017,353, Scots, or upwards of L.84,779 sterling—a large sum to be exacted in a country so poor as Scotland then was; but this was the procedure of the Government, with which the Church had no concern. Few were fined in the counties of Haddington, Peebles, Selkirk, Linlithgow, Fife, Dunbarton, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Moray, Nairn, Bute, Aberdeen, Banff, Forfar, Kincardine, Caithness, and Sutherland. In Berwickshire, Sir William Scott of Harden, an ancestor of Sir Walter Scott, was fined L.18,000 Scots. The counties where the fines were to be extensively levied were those of Edinburgh, chiefly the city ; Lanark,

* “ The great design of that act,” says Sir George Mackenzie, “ was to incapacitate the Earl of Crawford from being Treasurer and Lauderdale from being Secretary ; but Lauderdale laughed at this contrivance, and told them he would sign a cart full of such oaths before he would lose his place ; and though Crawford was thereafter turned out of his office, yet Middleton missed it ; and thus we see how God disappoints such as endeavour to ensnare their native country with unnecessary oaths and engagements. But that which I disliked extremely in this new oath was, that it should have been put to Advocates, who are no persons properly in public trust, and yet were forced to take this oath because it was pretended they had taken the Covenant ; and yet this was an ill consequence, for by that rule the Declaration should have been forced upon all the nation.” Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of Charles II., 4to. p. 64, 65.

Dumfries, Roxburgh, Ayr, Perth, Renfrew, Stirling, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Argyll.*

These were the principal acts of the Parliament of 1662 in reference to the Episcopal Church. Several petitions for relief from the clergy and their relatives who had suffered for their loyalty were presented. Mr James Boyd, who appears to have been a son of Bishop Boyd of Argyll who died in 1636, represented his case, and on the 3d of June Bishop Wallace of The Isles and Mr John Bell, Provost of Glasgow, reported to the Lords of the Articles—" His losses by fining [and] imprisonment [are] notourly to us and all who knew him, his fine being the seizing upon his moveable fortune to the value of L.500 sterling, his imprisonment four months in Tarbet, and his banishment nine years, to be in whole in loss to the value of L.1000 sterling.—It is humbly over-tured that out of those who have failed in the observance of the last solemn anniversary [the 29th of May] he may have such money applied to his use as your Lordships shall think fit, *he being a Bishop's son*, which we humbly conceive not to be contrary to the former Act of Parliament establishing the same." On the 10th of June he was voted L.500 sterling from the arrested stipends of those who had not observed the anniversary of the King's Restoration. Mr. David Foulis, a " suffering minister," formerly of Oxnam parish in Roxburghshire, and his son, who suffered great privations and exile for resisting the Covenant, the father leaving behind him seven children " to the charity of their friends," were voted L.100 sterling from the vacant stipends ; the same sum was granted to Mr Martin Macgillivray, minister in the island of Mull ; and also to the " distressed relict and seven poor children" of Mr Henry Elliott, minister of Bedrule in Roxburghshire. The eldest daughter of Dr Alexander Gladstones, Archdean of St Andrews, and consequently the grand-daughter of old Archbishop Gladstones, was voted L.100 sterling as a remuneration for the deposition and exile of her father in England, where, she alleged, " he lived a long time in great hardship, having left behind him his wife, family, and small children, whereby the petitioner's deceased father's sufferings were exceeding great, besides the want of two years' stipend which was owing him the time he was thrust from

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. Appendix, p. 57-69. Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 420-429.

his charge."* Other cases occur which it is unnecessary to enumerate. One of the most liberal awards was that to a certain Mr Robert Watters, described as a "musician," who for "exercising the office of precentor, in singing of the psalms at all sermons preached in the Parliament House to the members of Parliament during the two sessions from the 1st of January 1661," was actually voted £.100 sterling from the stipends forfeited by those who refused to observe the day of the King's Restoration.†

On the 10th of September the Privy Council at Holyroodhouse issued an "Act for holding of Diocesan Assemblies," which was proclaimed on the 13th. It set forth that as all Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions, had been prohibited on the 9th of January until these were authorised by the Archbishops and Bishops in their respective Sees—"considering that the Lords Archbishops and Bishops have all this session of Parliament been engaged to attend the service thereof, and now are to repair to their respective Sees, for exercising the government and ordering the affairs of the Church, according to that authority which is settled and established upon them by the laws, and for that effect have resolved to hold their Diocesan Assemblies in the Dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane, on the second Tuesday of October next, and in the Dioceses of Galloway, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Isles, Argyll, and Orkney, on the third Tuesday of the said month"—all incumbents were enjoined to resort to those Diocesan Synods under pain of being treated as "contemners of his Majesty's authority, incurring the censures provided in such cases;" and all who held any other ecclesiastical meetings were to be "holden henceforth as seditious." To enforce the observance of this act the Earl of Middleton, accompanied by the Chancellor Glencairn, and a number of the Nobility and gentry, proceeded into the western counties, and at Glasgow he held a Privy Council on the 1st of October, when an act was published "discharging" all incumbents "who had no lawful presentations from the patrons, [and] who would not receive collation from the Bishops." According to Sir George Mackenzie this act threw out two hundred of the preachers, and was considered imprudent, as "tending to irritate a country which was

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. vii. Appendix, p. 86, 87, 88.

† *Ibid.* p. 94.

fond of its ministers, and as that which joined them all in one common discontent."*

As the Covenanting Presbyterians had expelled all incumbents in the most summary manner who resisted the National Covenant, many of their preachers even now felt some thing of that severity which they had unsparingly inflicted on their opponents. The observance of the anniversary of the King's Restoration by cessation from labour, attending Divine service, subscribing the oath of allegiance, presentations to benefices, and ordination and collation by Bishops, were enjoined by law, and those who refused were to be considered as forfeiting their rights as incumbents. The result is thus stated by Nicoll :—" At this time sundry of the ministry came in to the Archbishops and Bishops, and submitted themselves to them *and to their orders*, and gave their oaths to them as their Ordinaries, and received new presentations from them conform to the act of Parliament. Others of the ministry refused to give obedience, and therefore were convened before the Lords of the Articles, and for their disobedience were suspended, silenced, and imprisoned."† The names of three of the ministers of Edinburgh deposed by the Parliament for refusing to acknowledge episcopal authority are already noticed, and it was intimated to the others that they would incur a similar censure if they were refractory. It appears from the local diarist that with the exception of Mr Robert Lawrie, Dean of Edinburgh and incumbent of Trinity College Church there, all the ministers, then only five altogether, were prohibited from preaching after the annual election of the Magistrates for refusing to acknowledge episcopal authority. " All the sermons," he says, " were by strangers, who were not much liked by the auditors, who fled their kirks, and wandered to others." But this state was of no long continuance. On the 5th of November, Mr Joshua Meldrum from Kinghorn, Mr John Robertson from Dysart, and Mr Archibald Turner from North-Berwick, were inducted ministers of Edinburgh. The sermon was preached by Mr John Robertson in the " East [High] kirk" of St Giles, in presence of the Earl of Middleton, Chancellor Glencairn, others of the Nobility, and a large congregation. After the sermon Bishop Wishart went into the pulpit, and declared that the three persons above named,

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 77, 78.

† Nicoll's Diary, 4to. 1836, p. 374.

who were sitting with the Provost, Magistrates, and some of the elders, “were called and chosen to be ministers of Edinburgh, which being done, these three ministers were received and embraced by the Provost, Baillies, and some of the elders appointed for that business.” The Magistrates entertained the Bishop and clergy at dinner. It may be here observed that Mr John Paterson, from Ellon, was admitted minister of Edinburgh on the first Sunday of January 1633, and Mr William Annand on the first Sunday of February. The former was afterwards raised to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. The latter was the son of Mr William Annand, minister of Ayr, who was attacked by a mob of females on the streets of Glasgow for defending the Liturgy in 1637, as already related, and was deposed by the Glasgow Assembly. His son, who was a most distinguished and pious person, became a student in University College, Oxford, in 1651; but though placed under a Presbyterian tutor, he embraced every opportunity of hearing the episcopal divines who during the Commonwealth preached clandestinely in and around Oxford. He was ordained by Dr Thomas Fulwar, Bishop of Ardfert in Ireland, and officiated some time at Weston-on-the-Green near Bicester in Oxfordshire, where he became distinguished as a preacher. After the Restoration he published two treatises in defence of the Episcopal Church, which seem to have procured for him the patronage of the Earl of Middleton, who appointed him his chaplain, and in that capacity he returned to Scotland. He became successively minister of the Tolbooth and Tron churches in Edinburgh, the latter properly called Christ Church. Nicoll observes that the city was about the end of 1662 divided into six parishes. He states that of those six parish churches four belonged to the Chapter—Trinity College, the Tron, the East or High church in St Giles’, and the Greyfriars’ church.*

The same local chronicler preserves some notices of Bishop Wishart’s first Dioecesan Synod held at Edinburgh on the 14th of October. It was attended by fifty-eight incumbents; and the Lord Advocate, Lord Tarbert, and the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh were present. Bishop Wishart preached the sermon on Phil. iv. 5—“ Let your moderation be known unto all men ; the Lord is at hand.” Two ministers of each Presbytery were

* Diary, 4to. 1836, p. 389.

appointed by the Bishop to prepare the business of the Synod, whom he termed the *Brethren of the Conference*; and as it was not intended to offend the prejudices of even the Presbyterians by introducing any Liturgy, the following was the enjoined mode of celebrating Divine service. The prayers were all extempore, but the Lord's Prayer was to be introduced once, or even twice, at the discretion of the minister; the Doxology was to be revived, and sung at the end of the metrical Psalms; and the Apostles' Creed was to be repeated at the Sacrament of Baptism by the parents of the child, or by the minister. It was enacted that morning and evening prayers should be held in every town and populous parish. It appears that some years before 1653 the devotional exercise of singing Psalms and reading the Scriptures publicly in the congregation was abandoned by the Covenanting preachers, who occupied their followers exclusively with their own lectures. The people, however, were dissatisfied with this novelty, and the practice of singing the Psalms was restored, at least in Edinburgh, in 1653; but in 1662 the public reading of the Scriptures was again introduced, and the Doxology was added to the Psalms. "This," says Nicoll, "now brought in by the authority of the Bishops with greater devotion than ever before, for all the people rose at the singing—Glory to the Father, &c." Our diarist, however, says in another place—"But all this did not please the people, for there was much *haitrent* of the Bishops among them, favouring still their own ministers, and their doctrine, and hating Episcopacy."

At Bishop Wishart's first Diocesan Synod it was intimated that all incumbents were to conform to the Act of the Privy Council held at Glasgow on the 1st of October, and were to accept of collation to their benefices from the Bishop before the 25th of November, otherwise the Bishop was to proceed against them and appoint others to the parishes. This indulgence, we are informed by Nicoll, "did move many of them to come in and accept collation from his hands before the day appointed, and to submit themselves to the prelatical orders." It is also stated that all the Bishops "became indulgent to the ministers that refused to obey their orders, and gave many of them liberty to preach openly till the [first] day of February 1663; but this licence and liberty were refused to such as were pannelled [under prosecution], and to such whose kirks were provided to other ministers during their

disobedience." This resulted from an Act of the Privy Council to the same effect published on the 23d of December, which contains some significant allusions to the conduct of the Covenanting preachers. The Act reminded those of them who illegally continued to officiate as ministers of the parishes that they had been "indemnified for what they possessed," and again peremptorily enjoined them to apply for presentations to the lawful patrons, and to the Bishops of the Dioceses for collation. It referred to the Act of the Privy Council at Glasgow on the 1st of October, by which all such preachers who thus openly defied the Government were "charged to remove themselves and their families out of their parishes; but in the hope that they be reclaimed, and conform themselves to the Church now re-established, the Privy Council had, at the solicitation of those Bishops who were then in Edinburgh, extended the time to the 1st of February 1663, and all who refused after that date were "thenceforth to be esteemed and held as persons disaffected to his Majesty's Government." Those of them in the Dioceses of Glasgow, Argyll, and Galloway, were to remove beyond the bounds of their respective Presbyteries, but they were not to locate themselves in the Dioceses of St Andrews and Edinburgh; and, wherever they chose to reside, two of them were not to be allowed in one parish. Those within the Dioceses of St Andrews and Edinburgh were to remove north of the Tay; all of them who held public or private meetings under pretence of religion were to be prosecuted as seditious persons; and those who had been wilfully absent from the Diocesan Synods in October were not to leave their parishes before the next Diocesan Synods, without the written warrant of their respective Bishops. The people were strictly enjoined to resort to their own parish churches, or if on any Sunday there was no Divine service, to attend the nearest parish church which was open; with intimation that if any persisted in acting otherwise, or went out of their parishes on Sundays, they would be punished as Sabbath-breakers, and a fine of twenty shillings [1s. 8d. sterling] exacted from each, to be given to the poor. And as violent sermons had been recently preached to large assemblages of the peasantry at the celebration of the Holy Communion, which was thus perverted from the object of its institution as "a special mean and bond of love and unity, duty and obedience, among Christians," parish ministers were enjoined to

employ only one, or two at most, of their brethren, unless the Bishop sanctioned more, to assist them on such occasions. No person was to be admitted to the Sacrament without a certificate of his or her residence from the minister of the parish. This Act was published at the Cross of Edinburgh and in all the royal burghs. The second day afterwards was Christmas-Day, which was solemnly observed in Edinburgh. Bishop Wishart preached in the High Church—"wherein," says Nicoll, "were much people assembled," and the Earl of Middleton, the Chancellor Glencairn, and all the Nobility then in Edinburgh. After the sermon an injunction was issued by "tuck of drum," that the remaining part of the day was to be observed as a holiday, that no labour of any kind was to be allowed, and that the shops were to be closed under the penalty of L.20 Scots from those who refused. Nicoll observes that the year 1662, when the Church was re-established, was "by God's goodness and merciful providence in all the parts of it wondrous blessed : in the spring, in the summer time, and harvest, producing multitudes of corn of all sorts, with pears, apples, abundance of nuts, great and fair, the like never seen heretofore, so that the streets of Edinburgh were filled full of all these sorts of fruits on every side in all parts of the town, and sold remarkably cheap."

The order for collation from the Bishops to the several parishes, after obtaining presentations from the lawful patrons, involved submission to *episcopal ordination* in the case of the Presbyterian preachers. This was made imperative, and the only exceptions were the clergy then alive, and able to discharge their functions, who had been ordained by the Bishops of the Spottiswoode Succession before 1638, or those ordained in England and Ireland. We have seen that Archbishop Sharp and Bishop Leighton were obliged to be ordained deacons and priests before their consecration in England, and all the Bishops invested with the episcopal function in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood and at St Andrews in May and June 1662 had been ordained by the Bishops before 1638. This is an important distinction, and partly explains the injunction by the Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council making collation from the Bishops indispensable. Rather than comply with those Acts many of the Presbyterian preachers, who are described as "intruders" into the parishes, sustained a treatment similar, though more gentle, to that which they had

inflicted on those clergy who opposed the Covenant and would not renounce Episcopacy. Upwards of one hundred and fifty were also deprived for not obeying the summons of the Bishops to attend the Diocesan Synods ; but we have the explicit testimony of Burnet that all this was transacted without Archbishop Sharp's knowledge, and the Primate repeatedly stated that he was glad he had no hand in the proceedings of the Privy Council.* There is ample proof that many of the Acts of the Privy Council were the suggestions of the Earl of Lauderdale, the seeming friend of, but in reality the bitter enemy to the Church, and yet a man who now held the Covenanting Presbyterian preachers and their adherents in utter contempt.

The Presbyterian writers allege that nearly four hundred of their preachers were deprived throughout the kingdom, and we are told that Scotland never saw such a day as that on which they took leave of the parishioners. It is singular that the Presbyterians persist, in defiance of historical facts, to monopolize all the suffering for the Covenanters. They were offered the fairest terms if they would conform to the Church established by law; no Liturgy violated their superstitious prejudices ; the Five Articles of Perth were not resuscitated and made imperative ; no Book of Canons was renewed ; and no Court of High Commission at that time existed. These were their old grievances, not one of which was now proposed ; and if their consciences prevented them from submitting to episcopal ordination and diocesan authority, they had no right to enjoy those temporalities with which the State conditionally endowed the incumbents of an Established Church. But the Presbyterian writers forget that this nonconformity of nearly four hundred preachers from 1662 to 1666, and their expulsion from the parishes as illegal intruders, are not without their parallels even in Scottish history. The reader need only recollect the tyrannical depositions and merciless expulsions of the Episcopal clergy from their parishes, for resisting the Covenant after 1638, when several hundreds were plundered, ruined, and driven into exile. Many of those persecuted clergy died in the greatest poverty during the Covenanting reign of terror and Cromwell's domination, and others of them never returned from England and Ireland. But we may also refer to the hundreds of the Episcopal parochial clergy who were expelled from

* Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i. p. 215.

their parishes in the most indecent and cruel manner after the Revolution of 1688 by Presbyterian mobs, for acting similarly to the preachers of 1662—not conforming to the existing Government. Nay, we may refer to 1843, when the “Non-Intrusionists” in the Presbyterian Establishment left it to the number of some hundreds, set up a rival system under the magniloquent title of the *Free Protestant Church*, and assailed their former brethren and associates in language as atrocious, infamous, scurrilous, and false, as ever their Covenanting predecessors applied to the Episcopal clergy. And yet, as a proof of the restlessness of Presbyterianism—of its grasping propensities, its intolerable claims, and its malevolent principles, the Disruptionists left that Establishment with which they had been connected on account of *no persecution from the State, no threatened change of doctrine or discipline, and no designed innovations*, but simply because they were not allowed to be above all law civil or ecclesiastical. The Presbyterian Disruption of 1843 will yet do much to explain and clear from aspersion the much vilified Bishops and clergy of Scotland after the Restoration; and bad as the Government then was, it will even defend some of the public men of that age from the odium with which the Presbyterians load their characters.

Wodrow inserts a list which he calls “A roll of ministers who were nonconformists to Prelacy, and were banished, turned out from their parishes, or confined, with some account of those who conformed not to Prelacy;” but he also inserts the names of those who conformed, some of whom had been episcopally ordained, and the others were soon afterwards ordained by the Bishops. Wodrow’s list is not very correct, but is probably the only one now accessible. The expulsion of the illegal incumbents of the parishes was considerable in the counties of Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, and particularly the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton. The kingdom was then divided into thirteen Provincial Synods; yet it appears from Wodrow’s own statement the sentiments of the ministers in favour of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism were almost equally divided. Fifteen of them in the Presbytery of Perth conformed, and only six were refractory. Throughout that extensive county and in Stirlingshire only twenty-one were deprived, including James Guthrie, hanged in 1661, and the minister of Little Dunkeld, who is, however, supposed to have conformed.

In the Synod of Fife, a county containing more parishes than any other of like extent in Scotland, twenty-eight ministers conformed in 1662, not including those of the city of St Andrews, and twenty-six were deprived from 1662 to 1667. A list of both parties is given in the “ Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife from 1611 to 1687,” but the above does not include those who were allowed to continue in the parishes by taking the oaths of allegiance —a fact which evinces the leniency of the Government. In the counties north of the Tay, which comprise almost four-fifths of the kingdom, only thirty-eight were eventually deprived, and all other hundreds of the parochial clergy and the population may be said to have relinquished Presbyterianism. Even in Argyllshire and the Western Islands the great majority submitted to episcopal ordination and diocesan jurisdiction. In the county of Dunbarton six out of the thirteen parochial incumbents conformed.

These are facts, even according to Wodrow’s list, which undeniably prove that the opposition to the Episcopal Church was chiefly concentrated in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton. In Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, one third of the parish ministers conformed, and in the Presbytery of Kelso alone, then consisting of ten parishes, only three of the incumbents were refractory. In the Presbytery of Dalkeith, south and east of Edinburgh, eight of the fifteen ministers conformed. Wodrow mentions prominently those who were *banished*, but he produces only *four* in his list, who were Robert Trail of Edinburgh, the noted John Livingstone of Anerum, John Brown of Wamphray, and Robert Mackward of Glasgow, who were all banished for their seditious principles by the Government. Three of those men—Livingstone, Brown, and Mackward—died in Holland. Some of them who were prosecuted for their turbulence bound themselves to retire from the kingdom within a specified time, and others were confined to particular towns and localities. Admitting that between three and four hundred ministers were compelled to leave their parishes, yet, without referring to what had occurred after 1638, to the results of the Revolution of 1688, and to the extraordinary drama in 1843, it must be recollected that the above three or four hundred were only *one-third* of the parochial ministers, and that all the rest complied. It is possible that many of those who conformed would have preferred Presbytery, and in

some counties the tendencies of the peasantry, excited by violent sermons and harangues, were well known; nevertheless many thousands in Scotland were of a different opinion, many more were passive, and many quietly acquiesced with the prevailing party. In a word, the opposition to the Episcopal Church was undeniably confined chiefly to the western counties and to some parts of Fife, and even in those districts it was principally among the lower orders. But the Presbyterian writers ought to recollect that there were other sufferers than their Covenanting heroes. During the short and fearful domination of Presbyterianism in England more than one half of the clergy of the Church of England were reduced to the most abject privations, because they would not renounce the Liturgy and subscribe the Covenant.

It is alleged by Dr M'Crie that the first Parliament after the Restoration “was packed by the Court, and slavishly submissive to its wishes ; and that there was not then a party in Scotland worthy of being named which desired the restoration of Episcopacy.” Such an allegation as the former is generally brought forward by all discontented and disaffected persons against institutions which they denounce ; and as to the latter, the party “not worthy of being named” comprised not less than the whole Nobility of the kingdom, and the representatives of the counties and royal burghs. Nicoll expressly states, under date May 1662—“ At the ratification of Episcopacy, and restoring them [the Bishops] to their honours, dignities, and offices, *little opposition was made*, except some Lords of Erection, and David Leslie, newly admitted a temporal Lord [created Lord Newark], who, having heard him dissent, did laugh and smile at his refusal, [he] having received such late favours from his Majesty to tie him to the King’s obedience and lawful courses, did refuse to vote in favour of the Bishops, and made many of the members of Parliament to laugh and jest. This David Leslie, perceiving them to laugh, did publicly say—That he saw the day that they durst not laugh at him.”

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CHURCH DURING ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

IN 1663 Archbishop Sharp appointed parochial kirk-sessions, and the several Presbyteries and Diocesan Synods were constituted. As it respects the mode of conducting Divine service in the Episcopal Church of Scotland after the Restoration, it is already stated that no Liturgy was attempted to be introduced, which was probably a misfortune, as the Covenanting clamour would not have been more violent. The Westminster Directory for public worship, however, was set aside, and the former mode before 1637 was authorized. Readers of the Scriptures were revived in the towns ; the clergy, as previously observed, were enjoined to use the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology ; and parents and others who presented children for baptism were to give an account of the profession of their faith and belief in the Apostles' Creed. The Holy Communion was administered in the Presbyterian form of sitting at long tables ; no organs were in the churches ; and the only distinctive dress of the clergy was the black gown. Even the Bishops rarely appeared in their episcopal habit. In short, the whole was externally Presbyterian, and the only difference was in the constitution of the Church. But the great point for which the opposers of the Episcopal Church contended after the Restoration was the acknowledgment of what they called the *Kingship and Headship of Christ*. No Christian, and certainly no member of the Episcopal Church, or of the Church of England, denies that doctrine in its proper, intelligible, and orthodox sense ; but the real object of the Presbyterians was to render their preachers and elders in their official capacity independent of the State, and above the controul of the Government. It was a supremacy or

kingship in their own favour as in their halcyon days of the Solemn League and Covenant, and it was for this, not for their Presbyterian principles in the abstract, or for the effects of them on an ignorant, fanatical, and bigotted peasantry, that the Covenanters were severely punished from the Restoration to the Revolution, after which latter event even the new Government would not listen one moment to their pretensions. No liberties were secured by those Covenanters who after the Restoration renounced their allegiance, took up arms against their sovereigns, and by their own conduct and principles incurred the summary punishment of the law. They again contended not for liberty to worship God according to their consciences, but for the former supremacy of the Covenant, and for the utter extirpation of the Episcopal Church and all its members. The unhappy fate of many of them is to be deplored, and it is scarcely possible to peruse the narrative of the sufferings of those mistaken, obstinate, and fanatical persons without regret, yet the Revolution would have occurred in England though not a single peasant in Scotland had been executed as a dangerous and rebellious subject ; and that which took place in England in 1688, might have been protracted but could not have been prevented in Scotland. It is also to be remembered that when the Episcopal Church of Scotland again fell after 1688, it was not by violence and sectarian tyranny, as in 1638. It was the voluntary and conscientious though probably imprudent act of the Bishops and clergy, who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to King William or acknowledge his Government, otherwise it is not too rash to assert that the Episcopal Church might have been the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland at the present time.

The mode of presentation to benefices during the establishment of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, especially from 1662 to 1688, deserves a passing notice. The mode of electing the two Archbishops and twelve Bishops was similar. The Chapter of a vacant See elected the person recommended by the King, whose patent under the Great Seal confirmed the election of the Chapter, by which the right of the Bishop-elect, as he was then called, was legalized to the spirituality of the See. A royal mandate was afterwards issued for the consecration, at which three Bishops at least were to be present, in conformity to the decision of the third Canon of the First Council of Nice, to which the first of the Scot-

tish Canons of 1617 refers. Upon the consecration the King ought to have made a second grant of the temporality of the See, but as the first grant was understood to comprehend the whole this soon fell into disuse. The Bishop could not intermeddle with the temporalities until he did homage, and swore obedience to the sovereign, which completed his right, and he was then entitled to the revenues from the date of his election. Every Scottish Bishop had his Chapter or council, consisting of an Archdeacon, Dean, and certain ministers of parishes within the Diocese, and by their advice he exercised spiritual jurisdiction and managed the temporal affairs of the Diocese with which he was concerned.

We have seen that after the Reformation all patronages connected with the lordships and baronies of the Roman Church in Scotland were in 1587 annexed to the Crown. Those which belonged to Archbishops, Bishops, or their Chapters, were restored to them in 1606. The lay patrons also acquired their right of presentation to parishes, and continued to exercise it from the Reformation to 1649, when they were deprived of their right by the 39th Act of the Covenanting Parliament of that year. By the Act-Rescissory of 1661 the patrons were restored to the right of presentation, which they possessed till 1690, after the Revolution, when the election of the parochial incumbents of the Presbyterian Establishment was vested in the heritors and elders of the parish. This continued till the patrons were again restored by the famous act of the tenth of Queen Anne, and the Crown then assumed the patronage of all the parish churches which formerly belonged to the Bishops and Chapters.

During the establishment of the Church, if the Bishop refused induction, the patron could complain to the Archbishop, and if he also refused, the Privy Council might grant warrant for letters of horning against the Bishop, charging him to perform his duty. If he continued obstinate, the patron was allowed by the Act of 1612 to retain the vacant stipend. But if no opposition was offered by the Bishop of the Diocese, three different forms were necessary in the ceremony of admitting a parochial incumbent after episcopal ordination. The first was a written presentation by the patron to the properly qualified individual, who delivered it to the Bishop. The second was the collation, or a document signed by the Bishop, approving of the party presented, conferring on him the vacant

benefice, and enjoining a certain number of the incumbents to induct him. The third was the induction, performed by the Presbyters deputed by the Bishop, which was simply accompanying the presentee to the parish church, putting him in possession by placing him in the pulpit, and delivering to him the Bible, and the keys of the building, on which the new incumbent took instruments in the hands of a public notary. Collation by the Bishop was indispensably necessary in the case of all parochial ministers, but prebends and benefices which had no cures of souls could be held by the simple nomination of the patron, and without any interposition of the Bishop, unless to confer ordination if the person was a layman. In those parishes in the Bishop's Diocese of which he was himself the patron, as he could not properly present to himself, he collated without presentation. If he was patron of a parish in another Diocese, it was necessary for him to present in common form to the Bishop of that Diocese.* In default of the patron not presenting within six months to a vacant parish the nomination devolved on the Bishop.

Such was the ecclesiastical procedure of Scotland from 1606, at least from 1612 to 1638, and from 1662 to 1688. The Episcopal clergy of the Second Succession during the latter period were contemptuously designated *curates* by the ignorant peasantry—and this senseless, ridiculous, and absurd epithet, which originated with the field preachers, conventiclers, and other wild men, is often retained by the violent Presbyterian writers. In the liturgical language of the Church of England all presbyters and deacons are *curates*, and hence we pray in the Morning and Evening Service, for “Bishops, and Curates, and all congregations committed to their charge.” But the word as applied derisively by the Cameronians and other Presbyterian fanatics in Scotland to the Episcopal parochial clergy was unmeaning, contemptible, and malicious. Those clergy were not the *curates* of the Scottish Bishops in any sense, and they were as much the regular and legally inducted incumbents as any Established Presbyterian minister has been or is since the Revolution. They were in full possession of the stipends of the parishes, and in temporalities were completely independent of the Bishop. It might as well be said that every such

* Erskine's Institute of the Law of Scotland, Lord Ivory's edition, folio, 1824, vol. i. p. 101, 102, 106, 107, 108.

Presbyterian minister is a *curate* of the local Presbytery, Provincial Synod, or General Assembly, all of which by the present law act in place of the former Bishops. In reality, the word was in numerous cases applied by the Presbyterian Disruptionists of 1843 in several of their scurrilous prints to those who succeeded them in the parishes which they reluctantly resigned, with the varying charitable epithet of *stipend-lifters*. But although the Scottish Episcopal clergy had been *literally curates*, they were so in the canonical view—not as hired to perform the duties of another, but simply inducted parish priests or presbyters, similar in some respects to those who hold perpetual curacies in England, so far as the presentation by the patron is concerned, who being usually the impropriator of the rectory to which the curacy is appendant, presents a person in holy orders, who is licensed by the Bishop of the Diocese, and admitted to all its rights and privileges. But as no such curacies ever existed in Scotland, the Episcopal clergy were also equivalent to English rectors and vicars, because they were all collated, or instituted, and inducted.*

In 1663, when the parishes vacant by the expulsion of the Covenanting Presbyterian preachers were to receive new incumbents, much opposition was manifested, especially in the counties of Kirkcudbright and Dumfries, and the chief ringleaders were females. The Privy Council found it necessary to inquire into the tumults of those misguided women and their abettors, and appointed the Earls of Linlithgow, Galloway, and Annandale, and others, as a commission of inquiry to proceed to Kirkcudbrightshire, accompanied by one hundred horse and two hundred foot, with power to suppress all meetings and insurrections. Numbers of the women were apprehended, some of whom were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, others were punished, and several bound over to keep the peace. New magistrates were appointed for the burgh of Kirkcudbright, who signed a bond obliging themselves and all the inhabitants to behave loyally, to conform in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs, and to protect the Bishop of Galloway, the minister of the town, and other ministers established by lawful authority. The conduct of Lord Kirkcudbright on this occasion was disastrous to

* “I thought that the English of *curate* had been an ecclesiastical hireling.—No such matter; the proper import of the word signifies one who has the cure of souls.”—*Collier on Pride*. Johnson’s Dictionary, by Rev. J. H. Todd, 4to. London 1818, vol. i.

his family. That Peerage was conferred by Charles I. in 1633 on the ancient family of the Maclellans of Bombie, whose ancient castle in ruins, built in 1582, is a conspicuous object in the town. John third Lord Kirkeudbright was so zealous a Royalist that he raised a regiment of foot for the service of Charles II. in 1653. At that time he was almost sole proprietor of the parish, and it is said that he actually depopulated two villages on his estate, carrying all his vassals to Ireland, whence it is supposed they never returned. The rural or *landward* portion of the parish never recovered this expatriation. Lord Kirkeudbright's conduct incurred the ban of Cromwell, and the fines and expenses he incurred nearly ruined his estate. It was the peculiarity of that restless and improvident nobleman never to be on the side of those who could render him any service, and after the Restoration he opposed Charles II. A riot broke out in Kirkeudbright at the induction of the Episcopal incumbent, at which his Lordship, not from any religious principles, for of these he was apparently destitute, but from love of mischief, and because he delighted in popular turmoil, declared that if the clergyman took possession of the parish church it would only be over his body, and that he would hazard his fortune in the matter ; at the same time he admitted that if the clergyman came in by his presentation he could raise a sufficient number of men to prevent any disorder. His Lordship was apprehended for his share in the riot, and sent a prisoner with others to Edinburgh. The proceedings against him are not recorded, but he died in 1664, and by his personal imprudence his creditors so completely sold the estate during the minority of his son, who died while a youth in 1669, that his successors in the title, which is now extinct, never afterwards possessed an acre of the ancestral property of the once powerful Maclellans of Bombie.

The vacant parishes were filled up with difficulty on account of the want of properly educated persons. From 1639 to the Restoration, a period of twenty-two years, the Universities of Scotland had been in the hands of the Covenanting preachers, who had expelled all the former Professors and students, and had supplanted them by persons of their own nurturing and principles. The regular candidates for the office of the ministry who were properly qualified, or who were inclined to accept episcopal ordination, were in consequence very few in 1663, yet numbers were obtained from the

northern counties, where Presbyterianism and the Covenant had never been popular. Those persons who were thus inducted amid much opposition into the vacant parishes in the western counties are commonly represented as illiterate or half educated young men, whose moral conduct was as deficient as their talents and acquirements. Bishop Burnet must needs be the accuser of his brethren, and he thus scurrilously writes of them—"They were the worst preachers I ever heard. They were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order and the sacred profession, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised." And Dr M'Crie, improving on this statement, asks—"Who but hypocrites, infidels, and profligates and dastardly souls, would have submitted to the opinions of such men, or have abandoned their own [Presbyterian] ministers?" Now, it is very possible that some of the Episcopal clergy who succeeded the ejected Covenanting preachers may have been illiterate, and some may also have been irregular in their lives; but if so, it can be easily proved that not a few of the Presbyterians were in the same situation, and it must be recollect that the accusers of the Episcopal clergy were their bitter enemies—persons who, having been well taught by the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638 in the libels against the Bishops, scrupled not to invent all manner of falsehoods, scandals, distortions of facts, and reckless insinuations, completely blinded by their local prejudices against strangers, and their wretched enthusiasm. Rival sects have often applied to their opponents similar opprobrious terms, and the extraordinary epithets and language bestowed habitually by the adherents of the so called *Free Church*, or Disruptionists of 1843, towards their former brethren who remained in the Presbyterian Establishment, which they contemptuously designated the *Residuary*, ought to make us suspect the accusations of ignorance and improper conduct brought against the Episcopal clergy. Every one in Scotland knows the manner in which the Presbyterian Establishment is mentioned publicly in speeches, pamphlets, and other writings, by the very men who previous to May 1843 ate its bread, and associated with its incumbents as brethren. The terms *God-dishonouring*, *Christ-denying*, *soul-destroying*, are among the

gentlest epithets, while the Disruptionists speak of themselves as if all the learning, talent, piety, eloquence, and zeal in Scotland were concentrated in their own persons; and all the ignorance, imbecility, worldliness, stupidity, laxity, and carelessness, not to mention worse accusations, characterized every one who remained within the pale of the Establishment. Its adherents are described as not Christians—as persons with whom no real Christian can associate or hold any intercourse; the so called "*Residuary*" Presbyterian Establishment is represented by Dr Chalmers and others as a *great moral nuisance* which must be *removed* that the kingdom of God, or what *they* call the kingdom of God, may be advanced—so *Erastianized* as to be utterly worthless, contemptible, and sinful. It is designated "*an antichristian Establishment*," a "*Synagogue of Satan*," a "*pernicious institution*," a "*Residuary Corporation*," whose adherents are "*guilty of the very sin of him who would hand over the Lord of the Church bound and fettered into the hands of his enemies*." In the opinion of the "*Presbyterian Review*" these Presbyterian Separatists "*cannot esteem those of the [Presbyterian] Establishment even [as] brethren, or have any communion or co-operation with them*;" and a newspaper, notorious in Edinburgh for its falsehoods, slanders, and scurilities, has repeatedly advised the people to view the parochical incumbents of the Establishment as the *only excommunicated men in the parishes*. The very same epithets bestowed by the Donald Cargills, the Richard Camerons, the Alexander Pedens, and the rest of the fanatical fraternity, on the Bishops and episcopal clergy after the Restoration are now profusely applied to the ministers of that very Presbyterian Establishment with which, previous to May 1843, the representatives of those Covenanting preachers were connected—and which is now the object of their malevolence, hatred, and avowed warfare. Such an ebullition of party malice and uncharitableness shows the great caution with which the statements of the Presbyterians, as to the conduct and acquirements of the Scottish Bishops and clergy before the Revolution, ought to be received; but such will probably be the occasional effervescence of a system which appears impossible to be improved.

