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THE
LETTERS AND JOURNALS
OF

ROBERT BAILLIE, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPTS,

BY DAVID LAING, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME FIRST.

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AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB,
held at Edinburgh, in the Hall of the Antiquarian Society, on
Monday the 3d day of December 1838 :—

Resolved, That the LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF MR. ROBERT
BAILLIE, Professor of Divinity, and Principal of the University
of Glasgow, be printed for the use of the Members, from the
Original Manuscript preserved in the Archives of the Church of
Scotland, under the superintendence of the SECRETARY OF THE
CLUB ; and that an extra impression of the Work be thrown off,
for General Sale, according to the Specimens exhibited to the
Meeting.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.

PREFACE.

THE Letters and Journals of PRINCIPAL BAILLIE chiefly relate to public affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and extend in a regular and nearly unbroken series from January 1637 to May 1662, or within a few weeks of his death. The value of this series in illustrating the history of that remarkable period has long been acknowledged, although the work is only now for the first time printed in an entire and genuine form, from the Author's Manuscripts. The very nature of such Letters, sometimes intended for the information of a wide circle, yet addressed to different individuals, on a variety of topics, and with no view to ultimate publication, precludes the work from being regarded as strictly historical ; yet these Letters not only serve to exhibit the succession of public events, but what is equally valuable, to convey the expression of the hopes, the fears, and the prevalent feelings of the time, in immediate connection with such occurrences. That Baillie has done so in a clear and interesting manner, will not be disputed. What else indeed has he handed down to us in his descriptions (to use an illustration of his own) but the stirring scenes of a great National Drama? His earlier letters allude to those measures of Charles the First that awakened an irrepressible spirit of religious zeal and independence, which ere long triumphed over every obstacle, and secured the re-establishment of Presbytery in Scotland. His letters then detail the origin, the changing fortunes, and the

tragical incidents of the Great Civil War, which desolated these kingdoms; interspersed with accounts of the trial of the Earl of Strafford, the proceedings of General Assemblies of the Church, and of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and they carry us on to the period when the dominant power of Cromwell and his sectarian forces, aided by the infatuated conduct of the English Monarch, prevented that Uniformity of Religion in Doctrine, Discipline, and Church-government, to the accomplishment of which both Nations were deeply pledged by the Solemn League and Covenant. This vision being at length dispelled, there was also an end put to the long cherished expectations of peace and concord when the death-warrant of Charles the First was signed, notwithstanding the public remonstrances and protestations of the Presbyterians both in Scotland and England. "One Act of our lamentable Tragedy" says Baillie, "being ended, we are entering again upon the scene:"—And now the affairs of the Church, in which he continued to sustain a somewhat conspicuous part, chiefly occupy his attention. It will be seen, that the attachment of the Presbyterians to a monarchical government, was the primary cause of those unhappy differences which sprang up and divided the Church of Scotland into the two parties, known as "Public Resolutioners," and "Protesters," each of them actuated by the best motives, yet whose opposition proved not less ruinous to both, by eventually leading to the overthrow of the Presbyterian form of Church government in Scotland after the Restoration:—With what deplorable results to the interests of religion and the country at large, this last measure was attended, Baillie himself did not survive long enough to witness.

Such are the leading topics in the following series of Letters. That the Author was a faithful as well as a diligent observer of public events, may be asserted; and his personal share in many of the important transactions alluded to, and his habitual intercourse with the chief actors of the time, furnished him with the most favourable opportunities for obtaining correct information. That

his Letters should so fully describe the progress of public affairs, arises partly from the circumstance of so many of them being addressed to his relation, MR. WILLIAM SPANG, minister of the Scottish Church at Campvere, and afterwards at Middleburg, in Zealand, during the whole period of twenty-five years stated correspondence; while the practice which Baillie fortunately adopted at an early period, of retaining copies of his Letters, has furnished after-times with a work which must always command attention both from the importance of the subject, his own integrity and honesty of purpose, so conspicuous in his familiar and most unreserved communications, and the lively and graphic manner in which transactions, whether of a public or private kind, are narrated.

The original manuscript, containing the register of Baillie's Letters, is in three volumes quarto, very closely written.⁽¹⁾ The persons he employed successively "to double" or transcribe his Letters, very often failed in deciphering his "evill hand;" but he himself usually corrected their mistakes, supplied the names or words omitted, and marked the dates and address. That nothing could be more wretched than his own orthography, the reader will be able to judge by inspecting the first letter in the series, (of which, as a specimen of his handwriting, an accurate facsimile is given,) and another printed in this volume at page 237. Even in regard to his own name, Baillie seems at no period of his life to have had a fixed mode of writing it. As his transcribers usually adopted their own orthography, whether copying from his papers, or from his dictation, of course it is very varied; and subsequent transcribers had no scruple in using a similar liberty: this will account for whatever variations may

(¹) The first seven leaves of Volume First appear never to have been copied, perhaps from being wholly in Baillie's own hand, which subsequent transcribers could not easily make out, and six of these leaves are now unfortunately lost. From a partial list of contents, on the last page of the volume, we may conjecture they were chiefly Letters in the year 1636.

be discovered, as no attempt was made to adopt strict uniformity in this respect.