CHAPTER VI.

CHANGES IN THE EPISCOPATE AND STATE OF THE KINGDOM.

IN February 1663, Dr Mitchell, Bishop of Aberdeen, died in that city in the eighth month only of his episcopate. This excellent and learned Prelate was interred in his cathedral church of St Machar in Old Aberdeen. He was succeeded in the See by Alexander Burnet, son of Mr John Burnet, a parochial incumbent, who was related to the ancient family of Burnet of Barns, in the parish of Mannor and county of Peebles. Bishop Keith states that Bishop Alexander Burnet was born in 1614, and that he acted as a sort of lay chaplain or preceptor in the family of the first Earl of Traquair—that after the Covenanting rebellion commenced he retired to England, where he took holy orders, and obtained a rectory in Kent, from which he was ejected for his loyalty in 1650. He went to the Continent, and attached himself to the service of the exiled King, to whom he rendered himself useful by the correspondence he maintained in England. At the Restoration he became chaplain to Lieutenant-General Andrew Rutherford, a Scottish officer in the French service, who was created Lord Rutherford in January 1661. That nobleman, who is stated to have been the cousin of Bishop Alexander Burnet's father, was soon afterwards appointed Governor of Dunkirk, at which his chaplain officiated as pastor of an Episcopal congregation. Lord Rutherford was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Teviot in 1663, and appointed Governor of Tangiers, where he was killed in May 1664, in a sally against the Moors, and, dying without issue, the titles became extinct. It appears that Bishop Alexander Burnet was only a few months in the See of Aberdeen, or “Alexander, Archbishop of Glasgow,” appears in the “Commission for plantation of kirks, and valuation of teinds,” appointed by the Parliament on the 11th of September 1663. Bishop Alexander Burnet

was consecrated at St Andrews by Archbishop Sharp—"some other Bishops," says Lamont, "being present at the time."

In the spring of this year Mr Gabriel Semple and Mr John Welsh, the former the expelled minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham, and the latter of Irongray, in Kirkeudbrightshire, began the practice of field-preaching, or holding conventicles, which soon spread over that part of the kingdom, and was the cause of much severity by their seditious conduct and principles to the parties concerned. Meanwhile the commemorations of the Church were not neglected in Edinburgh and elsewhere. In the month of February, as we are informed by Nicoll, a proclamation was issued for observing Lent; and Ascension Day, which fell that year on the 28th of May, was "kept in Edinburgh and many other parts of the kingdom."* The following day, the anniversary of the Restoration, was "universally kept and set apart as ane holyday unto the Lord, in all the churches of Scotland, and specially in Edinburgh, and in all the churches thereof, before noon." In the afternoon the most loyal rejoicings were manifested; the Cross was decorated with branches; the Magistrates proceeded thither, "drank merrily, broke their glasses, and threw them and their sweatmeats and comfits on the High Street;" and dancing, music, ringing of bells, and firing of artillery from the Castle, accompanied the amusement. "There was nothing lacking," says Nicoll, "to make this day honourable."

Before the meeting of the Parliament we find Archbishop Sharp proceeding to London to support the Earl of Middleton's interest, but finding that Nobleman in disgrace, he was induced to adhere to the Earl of Lauderdale, the decided enemy of the Church. The Earl of Rothes was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament, and produced his patent to the Privy Council at a meeting in Holyroodhouse on the 15th of June. On that occasion Archbishops Sharp and Fairfoull were appointed Privy Councillors, which Sir George Mackenzie says was not for any kindness which Lauderdale felt towards them, but "to let the Episcopal party see that though they had been informed he would ruin them with Middleton their protector, yet they had been led in error, and were to expect from him greater shares of favour if they complied with his interest. Rothes likewise had the chief hand in St

* Diary, 4to, 1836, p. 390, 391.

Andrews' promotion, for St Andrews' mother having been a Leslie, and Rothes being in one shire with him, thought it his interest thus to oblige him."*

The Parliament which had been prorogued from the 20th of May met on the 18th of June. The two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Dunblane, Caithness, Argyll, and Orkney, appear on the roll as present. It is stated by the Presbyterians that Bishop Leighton of Dunblane seldom attended the Parliaments but the records refute this assertion. On this occasion Dr Burnet, then Bishop of Aberdeen, preached the sermon. The Bishops elected as Lords of the Articles from the Peerage, the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Montrose, and the Earls of Erroll, Mar, Eglinton, Haddington, Callander, and Annandale, who in turn nominated an equal number of the Bishops—the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Brechin, Caithness, and The Isles. The Acts of this Parliament connected with the Church were comparatively few. On the 10th of July, the day on which the royal patent in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, creating him Duke of Buccleuch, was presented, an Act was sanctioned "against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority;" which was a repetition of the Acts of 1661 and 1662, ordering all ministers who continued to preach, without having obtained presentations and collations, to be punished as "seditious persons and contemners of the royal authority," and to be dispossessed of the parishes in which they persist in preaching in contempt of law. The people were enjoined to resort regularly to their own parish churches on Sundays, and all other meetings were declared to be "seditious, and of dangerous example and consequence." Violators of the Act were to be fined according to their rank after conviction. Each nobleman, gentleman, or proprietor, was to forfeit the fourth part of his annual rental; and each yeoman, tenant, or farmer, such a proportion of free moveables as the Privy Council should determine. Another Act allowed those ministers who officiated in the parish churches, and were duly qualified before and in 1662, one half of the stipend due for that year. But probably the most important Act was the one passed on the 21st of August for "the establishment and constitution of a National Synod." It

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 116, 117.

sets forth that his Majesty, by “virtue of his prerogative-royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical,” and for “the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof in unity and order,”—constituted and appointed a National Synod, of which the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of these two Provinces, the Deans, Archdeacons, the Moderators of the respective “Exercises” or Presbyteries sanctioned by Diocesan authority, and one presbyter or minister elected by the Moderator and majority of the incumbents of each of the said “Exercises” or Presbyteries, were to be members. Representatives were also to be sent from the Universities—one, or two if necessary, from St Andrews, one from Glasgow, one from King’s and one from Marischal Colleges in Aberdeen, and one from Edinburgh. The Archbishop of St Andrews was always to preside in the National Synod, which was to consult and determine “on such pious matters, causes, and things concerning the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Church,” as might from time to time be delivered by royal authority to the said Archbishop. The King was always to be represented in this National Synod by his Commissioner, without whose presence no meeting could be held, and no “act, canon, order, or ordinance” would be valid and binding on the Bishops, clergy, and other persons concerned, unless agreed and ratified by a majority of the National Synod, and in conformity to the laws of the kingdom.* Various Acts were passed granting sums to “scholars” out of the vacant stipends in Argyll and The Isles, the erecting of schools, and relief to “suffering ministers.” By an act on the 11th of October every Archbishop and Bishop were to pay annually, out of every 1000 merks of their revenues from 1664 to 1668, the sum of L.50 to the Universities, as an “exemplary testimony of their piety and zeal for the advancement of learning and religion;” and the parochial clergy were to pay L.40 out of every 1000 merks of their stipends, and so on in proportion, as the stipends were valued by the Bishops. A Committee was appointed to sit at Edinburgh, consisting of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and four others—one from each of the Universities, of which Committee the Archbishop of St Andrews, and in his absence the Archbishop of

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii, p. 449, 455, 456, 465.

Glasgow, was to be president. This was the last meeting of the first Parliament of Charles II., in which, on the 8th day of July, Johnston of Warriston was ordered to be executed at the Cross on the 22d, and the sentence was inflicted as already narrated.

The Parliament rose on the 9th of October, and Archbishop Sharp soon afterwards returned to St Andrews, as appears from the following notice in the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod :—“ St Andrews, 27th October 1663.—The Archbishop and Synod, hearing of the great profanation of the Sabbath by people travelling on the Lord’s Day, do appoint each minister in his several charge to look more narrowly to this, and especially the ministers in burghs deal with the Magistrates for restraining that sin.”* The other notices in the record of the Diocesan Synod of Fife at this period are meagre, chiefly local, and connected with cases of discipline.

Nicoll states that Bishop Sydserff, formerly of Galloway, and then of Orkney, died at his residence in Edinburgh on the 29th of September, and was buried on Sunday the 4th of October, five days before the Parliament rose. His body was deposited in the aisle of St Giles’ Church, and two funeral sermons were preached on the day of interment in that part of the edifice now known as the High Church—in the forenoon by Mr William Annand, and in the afternoon by Bishop Wishart, “ who,” says our diarist, “ described his birth and progeny, of what family he descended, his piety, learning, his travels abroad, his life and conversation, his sufferings for the gospel, and all others his gifts and graces.” Bishop Burnet speaks in the most favourable manner of Bishop Sydserff, who was a very eminent man. The following notice by Nicoll intimates that he was much respected :—“ His funeral was very honourably celebrated, and his corpse convoyed to the grave by all sorts of people, both of Nobles, Bishops, gentlemen, and commons.”† Bishop Sydserff, though he had been in the See of Orkney little more than one year, bequeathed 400 merks to the poor of the parish and burgh of Kirkwall.

Bishop Sydserff was succeeded in the See of Orkney by Andrew Honyman, first admitted assistant and successor to Samuel Cunningham, minister of Ferry-port-on-Crag, on the Fife side of the

* Printed for the Abbotsford Club, 4to. 1837, p. 182.

† Diary, 4to. 1836, p. 400.

Tay, near Dundee, from which he was removed to be second minister of St Andrews in 1642. He was episcopally ordained after the Restoration, appointed Archdeacon and first minister of St Andrews in 1662, and consecrated Bishop of Orkney on the 11th of April 1664. He was the author of two rare pamphlets entitled "Submission to Church Government," published at Edinburgh in 1662, and the "Survey of Naphtali," printed in 1668.* Wodrow records some of the common Presbyterian scurrility in circulation against Bishop Honyman. A certain Mr George Hutchison *told the person who told* Wodrow that "when Episcopacy was coming in about 1660, the Presbytery of St Andrews ordered him [Honyman] to draw up a Testimony against it, which he did, and it was approven by the Presbytery. Honyman brought it to Mr [Robert] Douglas and Mr Hutchison to revise, which they did, and admired it. That after Sharp came to St Andrews he was made Dean, but even then he was not thorough-paced, but was still checking and ruffling at the Bishops. When some told several of his reflections to Sharp, says he—'I know how to stop his mouth by a Bishopric.'" On the authority of a *fourth hand* we are told by the same Wodrow that at a meeting of ministers, attended by "Mr [Samuel] Rutherford, Mr Wood, Mr Honyman, Mr Donaldson, and others, they fell upon the debates about the Protests and Resolutions. Mr Wood said pretty much to defend the Resolutions ; Mr Rutherford spoke not a word ; Mr Honyman took up the discourse, and spoke in favour of them. Mr Rutherford fell on him with great warmth, and abused him pretty severely. When they came out, Mr Donaldson says to Mr Rutherford—'Sir, I thought you dealt not fairly just now. You let Mr Wood go without saying any thing ; but when Mr Honyman spoke, though he said less than Mr Wood, you fell on him like a falcon.'" The "flower of the Kirk" is made to answer—"I know Mr Wood to be an honest man, though he may be wrong

* The pamphlet entitled "Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland," is ascribed to Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Bart. and Mr James Stirling, Presbyterian minister at Paisley. The former was Lord Advocate after the Revolution. Bishop Honyman's reply is—"A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel entitled Naphtali" in Two Parts. It was answered, probably by the above persons, in "Jus Populi Vindicatum, or the People's Right to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion vindicated, being a Reply to the First Part of the Survey of Naphtali," 12mo. 1669.

in this matter, but Mr Honyman is a knave, and will prove so.”* Such gossip as this reflects no discredit on the character of Bishop Honyman.

Nicoll records that Dr Andrew Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glasgow, died at his residence in Edinburgh on the 2d of November, and yet, as already noticed, we find his successor Alexander Burnet mentioned as *Alexander Archbishop of Glasgow* in the proceedings of the Parliament in September. Our local diarist, however, so narrates the death of Archbishop Fairfoull that the error must be in the record of the Parliament. Probably Burnet is designated on the roll as *elected* to Glasgow. Archbishop Fairfoull’s body was carried to St Giles’ Church, where it lay till the 11th of November, when a sermon was preached at four in the afternoon by Mr John Hay, parson of Peebles and Archdean of Glasgow, in the High Church, from Eccles. xii. 5—“ Because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.” A large congregation assembled, and after the sermon the Archbishop’s body was removed from the front of the pulpit, and conveyed in a carriage to the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, where he was interred near the east end of the edifice. The funeral was conducted by torch light. The procession down the High Street and Canongate was preceded by four trumpeters, two heralds, and two pursuivants, all the Nobility then in Edinburgh, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and a number of gentlemen, “ some in coach, others on foot,” and “ what else could contribute to the honour of such a man’s funeral was not wanting :—numbers of coaches both before and after the corpse.” The Lord Chancellor followed with the purse and Great Seal carried before him, and Archbishop Sharp and other Bishops then in Edinburgh attended the funeral.

It is already stated that Bishop Burnet of Aberdeen was the successor of Archbishop Fairfoull in the See of Glasgow. The former was succeeded in Aberdeen by Patrick Scougall, son of Sir John Scougall of that Ilk, episcopally ordained to the parish of Dairsie by Archbiskip Spottiswoode in 1636, removed to Leuchars in 1645, and to Salton in Haddingtonshire in 1658. Bishop Scougall was consecrated on Easter 1664. He was the father of the celebrated Henry Scougall, Professor of Divinity in King’s

* *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. i. p. 37, 38; vol. ii. p. 118.

College, Old Aberdeen, the author of “The Life of God in the Soul of Man,” published by Bishop Burnet in 1691, and often reprinted as a work of eminent piety, written in an eloquent style without enthusiasm. The character of Bishop Scougall is ably delineated by Bishop Burnet as a pious and worthy man who was universally esteemed in his Diocese,* and portraits of him and his son are in Pinkerton’s “Iconographia Scotica, or Portraits of Illustrious Persons of Scotland.”† Nicoll thus notices the episcopal appointments under date February 1664 :—“Mr Burnet was admitted Archbishop of Glasgow in January; likewise Mr Scougall, Bishop of Aberdeen ; [and] Mr Honyman, Bishop of Orkney.

In February 1664, Archbishop Sharp returned from the Court with a grant of precedence before all the Nobility as Primate. The warrant for this very questionable advancement at the time, though it excited no great clamour, was dated at Whitehall, 16th January, and is a renewal of the order of precedence granted to Archbishop Spottiswoode by Charles I. in 1636. On the same day a High Commission was nominated under the Great Seal of Scotland, consisting of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, Argyll, and The Isles, the Lord Chancellor Glencairn, the Lord Treasurer Rothes, *the Duke of Hamilton*, the Marquis of Montrose, the *Earl of Argyll*, and nine other Earls and six Barons, the Lord President of the Court of Session, the Officers of State, Sir James Turner, and several gentlemen, the Provosts of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumfries, and the Dean of Edinburgh. It empowered any five of them, an Archbishop or Bishop being always one, to enforce the several Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council “for the peace and order of the Church, and in behalf of the government thereof by Archbishops and Bishops.” The Roman Catholics are specially denounced, and all are ordered to be punished as disaffected and seditious persons who resort to conventicles. Those “ministers who intrude themselves illegally into parish churches—all preachers who come from England or Ireland without testimonials or permission from the Bishops of the Dioceses ; all such persons who keep meetings and fasts, and the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, which are not approved by

* Preface to Life of Bishop Bedell, 12mo. London, 1685.

† London, 4to. 1797, vol. ii.

authority ; all who speak, write, or print, to the scandal, reproach, detriment of the State, or government of the Church or kingdom now established ; all who contemn, molest, or injure ministers who are orderly, and obedient to the laws ; all who do not ordinarily attend divine worship, administration of the Word and Sacrament performed in their respective churches by ministers legally authorized for taking the cure of these parishes, and in which those persons are inhabitants.” The commissioners were to censure or depose ministers, and punish by “ fining, committing, and incarcерating them and all other persons who shall be found transgressors as aforesaid.” The Commission was to continue till the 1st of November, or till it was dissolved by the King.

The Lord Chancellor Glencairn, the ninth Earl of that title, died on Whit Sunday. The disease which caused his death is said to have been occasioned by the alleged insult of the right of precedence before the Lord Chancellors and all Peers granted to Archbishop Sharp as Primate. The truth or falsehood of this is now of little moment. Glencairn died in the mansion of Belton in Haddingtonshire. His body was brought to Holyroodhouse, where it lay in state until the 28th of July, when the Earl was magnificently interred at the public expence in the south-east of St Giles’ Church at Edinburgh. Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow preached the funeral sermon, in which he extolled his Lordship’s piety, loyalty, temperate and virtuous conduct, and eminent abilities. We have seen that the Earl of Glencairn was one of the chief promoters of the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church, and he is consequently no favourite of the Presbyterians. He was undeniably a wise and prudent nobleman, who discharged the duties of his high office with firmness and moderation. It is said that a breach took place between him and Archbishop Sharp, who complained to the Court that he was dilatory in exacting obedience to the laws for conformity, and that unless more vigorous measures were adopted it would be impossible to preserve the Church. Something like this may have occurred, but really so many charges are brought against the Primate by his political and sectarian enemies, that it is difficult to believe any statement on such questionable and unscrupulous authority.*

* An excellent portrait of the Lord Chancellor Glencairn is in Pinkerton’s “ Scottish Gallery of Eminent Persons,” 4to. 1799, vol. ii. Plate 44.

At the death of Glencairn the Great Seal was delivered to Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow until a successor was appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor. Archbishop Sharp, who thoroughly understood the Earl of Lauderdale's designing and treacherous policy towards the Church, made a strong application in his own favour in opposition to that nobleman, who was also his personal enemy; and though unsuccessful himself, he obtained the appointment for the Earl of Rothes. The Primate and the Earl were summoned by the King in August to proceed to the Court. Rothes returned about the end of October, and arrived in Edinburgh invested with various offices of trust and dignity, in addition to the one which he held of Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament. It is stated that he was then also nominated Lord Chancellor, but this is erroneous. In the Convention of Estates which met at Edinburgh on the 2d of August 1665, when Archbishop Sharp and Bishop Wishart of Edinburgh were the only Prelates who attended, the Archbishop produced the royal warrant under the Great Seal constituting the Earl of Rothes Lord High Commissioner, and the King in his letter to the Convention nominated the Archbishop to preside. It is recorded that "the King's Majesty having by his letter aforesaid appointed the Archbishop of St Andrews, *in regard there is no Lord Chancellor*, President of this Convention, he accordingly accepted of the office."* Rothes was not Lord Chancellor till 1667.

Bishop George Hallyburton of Dunkeld, who had been long in a declining state of health, died at Perth on the 5th of April 1665.† Mr Scott candidly records in his Perth MS. Registers that "his life and conversation were irreproachable." He was succeeded in the See of Dunkeld by Henry Guthrie, already mentioned as minister of Stirling, who was deposed in 1648 by a committee of the Covenanting General Assembly for favouring the Engagement to rescue Charles I. He was reponed by the Synod of Perth and Stirling in July 1655, having, though episcopally ordained, conformed to the then Presbyterian system, and was admitted minister of Kilspindie, a parish near Perth partly in the Carse of Gowrie, in which he continued till his consecration. While at Kilspindie he wrote his "Memoirs, containing an

* Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 529.

† Perth MS. Registers, in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Impartial Relation of the Affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the year 1637 to the Death of King Charles I." the impartiality of which, however, is often questioned, and some parts of it bitterly assailed by Sir James Turner. This narrative, which forms a striking contrast to most of the other tediously written histories of that time, was published by Crawfurd in 1702. Bishop Henry Guthrie, as previously noticed, was the son of John Guthrie, minister of Cupar-Angus, and was educated at the University of St Andrews, where he distinguished himself by his progress in the Latin and Greek languages. His abilities, in connection with the great respectability of the family of Guthrie of that Ilk, of which he was a relative, attracted the notice of the Earl of Mar, with whom he resided some years as chaplain, and by whose interest he became minister of Stirling, to which he was episcopally inducted. With many others so situated he took the Covenant in 1638, but he was never considered zealous in the cause by its supporters. On the 3d of October 1641, he preached before Charles I. in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood at Edinburgh, and he delivered a speech in the Covenanting General Assembly of 1643, when an English deputation presented a letter from the Westminster Assembly and the Declaration of the English Parliament, in which they very charitably proposed to "extirpate Episcopacy root and branch." The Covenanters found it necessary to overawe him, and their treatment of him at Stirling is previously related. During his retirement at Kilspindie, Bishop Guthrie investigated the whole subject of church-government, and became convinced before he accepted the Diocese of Dunkeld that "a parity in the Church could not possibly be maintained so as to preserve unity and order among them, and that a superior authority must be brought in to settle them in unity and peace."

Although the acts and proclamations of the Privy Council and Commission were numerous for the regulation of the Church and conformity to its constitution and government, and had a very salutary effect in many parts of the kingdom, yet in several districts the Covenanting Presbyterian preachers maintained their influence with the peasantry. Numbers of them were prosecuted, especially in the Dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway. Some of those persons, who are still considered by their admirers as prodigious sufferers, forgetting what was inflicted on the Episcopal

clergy after 1638 by the Covenanters, conducted themselves in the most insolent and audacious manner. One of them, named Alexander Smith, who had been expelled from the parish of Colvend in Kirkcudbrightshire, was apprehended in Leith, and carried before the Commission Court, for preaching violent sermons to private audiences in that town and in Edinburgh. Archbishop Sharp and the Earl of Rothes were present. He chose to reply to some of the questions propounded to him in the contemptuous style of Covenanting malice and impertinence. When mentioning Archbishop Sharp's name, he so comported himself that Rothes asked him—" If he knew to whom he was speaking?" " Yes, my Lord," replied Smith, " I do, I speak to Mr James Sharp, once a fellow minister with myself." For similar disrespectful language he was sent to the *Thieves' Hole* in the Tolbooth, and his violent conduct caused him to be put in irons. Probably this was unnecessary severity, but we must recollect the state of the times, the exclusive and dangerous principles of the then Presbyterians, who were the declared enemies of toleration, and the great provocation which the Government continually received from those enthusiasts; nevertheless those men are continually represented as the best and most pious of mortals by the Presbyterians, while their opponents are delineated in the most odious manner, and all the Covenanting offal repeated against them. And yet, notwithstanding all these misrepresentations, we have their own Kirkton thus avowedly admitting in his peculiar way that the peasantry would have been peaceable if left to themselves. " Truly," he says, " at this time [1665] the curates' auditories were reasonably throng; the body of the people in most parts of Scotland, " waited upon their preachings; and if they would have been content with what they had, in the opinion of many they might have stood longer than they did; but their pride vowed they would be more glorious and better followed than the Presbyterians, and because respect would not do it, force would."* The latter part of this passage abounds with gross perversion of facts, and the undeniable narrative of the proceedings after the Revolution, when the Scottish Bishops refused to transfer their allegiance to William III. is a complete refutation of the very voracious Mr Kirkton's statements.

* Kirkton's Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, edited by C. K. Sharpe, Esq. 4to. p. 221.

On the 7th of December two proclamations were issued by the Privy Council, the one against preachers officiating in private houses, and against them that “ did lodge them,” says Nicoll, “ or reset them in their houses, or suffered their children to be baptized [by them].” The other enjoined those who persisted to officiate in the parish churches without Diocesan authority to remove—prohibiting two of them to reside in the same parish, or to come within three miles of any royal burgh, or within six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral church.*

During this year the celebrated Bishop Burnet was admitted into holy orders by Bishop Wishart of Edinburgh, and presented by the influence of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton to the parish of Salton in Haddingtonshire, which had been kept vacant for him during his absence on the Continent in 1664. He thus became the successor of Bishop Scougall, already noticed as promoted to the See of Aberdeen, and it appears that he was inducted on the 29th of January 1665. Burnet soon became popular in this parish, of which he continued incumbent till 1669, and the Presbyterians resorted to his ministry, though he was probably the only clergyman at the time in Scotland who used the English Liturgy in Divine Service. It is mentioned to his honour that he preached twice every Sunday and once during the week—that he catechized regularly thrice every week, by which he was enabled to examine all his parishioners thrice during the year—that he visited the sick twice every day—that he administered the Holy Communion four times in the year, personally instructing all who gave notice of their intention to communicate—and that he gave in charity that which remained of his income above the necessary expenses of his family. Some substantial memorials remain at Salton of Burnet’s incumbency. He bequeathed 20,000 merks for the education of thirty poor children and other purposes, the value of which sum is stated to be L.2000, the interest yielding the annual sum of L.80. The parochial schoolmaster derives L.6 annually; the teacher of another school in the village of West Salton founded and endowed by General Fletcher with a house and field, L.20; and the poor of the parish L.10, from Burnet’s bequest. Even the Established Presbyterian incumbent receives L.5 to purchase books for his manse library. The thirty children,

* Wodrow, vol. i. Appendix, p. 84, 85. Nicoll’s Diary, p. 442.

whose clothing costs about L.35, and L.26 allowed to the school-masters for their education, are locally designated *Bishops*, and the gallery in the parish church is known to the inhabitants as the *Bishop's loft*.* As Bishop Burnet died in 1715, twenty-five years after the establishment of Presbyterianism, he must have intended the children to be educated in that system.

While at Salton in 1665, Burnet prepared a memorial of the alleged abuses of the Scottish Bishops, which exposed him to their resentment. He accused them of acting inconsistently with their functions—of being “remiss”—some of them not residing in their Dioceses, and “those who did seemed to take no care of them.” He accused them of shewing “no zeal against vice”—that “the most eminently wicked in the country were their particular confidants”—that “they took no pains to keep their clergy strictly to rules and do their duty; on the contrary there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them that very much scandalized him.” Having resolved to be solely responsible for the consequences of those serious accusations, Burnet set to work without mentioning his project to any one. “I laid my foundation,” he states, “in the constitution of the Primitive Church, and shewed how they had departed from it by their neglecting their Dioceses, meddling so much in secular affairs, raising their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all, by their violent prosecuting of those who differed from them.” He sent copies of the accusations to those Bishops with whom he was personally acquainted, and states that Archbishop Sharp was alarmed, suspecting that he had been induced to draw up this memorial by some of the Earl of Lauderdale’s friends. His account of what followed is curious, considering the celebrity of the individuals concerned. “I was called before the Bishops, and treated with great severity. Sharp called it a libel. I said, I had set my name to it, so it could not be a libel. He charged me with the presumption of offering to teach my superiors. I said, such things had been not only done, but justified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King putting them on his Councils. I said, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his Councils, but with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counsel. Then he charged

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire, p. 112, 113, 125, 126.

me for reflecting on some severities, which, he said, was a reproaching public courts, and censuring the laws. I said, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed ; but I only complained of clergymen pressing the rigorous execution of them, and going beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence, and proposed to the Bishops that I should be summarily deprived and excommunicated ; but none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew public. What I ventured upon was variously censured, but the greater part approved of it. Lord Lauderdale and his friends were delighted with it ; and he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleased at it. Great pains were taken to make me ask pardon, but to no purpose. So Sharp let the thing fall."*

Such is Burnet's narrative, and the presumption of his conduct is at once evident when we have his own declaration that he was then only twenty-three years of age. He admits that he was "variously censured," though the "greater part approved," which was to be expected, because the said "greater part" comprehended the Presbyterians and the political enemies of the Church, who were certain to "approve" any charge against the Bishops. It is impossible to ascertain the extent of the truth or falsehood of those accusations, and when we recollect Burnet's notorious partisanship, and his unscrupulous representations of the characters, lives, and acquirements of those whom he disliked, his reflections on the Bishops of his native Church may be received as mere matters of opinion. But his gross exaggerations will be more apparent by a very brief examination of his statements. He asserts that some of the Bishops did not reside within their Dioceses, but he does not specify the number. Now, with the exception of Bishop Fletcher of Argyll, who continued minister of Melrose, all the other Bishops resided constantly in their Dioceses, and were only absent when attending Parliament or the public business connected with the Church. Burnet was not the personification of the whole of Scotland, and it was impossible for him to know practically the mode in which the resident Bishops "took care" of their Dioceses. His assertions that they "shewed no zeal against vice," and that the "most evidently wicked in the country were their particular confidants," are of no more importance than

* Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i. p. 216.

they are really worth. As to their “ raising their families out of the revenues of the Church,” this is such a false and outrageous accusation that it deserves to be received with contempt, and is one of the many proofs that Burnet’s opponents were not far wrong in accusing him of enormous lying. Where were those revenues? The two Archbishops were limited enough in income. Bishop Fletcher at first refused the See of Argyll, as Baillie admits, because there was no income; Kirkton asserts that Dunblane was the “poorest” of all the Bishoprics; and those of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Brechin, Galloway, The Isles, Ross, and Moray, are admitted by Presbyterian writers to have been completely dilapidated upwards of sixty years before the Restoration of Charles II. As to the charge against the Bishops of “violent prosecuting of those who differed from them,” it is undeniable that the prosecution, whether “violent” or otherwise, was carried on by the Government and not by the Church; and if the Bishops advised stringent and harsh measures, allowances must be made for the infirmities of human nature, the provocations and insults they received, the infamous lies and scandals circulated against them, and the equally “violent” conduct of the Presbyterian preachers, whose intolerant principles are too well known—men who would have extirpated by the sword, and without mercy, every person in Scotland who differed from themselves. But let the reader contrast the above misrepresentation of this very Bishop Burnet with his testimony in another work respecting the Scottish Bishops, and the falsehood of one or other of his statements is at once apparent. “I shall not,” he says, “add much of the Bishops that have been in that Church [of Scotland] since the last re-establishment of the order [in 1661], but that I have observed, *among the few of them I had the honour to be known particularly, as great and as exemplary things as ever I met with in all ecclesiastical history.* Not only the practice of the strictest of all the ancient Canons, but a pitch of virtue and piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most angelical rank of men; and saw things in them that would look like fair ideas than what men clothed with flesh and blood could grow up to. But of this I will say no more, since those that are concerned are yet alive, and their character is too singular not to make them to be easily known, if I enlarged upon it, as if I named them.” After pro-

nouncing a high eulogium on Bishop Scougall of Aberdeen, whom he justly delineates as one of the most pious, dignified, and upright men of his time, Burnet concludes—" And now I have done with this digression, which not being at all foreign to my design of raising the credit due to that venerable Order, I shall make no apology for it."* Thus wrote Bishop Burnet in 1684, for his Life of Bishop Bedell was not published till 1685, and by contrasting the above recorded statements with his accusations against the Scottish Bishops in 1665, when he was only *twenty-three years of age*, the reader will easily estimate the value of the renowned Bishop of Salisbury's opinions. Another instance of Burnet's unscrupulous conduct to serve his particular purposes is worthy of notice. In 1672 he published his " Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland," which was thought such a public service that he was offered a Bishopric. It is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the Crown and the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Scotland against George Buchanan's political admirers and the whole fraternity of the Presbyterians, and was dedicated to the Earl [then Duke] of Lauderdale. When afterwards censured for representing the character of Lauderdale in a very different manner from what he had done in his Dedication, he replied that " the book was wrote when the Duke was the King's Commissioner in Scotland, and dedicated to him at his own request ; and that if what had happened a year and a half after that had given him other thoughts of that minister of State, it was no proof that he wrote disingenuously at that time."†

On the 8th of February 1666 the Privy Council issued a proclamation, founded on two acts of Parliament in the reign of James VI., for punishing the writers, printers, and venders of scandalous and seditious libels, condemning a pamphlet entitled " An Apologetical Narration of the Suffering Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland since August 1661." This is said to have been the production of John Brown, the expelled preacher from the parish of Wamphray in Dumfriesshire, already mentioned as one of the four who were banished for nonconformity. It was ordered to be burnt by the common executioner on the High Street of

* Preface to Life of Bishop Bedell.

† Cited in the " Biographia Britannica," folio, vol. ii. p. 1035.

Edinburgh near the Cross on the 14th of February. Those persons south of the Tay who had copies of it in their possession were enjoined to transmit to the sheriffs or their deputes of the respective counties before the last day of February, and those north of the Tay before the 21st of March, under the penalty of L.2000 Scots, to be exacted "without any favour or defalcation."

Few incidents of importance occur in the history of the Church during the spring of 1666. In the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Fife is the following notice under date 25th April. At St Andrews—"It was resolved if any person be inclined to Popery or Quakerism, to be reported to the Archbishop. Moderators are to take notice of the uniformity of ministers in their practice of causing the Creed to be recited at baptisms, and of singing the Doxology, and of making use of the Lord's Prayer in public." This allusion to Quakerism deserves a brief notice. The principles of that extraordinary sect of religionists had been introduced into the South of Scotland about 1653, and we find, among others, an ancestor of Sir Walter Scott becoming a Quaker. It was not, however, till 1662 that the tenets of the Quakers were first publicly professed, and they had travelled as far north as the episcopal town of Aberdeen. Three of the citizens became converts, and the Magistrates considered this innovation too serious to remain unnoticed. Those persons were summoned before the civic authorities, who ordered them to be banished from the town, and prohibited the inhabitants to admit them into their houses under severe penalties. In 1663 and 1664 a few of them were imprisoned in the common jail. One convert to Quakerism, named Alexander Jaffray, otherwise a very respectable citizen, was summoned by Bishop Scougall, and through him by Archbishop Sharp, at the instance of Mr. George Meldrum and Mr John Menzies, the clergymen of the town, before the High Court of Commission. If we are to credit *Friend* John Barclay, the "Archbishop himself, who condescended to confer with Alexander Jaffray, could get no advantage in argument against him; nevertheless, to satisfy these ministers, the sentence of the Court was that he should be confined to his own dwelling-house, and keep no meetings therein, nor go any where without the Bishop's licence, under the penalty of a fine of 600 merks Scots money, which is L.33, 15s. sterling." Another of them named Urquhart was excommunicated

this year by Mr William Forbes, whose “own daughter, Jane Forbes,” says *Friend* John Barclay, “was convinced of the truth(!) and joined the people called Quakers.”* Those religionists had miraculous interpositions in their favour as well as the Presbyterian preachers, who mortally hated them. The young lady’s father was ordered to pronounce excommunication against her, which he was resolved to perform, in the hope that it would reclaim her from any connection with the sect, and “had uttered some kind of prayers previous thereto when he was suddenly struck by death at the very time he had purposed to deliver that sentence.” This veracious Quaker tradition would have been an excellent story for Mr Robert Wodrow. We are told that in the “ninth month 1666, George Meldrum, accounted one of the chief ministers of Aberdeen, preached a whole sermon expressly against the people called Quakers,” and ecclesiastical proceedings were soon afterwards commenced against *Friend* Alexander Jaffray. Bishop Scougall conferred with the Quaker, in presence of his brother and his son, and some controversy subsequently ensued between Jaffray and Mr Meldrum. The sentiments of the Presbyterians respecting Quakerism may be inferred from one of their historians:—“This great man [Meldrum] was remarkably useful, with his colleague Mr Menzies in Aberdeen, against the Quakers and Jesuits;” and “on the 2d of June 1663, they made a very good act against the Quakers; but the Bishops gave the Council so much to do against the Presbyterian nonconformists, that these people were suffered to rest in quiet, for they mightily increased during this reign.”†

On the 30th of January 1666 the Earl of Lauderdale wrote to Archbishop Sharp, promising that no one should be raised to the episcopate in future without his approval. The purport of this arrangement is not very clear. Bishop Paterson of Ross also wrote to the Primate, complaining of the impolicy of exiling the “westland gentlemen,” as he designates the Covenanting leaders, in the northern Dioceses, because they had in several instances “alienated the hearts of many who were of another principle before,” and he “begs these gentlemen may be recalled, that they

* Diary of Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, with Particulars of his Subsequent Life, in connection with the rise of the People called Quakers in the North of Scotland; by John Barclay, 8vo. London, 1833, p. 241, 242.

† History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, by William Crookshank, 8vo. London, 1749, vol. i. p. 150, 159.

spread not their infection any more." Yet the leniency of the Government at this period is admitted by Wodrow, who says—"In the beginning of this year Presbyterian ministers had some connivance, and were permitted to live in their hired houses when turned out of their livings. The call of the importunate multitude was not so great as afterwards, and generally they only preached to their own families and a few neighbours who now and then stole into their houses. Field preachings, unless it were in some places in the South, where the people would not hear the curates, were but very rare. The meetings of the episcopal ministers in cities and towns, except where they were openly profane and vicious, were as much frequented as they could well expect."^{*} This usual allegation of profanity and vice against the episcopal clergy evinces the despicable malignity of feeling which pervaded such men as Wodrow, who, not content with attacking the *principles* or *opinions* of their opponents, defamed their private lives and moral characters. But were the Presbyterians themselves immaculate? Let this very Wodrow answer. "I hear," he says, "of several [Presbyterian] ministers, *since the Revolution*, that have been guilty of terrible sins." The crimes of the persons whom he mentions by name are too infamous to be here stated, and he adds—"What need of the deepest humiliation for these things!"[†]

Nicoll mentions that a meeting of the Bishops was held in the beginning of May this year, probably at Edinburgh, after which, on the 4th, Archbishop Sharp went to London. The object of this meeting, or of the Primate's journey, is no where stated. It is probable that the ravages of the great "Plague" in London induced him to return without proceeding thither, for we are told that on the 30th of May "there went a proclamation through Edinburgh, discharging all trade and traffic with England, by reason of the pest now increasing."

* Wodrow's History, folio, vol. i. p. 236, 237.

† Wodrow's Analecta, 4to, 1842, vol. 1. p. 269, 270.

CHAPTER VII.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE CHURCH AND PLOTS OF ITS ENEMIES.

To investigate the Presbyterian martyrologies, from the two ponderous folio volumes of Wodrow, and the rabid edition of that work by Dr Burns of Paisley, to the "*Cloud of Witnesses*" and "*Scots Worthies*,"* would be not worth the time required for such a task. Neither is it necessary to allude to the misrepresentations and scurrilities in which the more recent admirers of the Covenanters in Charles II's reign delight to indulge against the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and especially its clergy, or, in their language, *curates*. Those persons are for the most part men of narrow minds, educated in all the prejudices of the Presbyterian sects to which they belong, bitter in their hatred of the Church generally, and of the Church of England in particular, while their fulminations, when they mention the Scottish Episcopal Church of the past or the present time, prove that many of them would willingly act the grand drama of 1638 if they had the power. It must attract the notice of every inquirer into the history of that period, that for years after the Restoration the Presbyterians had scarcely a man of rank and influence among them. Even Lord Lorn, the son of the Covenanting Marquis of Argyll, who was restored to his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll under the Great Seal in October 1663, and on the same day obtained a grant of the Earldom, was one of the noblemen specified in the warrant for the High Commission in 1664 to assist with the Archbishops, Bishops, and others, in putting down conventicles. He also raised 2000 men to suppress the insurrection which broke out at the end of that year.

The great misfortune of Scotland during the seventeenth century was the want of an educated *middle class* of society, to whose

* The "*Cloud of Witnesses*" and "*Scots Worthies*" are the titles of two well known volumes popular among the Scottish Presbyterian peasantry.

calm and unbiassed judgment the controversies which then agitated the community could be submitted. The great mass of the people were chiefly of two classes—masters and vassals, the latter generally guided by the opinions of their superiors. In the Highland counties the Chiefs for nearly a century afterwards ruled their Clans in the most despotic manner, having hereditary jurisdiction of *pit and gallows*, or power of life and death, which they exercised towards criminals in the most capricious and summary manner. To such serfs the word of the Chief was law, his wishes were theirs, and they were ready to embark in any enterprize at his command, without troubling themselves as to the justice or expediency of the cause. In many parts of the Lowlands matters were little better. Even in Haddingtonshire previous to 1775 the great proportion of the people, who were then colliers and salters, were in the condition of slavery. They were literally sold with the property to new purchasers ; and the consequence was that in this state of bondage their morals were vitiated, their prejudices perpetuated, and their education completely neglected. The inhabitants of the towns had a very limited intercourse with each other, and in many cases were animated by fierce resentments occasioned by former jealousies, quarrels, and rivalries. The trade and commerce of the kingdom were insignificant ; agriculture was in a wretched state ; the roads were everywhere deplorable ; no newspapers or periodicals ; no post-office facilities for correspondence ; and no public conveyances. All this was the bane of the population, which caused many miseries and severities to be inflicted on offenders, for which their obstinacy gave too much provocation. Having no public sources of information, they were easily misled and excited by enthusiasts, and they pertinaciously adhered to the principles which they imbibed from such channels.

Never was there a more monstrous perversion of truth than to ascribe the sufferings of the Covenanters as inflicted at the instance of or occasioned by the Episcopal Church. If the Covenanters were persecuted, it was for rebellion against the Government, and whatever opinions may be formed of that Government it was the only lawful one of the time. It is indeed sickening to peruse the details of the torments and executions of the field-preachers and other unfortunate persons at that period ; and the wild heroism or enthusiasm, even in their case, cannot fail to excite in the

abstract a degree of admiration which induced some of them to exclaim under the gibbet—" Farewell, sun, moon, and stars ; farewell, world and time ; farewell, weak frail body ; welcome eternity ; welcome angels and saints ; welcome Saviour of the world ; and welcome God the Judge of all."* We can only deplore that so many of them sacrificed their lives in a cause for which even the Revolution procured no advantage—a cause utterly incompatible with toleration, impartial government, or civil and religious freedom. The following remarks on the conduct of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II. by a Presbyterian are judicious and pointed—" But when it is considered that all that was attempted by the Government was to establish Episcopacy in Scotland 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.—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 although 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 thrown away their own lives, murdered others, risen up in open rebellion against the Government, and endured 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 origin of the insurrection against the Government towards the end of 1666 is never fairly stated by the Presbyterian writers. It was not so much on account of the opposition of the mass of the peasantry to the Church, as the result of the fines authorized by the Parliament to be levied from all who were disaffected, or who contravened the acts of Parliament and Privy Council by forsaking their parish churches, or who were supposed to resort to

* The above were the dying words of the young field-preacher named Hugh Mackail, taken prisoner in the skirmish at Pentland, and executed for his concern in that insurrection.

† History of the Rencontre at Drumclog and Battle at Bothwell Bridge in 1679, by William Aiton, Esq. Sheriff-Substitute, Hamilton, 8vo. 1821, p. 27, 28.

field-preachings or conventicles. Such compulsory measures would now be justly reprobated by all classes, but in that age they were considered necessary to preserve order and secure obedience to the Government. The names of *Whig* and *Tory* had then been introduced as epithets of bitter reproach ; the former, as is well known, being the soubriquet applied to the Presbyterian conventiclers—what was called *Whig* indicating *milk turned sour* ; and the latter appellation said to be derived from Irish banditti, whose usual phrase, when ordering people to stand and deliver, was their vernacular word *toree*, or *give me*. Sir James Turner, who was a kind of literary soldier of fortune, described by his enemies as a man of a “furious temper, and dissolute life,” but which, from his own “Memoirs” seems to be a very unwarrantable assertion,* was sent into the Diocese of Galloway at the head of a military force, who were quartered on the suspected delinquents, and exacted the fines authorized by the Parliament.

The Presbyterians accuse Sir James Turner of compelling payment of the fines in the most arbitrary manner, without proof or legal conviction, and of perambulating the district, and receiving lists from the clergy of those who refused to resort to the parish churches. His own statement is probably the most accurate, especially as he was evidently a man who would have scorned to distort the truth. He says—“In the month of March 1665, I was the second time commanded to that Stewartry [Kirkeudbright] with a party, consisting of 120 foot and 30 horse, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution, the people having been extremely outrageous to their ministers and disobedient to discipline. I stayed about two months in that country, and reduced it to an indifferent good order, by cessing on some, and by both cessing and fining many, and by fair means prevailed with many, so that the ministers thought if I had been permitted to have stayed longer they might have had comfort in their charges by a tolerable compliance of their parishioners. Some money I exacted sparingly from those of whose obedience I had hopes, but from such as the ministers and I judged obstinate I took some money, and bonds for all they were found to be duly owing, as twenty shillings Scots [1s. 8d.] for every Lord’s day they had absented themselves

* The “Memoirs of his own Life and Times, by Sir James Turner, from 1632 to 1670,” from the original MS. 4to. Edinburgh, 1829, are worthy of perusal.

from their parish churches.—I assured the persons who gave the bonds, that upon testificates from their several ministers of their frequenting the church and dishaunting conventicles, it was probable their bonds would be returned to them for little or no money at all ; and this I thought fit to shew them at parting.” Sir James Turner was again sent by the Government to Kirkeudbrightshire in 1666, at the instance of Archbishops Sharp and Burnet, to whom the clergy had complained of the violence of the people. He commanded 120 foot ; and 30 horse were ordered to follow him for “ bringing in the parliamentary fines as they were called.”—“ I was sufficiently empowered,” he says, “ with orders and instructions from my Lord Commissioner [Rothes] for cessing, quartering on, and fining persons disobedient to church ordinances, neither had at all any order to cite or process formally the contemners and disfrequenteres of churches, and those who married and baptizeth with outed ministers, for they knew less than I which of their parishioners frequented conventicles. They might, indeed, miss them out of their churches, but could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquiry after such, and to bestow liberally upon intelligence, both to find them out and the fugitive ministers whom I had order to apprehend, and to find out such who harboured them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this means I was more able to inform the Bishop and ministers of these disorderly meetings, and who were at them, than they could inform me.”*

Sir James Turner mentions the declaration of a preacher to himself, that “ nothing would satisfy his party but the downfall of Episcopacy and the restoration of Presbyterian government.” Acting on these principles, and enraged at the levying of the fines, a rebellion broke out in Dumfries in the beginning of November 1666, and having surprized Turner in that town they resolved to murder him, but finding that his orders were more stringent than his enforcement of them they spared his life, though they detained him a prisoner. He gives a most amusing account of his intercourse with their leaders while in their custody. He was told that it would be “ just both with God and man to put him to death on a Sabbath-day, in regard, said they, he had forced many precious Christians to transgress the Sabbath by hindering them to hear

* Sir James Turner’s Memoirs, p. 140, 141, 142, 143.

their lawful pastors in hills and woods, and forced them to go to church to hear dumb dogs, for so they qualified conform ministers." One of their preachers named Welsh edified him with a "tedious discourse of the Covenant, which, as he [Welsh] said, had made Scotland glorious in the eyes of the nations." On another occasion two of them visited him, and he called for some ale purposely to hear them ask a blessing. "It fell to Mr Robinson to seek the blessing, who said one of the most bombastic graces that ever I heard in my life. He summoned Almighty God very imperiously to be their secondary, for that was his language: 'And if,' said he, 'Thou wilt not be our secondary, we will not fight for Thee at all, for it is not our cause but Thy cause, and if Thou wilt not fight for our cause and Thy own cause, we are not obliged to fight for it.'— This grace did more fully satisfy me of the folly and injustice of their cause than the ale did quench my thirst." On the following day—"Mr Gabriel Semple did himself enter in a discourse with me of Episcopacy, Presbytery, and the Covenant. I was very free with him, declaring my mind concerning all the three. Then he inquired of me whether I thought vice and sin were not more punished in the time of Presbytery than they were now in the time of Episcopacy. I answered that though I should grant that to be true, yet it would militate only against the Bishops' persons, and not at all against their functions; but that he might see I would not grant him that either, I told him I never saw either public or private sin more abound than in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by many. He pursued that discourse no farther, but told me I was in disgrace with the King, deserted by the Bishops, and threatened with death by the General; and that I might easily rid myself of all these difficulties by signing the Covenant."

The insurgents renewed the Solemn League and Covenant at Lanark, and published a manifesto, in which they pretended submission to the King on the condition that Presbyterianism was to be established and their preachers restored to the parishes. They mustered 2000 strong, commanded by a military leader designated Colonel Wallace. On this occasion Sir James Turner narrowly escaped instant death by only one vote. "Let now all people of impartial judgment determine," he says, "whether this army of pretended saints spent this Lord's day as Christians ought to do;

and those who make Sabbath-breaking a crying sin, how will they excuse this crew of rebellious hypocrites, who begun that day's work in the morning with stealing a silver spoon and a night-gown at Douglas, and spent the rest of the day most of them in exercising in a military way, and the rest in plundering houses and horses, and did not bestow one hour or minute of it in the Lord's service, either in prayers, praises, or preaching : but they made a good amends at night for omitting the duties of the day by passing one act for renewing the Covenant, and another for murdering me whenever they should think fit."

The insurgents now advanced towards Edinburgh, though reduced by desertion to little more than 1000 men. Thomas Dalyell of Binns in Linlithgowshire, who had entered the Russian service as a lieutenant-general and was elevated to the rank of general, took the field against them. It is related of this eminent cavalier officer, who fifteen years afterwards raised the celebrated and distinguished regiment the *Scots Greys*, who were intended to keep the unruly Covenanters under restraint, that to testify his grief for the murder of Charles I., to whom he was devotedly attached, he always afterwards allowed his beard to grow. By a bold march from Edinburgh across the Pentland Hills, about six miles from the city, he intercepted the Covenanting force endeavouring to return to the western counties on the evening of the 28th of November. A conflict ensued on the locality known as Rullion Green in Glencorse parish—a rising ground a short distance to the south of Turnhouse Hill, the south-east elevation of the Pentland range. The insurgents received the first charge with firmness, but this was only momentary, for they soon fell into confusion and fled. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty were taken prisoners, several of whom were preachers. A stone, called the *Martyrs' Tomb* by the admirers of the Covenanters, is erected on the field to the memory of those who fell.

The prisoners were brought to Edinburgh, and many of them were executed, some having been inhumanly tortured by order of the Privy Council. This was the usual vengeance inflicted on captive insurgents, and if an undue severity was then exercised the Presbyterians ought to recollect that they never manifested any sympathy for the fate of the numerous persons, some of them of the first rank in Scotland and England, who perished for their connection

with the Enterprizes of 1715 and 1745. Ten of the Rullion Green rebels were hanged in Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own houses in different parts of the country, but it is to be observed that all of them could have saved their lives on condition of renouncing the Covenant, with which they obstinately refused to comply.* Archbishop Sharp is accused of purposely concealing a letter from the King to the Privy Council procured by Archbishop Burnet, ordering such of the prisoners as simply promised to obey the laws to be set at liberty, and the obstinate or incorrigible sent to the plantations ; and that by this criminal delay the young preacher Hugh Mackail, who would otherwise have escaped, was tortured by the instrument called the iron boot. It is impossible to ascertain whether this charge against the Primate is true, though if it were it is a matter which personally concerns himself, and the Episcopal Church was not and could not be responsible for his individual acts. One fact is now ascertained, that during the trial and execution of the insurgents Archbishop Sharp was not in Edinburgh during the greater part of the month at all, and took no part in the judicial proceedings against them. He was at his own residence in St Andrews ; and a certain Matthew Mackail, described as an apothecary, the cousin of the preacher Mackail, actually proceeded to St Andrews to solicit his interference on behalf of his relative.

On the 2d of January 1667, the King wrote a short letter to Archbishop Sharp, thanking him for his services in suppressing the insurrection ; and on the 4th of May the Privy Council received a letter from the King enjoining due respect to be shewn to the clergy. During this year the Primate seems to have been occupied with the internal affairs of his Diocese. In the minutes of the Synod of Fife is this note, under date 1st October.—“ The Lord Archbishop and Synod appoint that the Commu-

* Nicoll thus records the execution of the insurgent prisoners—“ Upon the 7th day of December, [General Dalzell] presented them to the Privy Council, who caused execute, headed and quartered, ten of these persons at the Market Cross of Edinburgh ; item, upon the 14th day of December, there were also execute at the Market Cross of Edinburgh four of these compliers with the rebels. Upon the 26th of December there were six men hanged at Edinburgh Cross, commonly called the *Whigs*, whereof Mr Hugh Mackail, expectant minister was one, and Humphry Colquhoun, merchant in Glasgow, was another, with other four, who all of them pretended they died for *God and the Covenant*. Upon the 19th of December there were four men hanged at Glasgow, who were commonly called the *Whigs*.” Diary, p. 452, 453.

nion be given in each church at least once in the year at a convenient time about the end of March or in April, and this to be marked in the Presbytery book." It is said that in the beginning of 1667 the Primate was ordered by Rothes at the command of the King to remain within his Diocese, superintend the education of George fourth Marquis of Huntly and first Duke of Gordon, whose family were then Roman Catholics, and resort no more to Edinburgh. The object of this prohibition is not stated, and it is probably not true, for we find the Archbishop writing to Rothes from London that year, severely reproofing him for his immoral life; and his letters to that nobleman, it is well observed, "do him much credit as a candid friend and sage adviser." The Archbishop says that he had been two days much at Lambeth, and in a conversation at Worcester House he found since Rothes left London, that attempts had been made to do himself "ill offices," and injury to the Earl. He thus honestly tells Rothes the accounts of his habits which were circulated in London—"That you are unfit to prosecute the King's service, not at all concerning yourself in it, being dissolute, lascivious, and wholly given up to follow your pleasures; caring for none, and being intimate with none, but such kind of persons who are without brains or morality, whom you keep always about you for drinking, carding, dicing, and [worse], so as your family and way give the example to all looseness throughout the country."* Before the end of the year he again took his place in the Privy Council, and it is admitted that he acted with great moderation. His alleged severity to the Covenanters may have resulted from a knowledge of their plots against his life, of which he had soon an undoubted instance.

On the 11th of July 1668, while quietly sitting in his coach in the High Street of Edinburgh, opposite the alley known as the Blackfriars' Wynd, waiting for Bishop Honyman of Orkney, a field-preacher named James Mitchell attempted to assassinate the Archbishop by shooting at him. This Mitchell appears to have been the same person with whom Sir James Turner came into contact while he was the prisoner of the Covenanters at Douglas in Lanarkshire. "I was accosted," he says, "by one Mitchell, whom I had never seen before, a preacher, but no actual minister, who spared not to rail sufficiently against all autho-

* Kirkton's History, edited by C. K. Sharpe, Esq. *note*, p. 261, 262.

rity both supreme and subaltern." Wodrow describes Mitchell as a "preacher of the gospel, and a youth of much *zeal* and *piety* (!), but perhaps had not those opportunities for learning and conversation which would have been useful to him. I find Mr Traill, [Presbyterian] minister at Edinburgh in the year 1661, recommending him to some ministers in Galloway as a good youth that had not much to subsist upon, and as fit for a school or teaching gentlemen's children. He was at Pentland, and is excepted from the indemnity." It appears that this wretched person had been rejected by the Covenanting Presbytery of Dalkeith for ignorance, but he afterwards obtained a situation in the family of a country gentleman, from which he was dismissed for licentious intercourse with the wife of the gardener. He resorted to Edinburgh, became intimate with the infamous Major Weir, a Covenanting hypocrite notorious in the local annals of the city, afterwards executed for the most disgusting crimes, and was by that worthy recommended to the niece of Johnston of Warriston, a noted fanatical lady. Mitchell frequented field-preachings, was zealous for the Covenant, and joined the insurrection which was extinguished by General Dalyell at Rullion Green near the Pentland Hills. He contrived to escape, and was denounced as a traitor. Such was the "youth of much *zeal* and *piety*" eulogized by Wodrow and the other writers of his party.

Archbishop Sharp on this occasion had been visiting his brother afterwards Sir William Sharp, whose residence was opposite the Blackfriars' Wynd, and he had seated himself in his coach distributing charity to the poor. Bishop Honeyman was in the act of stepping into the coach beside the Primate, when Mitchell, who was disguised by an old wig, came forward and discharged a loaded pistol. The shot designed for the Archbishop was received by Bishop Honeyman in his left arm above the wrist, and he was so seriously wounded that, though he lived a few years afterwards, his physicians were obliged to open it every year for what Bishop Burnet calls an "exfoliation." As this atrocious attempt at murder was perpetrated on the afternoon of a summer day, and on the principal street of the city, great excitement prevailed. According to Wodrow's gossip—"the cryarose, A man was killed; and some rogues answered it was but a Bishop, and all was calmed very soon. The two Bishops made all the haste they could to the house where

they had been." Burnet asserts that the Primate was "so universally hated that, though this was done in full day-light, and on the High Street, nobody offered to seize the assassin." This, however, is not the fact. Wodrow narrates that Mitchell walked towards a neighbouring alley called Niddry's Wynd after firing the pistol, where a man offered to stop him, but the assassin presented another pistol, and the person was afraid to seize him. He proceeded down the alley into the Cowgate, and entered another of the numerous steep lanes which lead thence to the High Street. He went to the house of one Fergusson, an ejected preacher, assumed a different dress, and then very deliberately returned to the street, where, indeed, he was less likely to be suspected, and hypocritically affected the greatest anxiety to discover the assassin who had, as was rumoured, killed the Primate in his coach.

The Archbishop was greatly affected by this atrocious attempt on his life. Bishop Burnet tells us that he subsequently waited on him to congratulate him on his escape, and that the Primate was "much touched," and "put on a show of devotion." He said with a very serious look—"My times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life." Burnet adds—"This was the single expression savouring of piety that ever fell from him in all the conversation that passed between him and me;" but it will be readily conceded, especially after Burnet's abuse of his ecclesiastical superiors in 1665, when he was only twenty-three years of age, that his intercourse with the Archbishop was very limited and superficial. Moreover, the Primate had no connection with Burnet, whose parish of Salton is in the Diocese of Edinburgh, and still less with the College of Glasgow, to which Burnet was removed as Professor of Divinity in the following year.

Though Mitchell escaped at this time the due punishment which his infamous attempt deserved, Archbishop Sharp had viewed him so carefully after he fired the pistol, that he was able to recognize him some years afterwards in an extraordinary manner when meditating a similar atrocity. Meanwhile he concealed himself in the garden of Sir Archibald Primerose, then Clerk Register, during that night, and on the following morning he thought it prudent to leave the town with a certain Major Learmonth and two other heroes of the battle of Rullion Green; and escaping to Holland, he was not seen in Scotland till 1673. During that interval he is

said to have rambled through Holland, England, and Ireland, and his attempt to assassinate the Archbishop was so much extolled by the Covenanters, that when he returned his fanaticism and vanity induced him to hazard it again, but the result, as will be seen, was very different.

As soon as Mitchell's outrage was intimated to the Privy Council they assembled, and offered a reward for his apprehension. They also sent an account of it to the King, in which their official narrative is—that “ Saturday last in the evening, as the Archbishop of St Andrews and Bishop of Orkney were going abroad, the Archbishop being in his coach, and the other stepping up, a wicked fellow standing behind the coach did shoot the Bishop of Orkney beneath his right hand, and broke his left arm a little above the wrist with five balls, and immediately crossing the street went down a lane and escaped.” The indecent exultations of the Presbyterian writers at the accident which befell the Bishop of Orkney is too infamous to be omitted. Wodrow, in recording the attempt of his “ youth [Mitchell] of much *zeal* and *piety*,” records that “ people could not help observing the righteousness of Providence in disabling Bishop Honyman;” and another of the malevolent fraternity states that “ God, as it were, beat the pen out of his hand by a bullet that lighted on his arm and wrist.” This alludes to Bishop Honyman's pamphlet entitled the “ Survey of Naphtali.” On the 18th of July the Earl of Lauderdale wrote to Archbishop Sharp, congratulating him on his escape from assassination, and condoling with the Bishop of Orkney for his severe wound. It is unnecessary to inquire into the *sincerity* of this epistle.

During this year Bishop Leighton of Dunblane is said to have brought forward an “ Accommodation,” or “ Comprehension Scheme,” to counteract the influence of those “ hot fiery preachers,” as they are designated by Bishop Burnet, who itinerated through the western counties and inflamed the already excited peasantry. It was proposed to diminish greatly the authority of the Bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of a president or moderator among the Presbyters. If a negative was on the occasion necessary, it was to be exercised by the King, or some lay person authorized by the Crown, if the Bishops considered such to be indispensible. Yet,

according to Burnet's account, Leighton was not very sincere or sanguine in his project, for we are told that "he went indeed very far in the extenuating the episcopal authority; but he thought it would be easy afterwards to recover what seemed necessary to be yielded at present." The Earl of Kincardine was opposed to any treaty with the Presbyterians. He declared, says Burnet, that "they were a trifling sort of disputatious people; they would fall into much wrangling, and would subdivide among themselves; and the young and ignorant men among them, that were accustomed to popular declamation, would say here was a bargain made to sell Christ's kingdom and his prerogatives." He proposed, therefore, as their principles and tempers were well known, that "reasonable and expedient concessions" should be offered and passed into laws; and then they might be induced to submit to what they could not avert. Bishop Leighton concurred in this view of affairs; but it was decidedly and successfully opposed by the Earl of Lauderdale. "He said," we are told by Burnet, "a law that did so entirely change the constitution of the Church, when it came to be passed and printed would be construed in England as a pulling down of Episcopacy; unless he could have this to say in excuse for it, that the Presbyterians were willing to come under that model." He maintained that as the whole responsibility would fall on him, he would not expose himself to any hazard till he knew the result. "So," continues Burnet, "we were forced to try how to deal with them in a treaty;" and that treaty was the proposed "*Indulgence*."^{*}

In 1669 the field-preachings became so numerous in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, that a proclamation against them was issued on the 8th of April. Such assemblages were declared illegal and treasonable, and every proprietor on whose ground they were held was to be liable to a fine of L.50. That this proclamation was warranted by the exigencies of the times cannot be denied. The field-preachings, though pretended to be held for religious purposes, were in reality armed meetings for the inculcation of sedition and rebellion; and, taught by past experience it was prudent, in the Government to prevent the extension of this intolerant and dangerous confederacy. We have the testimony of Mr Robert Law, a Presbyterian preacher who accepted the *Indulgence* subsequently mentioned, as to the

* History of his own Times, folio, vol. i. 274, 275, 276.

principles of his field-preaching contemporaries.—“These ministers,” he says, “that stirred up the people, pretended they were the only pure and sound Presbyterians in the land with those that followed them; and all others, ministers and people, whether indulged or not indulged, that did not follow their way, were apostates and backsliders from the truth, whereas there *never was any among the Prelates pretended to more authority*, and practised more prelatic practices than these did; for they disowned the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, run upon ministers’ charges at will, made rents and divisions among the people, and made it their work to separate from their ministers and congregational assemblies, and gloried when their principles took any footing in the land; and indeed they gained upon the *unsolid and mutable professors* more than could have been expected.”* What an accurate representation this is of the conduct and principles of the Seceders from the Presbyterian Establishment in 1843!

The “Accommodation,” or “Comprehension Scheme,” proposed by Bishop Leighton, was followed by another. The Government, by command of the King, had repeatedly offered that all would be protected who promised to obey the laws for the future, and signed a bond of peace. Numbers took advantage of this condition, but the more violent would accept of no terms at variance with the Solemn League and Covenant. In the spring of 1669 Archbishop Sharp was called to London, and his enemy Bishop Burnet admits that he entreated the King to pursue moderate measures towards the field-preachers, although they deserved no such lenity, for they had excited their followers in several districts to commit gross outrages on the clergy, breaking into their houses, maltreating them and their families, destroying their furniture, and plundering without mercy. In reality, so dangerous were the proceedings of the “fanatics,” as Sir James Turner designates the Covenanters, that some of the clergy were compelled to leave their parishes in the Diocese of Galloway, and the churches were consequently vacant. The result of Archbishop Sharp’s recommendation of lenity to the King, which was supported by the Earl of Tweeddale, although the Primate had no concern in it, was the proclamation of the Indulgence by the advice of the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Whitehall, 7th June 1669. Bishop Burnet narrates the origin of this mischievous project, and confesses that he was a

principal party in the concoction of the said Indulgence. The purport of it was, that the most peaceable and popular of the expelled preachers were allowed to be settled in vacant parish churches, without acceding to any terms of submission to the Church and diocesan authority, and annual salaries of about L.20 sterling were offered to the others till they were similarly provided. The proclamation enjoined the Privy Council to allow such persons to preach and exercise their functions in the parishes in which they formerly resided if the churches are vacant, and to allow the patrons to present to other vacant churches those preachers who were approved by the Privy Council. Such of them as subsequently were collated by the Bishop of the Diocese, and attended the Episcopal Presbyteries and Diocesan Synods were to enjoy the stipends like the other clergy; but those who refused were merely to be allowed the manse and glebe, and a collector of the stipends in those instances was to be appointed, who was to pay to the "Indulged" preachers such an annual maintenance as would be awarded by the Privy Council. All who were restored, and allowed to exercise their ministry in this manner, were enjoined by royal authority to attend parochial kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, and Diocesan Synods, as was done by the ministers before 1638; and those who refused were to be confined within the bounds of the parishes in which they preached until they gave assurance that they would conform. They were not to admit to the Communion any persons from other parishes, nor baptize their children, nor celebrate marriages, without the permission of the minister of the parish to which they belonged, unless it was vacant. All who transgressed this injunction, or induced the people to desert their own parish churches, were to be silenced upon complaint of the Presbyteries to the Privy Council for "shorter or longer time, according to the degree of the offence or disorder;" and those against whom complaints were lodged a second time were to be silenced "again for a longer time, or altogether turned out," as the Privy Council should see cause. Those who uttered seditious discourses or expressions in the pulpit or elsewhere were to be "immediately turned out, and punished according to law and the degree of the offence." Finally, as by this proclamation all pretence for keeping conventicles was taken away, and due provision had been made by it for the spiritual improvement of all subjects, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, the Privy Council were enjoined to proceed against those who preached with-

out authority, and held conventicles, and their hearers, “with all severity as seditious persons, and contemners of the royal authority.”

We shall subsequently see the effect of this precious system of Indulgences, which no ecclesiastical establishment, in whatever way constituted, could tolerate or approve, and the bitter contentions which those who accepted them excited among the Presbyterians. Other parties this year again attracted the notice of the Church. On the 21st of April, as recorded in the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Fife, order was to be taken with the Quakers in Kincardineshire, who “interrupt some ministers in the time of public worship, and speak reproachfully of ministers.” This probably refers to the vicinity of Stonehaven, the county town of Kincardineshire, near which is the mansion of Ury, then the seat of the celebrated Quaker convert Robert Barclay, who distinguished himself by his zeal in the cause of that singular sect in Scotland; and whose father, Colonel David Barclay, when imprisoned after the Restoration in the Castle of Edinburgh with Swinton of Swinton in Berwickshire, had been induced by that gentleman in 1666 to adopt the notions and peculiarities of the Quakers. In the Diocesan Synod it is also recorded—“Moderators are to inquire of all ministers within their bounds if they preach twice every Sabbath, and if they ordinarily keep at home.” Meanwhile the second Parliament of Charles II. met at Edinburgh on the 19th of October. The two Archbishops and all the Bishops, with the exception of those of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, and The Isles, appear on the roll as present, and the Earl of Lauderdale presided as the Lord High Commissioner. Archbishop Sharp preached the opening sermon, in which he contended that the three asserters of uncontrouled ecclesiastical supremacy were now the Pope, the King, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, and in a long discourse he disproved or refuted all their claims. The discussion which the Primate introduced on the King’s supremacy referred to an act which he well knew Lauderdale had framed. Some of his sentiments in this sermon gave considerable offence in high places, and it was even thought that he would be suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions. The Church was represented among the Lords of the Articles by Archbishop Sharp, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Aberdeen, Ross, Brechin,

Dunblane, and Orkney, who were chosen after the King's letter was read. Lauderdale, in his opening speech, dwelt chiefly on two topics—the Church, and the Union of the two kingdoms then again projected, but which was subsequently abandoned. He recommended the preservation of the Established Church, affected great zeal for episcopal government, and assured the Parliament of the King's determination to maintain it inviolable. Lauderdale's sincerity may be inferred from the very first Act introduced into this Parliament, the projecting of which had been pointedly noticed and censured by Archbishop Sharp in his sermon. It is entitled an “Act for asserting his Majesty's Supremacy over all Persons and in all Causes Ecclesiastical,” and is commonly known as the *Assertory Act*. It not merely ratified the royal supremacy in the proper and intelligible sense as set forth in former Acts, in opposition to the Papal and Presbyterian claims, but absolutely deprived the Church of all ecclesiastical controul whatever, and vested its very constitution and discipline absolutely at the will or the caprice of the King. It declared that “*the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors as an inherent right of the Crown ; and that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit, such constitutions, acts, and orders, concerning the administration of the external government of the Church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proponed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wisdom, shall think fit.*” All former Acts and clauses of Acts contrary to the above were rescinded, and declared null and void.*

This arbitrary Act was passed on the 16th of November, and a greater infringement of the authority or a more infamous subversion of the constitution of any branch of the Church Catholic is probably not to be found in the annals of any Christian legislature. Bishop Burnet conjectures that Lauderdale knew the Duke of York's Roman Catholic feelings, and, having insinuated himself into the favour “of the heir-apparent to the Crown,” that “he intended to establish himself in it by putting the Church of Scotland wholly in his power; but that was yet a secret to us all in Scotland.” If this was really the case, it proves that Lauderdale was one of the most unprin-

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. vii. p. 554.

cipated politicians of his age. He is accused of cajoling the Presbyterians, pretending that it would limit the authority of the Bishops by making them solely dependent on the King ; he admitted that it was a transference of ecclesiastical matters to the Crown ; yet the King could easily be induced in favourable circumstances to change all in a sudden, if “ a dash of a pen would do it ;” and he impressed the Nobility that they “ needed fear no more the insolence of the Bishops when they were at their mercy, as this would make them.” Burnet’s account of the matter is worthy of notice as that of a contemporary. “ Sharp,” he says, “ did not like it, but durst not oppose it. He made a long dark speech copied out of Dr Taylor, distinguishing between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and then voted for it ; so did all the Bishops that were present ; some absented themselves. Leighton was against any such Act, and got some words to be altered in it. He thought it might be stretched to ill ends, and so he was very averse to it ; yet he gave his vote for it, not having sufficiently considered the extent of the words, and the consequence that might follow on such an Act, for which he was very sorry as long as he lived ; but at that time there was no apprehension in Scotland of the danger of Popery. Many of the best of the episcopal clergy were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Presbyterians said it put him in Christ’s stead. They said the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church, and nothing ruined the clergy more than their being brought into servile compliances and a base dependence upon Courts. I had no share in the counsels about this Act. I only thought it was designed by Lord Tweeddale to justify the *Indulgence*, which he protested to me was his chief end in it ; and nobody could ever tell me how the words *ecclesiastical matters* were put in the Act. Leighton thought he was sure they were put in after the draught and form of the Act were agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord Lauderdale ; and when the Duke’s religion came to be known, then all people said how much the legal settlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the Act being only concerning the *external government* of the Church, it was thought that the words *ecclesiastical matters* were to be confined to the sense that was limited by the preamble.”*

The only other Acts passed in this Parliament connected with

* Bishop Burnet’s History of his Own Times, folio, vol. i. p. 284, 285.

the Church were one to protect the clergy, their families, and property, from the violence of the Covenanters ; and one regulating the suspensions of the stipends and benefices. On the 15th of December the forfeiture of the insurgents at Pentland in 1666 was ratified, among whom were the noted field-preachers, Gabriel Semple, William Veitch, John Crookshanks, and Alexander Peden, the last of prophetical celebrity among his credulous followers. On the 23d an Act was passed confirming the revocation of the forfeiture of the Covenanting Marquis of Argyll, and the grant of the Earldom of the same to his son in 1663 ; but a protest was entered by Bishop Scougall of Aberdeen, in the name of Bishop Fletcher of Argyll, assisted by the Earls of Dunfermline, Kinghorn, and Marischal, that this " Ratification " was not to " prejudge them of the payment, or relief of such sums of money as are owing to them, by this Earl of Argyll's father." The Parliament adjourned on the 23d of December till the 8th of June 1670.

During the meeting of this Parliament the future Bishop of Salisbury was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, in which he continued four and a half years, with very little satisfaction either to the Episcopal clergy or to the Presbyterian party. Kirkton, who may be said to intimate the sentiments of the latter, attacks Burnet in the coarsest and most scurilous manner. After lamenting that in the Scottish Universities the Professors loved to " follow England," and made the learned theological works of " Hammond, Thorndyke, Sherlock, Taylor, and such," their text-books, Kirkton assails Burnet's Dialogues, and refers to him as a specimen of the " soundness and zeal " of what he terms a " Scotch curate's faith." He accuses Burnet of " Popish errors," and so far a Socinian that he " scoffs the blessed Trinity ; " " but," says Kirkton, " he professes himself a man of that high strain of moderation and charity that he has a bosom for every sect that wears the name of Christian, except only an unpardonable dissenter from his Church ; yet he was thought fit to be a father in our Church, and placed in Glasgow College to breed our young divines ; and what a fry his disciples were the Lord knows better than the godly people of Scotland, who refused to hear or own them." This venom is probably a retaliation for the satirical attacks on the theological studies and acquirements of the then Presbyterians. Burnet left Salton on the 18th of November to assume his professorial duties at Glasgow. He narrates in his

own way the state of affairs. “The clergy came all to me, thinking that I had some credit with those that governed, and laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were very ill used, and were so entirely forsaken by their people, that in most places they shut up their churches. They were also threatened and affronted on all occasions. On the other hand, the gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me such strange things of the vices of some, the follies of others, and the indiscretions of them all, that though it was not reasonable to believe all that they said, yet it was impossible not to believe a great deal of it. And it was not easy to know what ought to be believed, or how matters were to be represented; for I found calumny was so equally practised on both sides, that I came to mistrust every thing that I heard. One thing was visible, that conventicles abounded, and strange doctrine was vented in them. The King’s supremacy was now the chief subject of declamation. It was said, ‘Bishops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church; but the King’s little finger would be heavier than their loins.’” A committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Kincardine, and others, were appointed to visit the western counties, and repress the disorders committed by the field-preachers and their adherents. They punished some, and threatened the indulged preachers and the peasantry with great severity if they persisted in their violent conduct. Burnet says that he “was blamed by the Presbyterians for all which this committee did,” and “by the Episcopal party for all they did not; since these thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They consulted with me, and suffered me to intercede so effectually for those whom they had put in prison that they were all set at liberty. The Episcopal party thought I intended to make myself popular at their cost, so they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from that sort of people, as a secret enemy to their interest, and an underminer of it.” This complaint of ill usage by Bishop Burnet is most ludicrous, when we recollect that he was a man who raised against himself a host of enemies in his native country, retaliating in after life by assailing that Church whose ordination he had received, and vilifying the lives and characters of its Bishops and clergy in the most unscrupulous manner. Burnet was undoubtedly a remarkable man, but he was one of the keenest of partizans in his “Own Times.”

CHAPTER VIII.

FARTHER DISCOURAGEMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

VARIOUS parties are mentioned as the projectors of the irreligious Assertyor Act, investing the King with the supreme and uncontroled ecclesiastical administration of the discipline and constitution of the Church. It is alleged that it was intended to protect the Scottish Government from an impeachment of high treason for superseding Acts of Parliament by acts of the Privy Council. According to another statement it was contrived by the Presbyterians to paralyze the Church, and is said to have been generally known at the time as the suggestion of Mr Robert Douglas and “several of his brethren, in concert with some of the King’s Ministers, to secure and justify the Indulgence, and make it as good as legal.” This Mr Robert Douglas, already noticed as the correspondent and calumniator of Archbishop Sharp, had prudently taken advantage of the Indulgence, and obtained the parish of Pencaitland in Haddingtonshire. By the Assertyor Act the King could deprive the Bishops of their Sees at pleasure, and this was soon verified in the case of Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, whom his namesake Bishop Burnet misrepresents in his usual manner, as “meddling too much in what did not belong to him and he did not understand, for he was not cut out for a Court, or for the Ministry; and he was too remiss in that which was properly his business, and which he understood to a good degree, for he took no manner of care of the spiritual part of his function.”

These unfounded accusations are refuted by the Presbyterians. Kirkton says that Archbishop Burnet was “a man of the best morals among them;” and Wodrow admits the same, borrowing, however, from his friend a charge of simony against him

for “regress” to his See after he had been turned out; and both affirming that he was a “mighty bigot for the English ceremonies and forms, and as forward to have all the usages of that Church introduced into Scotland as if he had been educated by Bishop Laud.” In other words, the Archbishop, who had spent much of his life in England, loved the Liturgy and ritual of the Anglican Church. Kirkton and Wodrow also observe of Archbishop Burnet, that at his first Diocesan Synod of Glasgow he held a public ordination, and five or six persons, who are insolently called *curates*, were admitted by him into holy orders to “inure the West of Scotland to these novelties.” This was, of course, an awful crime in the eyes of such men as Kirkton and Wodrow. The Episcopal writers may with equal propriety retaliate by assailing the “novelties” of Kirkton, Wodrow, and their successors.

Archbishop Burnet had complained to the King of what he considered Lauderdale’s unnecessary severity to the Covenanters after the suppression of the insurrection at Rullion Green. The King listened to his statement, and sent instructions to Lauderdale to adopt more lenient measures. Archbishop Burnet had also offended both Lauderdale and Tweeddale, who were his avowed enemies, by informing the King and the English Bishops that Scotland was in danger of returning to the former Covenanting disorder and misrule by the favour openly evinced towards the disaffected Covenanters by the Earl of Tweeddale, who had obtained a complete ascendancy over Lauderdale. As, however, he was strenuously opposed to the interference of the King in the affairs of the Church, he was summoned before the Privy Council before the Parliament met, and ordered to confine himself to his Diocese “till his offences were further considered.” The great object of this undue stretch of power was to prevent him denouncing the Assertory Act of the Royal Supremacy in Parliament. Archbishop Burnet would have been deprived of his See at that time, but his enemies were afraid that the obnoxious Act would be in jeopardy when the clergy saw such an illegal and uncanonical result. “But,” says Sir George Mackenzie, “how soon that Act was passed, his Majesty by a letter, as Supreme Head of the Church, declared his See vacant, and he was moved to resign it into his Majesty’s hands, which some blamed as an act of too great despondence and fear in him; but he was induced to do it

by the vows they made to pursue him as a traitor if he did not ; the ground of which process they intended to found upon the former letter, which was said to be the *lying* betwixt the King and his people. But to this it was answered by some of his friends that he needed not fear that accusation, seeing it was palpable now to the world that the fanatics had been assisted by some Councillors ; for by the Indulgence many of them were reponed to their former ministry. Thus he went off the stage, generally admired even by the fanatics themselves for preferring his conscience to his gain, and for fearing nothing but to offend it." Bishop Burnet, notwithstanding his scurrilous attacks on the Archbishop, acknowledges his personal worth. " By the Act of Supremacy," he says, " the King was now master, and could turn out Bishops at pleasure. This had its first effect on Burnet, who was offered a pension if he would submit and resign, and was threatened to be treated more severely if he stood out. He complied, and retired to a private state of life, and bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the shade, and was generally pitied. He was of himself good-natured and sincere, but was much in the power of others."

The " Indulgence" issued in 1669 is previously mentioned. By this project upwards of forty of the ejected preachers were allowed to officiate within the parishes they formerly held if vacant, or in particular districts assigned to each, on the conditions already specified. Bishop Burnet ascribes this extraordinary and absurd attempt to treat with the Presbyterians to the Earl of Tweeddale, and asserts that it was opposed by Bishop Leighton, who " thought nothing would bring on the Presbyterians to a treaty so much as the hopes of being again suffered to return to their benefices ; whereas if they were once admitted to them they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward." Bishop Burnet, who had not then removed to the Professorship of Divinity at Glasgow, was requested to visit the western counties, and give a " true account of matters ;" but he seems to have consulted chiefly Anne Duchess of Hamilton in her own right, who had great influence with the ejected preachers. " She had much credit among them," says Burnet, " for she passed for a zealous Presbyterian, though she protested to me she never entered into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of [church] govern-

ment ; only she thought their ministers were good men, who kept the country in quiet and order. They were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a frenzy, and were in no disposition to any treaty. The prominent men among them were busy in conventicles, inflaming them against all agreements ; so she thought that if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in vacant churches the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers that were then most in vogue.—This seemed reasonable, and she got many of the more moderate of them to come to me ; and they all talked in the same strain."

It was impossible that such a mischievous, imprudent, and latitudinarian system as the Indulgence could be productive of any salutary results. Archbishop Burnet and his clergy indignantly denounced it in their ordinary Diocesan Synod held at Glasgow in October 1669, and moved an address to the King complaining of it as illegal, and likely to be fatal to the peace and stability of the Church. This address was written by Mr Arthur Ross, then one of the ministers of Glasgow, afterwards successively promoted to the Sees of Argyll, Glasgow, and St Andrews, whom Bishop Burnet maliciously designates an " ignorant man, and violent out of measure ;" and the address itself as " full of acrimony." It was sent to the King, who called it a " New Western Remonstrance," and so enraged Lauderdale that he revenged himself by Archbishop Burnet's expulsion from the Diocese of Glasgow. The Indulgence was also illegal, for the Act restoring the Episcopal Church in 1662 expressly declared that those only were eligible to benefices who acknowledged the authority of the Bishops, and accepted collation and institution from them.

The annual sum of L.20 sterling, ordered to be paid to those ejected preachers who were disposed to accept the Indulgence, but who could not be provided with churches at the time, was viewed as a bribe to be silent, and was refused. The others, whose remarkably tender consciences prevented them from acknowledging diocesan authority, willingly took their *collations* to the parishes from the Privy Council ; and one of them named Hutchison thanked their Lordships for the same in a speech delivered for himself and his brethren, pretending that they had " received their ministry from Jesus Christ, with full prescriptions from Him for

regulating them therein, and in the discharge thereof accountable to Him ;” but that they would now, having “ free liberty of the exercise of their ministry under the protection of lawful authority, the most excellent ordinance of God,” behave themselves as loyal subjects, praying that “ the Lord may bless his Majesty in his person and government,” and the Privy Council, for this “ singular moderation.” Those of them who were thus allowed to return to the parishes of which they were the Covenanting incumbents before the Restoration offered no scruples ; but others hesitated to take possession of the churches appointed for them till the kirk-session and parishioners chose them, and gave them what is known in Presbyterian phraseology as a “ *Call* ” to officiate among them. Others also maintained that the choice of the people ought to be free, and not limited to the preachers nominated by the Privy Council—“ which looked,” observes Burnet, “ like an election upon a *congé d'elire*, with a letter naming the person, with which they had often diverted themselves.” But all these doubts were at last overcome, and each preacher went to the parish or district to which he was appointed. The people received them at first with enthusiasm, but this soon subsided, and the Indulgence eventually proved a complete failure. The more violent of the Covenanters, who would accept no favour from the Government except on their own terms, denounced the “ Indulged ” preachers as ferociously as the episcopal clergy, and spoke of them in language of bitter hatred and scorn as enemies of the gospel. “ The stop put to the Indulgence,” says Burnet, “ made many conclude that those who had obtained the favour had entered into secret engagements. So they came to call them the *King's Curates*, as they had called the clergy in derision the *Bishops' Curates*. Their caution brought them under a worse character of *dumb dogs that could not bark!* Those who, by their fierce behaviour, had shut themselves out from a share of the Indulgence, began to call this *Erastianism*, and the civil magistrates assuming the power of sacred matters. They said this was visibly an artifice to lay things asleep with the present generation, and was one of the depths of Satan to give a present quiet in order to the certain destruction of Presbytery : and it was also said there was a visible departing of the divine power from those preachers. They preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at

conventicles ; so many began to fall off, and to go again to conventicles. Many of the preachers confessed to me that they found an ignorance and a deadness among those who had been the hottest upon their meetings beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinsic of the Church, and Episcopacy and Presbytery, upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion. But the Indulged preachers, instead of setting themselves, with the zeal and courage that became them, against the follies of the people, of which they confessed to myself they were very sensible, took a different method, and studied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of some fiery men that were going up and down among them. The tempers of some brought them under this servile popularity, into which others went out of a desire to live easy.”*

On the 6th of January 1670, the Earl of Lauderdale announced to the Privy Council that Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow had resigned his See into the King’s hands, and his name was erased from the list of the Privy Councillors. Bishop Leighton of Dunblane was appointed to administer the affairs of the Diocese of Glasgow as a kind of Commendator, which he accepted about a year afterwards with the utmost reluctance. It is lamentable to find a man like Leighton becoming the tool of Lauderdale under the Asserrory Act investing the King with ecclesiastical authority, and intruding into another Diocese, the Bishop of which had been unjustly and uncanonically deprived ; but his accommodating spirit precluded him from discerning his usurping position. His subsequent dissatisfaction and resignation of the See, with his retirement into England, may have been the result of some compunctions of conscience in this matter.

In the summer of 1670, a project was concerted at London by the Earl of Tweeddale, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Sir Robert Murray, with which Bishop Leighton was connected, which shews the practical tendency of the arbitrary Asserrory Act. It seems to have been the revival of Leighton’s “ Accommodation,” or “ Comprehensive Scheme ;” and the Church was to be governed by Presbyteries and Synods, the Bishops having no other authority than that of constant moderators, while all ecclesiastical power was to

* Burnet’s History of his Own Times, folio. i. p. 282.

be derived from the King. This appears from a document dated Whitehall, 6th July, containing certain rules and instructions for the Scottish Bishops written by the Earl of Tweeddale, and sanctioned by the King, a copy of which was obtained by Archbishop Paterson of Glasgow in 1680, from the original deposited at Ham in Surrey, and which, in the Archbishop's hand-writing, is preserved in the Episcopal Chest at Aberdeen. The "Instructions" were eight in number, and after a preamble approving of the practice of the Bishops for some years preceding of exercising the government and discipline of the Church in Presbyteries and Diocesan Synods in conjunction with presbyters, the said "Instructions" set forth :—1. That the system was to continue, and that Presbyteries meet monthly, and Synods annually in May or June. 2. That every person lawfully presented to a parish church, who produced his certificates of having qualified by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, shall be tried and examined in the usual manner ; and if approved by the Bishop and Presbytery, due notice shall be given, and a day appointed by the said Bishop and Presbytery for the ordination and admission of the presentee, when the parishioners were to be warned to assemble, and one of the presbyters to preach, after which the people were to see their "designed minister" solemnly ordained by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop and presbyters there present, and "be exhorted to yield due reverence and obedience to him and his ministry in the same." 3. That the rules and duties of the ministerial office were fully expressed in the form of ordination ; [but Archbishop Paterson here remarks that no form of ordination was or had been appointed, and consequently the form here alluded to is unknown, and would not have indicated the Office of Ordination either in the English or Scottish Liturgy]. 4. That the Bishops reside constantly in their Dioceses except on urgent occasions, and preach every Sunday in one or other of the parish churches, when not prevented by old age, sickness, or other impediments. 5. That every minister and church-session look after the relief of the poor, and the repairing and preservation of the fabric of the parish church, as enjoined by law ; and exercise discipline towards those guilty of public scandals and gross offences, being responsible for the same to the Presbytery, who in turn were to be accountable to the Bishop and Diocesan Synod. 6. That in addition to the particular visits of the

parishes within their Dioceses by the Bishops, summer visitations were to be held by the Bishops, moderators, and presbyters. 7. That a National Synod was to be called, consisting of the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and others, evidently in terms of the Act of 1666, whenever the Crown considered such a Synod necessary. 8. That all ministers of the Church of Scotland attend their respective Presbyteries and Diocesan Synods, and not absent themselves on any pretence whatever." These "Instructions" were ordered to be recorded in the Books of the Privy Council and duly published, with an intimation that the King intended "to add and enact such further ordinances and constitutions as he shall judge needful or useful for the promoting piety and true religion, and for the establishment of peace and good order in the Church."

Never was a more flagrant, unconstitutional, and arbitrary attack made on any portion of the Church Catholic than that aimed by these "Instructions" on the Episcopal Church of Scotland. It is well described by one of its own Bishops at the time that they "struck at the very root and foundation of the Church." Some of them were unobjectionable, but they set at defiance all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction when we consider the source from which they originated, and are another instance of the evils of the unhappy Act Assertyor of the King's exclusive supremacy. Even Lauderdale saw the miserable consequences which would inevitably ensue from their promulgation, and he rendered them nugatory and inoperative by procuring a "Private Instruction" from the King on the 7th of July, authorizing him at his return to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner to propose them to the Parliament or not as he saw cause. They were never published, and thus the Church escaped the degradation prepared for it by worldly politicians, implacable enemies, and false friends. Bishop Leighton's connection with this affair induces little respect for his memory.

The Parliament met on the 22d of July, the Earl of Lauderdale presiding as Lord High Commissioner. Archbishop Sharp, and the Bishops of Galloway, Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, and Dunblane, were present. On the 30th an Act was passed, authorizing certain persons to treat concerning the projected Union with England, and the Parliament was adjourned to the 3d of August. On that day a very stringent Act "against such who shall refuse to depone against delinquents," and particularly "keepers of conventicles, or

other unlawful meetings," was passed, the punishment for which was to be " fining and close imprisonment, or banishment, by sending them to his Majesty's Plantations in the Indies, or elsewhere." On the 13th an Act was passed to secure the lives of the parochial clergy from the violence of the Covenanters, who had " of late in several places, in the night-time, invaded and broken in upon ministers' houses, assaulted and wounded their persons, and pursued them for their lives." This offence was declared punishable by death and forfeiture of goods, and a reward of 500 merks to informers. The next Act was against conventicles. It enjoined that " no outed ministers who are not licensed by the Council, and no other persons not authorized or tolerated by the Bishop of the Diocese, presume to preach, expound Scripture, or pray, in any meeting except in their own houses, and to those of their own family ; and that none be present at any meeting without the family to which they belong ;" declaring " all such as do the contrary to be guilty of keeping conventicles," and incurring the penalty of imprisonment, until they find security to the extent of 5000 merks not again to commit the offence, or oblige themselves to remove out of the kingdom. Every male and female proprietor of land who was found guilty was to be fined the fourth part of his or her annual rental ; each tenant, L.25 Scots ; each cottar, L.12 Scots ; and each serving man a fourth part of his yearly fee. The field-preachers who disobeyed the Act were to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. A reward of 500 merks was also offered to informers. On the 17th of August an Act was passed against " Disorderly Baptisms," declaring that the " disorderly carriage of some persons in withdrawing from the ordinances of the sacraments in their own parish churches, and procuring their children to be baptized by persons not publicly authorized or allowed, is highly scandalous to the Protestant religion, and tends exceedingly to the increase of schism and profanity." All were enjoined to bring their children for baptism to their own parish ministers, or to *Indulged Presbyterian preachers*, under the penalty of every proprietor offending to be fined the fourth part of his annual rental, every person above the degree of a tenant, L.100 Scots; every " inferior merchant or considerable tradesman, and every tenant labouring land," L.50 Scots ; every " meaner burgess, tradesman, inhabitant within burgh, and every cottar," L.20 Scots ; and every

servant in “ half a year’s fee.” On the 20th was passed an “ Act against separation and withdrawing from the public meetings for Divine worship,” the offenders to be fined in several specified sums according to their rank. This Act, and that of the 13th against Conventicles, were to be in force for only three years, unless “ his Majesty should think fit to continue them longer.” On the 22d an Act ratified the “ rights ” of King’s College in Old Aberdeen.*

It has been said that in the Act which rendered the field-preachers liable to capital punishment, Lauderdale inserted on his own responsibility a clause which protected the Roman Catholics, to gratify, it is suspected, the Duke of York. Bishop Burnet alleges that the Earl declared to him, that “ he had put in these words on design to let the party know they were to be worse used than the Papists themselves.” It is, however, remarkable that not a word of this clause occurs in the Act, and there is not the slightest allusion to the Roman Catholics, or any promise of protection intimated to them. The Act itself against the field-preachers was undoubtedly severe, and was opposed by all the Bishops present in that session of the Parliament. Leighton is reported to have declared that the “ whole complex of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to say Christianity, that he was ashamed to mix in councils with those who could frame and pass such Acts.” On Lauderdale rests the whole odium of this iniquitous, odious, and intolerant statute against those unfortunate and misguided, though obstinate and dangerous field-preachers who, nevertheless would have been as tyrannical and oppressive against their opponents. The extraordinary hallucination under which many of them laboured, that they were bound by the Divine command to extirpate by force all the members of the Episcopal Church, and the constant inculcation of this horrid doctrine on their ignorant and deluded followers, rendered stringent measures against them absolutely necessary ; but the punishment of death for preaching in the fields was an enactment which on no principles can be justified. “ Thus,” says the author of the “ True and Impartial Account” of the life of Archbishop Sharp, “ the ecclesiastical establishment [Episcopal Church of Scotland] had to grapple not only with the sober as well as wild Presbyterians, and missionaries from Rome, and other

* *Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. viii. p. 7-12, 26, 27.

despicable fellows in their shape, but also with bosom enemies, and some who owed most to the royal bounty, and their underlings."

In the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Fife a notice of the discipline of the Church occurs, under date 5th October 1670. The Lord Archbishop and Synod enjoined all " persons marrying disorderly," by resorting to the Border for that purpose, to be " dilated to the civil magistrate, that they may be fined according to law, and that they may be put to a public declaration of their repentance, and be suspended from the Sacrament for violating the order of the Church."

Bishop Leighton assumed the charge of the Diocese of Glasgow, which he had accepted in the most uncanonical manner, in 1671. His friend Bishop Burnet gives a long and very partial account of the preliminary proceedings, at some of which the historian of his "*Own Times*" was present. Leighton held a Diocesan Synod of the clergy, and in a sermon which he preached, and also in public and private conferences, he exhorted them, according to Burnet, "to look up more to God, to consider themselves as the ministers of the cross of Christ, to bear the contempt and ill usage they met with as a cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience, to lay aside all the appetites of revenge, to humble themselves before God, to have many days for secret fasting and prayer, and to meet often together that they might quicken and assist one another in those holy exercises, and then they might expect blessings from Heaven upon their labours." All this was in reply to the numerous complaints of "desertion and ill usage" which were preferred in the Diocesan Synod. Bishop Burnet affects to fix a stigma on the personal religion and piety of the persecuted incumbents by asserting—"This was a new strain to the clergy ; they had nothing to say against it, but it was comfortless doctrine to them, and they had not been accustomed to it. No speedy ways were proposed for forcing the people to come to church, nor for sending soldiers among them, or raising the fines to which they were liable ; so they went home as little edified with their new Bishop as he was with them." This is a very unfair representation. Burnet well knew that the clergy had no connection with the levying of the fines, which was done by authority of the civil government ; and all they wanted was protection from the murdering propensities of their enemies. The advices of Leighton were very pious and proper ; but when it

is recollect that the lives and property of the clergy and their families were daily menaced, and the most outrageous violence committed against them by breaking into their houses, as the Acts of Parliament sufficiently intimate, it was truly a “comfortless doctrine” which Leighton set forth to suggest no remedies, and propose no plan, to secure the individual protection of the incumbents. It is not, therefore, a matter of much surprize if they returned to their homes as “little edified” with Leighton as “he was with them.”

After his Diocesan Synod a tour was undertaken in various districts by Leighton, accompanied by Burnet, to ascertain the sentiments of the “most eminent of the Indulged ministers.” The object of this journey was to persuade them to listen to propositions of peace, and they were told that some of them would soon be summoned to Edinburgh for an adjustment of differences, where they would be received with the utmost sincerity—“meet,” says Burnet, “with no artifices nor hardships, and if they received these offers heartily they would be turned into laws, and all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren.” It is stated that they listened with the utmost indifference to these suggestions, were scarcely civil, not so much as thanking Leighton for interesting himself in their affairs ; and the more crafty among them, especially Hutchison, who is expressly named, pretended that it was a matter which concerned them all, whereas they were merely individuals—“others,” says Burnet, “were more metaphysical, and entertained us with some poor arguings and distinctions.” Leighton began to be discouraged, yet he resolved to attempt a negotiation. About the assembling of the Parliament in 1670, six of those Presbyterian ministers were summoned to Edinburgh, and Leighton held a long conference with them before the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Tweeddale, and Kincardine. Archbishop Sharp declined to be present, but he sent Paterson, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, to hear all that passed, and bring him a correct account. Leighton, according to Burnet’s report, dwelt on the “mischief of our divisions, and of the schism that they had occasioned.” We are told that he maintained—“For his own part, he was persuaded that Episcopacy, as an order distinct from presbyters, had continued in the Church ever since the days of the Apostles—that the world had every where received the Christian religion from

Bishops—and that a parity among clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the last century, and was then set up rather by accident than on design ; yet, how much soever he was persuaded of this, since they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them by which both sides might preserve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the gospel and their ministry.” He reminded them that their own moderators were not of Divine institution, and he proposed that they should acknowledge *constant Moderators*, to be appointed by the King, which could be no such encroachment on their function as to disturb the peace of the Church. Leighton’s arguments made a considerable impression on the parties. Hutchison, who was one of them, requested a consultation with his friends in the presence of Lauderdale as the King’s Commissioner, which would protect them from the charge of holding an illegal meeting. This was granted ; but the conduct of the Presbyterian preachers so disgusted even Lauderdale, that he could scarcely restrain his rage. Archbishop Sharp opposed the propositions ; the parochial clergy were alarmed at the results which would follow if they were accepted ; and the more violent of the Covenanting preachers, who would listen to no terms, were loud and fierce in their denunciations of what they called the *Black Indulgence* ; yet Bishop Burnet boldly states that “the far greater part of the nation approved of this design.”

Leighton sent six of the most eminent of the Episcopal clergy, including Burnet, into the western counties to preach in the vacant churches, and to explain the proposed “Accommodation” to the people. It appears from Burnet’s account that he and his coadjutors were tolerably well received by the vain, pedantic, and obstinate peasantry during the three months they were so employed, and “in that time there was a stand in the frequency of conventicles ; but as soon as we were gone a set of those hot preachers went round all the places where we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do.” The Presbyterians at length determined to reject the offers. They believed an absurd report that the King disliked the Church of England, and was no longer inclined to support the Church in Scotland, and that the concessions were merely artifices to preserve Episcopacy. They maintained the obligation of the Covenant as involving their doctrine

and discipline, and they expressly demanded liberty to hold ordinations without Bishops. They were reminded in reply that their Covenant was not infallible—that they had themselves made alterations of more importance than acknowledging moderators appointed by the King—and that Cromwell prohibited General Assemblies, though they continued to preach; “but,” says Burnet, “all was lost labour; hot men among them were positive; and all of them were full of contention.—In conclusion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation. We who were engaged on it had lost all our own side by offering it, and the Presbyterians would not make one step towards us.”

Leighton held another meeting at Paisley, whither he was attended by Burnet and a few others. About thirty of the Presbyterians appeared, and two long conferences ensued. They expressed themselves in a most insolent manner towards Leighton, but he bore their irritating language with his usual meekness. Another consultation was held in the house of the Earl of Rothes at Edinburgh, when the concessions were finally refused. Leighton told the Presbyterians—“His offers did not flow from any mistrust of the cause; he was persuaded Episcopacy was handed down through all the ages of the Church from the Apostles’ days; perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made, yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it:—therefore the continuance of our divisions must lie at their door both before God and man. If ill effects followed upon this he was free of all blame, and had done his part.”

In 1671 died Bishop Strachan of Brechin, a memorial of whose episcopate long existed in the “orlodge,” or clock, on the steeple of the cathedral. Bishop Strachan was succeeded in the See of Brechin by Mr Robert Lawrie, son of Mr Joseph Lawrie, minister successively at Stirling and Perth. Bishop Lawrie had also been minister at Perth. His induction was opposed in April 1641 because he had not completed his twenty-fifth year, which had been declared by the Covenanting General Assembly the age of those “capable of the ministry.” The Magistrates, Presbytery, and Kirk-Session, were nevertheless in favour of his immediate induction, and it was referred to the Provincial Synod, before whom he preached, and was “unanimously declared capable of the ministry at Perth.” He was soon afterwards ordained in the Presbyterian form. He was

removed to Edinburgh in 1644, as incumbent of Trinity College parish in that city. Bishop Lawrie conformed to the Church at the Restoration, was ordained by Bishop Wishart, and was nominated Dean of Edinburgh. "He was a man" says Mr Scott, "of a very peaceable temper, and an excellent preacher."* As the revenue of the See of Brechin was far below £100 sterling annually, Bishop Lawrie retained the incumbency of Trinity College church. It is stated in the records of the Town-Council of Brechin, 17th September 1674, that Mr John Dempster, schoolmaster, is employed by the Bishop to supply his charge as minister," because "the Bishop was called to be preacher" at a place not mentioned.

Bishop Wishart of Edinburgh, the chaplain of the Marquis of Montrose, and the eloquent historian of his achievements, died in July at his residence in the Canongate. He was interred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse, where his monument, with a long poetical inscription in Latin, is still seen on the north side of the ruined edifice. On the 29th of August, the Earl of Lauderdale wrote to Archbishop Sharp respecting a successor to Bishop Wishart, stating his opinion that no presbyter should be elevated at once to that See, but that one of the Bishops, of considerable experience, should be translated to the Scottish metropolis, and a presbyter consecrated for the See so vacant. His Lordship also requested the Primate to mention whom he considered sufficiently qualified to fill the important See of Edinburgh. The suggestion of the Earl was set aside by Archbishop Sharp, and Mr Alexander Young, a native of Aberdeen, who had been minister of Cramond on the shore of the Frith of Forth near Edinburgh, and removed to St Andrews in September 1663 as first minister, was promoted to the See. He had been also Archdeacon of St Andrews, which accounts for the influence of Archbishop Sharp in his favour. Burnet says—"Four Bishops happened to die that year [1671], of whom Edinburgh was one. I was desired to make my own choice, but I refused them all." This is inaccurate, as the deaths of the two Bishops above noticed are only recorded as occurring in 1671.

The enforcement of the laws against Conventicles marked the spring and summer of 1672. The Parliament met on the 12th of June, the Earl of Lauderdale, created Duke of Lauderdale

* Perth MS. Register of Baptisms in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

on the 2d of May, presiding as Lord High Commissioner. The Bishops present were the Primate, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Brechin, and Argyll. Bishop Mackenzie of Moray and Bishop Fletcher of Argyll, were nominated to supply the vacancies among the Lords of the Articles occasioned by the deaths of Bishops Wishart of Edinburgh and Strachan of Brechin, and on the 17th of July the newly consecrated Bishops Young and Lawrie took the oaths required by law. On the 16th of August an Act was passed “against such as do not baptize their children,” enjoining the same penalties as the Act of 1670 against “Disorderly Baptisms.” On the 4th of September an Act was passed referring to the Act of 1670 against Conventicles, and explaining the meaning of the word *pray* in the case of unauthorised preachers, which it was declared “is not to be understood as if thereby prayer in families were discharged [prohibited] by the persons of the family, and such as shall be present, not exceeding the number of four persons besides those of the family.” This Act against Conventicles is the more remarkable as it seems to have been revived against the clergy and members of the Scottish Episcopal Church after the suppression of the Enterprize of Prince Charles in 1746. On the 10th the stipends of vacant parishes to 1679 inclusive, were ordered to be paid to the Universities for the encouragement of learning. On the 11th Archbishop Sharp procured a “Ratification” of his right to appoint the four Commissaries of Edinburgh, against which Bishop Young of Edinburgh protested, and the Primate at the same time lodged a counter protest. The Archbishop promoted the interests of the University of St Andrews by procuring a “ratification of his Majesty’s gift of mortification for maintaining certain Masters and Professors there,” granted under the Great Seal in 1668. The annual sum of L.50 sterling was to be paid to the Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in St Mary’s College, who was to deliver a weekly “lesson of theology” in that College “as he shall be appointed by the Archbishop.” A similar sum was to be awarded yearly to the Professor of Medicine and Anatomy, or of Mathematics: 800 merks Scots annually to the Provost of St Salvador’s, 100 of which were to be paid to each of the Professors of Philosophy; 1000 merks to the Principal of St Leonard’s College, who was to pay 100 merks to each of the four Professors;

and the Professor of Humanity was to receive an increase of stipend to the value of 200 merks.

In this year another Indulgence was extended to eighty of the Presbyterian preachers in the western counties, the greater number of whom accepted the proffered boon, but others refused to submit to any terms, pretending that *their* ministerial office flowed from Christ, and that the civil magistrate could not interfere. In defiance, therefore, of the severe penalty of death and confiscation of property for preaching in the fields, the Covenanters who rejected the Indulgence continued to preach in moors and sequestered places chiefly in the counties of Lanark, Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and Fife, and they were duly attended by their adherents. They were designated *Hill Men*, from resorting to the mountains; *Wild Men*, from the extravagance of their principles and demands; *Cameronian*s, from the field-preacher Richard Cameron; and *Covenanters*, because they and their adherents were keen supporters of the Covenant. As it respects their conduct in Fife some inferences may be drawn from an entry in the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod. On the 9th of October 1672 the “Lord Archbishop and Synod” enjoined the several Presbyteries to report to the next Synod the names of those “chaplains and schoolmasters disaffected to the government of the Church,” who alienate persons from “peaceable submission to their pastors and attendance on the public worship of God,” by “lecturing and conventicling.”

The administration of the Diocese of Glasgow by Leighton was a complete failure. Instead of conciliating the more violent Presbyterians, his proceedings tended to inflame their discords. It is true that he occasionally was courageous enough to exercise his episcopal authority, but it produced no salutary results. We have seen from the gossiping traditions of him collected by Wodrow that he was held in no great respect by his Presbyterian contemporaries, some of whom considered him an Arian, others a “Papist,” and all of them ridiculing his ascetic life. In 1672 he seriously resolved to resign the See of Glasgow, and on the following year he determined to retire. But Leighton appears to have been long disagreeably situated in Scotland, and Burnet assigns as his reason for relinquishing the See of Glasgow that “he had gained no ground on the Presbyterians, and was suspected and hated by the Episcopal party.” In 1665 it is stated that Leighton

announced to the clergy of the Diocese of Dunblane his resolution to resign that See, and he went to London to intimate his intention to the King. His undoubtedly gentle and retiring disposition was grieved at the severities which the obstinate Covenanters drew upon themselves, and which the ignorant peasantry were taught to believe as emanating from the Church. The King, it is farther alleged, was moved at Leighton's recital of the state of the kingdom, censured some proceedings of Archbishop Sharp, and promised a lenient enforcement of the laws ; yet all these assertions are at variance with the denunciations of the "Fanatics," in the royal letters addressed to the Parliament. Charles prevailed with Leighton to retain the Bishopric of Dunblane, and so far fulfilled his promise as to suspend the functions of the new High Commission. In 1669 Leighton went again to Court, and had two audiences of the King on behalf of the nonconformists, at one of which his endeavours were seconded by Bishop Wilkins of Chester, and the "Indulgence," which eventually dissatisfied both parties, soon afterwards was announced. Bishop Keith states on private information that Leighton found his diocesan authority of little avail as the mere commendator, and he procured a *congé d'elire* to the Chapter to elect him Archbishop, which was done on the 27th of October. When the Assertyor Act, however, was known in England, and especially the uncanonical and arbitrary deprivation of Archbishop Burnet, remonstrances were addressed to Charles II. by Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury and several of the English Bishops on that most extraordinary grasp of royal power, representing to the King that such an example might be extended to England, and that a hostile monarch in concert with unprincipled advisers might utterly ruin the Church. In the case of Leighton's election to the Archbishopric of Glasgow the Duke of Lauderdale refused to ratifyit by the usual letters-patent from the King, but the letters-commendatory entitled him to the revenues of the See. Bishop Keith farther states on the personal information of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, that "the election flowed from the Archbishop [Leighton] himself, and not from a *congé d'elire*, and that was one of the reasons why it was not ratified by the King. Whether this did give a disgust to Dr Leighton, as some apprehended, or that it proceeded from his profound humility and self-denial, it is, however, certain that he went up to

London, and resigned the Archbishopric as a burthen too great for him to sustain.”*

Leighton proceeded to London in 1672, and with very considerable difficulty obtained permission to resign the Archbishopric in 1674, when he resolved to retire. He seems to have been convinced of his utter inability to discharge the duties of the Diocese, and he was glad to obtain the aid of his suffragan the Bishop of Galloway. The Earl of Lauderdale wrote to Bishop Hamilton, dated Whitehall, 9th August 1673:—“I am commanded to show you that because of the large extent, and the many difficult affairs, of the Diocese of Glasgow, it is his Majesty’s pleasure that you do all the assistance you can to the present Archbishop in the ordination of intrants to the ministry, and any other business relating to that Diocese wherein you may be helpful to him.” Leighton transmitted this to Bishop Hamilton, to whom he thus wrote on the 1st of September:—“Being remanded back to this station for a little time I desired the enclosed, though I have found your Lordship very ready to assist me upon such occasions as this relates to; because if they shall frequently occur, as possibly they may, it might seem not so regular and warrantable to trouble you with them without this signification of his Majesty’s pleasure, which will sufficiently excuse and justify us both in these instances. But at meeting I may, God willing, give you a better account of the business, and the reason that caused such a thing to be desired by your Lordship’s brother and humble servant.” In reference to this correspondence it is stated by a contemporary—“Had the above Archbishop known men as well as books, there had little need for these letters. He was a very learned man, very pious, and knew nothing of the knave, so that the hypocrite of ordinary letters, from whatever quarter, with a dejected whining countenance, and a large pretence to piety, seldom went away without his designs. But not so with the Bishop of Galloway. He had been the butt of their malice too long not to know where their poisonous schismatical trash lay; therefore they were obliged to produce better testimonies and endure more strict examination. This the Archbishop knew very well to be his [own] failing, and had no design at all to return to Glasgow, neither would he, if he had not got this letter for the Bishop of Galloway’s assistance, with a pro-

* Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, edited by Bishop Russell, p. 267-269.

mise of no long stay, so weary was this good soul of that country, and of the obstinacy in it ; yet he abode until he heard of our good Bishop's death, upon which he immediately laid down his charge, and went to London.”*

Leighton attended the Parliament which met in November 1673, and his name occurs on the roll as Archbishop of Glasgow. Mr James Ramsay was appointed his successor in the See of Dunblane that year, and also attended that Parliament. He is already noticed as minister of Linlithgow at the Restoration, and prominent in the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1662. At the time of his elevation to Dunblane he was minister of Hamilton and Dean of Glasgow.

Archbishop Leighton finally resigned the See of Glasgow in 1674, and returning to Edinburgh, he resided some time in the University, where the chair he had himself occupied was worthily filled by Mr William Colville, who had been nominated at the time of his own election. He soon afterwards went into England, and spent the remainder of his life with his sister, the wife and finally the widow of a gentleman named Lightwater or Lightmaker, of Broadhurst in the parish of Horstead-Keynes in Sussex. He had another sister who married a gentleman named Rathband. He lived in pious seclusion, occasionally officiating in the parish church, and in others in the vicinity. In 1679, an attempt was made to induce him to return to Scotland at the suggestion of the Duke of Monmouth, who obtained for him a grant of L.200 sterling from the King till he could serve the sovereign in a “stated employment,” and he was enjoined to transmit to Charles from “time to time, characters both of men and things ;” but this negotiation was never concluded. In 1684, Leighton was urged by his friend Burnet to visit London, and meet the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, with whom he had been intimate, in the hope that this “angelical man,” as Burnet designates him, might revive some of those “good principles” which were “now totally extinguished” in the Earl. When he reached London, Burnet says that he was surprized to find him hale and active, his hair still black, and retaining much of his natural vivacity, quickness of conception, and strength of memory. He spoke, however, of his work and journey through life as concluded, and

* Account of the Familie of Hamilton of Broomhill, p. 59, 60.

was seized next day with a pleurisy, which continued for about twelve hours, when he expired without pain or convulsions, in the 74th year of his age, on the 25th of June. He died in an inn in Warwick Lane in the arms of Burnet, and was interred at Horstead-Keynes. Leighton was never married, and, with the exception of a small token of grateful acknowledgment to his sister and her son for their kindness to him while he was their guest, he bequeathed his property to pious and charitable uses. His Works were first published by the James Fall, D.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow, who was deprived by the Government for nonconformity to Presbyterianism after the Revolution, and was collated to the precentorship of York Cathedral.

Some traditions still exist of Leighton's episcopate at Dunblane illustrative of his simplicity and exemplary life. His usual promenade in that decayed city is known as the *Bishop's Walk*. He left his books to the clergy of the Diocese of Dunblane, and his sister and her son erected the tenement at their own expense in which his Library is preserved, endowing it with the sum of L.300, the interest of which is applied to the repair of the building, the salary of the librarian, and the purchase of books. Various additions have been made to the number of volumes from bequests, and from the grant by Leighton's relatives; but the Library has been shamefully neglected, and it is stated that during fifty years previous to 1842 about seven hundred volumes had been lost. The Library comprises excellent editions of the Classics, several works of the Fathers, many of the theological treatises of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and some of the following century, but very few of more recent times. After the Revolution the Library fell into the hands of the Presbyterians, and Leighton's nephew placed it under the controul of seven trustees, one of whom was the then Viscount Strathallan, whose right is now invested in the Earls of Kinnoull, three gentlemen and their heirs-male, the minister of Dunblane, and two other parochial incumbents chosen by the Established Synod of Perth and Stirling. Previous to 1843 the building was repaired at the expense of L.100, and is now fitted up as a subscription reading-room. The records of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, from 1662 to 1688, are extant, including of course the whole of Leighton's episcopate.*

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—*Perthshire*, p. 1039, 1040, 1041.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH AND ITS OPPONENTS.

IN 1673 the Quakers in Aberdeen again encountered the opposition of the Magistrates, who sent a memorial against them to the Privy Council, and the clergy applied to Archbishop Sharp, complaining that “the Quakers’ schism was prejudicial to the interest of the Church, and that by using a separate burial-place they prevented the payment of the fees customary on these occasions.” This refers to a most unwarrantable act which the civic authorities perpetrated. They had previously enjoined all male Quakers to be apprehended at their next convention, imprisoned in the jail, and their meeting-house to be closed. The Quakers, nevertheless, persevered in maintaining their peculiar tenets in defiance of every indignity; but lest it should be supposed that they suffered solely because they were opposed to the Episcopal Church, it may be here observed that Wodrow and other Presbyterian writers approve of all the proceedings against them, and complain that they were not sufficiently prosecuted. The Quakers had appropriated ground on the east side of the street called the Gallowgate in Aberdeen for the interment of their dead. The Magistrates caused the walls of this cemetery to be demolished, and the body of a child, which had been buried three days previously, was disinterred by their order, and buried near the adjoining fishing village of Footdee at the mouth of the Dee. In consequence of a report that the Quakers had abstracted the body, and filled the coffin with stones to deceive the Magistrates, another disinterment took place, which satisfied them that the rumour was unfounded. The Quakers, who are not without their superstitions, have a tradition that in consequence of this very harsh conduct on the part of the civic

authorities an unusual mortality of children occurred in Aberdeen that year, and the favourite grandchild of one of the Magistrates who was most active in the affair was on the following day accidentally killed by his servant. This, however, did not lessen his opposition, and "going on" in what the Quaker Barclay calls "his usual course of wickedness, among similar acts often causing the walls of the burial-place and premises to be pulled down," he was soon afterwards "suspended in his career by a fall which fractured his leg." It is stated that the Magistrates nevertheless continued to remove every corpse interred in the Quakers' ground, and they continued so to act until they were prohibited by the Privy Council. In June 1673, nineteen of the Aberdeen Quakers were summoned before the Privy Council at Edinburgh and fined, but before the money was exacted a proclamation was issued remitting all penalties for nonconformity except those already paid, or engaged to be paid by the bond of the parties or other securities.

In 1673 another attempt was meditated against the life of Archbishop Sharp by the field-preacher Mitchell already mentioned. This man returned to Scotland that year, married, and hired a shop, in which his wife sold brandy and tobacco, within a few doors of the Archbishop's residence in Edinburgh. Mitchell was held in great repute for his previous attempt on the Primate by the Covenanters. His shop was a secret resort of their leaders, who often discussed in it their intrigues with Holland. Mitchell had not been long in Edinburgh before he was apprehended as a suspicious person from his external appearance, for he is described as a "lean hollow-cheeked man, of a truculent countenance, and had the air of an assassin as much as a man could have." Two pistols, in size like those he formerly possessed when he wounded Bishop Honyman, which were found each to be loaded with three bullets, were taken in his possession. He was conveyed by Sir William Sharp, then Keeper of the Signet, to his brother the Archbishop's residence. Though a crowd rushed into the house the Primate at once recognized Mitchell, and approaching him, said—"You are the man." He was soon afterwards brought before the Privy Council, at which the Duke of Lauderdale presided. Mitchell on that occasion refused to confess, but he acknowledged his guilt to a committee appointed to deal with him, which he signed in

the presence of Lauderdale, his brother Lord Hatton, then Treasurer-Depute, the Lord Chancellor Rothes, and others of the Privy Council, who adhibited their names as witnesses. In February 1674 he was brought to trial, when after his indictment was read he denied the whole, and retracted his confession. Sir John Nisbet, the Lord Advocate, desisted from the prosecution, and the Privy Council committed Mitchell a close prisoner to the Bass Rock in the mouth of the Frith of Forth. He continued on the Bass till the latter end of December 1677, when he was again called up to answer for his criminal designs.

The Scottish Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 12th of November, the Duke of Lauderdale representing the King as Lord High Commissioner, and the Lord Chancellor Rothes presiding. On roll as present are Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, Leighton, styled Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Brechin, Dunblane, Caithness, and Argyll. In the King's letter it is stated that "one of the principal reasons of keeping this session of Parliament was to the end [that] effectual courses may be laid down for curbing and punishing the insolent field conventicles, and other seditious practices which have since the last session too much abounded."—"You are our witnesses," says the royal document, "what Indulgences we have given, and with what lenity we have used such dissenters as would be peaceable; and how much our favours have been abused. You have made many good laws, but still have failed in the execution against the contemners of the law. We must now, therefore, once for all lay down such solid and effectual courses as the whole kingdom may see that we and you are both in earnest; and that if fairness will not, force must compel the refractory to be peaceable and obey the laws." Only four Acts were passed by this Parliament, which was adjourned from time to time, and dissolved by royal proclamation dated the 19th of May 1674.

A variety of events occurred in 1674. On the 29th of April we find the Diocesan Synod of Fife unanimously approving of an overture or memorial to Archbishop Sharp, entitled a "representation of the grievances of the Church to the Lords of the Privy Council" prepared by the Primate and the "Brethren of the Privy Conference," which was delivered into "the Lord Archbishop's hands for transmission." This document complains of the "increase of

Popery" and the "defection of some into Quakerism;" the frequency of field-preaching, and assemblages of multitudes in the fields and private houses ; disorderly marriages ; the "refusal of delinquents to submit to the just censures of the Church for scandalous miscarriages condemned by the word of God and laws of this kingdom :" the "licentiousness of persons openly profane, who are encouraged by this example ;" the "unheard of intrusion into and invading the pulpits of the godly and orderly ministers of this Church, and the barbarous profanation of places dedicated to the service of God :" the "open and ordinary profanation of the Lord's day by persons who, pretending necessary dispatch of business, do cause great disturbance in the several parishes through which the common road lieth, threatening and forcing hirers of horse, boatmen, and other people, to serve their worldly lusts and designs ; as also by the travelling of multitudes of people on the Lord's Day to conventicles at a distance."

The conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale at this period of his administration was marked by his political insincerity and duplicity to both the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterians. His notorious immorality, and his licentious intercourse with Elizabeth Murray, who succeeded her father the first Earl of Dysart as Countess in her own right, are facts well known and disgraceful even in that profligate age. His Duchess, who was the second daughter of the first Earl of Home, died at Paris in 1671, and in February 1672 he married the Countess of Dysart, then the widow of Sir Lionel Talmash, Bart. She is described as a person of such remarkable beauty, fascinating manners, and varied accomplishments, that Cromwell himself could scarcely resist her attractions. Lauderdale and his second Duchess made a tour through many parts of Scotland after their marriage, and were received and attended with almost regal respect. The odium of his administration fell upon the Church, and the Bishops and clergy were accused of exciting his severe proclamations. Another misfortune was that no party could depend upon his policy. At one time he rigidly insisted on conformity, and threatened the discontented preachers who were sanctioned by the "Indulgence." We find him writing to the Privy Council in 1673—"Because some of them are displeased, forsooth, with the late Indulgence, you shall secure them from the fear of any more of that kind, and let them know that if,

after all the lenity used towards them, they still continue refractory and untractable, the whole of the royal power shall be employed for securing the peace of the Church and Kingdom from their seditious practices." This decisive language contained much truth, but it was rendered altogether ineffectual by Lauderdale's subsequent conduct. After the prorogation of the Parliament in 1674 he and the Earl of Tweeddale were summoned by the King to Court, and as a combination had been formed to deprive him of his power and influence, he thought proper to connect himself with the Presbyterians, by announcing a pardon on the 4th of May to all resorters to field-preachings and other meetings previous to that day, founded, as is alleged, on a letter from the King. This "act of grace," as Kirkton calls it, was proclaimed some days afterwards with due solemnity in presence of the Magistrate; "but," says Kirkton, "though this act was not very full in itself, it had this effect, to be looked at by the common people rather as an encouragement for the time coming than as a remission for what was past; and from that day forward the truth was Scotland broke loose with conventicles of all sorts in houses, fields, and vacant churches; hence conventicles were not noticed, the field conventicles blinded the eyes of our State so much. The parish churches of the curates in the meantime came to be like pest-houses; few went to any of them, and none to some, so the doors were kept locked. In the West there were not many, in regard of the Indulged ministers; nor in the North, in regard of the disposition of the people there, who were never zealous for a good cause."* The "good cause" means Presbyterianism, this sneer at the northern counties indicating that the people were almost universally in favour of the Episcopal Church. Kirkton states that in the spring of this year the field-preachers and their adherents began "to act very high; almost all of them preached, not only in houses, but went to the fields or vacant churches." He says that the common talk of the peasantry was about the success of the last Sunday's conventicle, the preachers, the numbers and enthusiasm of the audiences, the doctrines taught, the "change among the people: how some times the soldiers assaulted them, and some killed of them; sometimes the soldiers were beaten, and some of them killed; and this was the

* Kirkton's History, edited by C. K. Sharpe, Esq. p. 343.

exercise of the people of Scotland for six years time," or to the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679. It is easy to estimate the misery which all this fanaticism would engender and foster among the people by Lauderdale's proceedings, the barriers it opposed to domestic, social, and intellectual improvement, the ignorant prejudices it would perpetuate, and the hatred it would excite. It is singular that the Scottish Bishops had nevertheless the most implicit confidence in Lauderdale. Kirkton in his ironical style says—" Lauderdale had a party in the Parliament who stuck by him at that time. Among these were Argyll, Kincardine, and Stair, with whose heifer he ploughed most; but we must not forget the good Bishops, who stuck by the Commissioner as one man." In those letters of the Bishops who survived the Revolution, which are still preserved, the writers mention Lauderdale and his brother Lord Hatton as the sincere and determined supporters of the Church; but that *sincerity* was very questionable which encouraged the field-preachers and their followers at one time and denounced them at another. It is undeniable that he opposed the Presbyterians, but all his proceedings were characterized by caprice, interest, and individual aggrandizement.

The open field-preachings began in Fife early in 1674 under the auspices of two noted leaders—Blackadder and Welsh—the latter the grandson of that John Welsh who was banished by King James. On the 2d of January the former collected a large assemblage at Kincaple—a mansion upwards of two miles from St Andrews, at which Welsh was also present. Archbishop Sharp was from home, but his wife sent a body of militia who were accompanied by a crowd from St Andrews, and a number of the students, to disperse the conventicle. After some violent altercation the proprietor of the mansion appeared, and asked the occasion of this disturbance on the Sabbath-day. The officer produced a warrant signed by Chancellor Rothes to apprehend him and his brother on the previous year. "I see," was the reply, "you have an old order from the Chancellor to that effect, which was extorted from him by the Prelate. If you intend to execute it now you may, but you will see the faces of men." According to the Presbyterian tradition Blackadder some weeks afterwards held another conventicle at Kincaple. Archbishop Sharp, who was then at home, sent for the Provost of St Andrews, and desired him to call out

the military, disperse the meeting, and apprehend the preacher. “ My Lord,” the Provost is made to reply, “ the militia are gone there already to hear the preaching, and we have none to send.” This story is one of the many fictions which are still credited.

Encouraged by Lauderdale’s act of indemnity, Welsh and other preachers forcibly entered parish churches in Fife and held forth to their followers. The Covenanters took possession of the parish church of Cramond and others near Edinburgh, and intruded themselves into the Magdalene Chapel in that city one Sunday. During this summer another attempt was projected against Archbishop Sharp ostensibly by female enthusiasts secretly abetted by the preachers. On the 4th of June, while he was passing through the Parliament Close at Edinburgh to attend a meeting of the Privy Council accompanied by the Lord Chancellor Rothes, many hundreds of women had assembled with a design to murder him, and the daughter of Johnston of Warriston was to give the signal. Rothes, who knew their intentions, diverted this woman by some general conversation, and the Archbishop entered the council-room in safety.* Wodrow says that one of them seized him rudely by the throat, designating him *Judas Iscariot*, and exclaiming—“ Ere all was done his neck behoved to hang for it ;” but as this incident is not mentioned by any other writer, it is probably one of the usual fictions of the time. Three of those women, including Johnston’s daughter, were imprisoned for a short period. “ During the furies of the Covenant,” as Mr C. K. Sharpe observes, “ riotous assemblages of the female sex were very frequent in Edinburgh. One Mistress Kelty, at the head of a regiment of pious sisters, threw a stone at the head of the Duke of Hamilton in 1648, for which her hand was ordered to be cut off; ‘ but he procured her pardon,’ says Burnet in his Memoirs of the Duke, ‘ and said the stone had missed him; therefore he was to take care that their sentence should miss her.’ ”

The proceedings of the field-preachers had been represented to the Government, and a letter from the King to the Privy Council was read, requiring them by the aid of the military and standing force diligently to apprehend “ preachers at conventicles, invaders of pulpits, and ringleading heritors.” A committee was appointed, at the head of which were Archbishop Sharp and the Officers of

* Sir George Mackenzie’s Memoirs, 4to. p. 272, 273.

Crown, and of the State, assisted by the Earls of Argyll, Linlithgow, Kinghorn, Wigton, and Dundonald. John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, John Blackadder, and seventeen other field-preachers, were ordered to be apprehended, one of whom was a person named Forrester, minister of Alva, who had been induced to join the party, and was deposed by the Diocesan Synod of Dunkeld, which was ratified on the 4th of May by Bishop Guthrie. For Welsh and Semple, who were particularly obnoxious, a reward of L.400 sterling was offered, and for the others 1000 merks. The city of Edinburgh was fined L.100 sterling, to be levied from those who were present, for allowing the conventicle in the Magdalene Chapel. Inglis of Cramond was ordered to pay L.1036 Scots as the cost of hearing six Covenanting sermons in his parish church; a gentleman in Fife, for " harbouring" Welsh in his house one night, was ordered to pay 2000 merks, though Kirkton says that when Welsh lodged in his house he was from home; and eleven heritors were fined upwards of 5500 merks for attending his field-preachings. Two proclamations followed, the one against those who resorted to conventicles; landlords and masters were to be responsible for the fines incurred by their tenants and servants; and magistrates were authorized to compel all persons whom they suspected to produce security for their good behaviour. The other was against the field-preachers in terms of the Acts of Parliament. The King also intimated to the Privy Council that the military in Ireland and at Berwick were in readiness to serve in Scotland, and repress all conventicles and other seditious meetings.

As it respects the field conventicles, the Diocesan Synod of Glasgow in October 1673 had complained of their injurious effects on the morals of the people. In addition to the undeniable charges of fanaticism, sedition, and abuse of the King and Government, the Diocesan Synod alleged that "incest, bestiality, murder of children, besides frequent adulteries, and other acts of wickedness," were the results of those meetings. The Presbyterians denounce these accusations as foul and false aspersions, originating in exasperation at the numerous field assemblages, and the violent treatment which the clergy experienced from the Covenanters. Such writers ought, however, to recollect that their predecessors in 1638 scrupled not to accuse the Scottish Bishops and clergy of similar crimes, and that not one of them has evinced the candour to deplore those vile

and wicked calumnies. It is possible that the Diocesan Synod of Glasgow exaggerated the matter, but it cannot be denied that such promiscuous congregations of men and women in wild and remote localities were dangerous to the morals of an excited peasantry, and that the inflammatory harangues addressed to them in the coarsest and often in no very modest language would lead many into illicit intercourse. Long after the Revolution the dreadful immorality which resulted from the annual Presbyterian mode of administering the Sacrament, when the practice of what is called *tent-preaching* in the open air was prevalent, was admitted by the more enlightened of the Presbyterian ministers themselves, and the kirk-session records of the parishes corroborate the fact. Every one is familiar with Burns' "*Holy Fair*," and that exquisite effusion of the Scottish poet did more to extinguish those extraordinary annual displays of fanaticism than many serious exhortations. And if the "*Holy Fairs*" of the eighteenth century were unable to resist the attacks of ridicule on account of the licentiousness and immorality they fostered among the male and female peasantry, it can scarcely be credited that their ancestors who resorted to field-preachings were more virtuous.

We are told that in 1674 the Duke of Lauderdale reconciled himself to Archbishop Sharp, and secured the favour of Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury. The result of this probably was the restoration of Archbishop Burnet to his See of Glasgow, vacant by the retirement of Bishop Leighton. The King's letter in favour of Archbishop Burnet is dated the 7th of September, and on the 29th of that month the Privy Council passed an act in obedience to the royal authority, restoring "the said Alexander Archbishop of Glasgow to the possession and enjoyment of the Archbischopric." About this period his traducer, the future Bishop Burnet, resigned his Professorship of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and removed to London. His subsequent career has no connection with the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

During this year an agitation was excited by Bishops Ramsay of Dunblane and Lawrie of Brechin, and promoted by some of the clergy in Edinburgh and Leith, to obtain a National Synod "for considering the disorders in the Church." In a letter from Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, dated Windsor, 13th June, his Lordship states that he had informed the King, soon after the last

meeting of the Privy Council, of the exertions to persuade the Diocesan Synods to demand a national one—"And now," says the Duke, "it is apparent the design was more against Episcopacy than against conventicles ;" and—"I am sorry to see, by my last letters of the 4th instant, that the design is still carried on, and that some that I took to be more orthodox have had too great a hand in carrying on that plot. I had a general account of the address of the Presbytery of Glasgow to that of Edinburgh for a meeting, forsooth, which would have looked too like the late Commission of the Kirk, and of an address made by some of the ministers about Edinburgh to that effect. This looks too like the petition of ministers before the Rebellion in the years 1637 and 1638." His Grace requests the Archbishop to intimate to him his "free advice" as to what he thinks the King should "command upon this occasion," assuring the Primate that "the King will be very careful that the honour and authority of the Bishops may be preserved, and all contrivances against them suppressed and punished." The Duke concludes—"Although I am no longer Commissioner, yet in all stations I shall be found zealous and active for the government of the Church as it is now by law settled, and for its peace and happiness." Archbishop Sharp was opposed to the projected National Synod, for which he saw no necessity, and he addressed a letter to Archbishop Sancroft to exert his influence against it with the King. He complains—"We are assaulted not only by foreigners [probably alluding to the intrigues with Holland], our old enemies the fanatics, who never were of us; but, alas! my Lord, there is a fire in our own bed-straw, by sons of our own bowels, who viper-like seek to eat that which produced them. They are all crying out for a national convocation of the clergy, upon no other account but to shake off our yoke and break our bands asunder.—Their great aim and design is against me, who, God knows, like Paul, have spent myself in the service of the Church, and am yet willing to spend what remains. I believe no man can say I have run in vain. If I be not supported by his Majesty's special favour through your Grace's recommendation, I shall inevitably suffer shipwreck, and that upon no evil, or upon mine own account, but I see that through my sides the Church will be wounded. The only remedy is to procure his Majesty to discharge the convocation, which will calm the storm, and quench

all those malicious designs which are now on foot to disturb the peace of the Church. They are already come to that height that one Mr Cant, a presbyter, has shaken off all fear of God, and regard for his canonical oath, in calling me a great grievance to this Church."

The Mr Cant here mentioned is generally supposed to have been the son of Mr Andrew Cant, the noted Covenanting minister of Aberdeen, and was a presbyter of the Church which his father had violently opposed. This Mr Cant became one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and after 1675 was Principal of the University. His son, or relative, who was ejected at the Revolution, was consecrated one of the Bishops of the disestablished Scottish Episcopal Church in 1722. On the 2d of June, Archbishop Sharp complained to the Privy Council of the conduct of Messrs Cant, Turner, Robertson, and Hamilton. The Primate and some others were authorized to examine them, and commit them if they saw cause. Their report was transmitted to the King, who on the 16th of July wrote to the Privy Council, declaring his pleasure that Bishop Ramsay of Dunblane should remove into the Diocese of The Isles within two weeks—that Bishop Lawrie of Brechin should confine his ministry to Trinity College church in Edinburgh—and that Bishop Young should prohibit the refractory presbyters from officiating in any parish within that Diocese unless by his special license. Mr Turner was to remove to Glasgow, Mr Robertson to Auchterless in Aberdeenshire, Mr Cant to Liberton, and Mr Hamilton to Cramond, until farther orders. The Presbyterians allege that this common kind of exile in those times was at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, who domineered over those who gave him vexation. As this is a matter of opinion it is unworthy of farther notice; but if it were the fact, the Primate cannot be much blamed. Have Presbyterian General Assemblies and Synods never exercised tyrannical powers since the Revolution?

Bishop Hamilton of Galloway died in August this year. Wodrow has preserved a Presbyterian tradition as to the cause of his death. After stating a gross falsehood, that "few or none of the Bishops after the Restoration who had taken the Covenant died a natural death," he adds—"Mr James Hamilton, minister at Camnethan, and afterwards Bishop of Galloway, when Mr Gilbert Hall was

seized with a great palsy, the Bishop had that expression when he heard of it—‘ Now God has stopped that man’s mouth that we all could not get stopped.’ Within a very little time, riding home from some place, by the road his tongue fell a swelling, and before he got home it was swelled to that degree that it hung out of his mouth, and he died in great anguish.”* There is not a word of truth in this contemptible story. We are told that Bishop Hamilton “ was a man of a sprightly but ordinary stature, well seen in divinity, especially in polemics and the languages, with a good memory, accurate in the Fathers and Church history, as is yet to be seen by the remarks upon his books. He was very pious and charitable, strictly pure in his morals, most kind to his friends, and most affable and courteous to strangers. He was a Boanerges in the pulpit, and every way worthy of the sacred character which he bore.—The Bishop was very happy in a pious, fond, and virtuous wife. She knew his constitution, and did, under God, keep him in a good state of health during her life; but for the seven years he lived thereafter, his daughters being very young, and when come to any maturity married from him, he took the liberty to manage his diet as he pleased, which generally was one roasted egg in the morning, a little broth; and perhaps nothing [else], about four; at night a small glass of ale to his pipe in the winter, and for the most part water in summer. This with his book was most of the good Bishop’s food during the last seven years of his life.”† The same writer, in reply to an assertion of Wodrow that Bishop Hamilton, when consecrated with the other Bishops in Westminster Abbey in 1661, there learned the “ English Service,” states—“ Yet, for all that, he [Wodrow] hath neglected the Synodal books at Glasgow, else he had found Mr James Hamilton to his lasting honour severely handled by the then Synod for using so long that great treasure of rational devotion, I mean our Liturgy, in his church at Cambusnethan.” Bishop Hamilton was succeeded in the Diocese of Galloway by John Paterson, Dean of Edinburgh, and minister of the Tron church in that city. He was a son of Bishop Paterson of Ross, and it is previously stated that he was minister of Ellon in Aberdeenshire. Both father and son were contemporaries in the episcopal office.

* *Analecta*, vol. 1, 4to, 1842, p. 64, 65.

† Account of the Familie of Hamilton of Broomhill, p. 61, 62.

In the summer of this year the Magistrates of Aberdeen began another crusade against the Quakers. They were forcibly expelled from their meeting-house, of which, however, they took possession when the civic authorities retired, and they appear to have displayed as much tenacity to their opinions in their own way as did their enemies the Covenanters. In terms of the proclamation against house and field conventicles, two of them were imprisoned for nearly three months, and as all the Quakers refused to subscribe a bond obliging themselves to abstain from such meetings, they were denounced by the Magistrates as rebels, and their personal property was declared to be forfeited to the King's use. They sent a memorial to the Privy Council, complaining of these proceedings, and declaring their loyal attachment to the Government. The Aberdeen Quakers have a tradition that one David Rait, who, along with sundry of the students of Marischal College, interrupted their meetings, was in consequence overtaken by severe afflictions, and died in a state of distraction.

Towards the end of this year Archbishop Sharp went to London, where he appears to have remained till August 1675. Some letters connected with the internal affairs of the Church at this period which passed between the Primate, Bishop Paterson and Bishop Ramsay, are preserved in the Episcopal chest at Aberdeen, and others by Wodrow, but they contain no historical facts of importance. Bishop Ramsay followed the Archbishop to London, disregarding the King's command to locate himself in the Diocese of The Isles; and on the 7th of June 1675 he addressed a long letter to the Primate evidently written under excitement. The Bishop of Dunblane, though a man of undoubted integrity, was apparently of a restless disposition, and inclined to innovations. He complained that he had been misrepresented to the King, and that though he intended "to give exact obedience to his Majesty's pleasure," he had petitioned the Privy Council in vain to "represent his case," and that he "might be put to the strictest trial anent those crimes informed against him." He accused the Archbishop of being the sole opposer of his demands, and insisted that "as Primate you should have concerned yourself to help forward a favourable answer to the petition of a Bishop of your own Province so just in itself."—"But since I came here," says Bishop Ramsay, "I have been amazed to find a person of your character and parts could think it worthy of

himself and his pains to make and spread such reports as I am told you have done. May I be so bold as to ask your Grace if indeed you believe me to be a fanatic, or upon what shadow of ground you either think or report it to others? Have you any letters under my hand avouching that presbyterian government, even for its substantials, is *jure divino*, or that I was thinking *de mutando solo*, when the Parliament made the first discoveries of their inclination to restore Episcopacy?" The Bishop then refers to his sufferings before the Restoration, his early conviction of the divine authority of Episcopacy, his defences of it in the Synod of Lothian "under the greatest patrons of presbytery," and he asks—"Do you think that I am turned fanatic because a Bishop? I beseech your Grace to consider how unjustifiable those slanders will be when put to the touch." He adds in a postscript—"If your Grace return no answer this or the next day, I will conclude you resolve to give me none." The Archbishop replied on the following day in a long and temperate letter, denying the accusations against him, reminding him of the favours he conferred upon him though never very intimate with him, and while he had never said to any one that Bishop Ramsay had turned "fanatic," he nevertheless thought "there may be a schismatical and unpeaceable Bishop in the Church." The whole letter contains some severe reflections on Bishop Ramsay's former conduct and statements, and concludes by declaring that he [the Archbishop] will receive no more of his letters; but as the whole is a personal quarrel, it is unnecessary to introduce the correspondence at length in this narrative.

While the Archbishop was in London, Bishop Wallace of The Isles died at Rothesay on the 16th of May, and was interred in the old parish church, in which a monument was erected to his memory. He was succeeded by Andrew Wood, successively minister of Spott, and of Dunbar, in Haddingtonshire, who, on account of the poverty of the See, was allowed to retain the parochial incumbency of Dunbar. During this year Bishop Scroggie of Argyll died at or near Dunbarton, and an elegant monument was erected to him in that churchyard. He was succeeded in the See of Argyll by Arthur Ross, then one of the ministers of Glasgow.

Archbishop Sharp returned to Scotland in August, with a commission from the King to summon a meeting of all the Bishops to inquire into the conduct of Bishop Ramsay. The two Archbishops

and the Bishops held their Episcopal Synod at St Andrews in September, and this appears to have been the meeting mentioned by Wodrow. Two questions were submitted to Bishop Ramsay, the one, whether he had obtained leave from the King, or from his metropolitan, to proceed to London on the previous April ; and the other, whether he abetted and assisted the “ motion and petition for a National Synod without consent of his superior and the Bishops of this Church.” Nothing is recorded of the discussion, but it appears that Bishop Ramsay conducted himself so offensively that the Archbishop ordered him to withdraw. He retired, and addressed a long letter to the Primate and the other Bishops, complaining of the treatment he had experienced, and recommending a convocation of the whole clergy. As no advantage could be derived from such a proposition it was strenuously resisted by Archbishop Sharp. On the 4th of September, Bishop Ramsay submitted his “ Answers to the two Interrogatories given in writing to him by the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Archbishops and Bishops who are upon the Commission granted by his Majesty for trial of the said Bishop.” Two other queries, one of them referring to Bishop Young, and the other to Archbishop Sharp, as opposed to the “ motion” for a National Synod, were answered by Bishop Ramsay on the 6th of September.* The decision is not recorded, though it appears that he was suspended from his episcopal function, and ordered to repair to The Isles ; but as he denied that he had any intention of disturbing the peace and unity of the Church, and soon afterwards submitted, he was restored to the exercise of his office and Diocese. Messrs Cant, Turner,† Robertson, and Hamilton, also expressed regret for their rash and imprudent conduct, and were reinstated in their parish churches early in 1676. As the Assertyor Act had been partly the cause of those disputes, a satisfactory declaration was published by the King, in which the royal supremacy of the Church

* Wodrow inserts all the documents and correspondence, History, vol. i, folio, p. 401-414.

† “ 13th March 1681. Died suddenly at Edinburgh, Dr Archibald Turner, one of the ministers there, a man of ready wit and good parts. He was buried at his own desire under the elders’ desk in his own parish church called the Old Kirk, which some thought superstitious ; and his comrade, Mr John Robertson, preached his funeral sermon.” Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church and State from October 1680 to April 1686, by Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall. Edinburgh, 4to. 1840, printed for the Bannatyne Club, p. 31.

was renounced; and the ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction, as exercised in the three first centuries, was acknowledged."

Bishop Honyman of Orkney died at Kirkwall in February 1676, having never recovered the severe wounds he had sustained from the field-preacher Mitchell. Wodrow records a Presbyterian tradition regarding the death of this Prelate:—"Honyman's exit was dreadful. Being in his room alone, they heard a great noise beneath, and when they came up, they found his arm pulled from his body, and cast into the other corner of the room ; and when he was pulled out, he was speechless, only with a woeful look pointed to the end of the room, and within a very little died."* This vile, heartless, and scandalous falsehood is intended to insinuate that the Bishop's arm was torn from his body by supernatural agency. What Presbyterian in his sane senses would now believe such a story? Keith informs us that Bishop Honyman died "with great peace and composure, contrary to what has been asserted by some pamphlet writers, as can be attested by several gentlemen who were witnesses to his death. He was buried in the cathedral church at Kirkwall." Bishop Honyman was succeeded by Bishop Mackenzie, who was translated from the See of Moray, and as he was in the hundredth year of his age at his death in February 1688, he was at this period in his eighty-eighth year. Bishop Mackenzie was succeeded in the See of Moray by James Aitken, a native of Kirkwall, son of Henry Aitken, Sheriff and Commissary of Orkney. He was educated at Edinburgh and Oxford, was a chaplain to the Marquis of Hamilton at the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638, and afterwards incumbent of Birsay in Orkney. In 1650, when the Marquis of Montrose landed in Orkney, he and the other clergy drew up a declaration of loyalty, for which they were all deposed by the Covenanting General Assembly, and Bishop Aitken was excommunicated for merely *conversing* with Montrose, and ordered to be apprehended. By timely notice from Sir Archibald Primeroe, Clerk-Register, whom Bishop Keith terms his "kinsman," he retired to Holland, and returned to Scotland in 1653. He resided privately in Edinburgh till the Restoration, when he went to London with Bishop Sydserff to congratulate the King. He soon afterwards was appointed to the rectory of Winfrith in

* *Analecta*, vol. i. 4to. 1812, p. 64.

Dorsetshire by Bishop Dupper of Winchester, or his successor Bishop Morley, which he held till he was elected to the See of Moray. Bishop Henry Guthrie of Dunkeld, also died in 1676 or 1677. His successor was William Lindsay, minister of Perth, son of James Lindsay of Dovehill, whose consecration is dated by Keith on the 7th of May 1677.

About the beginning of 1676 the Duke of Lauderdale returned to Scotland, bringing another Indulgence to the Presbyterian preachers. He again intimated to Archbishop Sharp that the King would sign no presentation to any Diocese without consulting him and Archbishop Burnet, and that those only would be promoted to Bishoprics who were recommended by them. This was probably intended as a kind of soothing pledge to lessen their opposition to the Indulgence. Nevertheless, that mischievous measure was strongly opposed by all the Bishops, especially the extension or enlargement of it, as pregnant with the most dangerous consequences. A paper is still extant, entitled a "Representation of the evils of ane farther Indulgence," of date 10th February, which was written by Bishop Paterson of Galloway. He points out at great length that the Indulgence had hitherto proved a total failure—that the men who complied with it still held their old principles of the Covenant, and disaffection to the King and Government, which they evince by refusing to observe the 29th of May, or anniversary of the Restoration—that they continually introduce "seditious expressions and insinuations in their sermons and prayers, by which not only the present but the following generation is in hazard to be debauched and corrupted." Bishop Paterson then proceeds to shew the imprudence of "enlarging" the Indulgence, and assigns various arguments to prove the danger to the "interest, peace, and security, of the nation" by "preserving, encouraging, and increasing, such troublesome seminaries and dangerous nurseries."

While the Episcopal Church of Scotland was thus continually suffering from the political intrigues, the local influence, and the party quarrels and jealousies, of the principal nobility, the Government failed not to enforce the laws most rigidly against the refractory field-preachers and their followers. In imitation of their superiors of the Privy Council, the Magistrates of Aberdeen again took cognizance of the Quakers, who seem to have been the principal

separatists, few though they were in that part of the kingdom. In March 1676 twelve of them had been imprisoned, and in May the numbers of them in durance amounted to thirty-four. They were soon summoned before the Earls of Erroll and Marischal, and Sir John Keith, afterwards Earl of Kintore, three of the Privy Council appointed to act as Commissioners in the North of Scotland to enforce the Acts against conventicles. Numbers of them were fined, some the fourth part of their valued rents for keeping conventicles, and the eighth part for withdrawing from public worship, with an additional eighth part for their wives who had become Quakers; others were amerced in sums of from L.25 to L.30 and L.40; and a few in twenty merks each. Two of them, named John Skene and George Keith, who were convicted of having "preached and prayed at their unwarrantable meetings," were ordered to find security to the extent of 5000 merks "not to do the like hereafter," or to "enact themselves to remove out of the kingdom." A variety of proceedings ensued, in which the Quakers conducted themselves with a moderation very different from the field-preachers and their adherents, and adopted the constitutional mode of memorializing the Privy Council. They were generally ordered back to prison till their fines were paid, with the exception of a few who were liberated; but such was the zeal of those incarcerated, that they preached to the passengers on the streets from the jail windows. To stop this exhibition the Magistrates caused the windows of the jail to be closed up; some were removed from the lower to the higher part of the prison; and others of the more "gifted" of the fraternity were transferred to a building near the town called the *Chapel*. The preaching from the windows of the prison nevertheless continued, which so enraged the Magistrates that they covered the upper windows with boards; and when the captives complained of the crowded state of the jail, alleging that they had scarcely room to move, they were told in particular by a zealous Bailie Burnet, that "he would pack them like salmon in a barrel; that though they stood as close as the fingers on his hands yet they should have no more room: and that if they had not room in the chambers they might lie on the stairs." This very unconsolatory assurance elicited a singular epistle to the Provost from an acquaintance of one of the prisoners in the town, who threatened that functionary with all the punishments of the world

to come for thus treating the “Lord’s people.” The Commissioners of the Privy Council ordered nine of them to be removed to Banff; five to be liberated from the jail, and confined to their country domiciles and parishes; and no meetings were to be allowed in houses, or frequenting them elsewhere. This relief was granted to the so called “*Friends*” on account of “the extraordinary trouble sustained by the Magistrates and burgh of Aberdeen through the many Quaker conventicles held in the Tolbooth, and that others have been urged to throw themselves into the snare of imprisonment for the purpose of molestation.”

It thus appears that the Quakers were prosecuted under the same statute as the Covenanters—“keeping conventicles and withdrawing from Divine worship.” Any other sectaries who refused to conform to the Established Church would have been similarly treated; but it ought to be recollected that the numerous sects with which Scotland now abounds were not in existence till the succeeding century, and the Roman Catholics were either too insignificant, or too inaccessible in the Highland districts under the protection of powerful Chiefs who adhered to that religion, to attract notice. The Quakers, however, were too wise in their generation to resort to the mountains. Field-preaching formed no part of their procedure, and was altogether inconsistent with their tenets and system. If the assemblages of the Covenanters had been conducted on their principle, few sermons would have been preached, and the Old Testament would not have been so often distorted to encourage rebellion, murder, and revenge. All that the Quakers desired was protection when they convened in their own way in their meeting-houses, and in this respect the “*Friends*” in the reign of Charles II. were conscientious sufferers. They cherished as many objections to Presbyterianism as to the Episcopal Church, and we know from recorded statements that they would have suffered more severely if Covenanting Presbyterianism had been established.

That this is a proper view of the case is evident from two documents. The one was a petition to the Privy Council for release from prison by the Quakers of Aberdeen, declaring—“The nature of our known principles, and our practice thereunto corresponding since we were a people in this nation, free us of all just ground of suspicion of being disturbers of the common peace, or prejudicial to

the present Government ; and the innocent and harmless exercise of our consciences in our peaceable and Christian assemblies doth not, as we conceive, *come under the genuine purpose of those laws made against the seditious conventicles.*" After this just distinction between themselves and the field-preachers, with whose " seditious conventicles " they disowned any connection, they proceeded to detail their personal losses, imprisonments, and sufferings, in the jail of Aberdeen. The other document is an expostulatory letter to Archbishop Sharp, dated " from the Chapel Prison of Aberdeen, the 26th of the 1st month, 1677," written by Robert Barclay before he and the others were ordered to be removed to Banff. That zealous and honest enthusiast in the cause of Quakerism had been informed that the Archbishop was a chief instigator of their sufferings, and although no direct evidence of this can be adduced, it is clear from the repeated notices of the Quakers in the Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Fife that he was not particularly friendly to their opinions. The letter is expressed in the phraseology assumed by the Quakers, and is directed to " James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrew, *so called.*" The expostulation is nevertheless respectful, but it must be recollect that Robert Barclay, unlike the field-preachers, was a gentleman of ancient family, refined habits, and liberal education. He commences by stating that though he had often intended to address him, the circumstance of not being personally acquainted with the Archbishop had rendered him " loath " to trouble him ; but as a memorial had been sent to the Privy Council on behalf of himself and his brethren in prison, he thought it right to intimate " what had been upon his mind."—" The address itself," says Robert Barclay, " will inform thee how we have been upwards of a year prisoners, and the goods of many poor people miserably spoiled, of which thou art said to be the chief and principal author ; and that the attempting to persecute us, as well as the prosecution of it, doth proceed from thy influence, as being done either at thy express desire, or by some others in hopes thereby to gratify thee. How far thou art guilty thereof thine own conscience can best tell ; but surely such practices, if thou hast either directly or indirectly had a hand in them, will neither commend thee to God nor good men. I presume thou lookest upon it as thy chiefest honour to be reputed a Christian Bishop, *deriving thy authority from Christ and His*

Apostles; yet they never gave warrant for any such doing, being preachers and practisers of patience and suffering, but never of persecuting, or causing rob any of their goods or liberties for their conscience sake; and long after, even several centuries, the Primitive Bishops abhorred and detested such proceedings.—I confess the bloody Bishops of Rome gave large precedents of such actings, but I suppose thou are not ambitious to be ranked among them, or to be accounted an imitator of them in that respect."

All this is temperate, just, and excellent, and exhibits the Scottish Apostle of the Quakers in a very amiable light. He then proceeds to point out to Archbishop Sharp the marked distinction between the principles of the Quakers and the field-preachers, acknowledging that the latter were his bitter enemies and resolutely opposed to the Government; whereas the former were the very reverse, and that their opinions inculcated peace and non-resistance.

" How far thou art justifiable in thy concurring with or advising the persecution of the Presbyterian Dissenters is not my business to determine. I am confident thou art willing it should be judged that thy so doing against them is not merely for their consciences; but because their principles do naturally or necessarily imply an innovation in the State and thy personal ruin:—believing not only military resistance just to protect themselves against authority, but also an offensive endeavour to turn out their superiors, and establish themselves in their overthrow, both lawful and laudable, as their practice hath sufficiently demonstrated. But should thou now be found a positive persecutor of such against whom nothing of that kind, neither from principle nor practice, can be alleged, but only the simple exercise of their conscience, would not that give plentiful occasion for such as desire to represent thy other actions the worst aspect to show, in whatever thou pretendest of the State's security, that thou art a persecutor of *pure conscience*, since thou shovest thyself such towards those against whom the former reason doth not hold? And surely it would seem that the more our peaceable principle takes place among other Dissenters thy interest will be the more secure, which is a consideration not unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the violence as well of the preachers, as of some Magistrates here, from whom our sufferings

originally do flow, may at first view seem acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well of the public as of thy interest, and no doubt they judge with themselves that they ingratiate themselves with thee in so doing ; yet, didst thou know them as well as some of us do, thou mightst think it no great absurdity to conclude, as well from their practices as principles, that they would be no less ready to give thee this same treatment had they but the like opportunity of doing it ; and rejoice more in it as a great service both to God and the ‘ Kirk of Scotland.’ However, that now [being] out of their reach, they make what use of the law they can both to execute their malice on us and flatter thee at this juncture. In short, we have more than reason to believe that if thou oppose thyself to this our address it will not be granted ; and if thou show thyself moderate and flexible it will not be denied—as no mean persons have hinted to us. So, as the one will be an evidence of thy moderation, the other will be a testimony of thy inclination to persecute. I wish then, for thy sake as well as ours, that this occurrence may rather commend thee, than discommend thee.”

This letter gratified Archbishop Sharp, who exerted himself in favour of the writer. Barclay and his brethren, though ordered to be removed to the jail of Banff, were merely delivered into the custody of the sheriff of that county, who set them at liberty on condition that they would appear when summoned. Others also were released, and those who still remained in prison, notwithstanding the inclination of the Magistrates to oppress them, were provided with better accommodation. Barclay proceeded to Edinburgh to intercede with the Privy Council in their behalf, and the success of his application was only prevented by what the Quaker historian admits to have been the “ *zeal* ” of those of his sect who were still in prison. It appears that the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen held a meeting, and the clergy as usual dined together after their business was transacted. When passing along the street to their several residences some of the Quakers alleged that they were intoxicated, and denounced them to the people from the jail windows. This calumny so enraged the clergy that several of them complained to the Privy Council, representing the imprisoned Quakers as so insolent and abusive that “ a clergyman could not quietly pass the streets for them ;”

and their old enemies the Magistrates earnestly requested the assistance of Archbishop Sharp in suppressing them. They were in consequence remitted to the cognizance of the Commissioners of the Privy Council for the North; and several of those at liberty were again apprehended, and sent to the jail of Banff, in which, however, they admit that they were kindly treated, and were even allowed to resort to a hostelry in the town when they pleased. Some weeks afterwards the Provost of Aberdeen released the prisoners in that place, wisely declaring that “as the greater ones among the Quakers had escaped he would let go the smaller ones.” During the succeeding two years and a half they occasionally offended the civic authorities, and some of them were punished, after which they were no more molested.

About the commencement of 1678 it was rumoured that the Covenanters had confederated to murder Archbishops Sharp and Burnet, some of the Bishops, and other eminent persons. This is no matter of surprize when it is recollect that the “principles of assassination,” as Mr. C. K. Sharpe observes, “were strongly recommended in *Napthali, Jus Populi Vindicatum*, and afterwards in the *Hind let Loose* [by Shields], which books were in almost as much esteem with the Presbyterians as their Bibles.” Sir George Mackenzie states—“These irreligious and heterodox books called *Napthali* and *Jus Populi* had made the killing of all dissenters from Presbytery seem not only lawful, but a duty among many of that profession: and in a postscript to *Jus Populi* it was told that the sending of the Archbishop of St Andrews’ head to the King would be the best present that could be made to Jesus Christ.” It was in consequence resolved to bring the miserable assassin Mitchell, then a prisoner on the Bass Rock, to trial for his crimes. He was removed to Edinburgh to appear before the High Court of Justiciary. The trial commenced on the 7th of January 1678, and occupied four days, the indictment charging the prisoner with attempting to assassinate Archbishop Sharp. The whole was conducted with great deliberation. Sir George Mackenzie was then Lord Advocate, and Sir George Lockhart, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, who was himself subsequently assassinated, was appointed one of the counsel to plead for Mitchell. “The debate in the Adjournal Books,” says Lord Fountainhall, “well deserves reading, for it was one of the most solemn trials [that]

had been in Scotland for three hundred years.* He [Mitchell] owns the fact in the papers left behind him as an impulse of the Spirit of God, and justifies it from Phinehas killing Cosbi and Zimri, and from that law in Deuteronomy commanding to kill false prophets that seduced the people from the true God. This is a dangerous principle, and asserted by no sober Presbyterian." It is unnecessary to refute the calumnies against Archbishop Sharp on this affair. Bishop Burnet represents him in the worst light, and gives a long account of the trial; but he admits that he obtained his information from one who hated the Archbishop. Mitchell was tried on the fourth Act of the Parliament of 1600, rendering it a capital crime to attempt the assassination of a Privy Councillor; but as to the "demembration" of the Bishop of Orkney, it was alleged that the 28th Act of James IV. in 1491 made it not capital, which Sir George Mackenzie admitted. Archbishop Sharp denied in his deposition that he ever held out to Mitchell any assurance that his life would be saved if he confessed, and it is evident that the Primate had no such power. This wretched man was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 18th of January. After his condemnation he was visited by Mr Annand, Dean of Edinburgh, who failed to convince him that his principles and actions were utterly at variance with the Gospel. He died exulting in his attempt on the Archbishop, against whom his associates still vowed the most deadly revenge. As a rescue was threatened by the women, the guards were doubled at the scaffold, and it was observed that the number of females was greater than on any similar occasion. His body was taken to the Magdalene Chapel and was thence carried by his friends for interment to the adjoining Greyfriars' church-yard.

The state of the western counties rendered strong measures necessary to secure the public peace, and a large force of half-civilized Highlanders was brought to keep the inhabitants in subjection. This, in Presbyterian phraseology, is called the *invasion of the Highland host*. The Presbyterian writers are indignant at the alleged oppressions inflicted by the Highlanders, yet it is remarkable that not one life was lost during this singular occupation of the districts; and though it may be admitted that the

* This debate is now published in the Appendix, No. III. to Lord Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, printed for the Bannatyne Club, 4to, 1810, p. 221-302.

quartering of so many ferocious and untameable Celts was a severe punishment, the exasperation which the Government received must be taken into consideration.

A Convention of the Estates was held at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, the Duke of Lauderdale acting as the Lord High Commissioner. It was attended by the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Argyll, and The Isles. In the King's letter, which was read on the 4th of July, the defence of the kingdom is stated as absolutely necessary, "especially at a time when these dangerous field conventicles, so justly termed in our laws the rendezvous of rebellion, do still grow in numbers and insolences." The object of the Convention was to authorize a taxation, which was the only business enjoined to be done, and the Convention was dissolved on the 11th of July. The Presbyterians were divided about the payment of this taxation, some opposing it, and others choosing to pay it rather than encounter the displeasure of the Government.

It is observed that "though a vast multitude of the female sex in Scotland, headed by women of high rank, such as the Duchess of Hamilton, Ladies Rothes, Wigton, Loudon, Colville, and others, privately encouraged or openly followed the field-preachers, whose strength of lungs and *affecting conveyance*, as they called it, drew floods of tears from their eyes, yet there were ladies of the opposite persuasion whose enthusiasm almost equalled that of the Covenanting sisterhood."^{*} This writer adduces as one instance Ann Keith, a sister of the Earl Marischal, and wife of Patrick Smyth of Methven near Perth, styled by the courtesy of the time Lady Methven. This courageous episcopal lady distinguished herself by the successful suppression of a conventicle attempted to be held on her husband's estate during his absence at London with the Marquis of Montrose. She sallied forth with a gun and sword at the head of her vassals; and though the Covenanters greatly exceeded her attendants, she caused them after some parleying to disperse. In one of her letters to her husband, printed by Mr C. K. Sharpe, she gives an account of her exploit, and says—"The Provost [of Perth] told all that spoke with him in that affair, if every master kept as strict an eye over his ground as ye allowed me to

* Note by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. in his edition of Kirkton's Secret and True History, 4to. p. 355.

do, there would be no conventicles in the land. They are an ignorant pack. The Lord clear the nation of them!" In another letter Lady Methven tells her husband—"Comfort yourself in this; if the fanatics kill me it shall not be for nought : I was wounded for our gracious King, and now in the strength of the Lord God of Heaven I will hazard my person with the men I may command, before these rebels rest where ye have power. Sore I miss you, but now more [than] ever. Our honest Bishop Lindsay [of Dunkeld] is lying sick of the gout in his knees down to his feet; he was heartily remembered to you.—Now I have engaged with the conventiclers, from whom I will not flee, I know ye will allow me to do what I am able to suppress them. I will do [it with] good will ; God give the blessing is the prayer of your—ANNE KEITH." In a third letter Lady Methven tells her husband—"My love, if every parish were armed, and the stout and loyal joining, with orders to concur, and liberty to suppress them as enemies to our King and nation, these vaging gypsies would settle." Lady Methven was well known to Archbishop Sharp ; and in a letter dated St Andrews, 27th March 1679, in reply to an application from her in favour of a certain minister for the vacant parish church of Methven, the Primate compliments her "aversion to join in society with separatists, and partaking of that sin to which so many of the sex do tempt their husbands in this evil time, when schism, sedition, and rebellion, are gloried in, though Christianity does condemn them as the greatest crimes."—"Your Ladyship," the Archbishop adds, "in continuing the course of your exemplary piety and zeal for the apostolic doctrine and government, shall have approbation from God and all good men, which is of more value than a popular vogue from an humorous silly multitude, who know not what they do in following the way of seduction."

In January 1679 Bishop Paterson of Galloway was permitted to reside in Edinburgh, because he had no proper manse in his Diocese. This was attended with little inconvenience, as his father, Bishop Paterson of Ross, died about the time, and Bishop Young of Edinburgh was translated to that Diocese. Bishop Paterson of Galloway was appointed to the See of Edinburgh, and he was succeeded by Bishop Ross of Argyll. Colin Falconar, minister of Forres, was consecrated to the See of Argyll, in which he continued till 1680, when he was translated to Moray.

CHAPTER X.

THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

THE atrocities perpetrated by the Scottish Covenanters were to be aggravated by another victim of eminence added to their cruelty, in the person of Archbischop Sharp. They had long plotted against his life, and they never rested till they accomplished his destruction under circumstances as infamous as any which mark the annals of religious and personal hatred; for although only a small party of the Presbyterians perpetrated the deed, yet most of them identified themselves with it by vindicating and exulting in the murder of the Primate.

On Friday, the 2d of May, Archbischop Sharp left Edinburgh for St Andrews accompanied by one of his daughters, intending to return to Edinburgh on Monday, preparatory to a journey to London. He crossed the Frith of Forth by the usual passage between Leith and Kinghorn, and on the evening reached the parish village of Kennoway, nearly half way between Kinghorn and St Andrews, where he lodged during the night in the house of a gentleman who is designated Captain Seaton.* The Archbischop travelled leisurely in his own carriage, and, having no reason to dread any act of violence, was attended by a very few domestics. On Saturday the Archbischop proceeded towards St Andrews in the forenoon. His maligner Kirkton here states:—"What he drove [from Kennoway] I shall not say, but all the country knew he drove most fiercely to his death that day he was killed, though he chose bye-paths, because of some warnings he had that morning at Kennoway."†

* According to the author of the "True and Impartial Account" of his life, the Archbischop was remarkably abstemious that evening and on the following morning, and was observed to be particularly fervent and longer than usual at his devotions.

† Kirkton's Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. 4to. Edinburgh, 1817, p. 83.

The falsehood of this is apparent from the fact that St Andrews is only a common ride of two hours from Kennoway, and if the Primate had been really driving "most fiercely," he would have probably saved his life. It is commonly said that the assassins were not on the outlook for the Archbishop, whose appearance was unexpected, but that they intended to waylay and murder Carmichael, the sheriff-substitute of the county, who, they imagined, was incited by the Primate to enforce the laws rigorously against the disaffected nonconformists. This, however, was a mere pretence, though they certainly would have murdered him also if he had fallen into their hands. We have the authority of the Archbishop's only son, that when upwards of two miles from Kennoway the assassins "had a full view of the coach, and not finding the opportunity, divided into *three parties*, who took up the three ways he could take homewards."* In the depositions of the murder taken at Cupar-Fife, it is plainly stated that "the deed had been long pre-meditated by the actors and many more; that his Grace was waylaid by divers parties, as the witnesses depone; so that whether he had gone straight to St Andrews, or to his house [seat] of Scotseraig [on the Fife side near Dundee] he could not escape them." It was also then proved, that three days previous some of the assassins held a meeting in the house of one Millar in the parish of Ceres, and concerted the murder. On the following night they slept in the barn of a farmer named Black, whose wife urged them to commit the crime; and at parting, when one of them *kissed her*, she prayed that God might bless and prosper them, adding—"If long Leslie be with him, lay him on the green also." This was Mr Alexander Leslie, the incumbent of Ceres. The ruffian replied to this woman, holding up his arm—"There is the hand that shall do it." John Balfour told his associates that he had inquired the Lord's mind in the matter, and that he was impressed by the words—"Go and prosper." This blasphemer again *prayed*, and said it was confirmed to him by the scriptural injunction—"Go, have I not sent you?"

The persons more immediately concerned in the murder were John Balfour of Kinloch above mentioned, better known by the

* Sir William Sharp to Sir James Baird at Banff, dated St Andrews, 10th May 1679, first printed in Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 373, 374.

soubriquet of Burly ; his brother-in-law David Hackston or Halkerston, proprietor of the estate of Rathillet in Kilmany parish ; James Russell, an inhabitant of the parish of Kettle, or King's-kettle, near Cupar-Fife ; and nine others, one of whom was a weaver named Andrew Gullan.* They were all connected with that part of Fife, but many more were expected who did not join them. Balfour was a most ferocious enthusiast “ although,” says the author of the *Scots Worthies*, “ he was by some reckoned none of the most religious. He was a little man, squint-eyed, and of a very fierce aspect.” He had been chamberlain to the Archbishop, to whom by negligence or knavery he owed a considerable sum. Hackston was also in debt to the Archbishop, and had been arrested by the new chamberlain. He is described by his party as having led a dissolute life in his younger years, until, in their fanatical phraseology, “ it pleased the Lord in his infinite goodness to incline him to go out and attend the gospel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the gospel net.” Those two persons had most substantial reasons for their rancour and hatred towards the Archbishop, apart from their religious animosities.

While out on the 3d of May, ostensibly in search of Carmichael, who they were told had been seen hunting in the direction of an eminence south from Cupar-Fife known as Tarvet Hill, but who eluded the murderers altogether, a boy brought a message from the woman Black—“ Gentlemen, there is the Bishop’s coach; our goodwife [mistress] desired me to tell you.” This significant hint was not misunderstood. The Archbishop had by this time passed leisurely the old narrow bridge over the Ceres rivulet in the parish village of Ceres near the new bridge, having previously called at the house of the incumbent, with whom, if Wodrow is to be credited, he “ smoked a pipe.” The assassins perceived the Archbishop’s coach, when about five miles from St Andrews, approaching the then waste tract still called Magask or Magus Muir. They immediately exclaimed—“ Truly this is of God, and it seemeth that God hath delivered him into our hands ; let us not draw back, but pursue.”

* This man, who resided in the parish village of Balmerino, had been expelled from Dundee for not resorting to the parish church.—Russell’s Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharp, printed in Mr C. K. Sharpe’s edition of Kirkton’s Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, p. 412.

They now debated what they were to do to the Archbishop. One alleged that he would not move a foot farther, for if, after attacking him, they spared his life, they might expect no mercy ; and others contended that they had “ a clear call to execute God’s justice upon him.” James Russell declared that it had been impressed on his mind several days in *prayer*, and he had mentioned it to a few of his acquaintances as confirmed by the Scriptures, that “ the Lord would employ him in some piece of service ere it was long, and that there would be some great man who was an enemy to the Kirk of God cut off ; and he could not be quit of the thoughts of Nero, and asked where *he could find that Scripture, for he could not get it !*” This ignorant man also mentioned another attempt against the Archbishop in addition to that by Mitchell in 1668. He said he had been at meetings with several “ *godly men*” in various parts, “ who not only judged it their duty to take that wretch’s life and some others, but had essayed it twice before, and came to the shire for that purpose ; and once wonderfully he escaped at the Queensferry, for he went down to Leith with the Chancellor in a boat ;” but the said James Russell was now sure that he had a “ clear call” to go forward, and that “ it seemed the Lord had delivered that wretch into their hands.” In reply to a question, this man said that he would “ let them see what he should do with him ;” and another of the party spoke to the same purpose.

It was then unanimously resolved to place themselves under the command of Hackston of Rathillet, but he refused to act as their leader, declaring that though he was “ willing to venture all he had for the interest of Christ,” yet the “ known prejudice,” or quarrel, between him and the Archbishop “ would mar the glory of the action, for it would be imputed to his particular revenge, which he called God to witness was not the fact ; but he would not dissuade them from their intentions, and would not leave them.” Balfour immediately exclaimed—“ Gentlemen, follow me.” They all rode at full speed towards Magus Muir. When the Primate’s servants saw their master followed by a band of men on horseback they drove rapidly, but they were overtaken on the muir about three miles west of St Andrews, the murderers having previously satisfied themselves, by asking a female domestic of the neighbouring farmer, who refused to inform them himself, that it was really the Archbishop’s coach.

Russell first came up and recognized the Primate sitting with his daughter. The Archbishop looked out of the coach, and Russell cast his cloak from him, exclaiming—"Judas be taken." The Primate ordered the postilion to drive, at which Russell fired at the man and called to his associates to join him. With the exception of Hackston, they threw off their cloaks, and continued firing at the coach for nearly half a mile. A domestic of the Archbishop presented a carbine, but he was seized by the neck, and it was pulled out of his hands. One of the assassins outran the coach, and struck one of the horses on the head with a sword. The postilion was ordered to stop, and for refusing he was cut on the face and ankle. They soon rendered it impossible to proceed farther with the coach. Disregarding the screams, entreaties, and tears of his daughter, a pistol was discharged at the Primate beneath his left arm, and the young lady was seen busily removing the smoking combustibles from her father's black gown. Another shot was fired, and James Russell seized a sword from one of his associates, dismounted, and at the coach door called to the Archbishop, whom he designated *Judas*, to come forth. Sir William Sharp's account of what now occurred, which would be doubtless related to him by his sister, is as follows :—"They fired several shots at the coach, and commanded my dearest father to come out, which he said he would. When he had come out, not being yet wounded, he said—'Gentlemen, I beg my life.' 'No, bloody villain ! betrayer of the cause of Christ, no mercy.' Then said he—'I ask none for myself, but have mercy on my poor child ;' and holding out his hand to one of them to get his that he would spare his child, he cut him on the wrist. Then falling down upon his knees, and holding up his hands, he prayed that God would forgive them ; and begging mercy for his sins from his Saviour, they murdered him by sixteen great wounds in his back, head, and one above his left eye, three in his left hand when he was holding it up, with a shot above his left breast, which was found to be powder. After this damnable deed they took the papers out of his pocket, robbed my sister and their servants of all their papers, gold, and money, and one of those hellish rascals cut my sister on the thumb, when she had him by the bridle begging her father's life."*

* The following is the medical report, by order of the Privy Council, of the examination of Archbishop Sharp's body :—" We, under subscribers, being called to visit the

The narrative of the murder in Wodrow's handwriting in the MS. Collections of his "History" varies considerably from the above, and appears to have been one of the popular accounts. He says that when the assassins were close to the coach they dismounted, poured in upon the Archbishop a shower of ball, again mounted their horses, and were riding off, when one of them heard his daughter observe to the coachman—"There is life in my father yet." They returned, and Wodrow pretends that they found the Primate unhurt. He farther alleges that they forced him out of the coach, upbraided him as a "bloody persecutor," and ordered him to pray, which he refused to do, though often desired. All this is stated on the authority of their associate Gullan. The Archbishop went towards Hackston, who took no more active part in the murder than being one of the party and approving of the deed, saying—"Sir, you are a gentleman; you will protect me." Hackston replied—"Sir, I shall never lay a hand on you." The Primate entreated them to spare the life of an old man, promising to obtain a pardon for them all, as it was a capital crime to attack a Privy Councillor; but they again fired at him, and he fell on his back as if dead, though when touched with a sword he raised himself. They saw that shooting would not do, for they were so superstitious as to believe that he was impervious to ball, and they completed the murder by smashing the hapless Primate with their swords. Wodrow alleges that they only took from his person a Bible, some papers, and what he calls a tobacco box, with which they adjourned to a neighbouring barn. He pretends that when they opened the box a humming bee flew out, which either

corpse of the late Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, do find that he had received a mortal wound by a sword over the left eye, extending two inches above and one below, making a great suffusion of blood upon the cheek and upper and lower eye lid. Next, we found many wounds upon the posterior part of his head, insomuch that the whole occipital bone was shattered all in pieces, and a part of the brain lost thereby upon the place, which certainly being so great could not but occasion his present death. There were only two wounds to be seen upon the body; the first, two or three inches below the right clavicle, betwixt the second and third rib which was given by a shot, not reaching the capacity of the breast. The next was a small wound upon the region of the kidneys given by a small sword. Likewise, we found three wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved fatal though he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand as dangerous as the former. As witness our hands at St Andrews, the 5th day of May 1679, (Signed) George Patullo, M.D.; William Borthwick, *Chirurgeon*; Henry Spence, *Chirurgeon*; James Pringle, *Chirurgeon*.¹"

Hackston or Balfour designated his *familiar*, and which the others concluded to be the *devil*! It also appears that they found in the Archbishop's pocket a ball of coloured silk, a paper containing some notes in Hebrew characters, and Wodrow adds—"a pair of pistol balls [and] parings of nails," which the murderers considered magical charms.

The narrative, however, of the Primate's murder by Russell is at variance with the preceding, and with the brief details of Sir William Sharp. After upbraiding him for betraying the Church as a Judas, and as one who "had wrung his hands these eighteen or nineteen years in the *blood of the saints*, but especially at Pentland," they told him "they were sent by God to execute his vengeance on him that day, and desired him to repent and come forth." Balfour impiously took God to witness that it was not for any injury the Archbishop had done to himself, or from dread of what he could do, but because he had been "a murderer of many a poor soul in the Kirk of Scotland, a betrayer of the Church, and an open enemy and persecutor of Jesus Christ and his members, whose blood he had shed like water on the earth"—"and therefore," he added, "thou shalt die." When he had uttered these horrible and false statements he fired a pistol at the Primate. Russell desired him to come forth for "death, judgment, and eternity." The Archbishop said—"Save my life, and I will save all yours." The murderer answered that "he knew it was not in his power either to save or to kill them, for there was no saving of *his* life; as the blood he had shed was crying to Heaven for vengeance on him;" and thrust his *shabel*, or crooked sword, at him. Balfour ordered him to come forth, and the Archbishop replied—"I will come to you, for I know you are a gentleman, and will save my life; but I am gone already, and what needs more?" Another reminded him of concealing the pardon granted by the King to nine prisoners taken at the Pentland insurrection in 1666—a calumny concerning which the Covenanters were themselves divided; for Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow was also generally though falsely accused of that act. The Primate left the coach with his daughter, and both fell on their knees, the latter begging her father's life; but they told him he must die, and ordered him instantly to repent. One of them said to the Archbishop—"Seeing lives have been taken for you already, if ours be taken it shall not be for nought." Balfour then

struck the wounded Primate on the face, and rode him down with his horse ; one of them named Andrew Henderson cut him on the hand [wrist] ; and Russell, hearing his daughter say that her father was still in life, took off the Primate's hat, which they pretended would not cut at first, and hacked his head. His daughter went to the ruffian and called him a bloody murderer, to whom he replied, that "they were not murderers, for they were sent to execute God's vengeance on him." They then plundered the coach of its contents, and disarmed the postilions and attendants. Russell called to his associates to "see if the Bishop be dead." One of them dismounted, plunged a sword into his belly, though this wound is not mentioned in the medical report, and rifled his pockets, after which Russell desired the Archbishop's servants "to take up their priest now."

Thus fell Archbishop Sharp after filling the high station of Primate of the Scottish Church nearly eighteen years ; and when we consider the state of the times, and the blood-thirsty principles of his enemies, the wonder is that he was allowed to occupy the metropolitan See so long. At the time of his murder he was in the 61st year of his age. The spot on which he met his death is still called the *Bishop's Wood*, and is three miles west from St Andrews. A rude stone is erected on it to the memory of Gullan, who was tried, found guilty, and executed at Edinburgh four years after the murder, his head fixed at Cupar-Fife, and his body hung in chains on Magus Muir, where it was buried after it was taken down by his friends. A short distance west of this memorial of Covenanting crime is pointed out in an open field the grave of five rebel fanatics taken at the battle of Bothwell Bridge in June, and executed and hung in chains on Magus Muir in November. A stone which is now destroyed was erected with an inscription by their admirers.* The only other individual directly implicated in the murder who fell into the hands of justice was Hackston of Rathillet, who was taken prisoner at the conflict of Airds Moss on the following year, and executed at Edinburgh. Another of the murderers, named Daniels, was killed in the skirmish of Drumclog. After perpetrating the murder, the party retired to a neighbouring cottage to *pray*, first collectively, or in a body, and then in private, each impiously

* History of St Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M. A. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1843, vol. ii. 93, 94.

blessing God for calling them to, and carrying them courageously by his Spirit through, such a great work. One of them, after praying alone, told his associates that God said to him—"Well done, good and faithful servant." The murderers then set out in different directions to localities in the county of Perth, thence to Stirlingshire, and thence to Lanarkshire, where they for a few days mingled with the insurgents. The whole of them, however, with the two exceptions previously stated, escaped out of the kingdom. Balfour subsequently joined the Prince of Orange in Holland, and died on his passage to Scotland after the Revolution.

The mangled body of the Primate was conveyed to his residence in St Andrews. On the 17th of May he was interred in the south aisle of the parish church, and the funeral was remarkably solemn and magnificent. At the head of the procession were, to indicate the Primate's age, sixty-one old men in mourning hoods and cloaks, carrying on staves the arms of the See and those of the deceased. Those persons were followed by the Magistrates of St Andrews, of other royal burghs, and of Edinburgh, the Rector and Professors of the University of St Andrews, the clergy of the Diocese, gentlemen and knights, the Judges of the Supreme Court, numbers of the Nobility, the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, the Lord Chancellor, preceded by the purse and mace, the household of the Archbishop, trumpeters, heralds and pursuivants. The chief mourners were Sir William Sharp of Scotscraig, the Archbishop's only son, and Sir William Sharp of Stoneyhill, near Musselburgh, his brother. A canopy surmounted by a mitre was borne over the coffin by six moderators of Presbyteries. The Archbishop of Glasgow and all the Bishops followed. The blood-stained gown in which the Primate was murdered was carried by his domestic chaplain, followed by the coach out of which he was taken, the coachman, postillions, and the very horses, in mourning attire. A troop of the royal life-guards brought up the rear. The interior of the church was arrayed in black, and the coffin was placed on a table covered with dark velvet before the pulpit. The funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh, after which the body was laid in the grave amid the sounding of trumpets.

A marble monument is erected close to the inner wall of the church over the Archbishop's grave, the work of a Dutch artist—a beautiful structure, which has suffered greatly from neglect

and sectarian violence. The Magistrates, ministers, and kirk-session, were bound by contract to preserve this monument in all time coming, for which they received, at least up to 1725, a "considerable yearly mortification for the relief of poor indigent and distressed people." At the base of the monument is a representation of the murder in relief; in the foreground the Primate is delineated on his knees dying from his wounds, while his daughter is at a little distance rudely prevented by two of the ruffians from assisting him; and in the background are the murderers in full pursuit of the coach, which is shewn as driven at full speed, and drawn by six horses. Above this is an urn, on which is a long Latin inscription written by Bishop Bruce, then of Dunkeld, afterwards of Orkney; and on the top is the Archbishop sculptured at full length in his gown kneeling, with the crozier and mitre before him, and a flying angel is seen exchanging a mitre for a crown, with the words *pro coronam mitra*, which afterwards became the motto of the Archbishop's family. Above this are his arms and those of the See, supported by two angels, and the whole is surmounted by an outline of the parish church of St Andrews, the Archbishop standing near it with his crozier in his left hand.

Archbishop Sharp four years before his death presented to the parish church of St Andrews a massive baptismal basin and communion cup, which the Presbyterians seized after the Revolution, and continue to use at their sacramental "occasions." The two weigh 102 ounces, and on each are inscribed—"In usum ecclesiae parochialis civitatis Scti. Andreæ donavit Jacobus Archiepiscopus anno 1675." The Primate's seal exhibits St Andrew holding his cross with his left hand, and a crozier in his right. The family shield is below, and the surrounding words—"Sigillum R. D. Jacobi Sharpi Archiepiscopi St Andreæ 1661." On each side of St Andrew is a scroll, on one of which is inscribed—"Sacratum Ecclesiae, Deo, Regi;" and on the other—"Auspicio Car. II. Ecclesia instaurata."*

The Primate married, in 1657, Helen, daughter of William Moncrieff of Randerston, a gentleman of an ancient and respectable family in Fife. This lady did not escape the slanders of the Covenanters, who assailed her in their usual style of vindictive falsehood. The offspring of this marriage were—*Sir William Sharp,*

* History of St Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A. vol. ii. p. 98, 99.

of Scotscraig and Strathyrum near St Andrews, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Charles Erskine, Bart. of Cambo, near Crail, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms at that time ;—*Isabella*, who was with her father when he was murdered, and who married John Cunningham of Barn, near Elie, also in Fife—a gentleman of an ancient family, by whom she had several children ;—and *Margaret*, who married William eleventh Lord Salton, born in 1654, who succeeded his brother the tenth Lord in 1673, and died in 1715, in the 61st year of his age. Lady Salton survived till August 1734, when she died at Edinburgh. As an instance of the infamous lies which the field-preachers and Covenanters circulated against the Archbishop, one of them, the noted William Veitch, asserts—“ I leave it to *history* to tell how his posterity and relations were brought low and extinct ;”* yet Dr M’Crie, the editor of this Veitch’s miserable autobiography, had the meanness, if he knew the facts, to allow such a statement to pass uncontradicted, although he appended numerous notes on other matters. Now, without referring to the descendants of Archbishop Sharp by his only son and his elder daughter, the Noble Family of Fraser Lord Salton in the Peerage of Scotland will suffice. It is mentioned above that the Archbishop’s younger daughter Margaret married the eleventh Lord. The issue of this marriage were Alexander the twelfth Lord, from whom Alexander George, the sixteenth Lord, who was appointed to command the British Forces in China in 1843, is lineally descended from father to son,† also the Honourable William Fraser, and four daughters, three of whom were married to gentlemen of rank and respectability, and left issue. The Honourable William Fraser, one of the Archbishop’s grandsons, married in 1754 Lady Catherine Anne Erskine, eldest daughter of David fourth Earl of Buchan, by whom he had only a son, William Fraser of Fraserfield, formerly

* Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson, written by themselves, edited by Thomas M’Crie, D.D. Edinburgh, 8vo. 1825, p. 107.

† Alexander George Fraser, sixteenth Lord Salton of Abernethy, a Baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia, a Representative Peer of Scotland in 1844 ; K. C. R. ; Knight of the Ancient Order of Maria Theresa, and of the Prussian Order of St George ; a Major-General in the Army ; born 1785, succeeded his father the fifteenth Baron in 1793. Married in 1815 the daughter of the first Lord Thurlow, who died in 1826 without issue. In 1844 had two sisters and one brother surviving, the latter, who was then the heir-presumptive, the Hon. William Fraser, born 1791, married, and has issue.

called Balgownie, in Aberdeenshire, born at Edinburgh in 1725, who married in 1752 Rachel, daughter of the Rev. Hugh Kennedy of Rotterdam, and by her, who died in 1800, seven sons and four daughters. One of those sons, the Rev. Hugh Fraser, was Rector of St Martin's Ludgate in London, and of Woolwich in Kent, in 1796. Instead of the Archbishop's " posterity and relations brought low and extinct," that very "*history*," to which the field-preacher Veitch appeals, proves that they are numerous and the very reverse. So much for the veracity of Veitch, and for the malignant meanness or ignorance of his editor M'Crie.*

A Presbyterian writer says of the murder of Archbischop Sharp—"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 the Covenanters, and reflecting odium on the age in which it was perpetrated.—The murder of Archbischop Sharp may be viewed as the premeditated and deliberate design of the Covenanters at large. It was recommended by their preachers, long determined by many, repeatedly attempted, and at last accomplished with savage ferocity, and afterwards approved 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 perpetration were dangerous and diabolical." To this it may be added, that the most revolting language of exultation is recorded in the writings of the Presbyterians; and their despicable poetasters set forth numerous miserable acrostics and rhymes justifying the deed, and reviling the Archbischop in the foulest manner. Nothing was too gross or absurd for the credulity of the Presbyterians connected with Archbischop Sharp. They actually believed that his body was impervious to lead, and that his life could only be taken by silver and steel. They religiously credited the ravings of the mad woman who on one occasion disturbed the congregation in the parish church of St Andrews during sermon by starting up, accusing the Archbischop of criminal intercourse with her, and bestowing upon him

* Sir William Sharp of Stoneyhill near Musselburgh, the Archbischop's brother, was Keeper of the Signet in 1673. See a folio volume in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, marked—"Papers for Kames' Dictionary, 1725 to 1727." The castle of Banff, in which the Primate was born, was infested to Robert Sharp and his heirs in 1662, on the legal "resignation" of Lord Auchterhouse, afterwards Earl of Buchan.

many scurrilous epithets. This woman declared that she once saw the Archbishop, Dr Patullo, and Mr Robert Rait, minister of Dundee, all dancing in the air! Wodrow industriously collected all the Covenanting Presbyterian lies against the Archbishop, and the extent of his own credulity and of that of his friends is amazing. Nothing was too extravagant not to be credited. Two instances may be cited from his “*Analecta*.” On one occasion, when the Archbishop was attending a meeting of the Privy Council in Edinburgh, and, as is alleged, was actively prosecuting some of the insurgents connected with the rebellion at Rullion Green, he wanted a certain document which was of importance to prove the indictment. This happened to be in his cabinet at St Andrews, and he sent a footman in haste thither with the key, and particular directions where it would be found. The man left Edinburgh about ten o’clock one summer morning, and, riding quickly through Fife, reached the Archbishop’s house in St Andrews about four in the afternoon. When he opened the door of the apartment in which was the cabinet, he was astonished to see the Archbishop himself sitting at a table, as if he had been reading and writing, and dressed in the same attire as he was when the man left Edinburgh. Being of what Wodrow calls a “hardy frolick temper,” the man exclaimed—“Ho! my Lord! well ridden indeed! I am sure I left you at Edinburgh at ten o’clock, and yet you are here before me, I wonder that I saw you not pass by me!” Wodrow proceeds—“The Bishop looked over his shoulder to him with a sour and frowning countenance, but spoke not a word; so the footman runs down stairs, and tells the secretary or chamberlain that the Bishop was come home. He would not believe him. He averred that he saw him in his closet, and that he was very angry, and desired the chamberlain to come up stairs and he would see him likewise. So they came both up stairs, but before they were fully up they both saw the Bishop standing on the stair-head, staring at them with an angry look, which affrighted them in earnest. Within a little the footman came up to the closet, and nobody was there; so he opens the cabinet, and takes out the paper, and comes away in all dispatch to Edinburgh, and was there the next morning, where he meets the Bishop, delivered to him the paper, and told him the former story, upon which the Bishop by threats and promises enjoins him secrecy.” This is intended

doubtless to illustrate the old Scottish superstition of *wraiths*. On another occasion, the Archbishop was presiding in the Privy Council, and caused a woman named Janet Douglas to be brought before that Board for witchcraft and sorcery. “The Archbishop,” says Wodrow, “insisted she might be sent away to the King’s plantations in the West Indies. She only dropt one word to the Bishop. ‘My Lord,’ says she, ‘who was with you in your closet on Saturday night last betwixt twelve and one o’clock.’ Upon which the Bishop changed his countenance, and turned black and pale; and then no more was said. When the Council rose up the Duke of Rothes called Janet into a room, and inquired at her privately—‘Who that person was who was with the Bishop?’ She refused at first; but he promising upon his word of honour to warrant her at all hands, and that she should not be sent to America, she says—‘My Lord, it was the meikle black devil.’”* Such are specimens of the Presbyterian traditions respecting Archbishop Sharp.

The unfortunate Primate is described as of the middle size, broad-shouldered, full chest, and muscular arms and limbs, but having no tendency to corpulence. His forehead was finely developed, his eyes a little sunken, though full of vivacity; and he was of a grave aspect and dignified presence.† His great abilities and winning address are admitted by his enemies. His temperance was remarkable, and in deeds of charity and alms-giving his benevolence was as unbounded as it was unostentatious. His liberality was experienced by his Covenanting traducers, and a noted female leader of their faction, the very daughter of Johnston of Warriston, was entrusted by him with sums to dispense in secret to the most needful of her party. “Bishop Burnet,” says a writer of that time, “has taken a great deal of freedom to reflect upon the Archbishop, and to pronounce sentence against him; others are not deprived of an equal liberty to reflect upon him for what he maliciously writes of the Archbishop. Let us for once put Sharp and Burnet in the balance. For Sharp I can justly and upon good ground say that he was a most reverend and grave churchman, very strict and circumspect in the course of his life, a man of great learning, great wit, and no

* Wodrow’s *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 104, 105.

† A portrait of the Archbishop was engraved for Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe’s edition of Kirkton’s “*Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*.”

less great and solid judgment—a man of great counsel, most faithful in his episcopal office, most vigilant over the enemies of the Church, and most observant of performing the duties of Divine worship, both publicly in the house of God, and privately in his own family. In a word, none could deserve better the place and dignity of Primate of all Scotland. I could say a great deal more in commendation of this most reverend and most worthy Primate.”*

It is pleasing to add at least one Presbyterian testimony to the memory of Archbishop Sharp—that of Mr Abercromby Gordon, minister of the town and parish of Banff in 1798 :—“ Yet his inveterate enemies are agreed in ascribing to him the high praise of a beneficent and humane disposition. He bestowed a considerable part of his income in ministering to pressing indigence and relieving the wants of private distress. In the exercise of his charity he had no contracted views. The widows and orphans of the Presbyterian brethren richly shared his bounty without knowing whence it came. He died with the intrepidity of a hero, and the piety of a Christian, praying for the assassins with his latest breath.”†

It is already mentioned that Bishop Burnet was the personal enemy of Archbishop Sharp, and his well known prejudices render him a very doubtful authority as to the private life and character of his contemporaries whom he disliked. In reference to the affair of the field-preacher Mitchell it is justly observed—“ Let, therefore, the reader coolly judge for himself between the two extremes. Only we cannot but leave this observation with him [Burnet], that Archbishop Sharp is by Bishop Burnet painted in as black colours as Bishop Burnet himself has been by posterity, and that he expresses throughout as bitter a prejudice against our Primate as even Mitchell himself could do.”—“ Bishop Burnet is pleased to say that Sharp ‘had a very small proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher;’ but we must consider that this comes from an inveterate enemy.”‡

* A Specimen of the Bishop of Sarum’s *Posthumous History of the Affairs of the Church and State of Great Britain during his Life.* By Robert Elliot, M. A. London, 8vo. 1715, p. 25.

† Sir John Sinclair’s Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 375.

‡ Biographia Britannica, note, vol. vi. p. 3646, 3647.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHURCH AND THE COVENANTERS.

THE atrocious murder of Archbishop Sharp astonished the Government, and every measure was adopted to discover the perpetrators of the crime. When the tidings reached Edinburgh, the Privy Council met on the 4th of May, which was Sunday, and issued a proclamation in name of the King, denouncing the murder in the strongest language. All sheriffs and magistrates were ordered to apprehend suspected persons, and the proprietors in Fife and Kinross in particular were strictly enjoined to bring their tenants and servants to St Andrews, Cupar, Kirkcaldy, and Dunfermline, on the 13th, 16th, 20th, and 23d days of May respectively, with intimation that those of the peasantry who were absent were to be “reputed as accessory to the crime,” and those proprietors who did not appear were to be held as “favourers of the assassination.” This proclamation was enjoined to be published at the Cross of Edinburgh, in all the royal burghs of Fife, and in all the parish churches in that county and Kinross-shire, on Sunday the 11th in the forenoon after Divine service. It appears, however, from a notice in the kirk-sessien records of Dunbog parish, that it was read in the churches on subsequent Sundays:—“May 18, 1679—A proclamation was read from the pulpit by the minister, ordaining the whole heritors within the parish to cause their tenants, cottars, servants, and all others on their grounds, to compear at Cupar on Friday the 23d of May instant, to clear and vindicate themselves from the late murder of my Lord Archbishop of St Andrews.”*

Proclamations were issued against field conventicles, and those

* New Statistical Account of Scotland—*Fifeshire*, p. 212.

who resorted to them carrying arms, on the 8th and 13th of May ; and all such persons were ordered to be apprehended and committed for trial. The sheriff-deputes of Fife received some stringent instructions which they were to observe in searching for the murderers of the Archbishop. All males above sixteen years of age were to be examined, and those who refused to attend their parish churches on account of “ fanatic or popish principles ” were to be specially marked, and compelled to state where they were on Saturday the 3d of May between ten in the morning and three in the afternoon, which they were to prove by creditable witnesses : and such as could give no account of themselves were to be secured, and their goods seized.

It is already mentioned that the murderers of the Archbishop betook themselves to the western counties, and immediately formed a connection with a party who about the commencement of 1679 had organized an insurrection, and had resolved to “ defend themselves and the gospel,” in their language, “ against all hazards.” Those of them who resided between the towns of Lanark and Ayr had regularly carried arms for months to the field-preachings, and a series of skirmishings ensued between them and the military, small parties of the latter being often wound and repulsed. A Covenanting writer most complacently states that “ in doing so, and in their prayers and consultations, they were much countenanced by the Lord !”

The more ferocious of the Western Covenanters were headed by the son of Sir William Hamilton of Preston. This gentleman, who was utterly ignorant of the military profession, and incapable of commanding any body of men against disciplined troops, was associated with Hackston, Balfour, and others, and on the 26th of May they met the field-preacher Donald Cargill at Glasgow, where they arranged their proceedings. They resolved to publish a manifesto on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the King’s birth and Restoration. The little old royal burgh of Rutherglen near Glasgow was selected for this ebullition of defiance to the Government. Hamilton and a preacher named Douglas, escorted by a party of about eighty armed men, entered that town an hour before sunset on the 29th, extinguished the bonfire which the burgesses were blazing in honour of the day, and after singing psalms and praying they burnt several acts of Parliament, and published

a “ Declaration and Testimony of some of the true Presbyterian party in Scotland.” They affixed a copy of it to the Cross, and though it was unsubscribed, its authors set forth in a note that they were ready to avow all which the document contained at the hazard of their lives. The nature of the “ *Rutherglen Declaration*,” as it was subsequently designated, will be at once ascertained by an extract. After a preamble on the treatment of those who had “ gone before them ” by an “ evil and perfidious adversary to the church and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the land,” the authors of the “ *Declaration* ” maintain that they are “ pursued by the same adversary for their lives while owning the interest of Christ, according to his Word and the National and Solemn League and Covenants.” They testified against all that had been done “ from the year 1648 downward to the year 1660, but more particularly those since, [such] as the Act Rescissory ; the Act establishing abjured Prelacy ; the Declaration renouncing the Covenants ; the Glasgow Act, whereby upwards of three hundred faithful ministers were ejected from their churches because they would not comply with Prelacy ; the Act for imposing an holy anniversary day, to be kept yearly upon the 29th of May, as a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving for the setting up of an usurping power to the destroying the interest of Christ in the land ; the Act establishing the sacrilegious Supremacy ; and all the acts of Council, warrants, and instructions, for Indulgences, and all other sinful and unlawful acts.”

This rash designation of the Government as “ *an usurping power* ” was certain to be fatal to the individuals concerned in the *Rutherglen Declaration*, and to expose them to summary vengeance. Events of a serious nature soon ensued. On Sunday the 1st of June the moss of Drumclog, near Loudon Hill, on the borders of Ayrshire, witnessed the defeat of Colonel Graham of Claverhouse and a party of the royal troops in a skirmish with a congregation of Covenanters who were assembled at a field-preaching. The cavalry, by plunging into the deep bog or moss, which is about six miles from Strathaven, and a mile west of the road from that town to Kilmarnock, were assailed by nearly three hundred of the Covenanters, including some women, who had resolved to prevent Colonel Graham and his party from crossing the marsh to disperse them, when drawn up on a field gently declining from the adjacent farm-

house of Stabbieside. The Covenanters were armed with pikes and other weapons, and also mustered fifty well mounted horsemen. The military lost thirty-six of their comrades, while of the insurgents only six fell. Colonel Graham succeeded in drawing off his men towards Glasgow, and the Covenanters prudently abstained from offering him little molestation on the road. They buried their own dead in Strathaven churchyard, and they are accused of acting with singular ferocity towards their fallen opponents by cutting and slashing their dead bodies. Some of the troopers offered to surrender, and asked for quarter, which several of the Covenanters were inclined to grant ; but when their leaders returned from a short pursuit of the military they ordered them all to be massacred, and their dead bodies were interred in a marsh between two farms, where their graves remained visible till 1750. Hamilton, who acted as commander of the insurgents, is said to have killed a few of the soldiers who surrendered, and it is certain that one, if not two, fell by his hand. Russell, who was one of the murderers of Archbishop Sharp, admits that Hamilton slaughtered one in cold blood after the skirmish, and says that he “ seems to have regretted all his life that five more did not share the same fate.” Hamilton glories in this atrocity in his letter of self-vindication to the “ Anti-Popish, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, True Presbyterian Remnant of the Church of Scotland” in 1684 ; declares that he issued the order before the skirmish *that no quarter should be given* ; and thanks God that since he had set his face to the work he would neither give nor take favour from his enemies. In 1839 a monument was erected by some admirers of the Covenanters on the scene of this paltry skirmish, which is magnified into a wonderful victory. It is described as an elegant piece of architecture, and was defrayed by private subscription.

Emboldened by their victory at Drumclog, the Covenanters soon appeared in military array, and before the 7th of June they mustered by accessions from various quarters upwards of 5000 men. They searched for arms in Glasgow and the vicinity, published a manifesto, declaring their adherence to what they termed the “ True Reformed Religion” and the Covenants, and protested against “ Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence.” Violent discussions, however, distracted their counsels, and fierce debates ensued between the moderate and violent parties, not against the Episcopal Church,

or in their language *Prelacy*, which they all condemned, but about owning the King's Supremacy, Erastianism, Indulgences, and other matters. Those two parties also disputed who should be allowed to preach, and for what they ought to testify or denounce. Their own writers admit that they prayed and preached directly against each other—that “they were in great confusion ; the Lord's day was grievously dishonoured ; and his people sadly discouraged.” The moderate party prepared a document, afterwards known as the *Hamilton Declaration*, in which they stated that they had no intention of overturning the civil or ecclesiastical government to which they were bound by the Solemn League and Covenant, and requested that all controversial points should be referred to a free Parliament and lawful General Assembly. This met with the decided opposition of the violent followers of Richard Cameron the field-preacher, because it acknowledged the “perjured tyrant” Charles II., condemned preaching, praying, and witnessing against the Indulgence and Supremacy, and upheld the “bloody tyrant on the throne.” On the 22d of June they were completely defeated at Bothwell Bridge on the Clyde by the Duke of Monmouth ; from 400 to 500 were killed in the pursuit ; 1200 of them surrendered as prisoners, and were marched to Edinburgh by Linlithgow and Corstorphine, where they were met by crowds who reprobated their conduct in no gentle language. The Duke of Monmouth liberated such of them at Edinburgh as would subscribe a bond to live peaceably for the future ; but upwards of 300, who refused to acknowledge the bond, were kept as prisoners in the Greyfriars' inner cemetery five months, where they suffered great privations. About 250 of those persons were ordered to be transported to Barbadoes for this rebellion, but the vessel was wrecked near one of the Orkney Islands, and many of them perished. Two field-preachers named Kidd and King, taken prisoners at Bothwell, were tried before the High Court of Justiciary, condemned, and executed at Edinburgh on the 18th of August. On the 27th of July the King offered an indemnity to all who had been in arms at Pentland or Bothwell, who had resorted to conventicles, uttered or published traitorous speeches, or who had committed any illegal act, on the condition that on or before the 20th of November they bound themselves never to carry arms against the Government, attend conventicles, or offer violence to the Episcopal clergy. This indemnity, however, was

accepted by a very few of those obstinate and mistaken Covenanters, who in consequence were treated or prosecuted as rebels, and disturbers of the public peace.

It is unnecessary to allude farther to the alleged sufferings of the Covenanters, for which, in whatever light they may be viewed, either as deserved for their conduct or otherwise, the Government was solely responsible. Archbishop Burnet was translated to the Primacy of St Andrews, vacant by the murder of Archbishop Sharp, and he was succeeded in the See of Glasgow by Bishop Ross of Galloway. Archbishop Ross was succeeded in that See on the 8th of February 1680 by Bishop Aitken of Moray, "who," says Keith, "so carefully governed this Diocese, partly by his letters to the Synod, Presbyteries, and single ministers, partly by a journey he made hither, that had he resided on the place better order and discipline could scarce be expected." Bishop Falconer of Argyll was translated to Moray, and he was succeeded in the former See by Bishop Maclean, who is said to have been successively minister of Morven, Dunoon, and Eastwood. Bishop Wood of The Isles was translated to Caithness, and was succeeded by Archibald Graham, minister of Rothesay. The above were the principal changes in the Scottish Episcopate in 1679 and 1680.

In 1680 the field-preacher Richard Cameron, whose first appearance in life was in the capacity of schoolmaster and precentor under the episcopal incumbent of Ceres in Fife, returned from Holland to Scotland. He commenced field-preaching in defiance of the Government, but appears to have had little connection with the other Presbyterians, many of whom were opposed to his violent principles and imprudent conduct. On the 20th of June he entered the little town of Sanquhar in Dumfriesshire accompanied by twenty persons well armed, and at the Cross with much ceremony in his own way proclaimed that he and his adherents renounced their allegiance, declared war against the King, and avowed their determination to resist the succession of the Duke of York. The Presbyterians beheld this daring transaction with dismay, as they well knew that it was liable to be charged against the whole of their party. The Privy Council offered a reward of 5000 merks for Cameron's head, and 3000 merks for each of his associates. Parties were sent out to apprehend them, and after keeping together in arms for a month in the mountainous districts

between Nithsdale and Ayrshire they were attacked by a party of horse and foot under Bruce of Earlshall on the 20th of July, on the extensive wild tract in the parish of Auchinleck in Ayrshire known as Airds Moss. The Covenanters were headed by this Richard Cameron, who was killed in the skirmish. Cameron, who was believed by his followers to have had the gift of prophecy, is said to have washed his hands on the morning with peculiar care, in the expectation, as is alleged, that they would be made a public spectacle. This may be a mere tradition, reflecting on the barbarity of cutting off his head and hands, and sending them to Edinburgh with the prisoners, one of whom was Hackston of Rathillet. The head and hands were fixed on the Netherbow Port; but the body of the Covenanter was buried with the rest of the slain in Airds Moss. Wodrow has preserved "some of the last words of Mr Richard Cameron, which he spoke in a sermon delivered by him near to the Water of Ker in Galloway,"* but they are mere rhapsodies. Near the head of the moss is a monument erected by his followers to his memory, and also commemorating eight others who fell with him.

In September this year a well known locality called the Tornwood, in the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace in Stirlingshire, was the scene of a transaction similar to that of Richard Cameron, which greatly exasperated the Government, who had succeeded in driving all the frequenters of conventicles from the fields except Donald Cargill. He became minister of the Barony parish of Glasgow in 1650, but refusing to accept collation from Archbishop Fairfoull after the Restoration, and to celebrate the 29th of May, he was banished by the Privy Council beyond the Tay; but he was not farther noticed till 1668, when he was peremptorily enjoined to observe the order for his exile, though he was permitted to resort to Edinburgh in 1669 on some legal business, though he was not allowed to reside in the city or to approach Glasgow. For some years afterwards he wandered about as a field-preacher, and became conspicuous by denouncing all who accepted the Indulgence. He was among the insurgents at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, at which he was wounded, but he escaped to Holland. He soon, however, returned, and again lurked in Scotland in connection with some who wrote severe

* *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. i, p. 133-134.

papers against the Government. Cargill and a zealous follower of his religious principles were known to be in hiding on the shores of the Frith of Forth above Queensferry, and the incumbent of Carriden, who naturally felt uneasy at the presence of two such persons in that parish, informed the governor of Blackness Castle, who set out in search of them. They were traced to a public-house in Queensferry, and the governor, who had sent for a party of soldiers to take them, cajoled them by drinking wine until his men arrived. As they had no suspicion of this officer's purpose they sat with him for some time, till impatient at the delay of his men he attempted to take them prisoners. A struggle ensued, in which Cargill's associate was mortally wounded, but the field-preacher was concealed by a neighbouring farmer, and fled into Lanarkshire. In the pocket of his friend was found a very violent document, which was understood to have been written by Cargill, and is known by the sobriquet of the *Queensferry Covenant* from the place where it was found. He was concerned with Richard Cameron in the Sanquhar exploit, which he imitated three months afterwards. He collected a large assemblage at the Torwood, and after preaching two sermons he "excommunicated and delivered to Satan," as he phrased it, Charles II., the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Rothes, and Lauderdale, Sir George Mackenzie, and General Dalzell of Binns, renounced his allegiance, absolved all the King's subjects from the same, and declared that no human power could reverse this sentence unless those personages repented. This fulmination, sufficiently harmless and even ludicrous so far as Cargill's ecclesiastical authority was concerned, was a serious affair to himself and his followers. The Privy Council failed not to perceive that it was calculated not only to bring them into contempt, while it was a direct act of treason, but that it tended to mark them as proper objects for the vengeance of the ignorant and enthusiastic peasantry, who were taught that assassination was meritorious. Cargill was intercommuned, and a reward was offered for him of 5000 merks. Numerous stories and traditions are told of his narrow escapes from the soldiers and others in search of him, but he was at last seized at Covington in Lanarkshire, conveyed to Lanark on horseback with his feet tied under the animal's belly, and thence to Glasgow, from which he was removed to Edinburgh, where he was tried on the 26th of July 1681, condemned for high treason,

and executed on the following day. The spot at the Torwood on which Cargill “*excommunicated*” Charles II. and the others was long pointed out as a square field near Sir William Wallace’s oak which has now disappeared.

The dangerous principles inculcated by such preachers as Cameron and Cargill are undeniable from the printed records of their harangues which still remain. Cameron in one of his sermons told the peasantry—“ What better are these ministers who have accepted of the Indulgence than curates or even papists ? ” He designated Charles II.—“ that enemy of God who sits on the throne,” and added—“ I think there was never a generation of more worthy men about an evil deed than the bringing home that abominable 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.—I know not if this generation will be honoured to cast off these rulers, but those that the Lord makes instruments to bring back Christ, and to recover our liberties 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.—The Lord laughs at the pretended wisdom of Courts. He laughs at yon wicked wretch that sits on the throne, and the General [Dalyell] in Kilmarnock.—The devil rides and drives King Charles II. and his Council through moss and muir, and over crags and rocks.—That Charles Stuart and our noblemen, councillors, and persecutors, shall be brought in like goats on the left hand, and Christ will say, Go away to everlasting burning.—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.—Would you have the Lord to cut off the spirit of princes ? Cut off the base and abominable family that have been tyrannizing 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.” The Covenanting prophet Alexander Peden, for so his followers considered

him, exclaimed—"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.—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, Council, or any of them."*

Although at the present day these expressions may be considered the senseless ravings of enthusiasm, yet they were most dangerous and inflammatory at that time. The assassination of the King and others was openly commended and enjoined as a righteous and praiseworthy act, which was a direct incentive to the peasantry to murder their rulers, and all whom the Covenanters designated their enemies. It is impossible to tolerate such doctrines in any country, and hence we may ascertain the real cause of the severity of the Government. Lord Fountainhall mentions several instances of the effects of this kind of preaching on the people. He states that one Skene, a young lawyer, whose brother was a landed proprietor, and three others, were apprehended on the 12th of November. Skene "was so obstinately stout," says his Lordship, "that both in face of [the] Privy Council and of the criminal court he owned Cameron's declaration of war against Charles Stuart, as he called the King, at Sanquhar, approved their fighting at Bothwell Bridge, Muirkirk, or Airds Moss, their Covenant, their Excommunication, &c. though he was present at none of them; and that he had freedom to kill the King as an enemy to God, and had subscribed the same. It was a pity to see his forwardness, considering if he had refrained with his tongue no probation could have reached him. The other three, though tortured in the boots, would give no positive cursive answer to that question—If they thought it lawful to kill his Majesty? but would neither call it lawful nor unlawful; so that they are singly guilty of a perverse obstinacy in opinion, which principle might be fatally dangerous if they should happen to put it in execution, as God forbid."† Lord Fountainhall truly remarks in another place, in connection with the executions of

* Numerous other expressions and sentiments could be adduced from the sermons and writings of the Covenanters. See the Collection of their sermons edited by John Howie of Lochgoin, published in 1809; the "Cloud of Witnesses," Shields' "Hind let Loose," and others of their acknowledged productions.

† Lord Fountainhall's Historical Observes, 4to. 1840, p. 7, 8.

those obstinate persons—"The cause must be very commendable and just, and clearly founded on the Word of God, ere a man can be esteemed a martyr for suffering in it."

The Duke of York arrived in Scotland in October as a kind of exile on account of his religion, landing in Fife on the 26th, and proceeding to Edinburgh on the 29th. His daughter, afterwards Queen Anne, joined him on the 17th of July 1681. As the Duke's Roman Catholic principles were well known, his residence in Holyrood-house caused an insulting riot on Christmas Day by burning the Pope in effigy, the ringleaders of which were students of the University. Numbers of them, accompanied by tradesmen and others, paraded the streets with blue ribbons in their hats, on which were inscribed the words—"No Pope; no Priest; no Bishop; no Atheist." Some of the cavalier party, to oppose and ridicule the rioters, appeared with red ribbons on which were the words—"I am no fanatic." The Privy Council ordered the College to be closed by proclamation, and the students to be banished fifteen miles from the city, unless their friends found security for their good behaviour; but the lectures in the University were soon afterwards resumed. Lord Fountainhall states that a person in military dress accosted Sir George Munro at mid-day on the street, and desired him to go down to the Palace, and tell the Duke of York that "if he did not counsel his brother the King to extirpate the Papists, both the King and he were dead men: and Sir George turning about to call some witnesses, the man in a sudden retired he knew not whither."

So completely had the Government suppressed the field-preachers in the beginning of 1681, that Lord Fountainhall, recording the death of John Welsh at London, states—"There is but a small remnant of these disorderly ministers now left, unless a new fleece arise to own the same principles." Yet fanaticism prevailed to a great extent. We are told by his Lordship that "a hypochondriac fellow was imprisoned in the Canongate for teaching that the day of judgment was to be the next day, and offered himself willing to be hanged if what he averred should prove false." But the most extraordinary ebullition was that of a party of enthusiasts in Borrowstounness on the Firth of Forth, led by a certain John Gibb a sailor, who assumed the title of *King Solomon*, and all his followers designated themselves by Scriptural names. They rejected the

metrical Psalms, the English version of the Old and New Testaments, the names of the days of the week, and were known by the soubriquet of the *Sweet Singers*. They pretended to be the only true saints, and framed a Covenant of their own, much more according to their notions than that of the Presbyterians; yet they also declared for Cargill's opinions and those of the more rigid of the Covenanters, disowned the royal authority and all government; and their married female associates, whose husbands were not of their opinions, were “so far from conversing with them,” says Lord Fountainhall, “that they will not suffer them to touch them, and if any do, they wash the place as having contracted impurity, like the Jewish ceremonial of uncleanness, with a hundred such fopperies.” They were brought to Edinburgh, and examined by the Privy Council, who dismissed them as insane, and this fanaticism soon exploded. It is curious that some of the wives of those Covenanters who were executed for renouncing their allegiance, and maintaining that it was lawful to kill the King, were most ambitious that their husbands should attain this extraordinary martyrdom. When Skene and two others were offered a pardon on the scaffold in 1680 if they would only say—*God save the King*; one of them evinced an inclination to comply, but his wife prevented him, and almost pushed him off the ladder, exclaiming—“Go, die for the good old cause. See, Mr Skene will sup this night with Jesus Christ.” It is repeatedly mentioned by Lord Fountainhall, and others who lived at the time, that almost every one of the persons capitally punished for “disowning the King's authority, adhering to Cargill's Covenant, Declaration, and Excommunication, and thinking it lawful to kill the King and the Judges,” would have been pardoned by merely acknowledging the royal authority. In the case of three persons, executed at Edinburgh on the 2d of March, the Earl of Roscommon was sent to them with a special warrant from the Duke of York when they were upon the scaffold, and offered them their lives if they would only say—*God save the King*. This they refused, “though Daniel,” says Lord Fountainhall, “wishes Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, heathen kings, to live for ever.”

While the discussion about the Duke of York's succession to the English throne, and the infamous plot concocted by Titus Oates, were agitating in England, the King resolved to summon

the Scottish Parliament on the 28th of July. A fortnight before it met, Donald Cargill was apprehended near Lanark, and two days previous to it, on the 26th, the Duke of Rothes died in his residence as Lord Chancellor at Holyroodhouse. He was created Duke of Rothes in 1630, but dying without male issue the Earldom devolved to his elder daughter, who became Countess of Rothes in her own right. His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence in the High Church of Edinburgh and the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, from which he was taken to the family vault at Leslie House in Fife for interment. On the day after Rothes died, Cargill and four of his "disciples" were executed for high treason at the Cross of Edinburgh. Cargill conducted himself, according to Lord Fountainhall, with great timidity, and earnestly requested his sentence to be commuted into banishment, or "begged for a longer time that he might be judged in Parliament; but finding there was no remedy, he put on more staidness and resolution after his sentence."

The third Parliament of Charles II. assembled at Edinburgh on the 28th of July 1681, the Duke of York appearing as Lord High Commissioner, and the Marquis of Atholl, who was Lord Privy Seal, acting as President. Archbishops Burnet of St Andrews and of Glasgow, and ten Bishops attended. Those of Aberdeen and Orkney were the only Prelates absent. The King in his letter noticed those who, "corrupted with the rebellious principles of the last age, or the blind zeal of this, have at first raised schisms and separations in the Church, and afterwards frequent rebellions against us," apparently unconscious that his own advisers who promoted the Assertyor Supremacy Act and the Indulgence had caused as many "schisms and separations" as the Covenanters and other Presbyterians. The two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Ross, Brechin, Dunblane, and Caithness, were chosen among the Lords of the Articles. In the answer to the King's letter, signed by the Marquis of Atholl in name of the Parliament, it is stated—"Though some rebellious and deluded people have disturbed your Majesty's Government here, yet their principles are so extravagant, *and so few persons of any note or quality are engaged with them*, that we may justly hope their crimes cannot be imputed to this kingdom, whose representatives in this your Majesty's Parliament will, no less for their own vindication as

what is past, than for their own security for the time coming, to cheerfully provide suitable and sufficient remedies; all of us being very sensible that those distractions and disorders would in the issue tend to the dissolution not only of your Majesty's government in Church and State, as the same is by law established, but even of human society. It is a great satisfaction to us to find your Majesty so concerned for the Protestant religion, not only in your gracious letter to us, but in the whole conduct of your government;" and they declare that they will strenuously oppose all "usurpations and disorders of popery and fanaticism."

All this evidently indicates, apart from the flattery too often administered to royalty, that the Scottish Privy Council were not now much annoyed by the tumults and rebellions of the Covenanters, and that the mass of the influential classes were satisfied with the Established Episcopal Church. On the 13th of August an Act was passed, ratifying "all former laws for the security of the Protestant Religion," and on the 29th an "Act for securing the peace of the country," was directed against those who were guilty of "resetting preachers who are or shall be intercommuned or declared fugitives;" doubling the former fines imposed upon field-conventicles, depriving the resorters to them of political privileges, and ordering them to be "banished from the towns where they live." On the 31st was passed an "Act anent Religion and the Test," which denounced the Roman Catholics and "all fanatic separatists from this national Church," preachers in private houses, and field-conventicles, their "resetters and harbourers who are intercommuned," and "disorderly baptisms and marriages, irregular ordinations, and all other schismatical disorders." All such were ordered to be reported annually in October by the parochial clergy to the Bishops, who were to transmit lists of them to the sheriffs and local magistrates, which they in turn were to lay before the Privy Council in December, "as they will be answerable at their highest peril." And "to cut off," it is declared in the Act, "all hopes by Papists and fanatics of employment in offices and places of public trust," the Test, or oath, was enacted, to be taken by all Judges, Privy Councillors, Officers of State, Bishops, Professors in Universities, clergy, schoolmasters, magistrates, and others. They were solemnly to acknowledge the Confession of Faith ratified by the first Parliament of James VI., and renounce all "principles, doctrines,

or practices, whether popish or fanatical," contrary to that Confession. Much of this must have been sufficiently grating to the Duke of York. It, however, shews that when such an Act and Test were deliberately ratified by the Parliament, the Episcopal Church was stronger than the representations of it by the Presbyterians would induce us to believe. On the 14th of September an Act was passed " restraining the exorbitant expence of marriages, baptisms, and funerals," which explains some of the manners and customs of the time, fining all those who transgressed according to their rank and circumstances. An Act was also passed against " assassinations," having a particular reference to the murder of Archbishop Sharp, declaring it treason not only to commit such crimes, but even to " maintain or assert that it is lawful to kill any man upon difference in opinion, or because he has been employed in the service of the King or of the Church as it is now established by law;" and, " remembering with horror the execrable murder of that most reverend and worthy Prelate, James late Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Primate of Scotland, who deserved so well of this Church and monarchy for his eminent services to both," the sheriff of Fife and all sheriffs were enjoined to search diligently for the murderers, and bring them to justice.

Yet the Test enacted by this Parliament was considered such a grievance by the Episcopal clergy, that many of them in November deserted their parish churches because they could not conscientiously take it; but some of them afterwards apologized and were restored. The Test is chiefly remarkable as the cause of the trial and sentence of the Earl of Argyll for high treason. Argyll had zealously concurred in the Act for confirming the laws against the Roman Catholics, but he had so warmly supported another Act, making it high treason to propose any alteration in the succession to the Crown, that the Duke of York spoke of his conduct with gratitude and respect. It appeared to Argyll, however, that the Test was a kind of encouragement to the royal family to renounce the communion of the Established Church, and he maintained that if any exemption was recognized, it ought to be explicitly confined to the Duke of York. His words were observed to make a deep and indelible impression on the Duke. The Test was approved by a majority

of only seven votes, and before Argyll was required by the Duke to subscribe it he was privately exhorted by Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh not to ruin his ancient family, or increase the resentment which his opposition had excited. On the 1st of November he was deprived of his office as an Extraordinary Lord of Session, and he would have lost his other appointments, but on the 3d he accepted the Test as a Privy Councillor, on the express condition that he took it “as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion,” and that it did not prevent him from consenting to any alteration which he thought advantageous to the Established Church and to the State. This explanation was received, and Argyll was invited to resume his seat, but having declined to vote in the general explanation pronounced by the Privy Council on the Test, he was displaced, and he was soon afterwards ordered by the King to surrender himself prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. He complied, was tried before the High Court of Justiciary on the 12th of December, and after very questionable proceedings he was found guilty of the charges against him by the Jury —the Marquis of Montrose, their foreman, most ungenerously disgracing his grandfather’s memory by returning the verdict. From the preparations for his reception in the Tolbooth it is evident that his execution was intended, but he contrived to escape from the Castle on the evening of the 20th of December in the disguise of a page holding up the train of his step-daughter Lady Mary Lindsay. He was immediately sentenced to death in absence, his estates forfeited, his titles attainted, and declared a traitor. He was conducted out of Scotland by the field preacher Veitch, and reached London undiscovered, from which he went to Holland, where he remained till the death of Charles II.

The death of Bishop Scougall of Aberdeen occurred in February 1682. Lord Fountainhall describes him as “a moderate man, and but half Episcopal in his judgment.” He was succeeded by Bishop Hallyburton of Brechin, and Robert Douglas, of the ancient family of Douglas of Glenbervie, successively minister of Laurencekirk, Bothwell, Renfrew, and Hamilton, and Dean of Glasgow, was promoted to the See of Brechin.

In March the Duke of York sailed from Leith to meet the King at Newmarket, landing at Yarmouth after a stormy passage of four days. We are told by Lord Fountainhall that “seven of the

Scottish Bishops wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury at this nick of time, extolling the Duke of York's care of them and our religion to the skies, which was printed to avoid false copies of it that were going abroad." On the 24th of March the Duke of Lauderdale died at Tunbridge Wells, but as he had been superseded in the administration of public affairs by the Duke of York in 1680, his decease caused no regret in Scotland. He left an only daughter, who married the second Marquis of Tweeddale in 1666, and he was succeeded in the Earldom of Lauderdale—the patent of the Dukedom being limited only to male descendants, by his brother Lord Hatton.

Wodrow, on the authority of one Mr Andrew Tait, minister of Carmunnock, mentions a horrid design of the "rigid and high-flying Cameronians to assassinate the Indulged ministers in the shire of Ayr at their houses in one night by different parties." It was revealed to the Earl of Loudon by a person named Nisbet, who "sent expresses to Mr Robert Millar at Ochiltree, Mr James Veitch at Mauchline, and others in the neighbourhood that were Indulged, and called them to his house that night, and several of them came." Wodrow says that his informant was then in the Earl of Loudon's family, and "had the account from the above said Mr Nisbet."^{*} He records two anecdotes illustrative of the effects of field-preaching on ignorant minds. A certain Mrs Durham—"when reading some sermons of the highflyers, and when hearing some of the more violent of the field-preachers, said that she observed just such a difference between the field-preachings and these she was used to, as she did between the Apocrypha and the Bible when she read them." The other anecdote is on the authority of Mr Patrick Simson, a Presbyterian minister, and the Melfort noticed was the Hon. James Drummond, second son of the Earl of Perth, created Viscount Melfort, on the accession of King James in 1685, and Earl of Melfort in 1686. "Mr Patrick Simson tells me," says Wodrow, "that he happened to be at Glasgow, and was present at a court held by Melfort, where two young country ignorant men were condemned. They had the ordinary queries proposed, and they were very high in their answers. At length their life was offered upon some terms my author thought they might have accepted, yet they did not; wherefore the sen-

* *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 357; vol. iv. p. 302.

tence was pronounced, and Melfort, after it was done, said on the bench—"The Lord forgive the men that preach and instil such principles as these into the poor ignorant persons by their field-preachings. They are guilty of their blood, not we."* Towards the end of the year it is recorded by Lord Fountainhall, that the Bishops "obtained a warrant from the Privy Council to depose and silence all the tolerated ministers who, by connivance, had preached ever since the restitution of Bishops without acknowledging their authority." Bishop Paterson deposed five in the Diocese of Edinburgh, and "the rest of the Bishops took the same course with any such in their bounds." This was followed in the beginning of 1683 by the civil authorities imprisoning a number of persons in Edinburgh for "not frequenting the Church, and for baptizing their children by nonconformist ministers, and for not paying their fines, some of which were 1000 merks."

Bishop Young of Ross died in September 1683 at Paris, a few days after submitting to a painful surgical operation. Lord Fountainhall describes him as a "moderate and learned man, unjustly supplanted in the Bishopric of Edinburgh by his successor, and therefore attempts were made for sending him back *lege talionis* to Ross." The authority for this attack on Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh is not stated. In 1684, Bishop Ramsay of Dunblane was translated to Ross, Bishop Douglas of Brechin to Dunblane, and Alexander Cairncross, minister of Dumfries, was promoted to the See of Brechin, by the influence of the Duke of Queensberry. Archbishop Burnet of St Andrews died about the end of that year, and was interred in St Salvador's church in that city near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy. He bequeathed a small property for the benefit of the poor of the guildry of St Andrews, which is still known as *Bishop Burnet's Acre*, and yields £.5, 10s. annually, now appropriated for the purposes of the town, though a small portion of it is still given to the poor.† He was succeeded by Archbishop Ross of Glasgow, the last Primate of St Andrews. Bishop Cairncross of Brechin was translated to Glasgow, and Mr James Drummond, successively minister of Auchterarder and Muthil in Perthshire, was promoted to the See of Brechin.

* *Analecta*, 4to. 1842, vol. i. p. 324.

† *History of St Andrews*, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, vol. ii. p. 104.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE OF THE CHURCH PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

DURING 1684 the Covenanting preachers and peasantry in the counties of Dumfries, Kirkeudbright, and Wigton, provoked the vengeance of the Government. They were then prosecuted, or persecuted, as their admirers pretend, not so much for their religious as for their political principles—as persons who were notorious rebels by renouncing their allegiance, disowning the King's authority, and justifying assassination by refusing to acknowledge that Archbishop Sharp was murdered. The Covenanters, as if resolved to accelerate their own speedy destruction, committed another suicidal act, by publishing a manifesto generally known as the *Apologetical Declaration*, written by James Renwick, a wild and violent field-preacher, hanged at Edinburgh in 1688, and popularly known as the “*last*” of their alleged “*martyrs*.¹” In it they abjured the King, whom they always insultingly designated *Charles Stuart*, as a heartless tyrant, and announced their resolution to treat their opponents as enemies to God, or in other words that they would murder all whom they considered their enemies. They affixed this *Declaration* during the night on the doors of the parish churches and at some of the market crosses of the towns, and the strongest sensation was excited by it among the peasantry. The murder of two soldiers of the Life-Guards by persons who were never discovered, and of a sentinel who was killed at the door of the jail of Kirkeudbright, exasperated the Government, sufficiently arbitrary and prejudiced against the Covenanters without this rash and treasonable irritation caused by the *Apologetical Declaration*; and an order was issued to the military to exterminate all who refused to renounce the principles of that unhappy document without the formality of legal proceedings. This order

stated that—"the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby ordain any persons who own, or will not disown, the late treasonable Declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death ; this being always done in presence of two witnesses, and of the person or persons having commission to that effect."

The military had sufficient reasons to retaliate on those Covenanters who fell in their way. Numbers of the soldiers were constantly assassinated, and the whole were threatened with the summary vengeance peculiar to the madness of religious fanaticism. The military were plainly told in the *Apologetical Declaration* that their blood would be shed by their "own measure," and the Covenanters asserted that "they could do it in a legal and judicial manner, as they had now disowned Charles Stuart to be their King." Lord Fountainhall states that in the end of November "a new search was made through Edinburgh for these fanatics and their resetters, and any they suspected they put to disown the Whig Declaration, and to declare they acknowledged the King's authority."* On the 2d of December the Indulged preachers were compelled to sign a bond, and those who refused were to be imprisoned. Numbers were apprehended and indicted for "owning," or rather "refusing to disown," the *Apologetical Declaration*, and those obstinate and dangerous persons are duly enrolled as martyrs for their "adherence" to what is called "Scotland's Reformation, and Covenants National and Solemn League." On the 30th of December a proclamation was issued against the above *Declaration*, commanding all persons to express their abhorrence of it in a form known as the *Abjuration Oath*, the taking of which procured a certificate of loyalty, and protection from molestation throughout the kingdom. Many of those who refused, whether men or women, were capitally punished, and yet every one of them would have been spared by merely saying—"God save the King."

* Lord Fountainhall records some of the superstitions of the time, which were devoutly believed by the Covenanters. "In December 1684 we were troubled with the rumours of visions and apparitions, viz. a shower of blue bonnets seen in the air at Glasgow, and vanished when they came near the ground. Item, a shower of blood at Moffat ; and a little ghost or spectre appears at Roseneath, one of my Lord Argyll's houses, where Atholl has got his locality, and placed a garrison of fifty men. It beats the soldiers sometimes, and bids them make good use of their time, for it shall not be long. But many of these things are forged." Historical Observes, 4to, 1840, p. 142.

It is painful to peruse the details of the sufferings to which the Covenanters wilfully subjected themselves from the military at that period, but it must be also recollect that they threatened the indiscriminate slaughter of those who differed from them, and belligerent parties so situated were not likely to be swayed by the principles of forbearance.

The most prominent murder after that of Archbishop Sharp occurred about this time. Mr Pierson, incumbent of Carsphairn in the Diocese of Galloway, or as he is insolently designated by the Presbyterian writers, *curate* of that parish, was the victim. A band of the “Suffering Remnant,” as the Covenanters affected to designate themselves, beset his house during the night, and demanded admittance. He rose from his bed, and on going out to inquire the cause of this disturbance he was immediately shot dead by one if not two of the ruffians. Who can be surprized if an act of atrocity such as this was visited with severity on many who were not present at its perpetration, but who belonged to the party? The truth is, that the bloody principles set forth in the *Apologetical Declaration*, which the Covenanters plainly avowed they would enforce, struck with terror all loyal persons in the western counties, and many of the Episcopal clergy sought safety in retirement. The Presbyterians endeavour to palliate the murder of the incumbent of Carsphairn, by representing him as “having given great offence to the surrounding country by his overbearing conduct.” They allege that he was “universally detested”—“had been a notorious informer, and promoter of persecution, as well as a bold, surly, and ill-natured man;” nay, that the very murder was “done in self-defence.” The latter statement is altogether false, and the former allegations are too suspicious to be entitled to any credit. On the contrary, it can be proved that a combination had been formed to assassinate this clergyman. On the 16th of January the Privy Council ordered the parishioners of Carsphairn to be prosecuted for the murder of their minister, and on the same day those of the parish of Anworth in that district were to be similarly pursued for indignities offered to the incumbent.

The Presbyterians, or rather the Covenanting writers, are very unsafe authorities as to the severities inflicted on their predecessors at that period. One example may be here adduced. They allege that on the 23d of January six men, while *engaged in prayer*

at a locality in the parish of Minnigaff, were surprized by a party of the military under Colonel Douglas and shot. But Lord Fountainhall, himself a Presbyterian, tells a different story. He says that “the few handfull of fanatic rebels left in the West turning very insolent,” the Privy Council, at the instance of the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer, to annoy Graham of Claverhouse, who had been in those districts in December and had failed to suppress them, sent his brother Colonel Douglas and 200 men “against these rogues, that the glory of defeating them might fall to his share.—And accordingly Douglas being one day in the fields in Galloway, with a small party of eight or ten, meets with as many of the rebels at a house, *who kill two of his men and Captain Urquhart, and had very nearly shot Douglas himself dead*, had not the Whig’s carbine misgiven, whereon Douglas pistol'd him presently. Urquhart is the only staff-officer this desperate crew have yet had the honour to kill. He was brought to Edinburgh, and buried with much respect.” Lord Fountainhall adds—“They came a company of them to Kirkeudbright and killed two men; and caused a minister called Mr Shaw to swear he would never preach again in Scotland; and the Bishops offering to loose him from this oath as unlawful, he refused their absolution, alleging it would have been unlawful to have sworn never to preach again, but he had only bound up himself from preaching in Scotland, and though extorted by fear of life, yet it was safest to keep it.”*

But notwithstanding the violence which characterised both the Government and the wild Covenanters in an arbitrary age noted for its stubborn intolerance, when the latter adopted murderous principles which in too many instances they practised, the Established Episcopal Church was yearly bringing the people within its pale, and in many of the counties, especially north of the Tay, there were few or no Dissenters. Charles II. died on the 6th of February 1685, and was, after all the opposition of political enemies, succeeded by his brother the Duke of York as James II. of England and Ireland, and the Seventh of that name as King of Scotland, who was so proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 10th of February by the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor, the Archbishops, Bishops, Nobility, and Magistrates of the city. We

* Historical Observes, 4to. 1840, printed for the Bannatyne Club, p. 146.

have the authority of Bishop Sage, a man of unquestionable learning and veracity—who was one of the ministers of Glasgow at the time, that at the death of Charles II. the Established Episcopal Church was in a more prosperous and peaceable state than it had been since the Restoration. Bishop Sage declares that all the people were generally of the same communion—that the Roman Catholics were only as one to five hundred—and that the Presbyterians were divided into two sects who utterly hated each other. These were the Indulged and the Cameronian or Covenanting factions. The former, according to Bishop Sage, had for the most part conformed to the Church and attended its ministrations, and the Covenanting Cameronians alone tenaciously kept up the separation. The prudent and well informed Presbyterians acknowledged that they could conscientiously live in communion with the Episcopal Church, to which many of them were willingly reconciled. These facts are corroborated by an investigation of the history of that period, and shew that the Covenanting disaffection and rebellion originated not from any real grievances, but from the old leaven of former years. “We possessed,” says Bishop Sage, “the true Christian faith—the same faith which the Catholic Church possessed in the days of the first four General Councils. We have neither subtracted one article from it nor added one article to it.—We owned only two Christian Sacraments, and these two we had administered in as great purity, and as exactly according to our Lord’s institution, as you [the Presbyterians] or any party on earth can pretend to. We were secure that we had governors who had our Lord’s commission to rule us, to dispense the Word to us, and to admit us to duly consecrated Sacraments. In a word, we had Bishops canonically and validly ordained by those who had power to ordain them, and communicate true episcopal power.—Our worship could not be charged with any thing idolatrous or superstitious, immoral or unchristian, in it.—Set forms we had but few, and these few [are] used in all other Churches. No Church on earth has, no Church ever had, less of pomp and gaudiness, or more of plainness and simplicity. Our excess, if we had any, lay not that way.”*

* The Reasonableness of a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion inquired into purely on Church Principles, in Four Letters to Mr George Meldrum, Professor of Theology in the College of Edinburgh. 4to. 1704, p. 71, 72, 73.

The first Parliament of James II., or James VII. as he was called in Scotland, met at Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1685, the Duke of Queensberry appearing as Lord High Commissioner. The two Archbishops, and all the Bishops, with the exception of the Bishop of Orkney, were present. After the oath of allegiance had been taken, and the Test subscribed by all the members, the King's letter was read, which declared his determination to support the "religion established by law, and their rights and properties against fanatical contrivances, murderers, and assassins." The disaffected Covenanters are farther denounced as "wild and inhuman traitors." The two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Brechin, and Caithness, were elected among the Lords of the Articles. In the answer to the King's letter it is stated by the Parliament—"Nor shall we leave anything undone for extirpating all fanaticism, but especially those fanatical murderers and assassins, and for detecting and punishing the late conspirators," referring to the Earl of Argyll's insurrection in concert with the Duke of Monmouth. An Act was passed ratifying all former statutes for the security of the "liberty and freedom of the true Church of God, and the Protestant religion presently professed within this kingdom, in their whole strength and vigour." Bishop Maclean of Argyll took the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the Test on the 1st of May, and on the 8th the punishment of death on all field-preachers and resorters to house or field conventicles was confirmed. The Act for "taking the Test" was also renewed. On the 22d the vacant stipends in the Dioceses were ordered to be paid to the Universities, and partly expended in repairing bridges. This Act was to continue in force five years, excepting specially those parishes of which the King and the Bishops were patrons. On the 13th of June an Act was passed "for the Clergy" declaring the "assaulting the lives of the Bishops or other ministers, or invading or robbing their houses, or actually attempting the same," to be punishable by death and confiscation of goods. The inhabitants of every parish in which such violence was perpetrated were to be assessed in a sum for the behalf of the family and relatives of the parties murdered at the discretion of the Privy Council.

In the summer of this year the Earl of Argyll made his fatal invasion of Scotland, in concert with the Duke of Monmouth's

attempt in England. He first appeared off the Orkneys, and sent Spence his secretary, and Blackadder, an “outed” preacher’s son, to ascertain the sentiments of the islanders. The venerable Bishop Mackenzie of Orkney caused them both to be apprehended, and the design was thus discovered. After various adventures and ineffectual demonstrations, Argyll was at last taken prisoner near Inchinnan in the vicinity of Renfrew, brought to Edinburgh, and executed on his former sentence on the 30th of June. He was attended on the scaffold by Mr Annand, Dean of Edinburgh, and by the Rev. Laurence Charteris, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, the latter at his particular request in preference to any of the Indulged Presbyterian preachers. His head was struck off by the *Maiden*, and his body was interred in the Greyfriars’ church-yard. “Argyll’s first crime,” says Lord Fountainhall, who was then his counsel, “was looked on by all as a very slender ground of forfeiture, but his conspiracy and rebellion since have expounded what he meant by his explanation of the Test too well.”—“Whatever was in Argyll’s first transgression in glossing the Test, which appeared slender, yet God’s wonderful judgments are visible, pleading a controversy against him and his family for the cruel oppression he used not only to his father’s but even to his own creditors.”* The Earl’s standard, which was taken and sent to the King, contained the motto—“For God and Religion, against Popery, Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, and Erastianism.”

On the 4th of December died Mr Andrew Cant, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who is described as “a stout enemy of the Papists and Arminians, whom he confuted with much learning and acuteness, and was therefore little or nothing regretted at his death.” Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh endeavoured to secure the office for his brother, but it was objected to him that he was a layman, and the Town-Council bestowed it on Dr Alexander Monro, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, who at the Revolution was the Bishop-elect of Argyll, vacant by the death of Bishop Maclean.

In February 1686 Archbishop Ross of St Andrews and Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh went to London to consult the King on the affairs of the Church. It was about this time rumoured that

* Historical Observes, 4to, 1840, p. 184.

the King had resolved to call a meeting of the Parliament to repeal the penal enactments against the Roman Catholics. This design was soon apparent. The second session of the only Scottish Parliament of King James commenced at Edinburgh on the 29th of April 1686, the Earl of Moray appearing as Lord High Commissioner. The Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Brechin, Dunblane, and The Isles, were present. The loyal conduct of the Parliament in the former session, especially in reference to the Earl of Argyll's insurrection, is assigned in the King's letter as the cause of assembling the Estates on that occasion. Among other matters recommended for their consideration was one connected with the Roman Catholics :—“ We cannot be unmindful of others our innocent subjects of the Roman Catholic Religion, who have with the hazard of their lives and fortunes been always assistant to the Crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named. Them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end that, as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so by your assistance they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our government which others of our subjects have ; not suffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of.” This in itself is fair and reasonable, and is acknowledged at the present day ; but it was a serious affair to King James, as he found to his cost within two years afterwards. The reply of the Scottish Parliament was dignified and significant. “ As to that part of your Majesty's letter relating to your subjects of the Roman Catholic religion, we shall, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, and with tenderness to their persons, take the same into our serious and dutiful consideration ; and go as great lengths therein as our conscience will allow, *not doubting that your Majesty will be careful to secure the Protestant religion established by law.*” No Act, however, in favour of the Roman Catholics occurs in the records of this session, and the Minutes of the proceedings are not preserved. A debate originated on the proper terms to be applied to those who professed the Roman Catholic religion. Lord Fountainhall, who was a member of the Parliament, and determinedly opposed to the repeal of the penal laws, says that he proposed the designation—“ *those commonly called Roman*

Catholics." The Chancellor Perth objected that this was "nick-naming" the King, and suggested the more polite and general language—"those subjects your Majesty has recommended to us;" but the motion of Archbishop Cairncross of Glasgow, that they should be simply termed *Roman Catholics*, which was a repetition of the King's own words, was finally carried.

In compliance with the wishes of the King, the draft of an Act to repeal the penal laws of the Roman Catholics was prepared and submitted to the Parliament. Archbishop Cairncross opposed it, and Bishops Aitken of Galloway and Bruce of Dunkeld denounced it in the strongest language. The other Bishops were either passive, or were friendly to it on the principle of toleration. The charge against them that they were wavering towards the Church of Rome is now abandoned by the Presbyterians, and is too absurd to be refuted. What had the Scottish Bishops to fear from the small number of Roman Catholics then in Scotland, without Bishops, depressed, proscribed, and under heavy disabilities? The fact that the King was of that religion was of comparatively little consequence. He might have influenced some of the Nobility to adopt it, and a few of the most powerful of them had always avowedly adhered to the Roman Catholic Church, but the events of the Revolution in 1688 sufficiently prove that the nation generally considered this of no importance.

Though the measure for the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics was abandoned, and the Parliament prorogued, Archbishop Cairncross and the two Bishops incurred the serious displeasure of the Lord Chancellor Perth by their opposition; but Bishop Keith states in reference to Dr Cairncross, that it was "deservedly too, if all be true which Dr James Canaries, minister at Selkirk, relates." The King, on the 13th of January 1687, most injudiciously and imprudently ordered the Privy Council to deprive him of the See of Glasgow—"a very irregular step surely." Bishop Keith admits; "the King should have taken a more canonical course." He was succeeded in the Archbishopric by Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh; and Bishop Rose of Moray, in which See he had been little more than six months, was translated to Edinburgh. William Hay, successively minister of Kileconquhar in Fife, and of Perth, was consecrated to the See of Moray in 1688. Archbishop Cairncross resided privately until after the Revolution,

when by conforming to King William's government he was nominated to the Irish See of Raphoe on the 16th of May 1693, then vacant by the translation of Bishop Smith to Kilmore. The deprived Archbishop of Glasgow continued in the See of Raphoe till his death in 1701.

Bishop Bruce of Dunkeld, the successor of Bishop Lindsay at his death in 1679, was also deprived of that See by the King in 1686, and was succeeded by John Hamilton, son of John Hamilton of Blair. The royal displeasure toward Bishop Bruce, however, was of no long continuance. On the 15th of August 1687 he received a dispensation from the King to "exercise his ministry," and on the 4th of May 1688 it is stated that "Andrew, late Bishop Dunkeld," was nominated to the See of Orkney, vacant by the death of Bishop Mackenzie in February, at the patriarchal age of nearly one hundred years. Bishop Aitken of Galloway was also ordered to be deprived of his See for opposing the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics : but his death at Edinburgh on the 28th of October 1687, prevented this display of the King's caprice. He was interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard, and was succeeded in the See of Galloway by John Gordon, who had acted as a royal chaplain at New York.

Though the King was defeated in Parliament, he resolved to achieve his favourite project by an exercise of his prerogative. He remodelled the Privy Council, by excluding those who were opposed to his designs respecting the Roman Catholics, and supplanting them by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Seaforth, Traquair, and others of the Roman Catholic religion, and by his own authority issued a dispensation relieving them from subscribing the Test. The King ordered the ritual of the Church of Rome to be celebrated within the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and appointed a number of "chaplains," whom the Privy Council were enjoined to take under their "special care and protection." In February 1687 the King wrote to the Privy Council, denouncing in the strongest language the "field-conventiclers," as "enemies of Christianity as well as of government and human society," and ordered them to be rooted out with all the severity of the laws. James at the same time issued a proclamation by his own "sovereign authority, prerogative royal and absolute power," granting a toleration to all the then Dissenters in the kingdom, known as *moderate*

Presbyterians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics, on the condition that they acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, declaring that he would never suffer violence to be offered to any man's conscience, nor use force or invincible necessity against any man on account of his religious principles. This was designated the *First Indulgence*, which was not passed in the Privy Council without some opposition. On the 5th of July the *Second Indulgence*, which was much more extensive, as it allowed complete liberty of conscience, was published. All persons were to be allowed to assemble for Divine service in their own way either in private houses, meeting-houses, and buildings erected for that purpose ; but the field-preachings were strictly prohibited, "for which," said the King, "after this our royal grace and favour, which surpasses the hopes and equals the very wishes of the most zealously concerned, there is not the least shadow of excuse left."

The Bishops generously sent no remonstrance against those Indulgences, the principles of which are now universally recognized ; and this fact proves them to have been men of enlightened and liberal minds, convinced that the Church of which they were the governors could not be endangered by such ameliorations of the laws. On the 20th of July a convention of Presbyterian preachers was held at Edinburgh, and after some discussion they agreed to accept the new Toleration, and voted a grateful and loyal address to the King, profuse in their expressions of attachment to his person, crown, and authority. The sincerity of their professions was soon tested by the Revolution, when they chose to forget these solemn declarations. Early in February 1688, Sir George Mackenzie was restored to his office of Lord Advocate, but no criminal informations were lodged, and the kingdom was in repose till the Revolution broke out in England, followed by the arrival of the Prince of Orange, the abdication and exile of the King, and the events in Scotland detailed in the author's "**HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME,**" to which the reader is referred as a continuation of this narrative, and as delineating the fall and subsequent fate of the Church, which was ejected at that memorable era by no act of violence on the part of the Presbyterians and Covenanters, who were utterly powerless, however willingly inclined, to inflict upon it any injury in a legal or constitutional manner, but because

the Bishops and clergy would not transfer their allegiance to the new Government, otherwise it is not too rash to affirm that the Episcopal Church of Scotland would have continued the national ecclesiastical establishment. The hardships and sufferings endured by the deprived Episcopal incumbents are also detailed in the before-mentioned work. But the Presbyterianism then adopted was not the system of the National Covenant and Solemn League, for maintaining which the obstinate and unhappy Covenanters had incurred the vengeance of the Government. Their principles were scouted as utterly incompatible with the constitution of the kingdom, and all the blood which the Covenanters sacrificed was literally shed in vain. The “Covenanted work of Reformation” was even denounced in the Presbyterian General Assemblies, and the “Suffering Remnant,” of whom James Renwick was the last field-preacher capitally punished, saw to their inexpressible mortification that all their doctrines and pretensions were treated as the chimeras of enthusiasts.

THE END.

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HISTORY
OF THE
SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH
FROM THE
REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD," ETC. ETC.

In the year 1830 the Author began to form a collection of Documents illustrative of the History and Condition of SCOTTISH EPISCOPACY, particularly since the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1792, the progress of the Church, and its prospects, from statistical and other details; and he continued from time to time this collection of materials. He also wrote a series of articles entitled the "Present State of the Scottish Episcopal Church," which appeared in the BRITISH MAGAZINE for 1832 and 1833, when conducted by the late Rev. HUGH JAMES ROSE, B.D., latterly Principal of King's College, London, which attracted some attention at the time; and in severa' conversations which the Author had with that lamented and distinguished scholar and divine in London in 1835, he was strongly urged to undertake a regular History of the Church, particularly since its disestablishment at the Revolution. Various events have repeatedly occurred to show that such a work was really wanted, to make the condition and principles of the Church, as it now exists, fully known, not only in England, but to its own members and others in Scotland. This *desideratum*, it is hoped, is now supplied.

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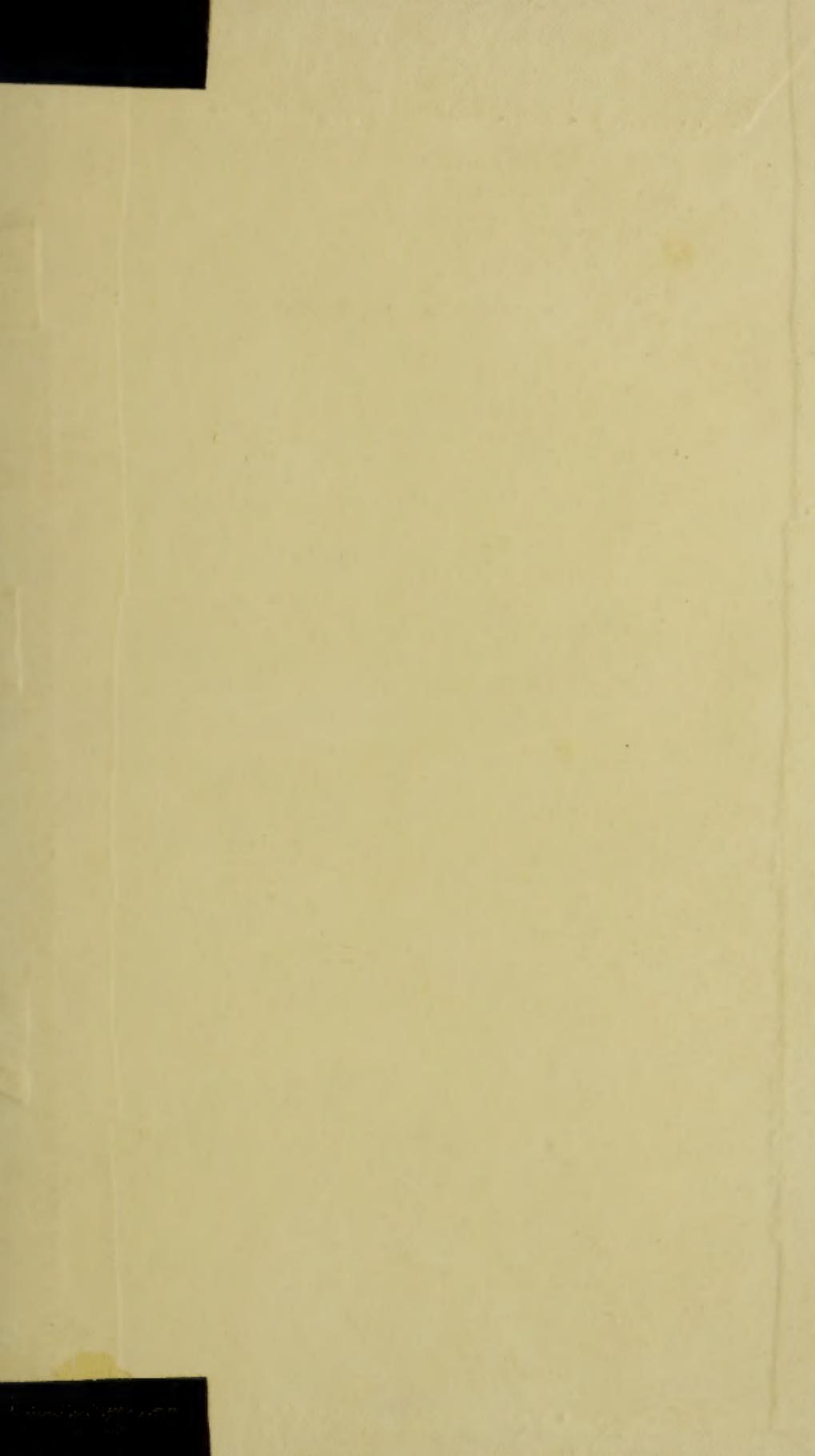
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