The importance attached to Baillie's Letters and Journals as historical documents, appears from the care bestowed at an early date in transcribing them. A volume consisting chiefly of Letters addressed to Spang from 1637 to 1641, with the omission of private matters, but evidently taken from the first volume of the quarto MS., belonged to Dr. Fall, who was the second of Baillie's successors as Principal of the College of Glasgow. It is now preserved in the British Museum.⁽²⁾ Of the first volume, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland also possesses a folio manuscript written about the year 1700. A complete transcript of the work, in a very fair and legible hand, evidently for the use of the author's family, bears the date of 1701; ⁽³⁾ and from this copy the similar transcript in the University Library of Glasgow was probably made, and also Wodrow's, now the property of the Church of Scotland. The Church had previously obtained possession of the original volumes, which were purchased, with some other valuable manuscripts, by an order of the General Assembly, 20th May 1737, from the executors of Matthew Crawford, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh. The

(²) "Ane briefe Account of some memorable passages in the late Revolutions of Britaine:" MS. Harl. 6004, consisting of 212 pages, (erroneously numbered 215,) written on foolscap paper, in a neat hand of the seventeenth century. There is no note of the transcriber's name, nor whence the copy was made, but on the fly-leaf at the beginning is this note,—“These papers were writ by Mr. ROBERT BAYLEY, Principal of the College of Glasgow, to Mr. Strang. Preacher to the Scottish Factory at Camphire in Zealand; given to me by my worthy and good friend Dr. James Fall, sometime Principal of Glasgow, now Precentor of York, December 31, 1709. W. PEARSON.” This memorandum is decidedly in a much more recent hand than the body of the MS. Dr. Fall was Principal of the College from 1684 to 1690.

(³) In four volumes folio, the first volume being bound in two.—On the last page of the second volume is written,—“Finem posui hujus libri, 11mo die Septembris 1701.”

transcript mentioned as dated 1701, remained however with the Author's descendants, till within a comparatively recent period, when, along with some manuscript volumes of Sermons and Treatises, written by Baillie, it came into the possession of Dr. M'Crie, the late eminent biographer and divine.

From one or other of these MSS. the work was frequently used in the course of the last century; and more especially by Stevenson, who originally contemplated to publish it entire, previous to the compilation of his own History of the Church,⁽¹⁾ a great portion of which is a literal transcript from it, yet not without ample acknowledgment. In noticing the vouchers for his History, he says, "But the great repository from whence I am chiefly furnished is, *The Historical Letters and Collections* of Mr. Robert Baillie, consisting of four volumes folio," &c. In fact, these Letters, to a greater or less extent, have been used by all succeeding writers respecting that period of our history, although they generally contented themselves with referring to the printed edition which appeared at Edinburgh in the year 1775, in two vols. 8vo. The name of the Editor is no where mentioned; nor can much reliance be placed on what used commonly to be stated in Edinburgh booksellers catalogues, in the early part of this century, and has been repeated by Mr. Orme,⁽⁵⁾ that it was undertaken at the recommendation of Dr. Robertson and David Hume. On the title-page of some of the copies, the Letters are said to have been "carefully transcribed by Robert Aiken;" but who this person was does not appear, except that we may conclude he was the same individual who is named in proposals

(⁴) "The History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the accession of K. Charles I. to the Restoration of K. Charles II. In Four Volumes. Collected from the Publick Records, Mr. BAILLIE'S LETTERS, and other Writings of that time. By Andrew Stevenson, Writer in Edinburgh." Edinburgh, 1753-1757, 3 vols. small octavo. The work is only brought down to the beginning of the year 1649, as volume fourth was never completed.

(⁵) Orme's *Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 17. Edinburgh, 1824, 8vo.

for printing the work, dated March 17th 1775, which bear, that "Subscriptions are taken in by William Gray, front of the Exchange, Edinburgh; by *Robert Aitken, schoolmaster at Anderston*; and by all others entrusted with proposals." Had either of the learned historians above named taken a special interest in the work, it is very improbable that the services of an obscure individual in the West Country would have been required.

But that Edition has no claim to be regarded otherwise than as a Selection from Baillie's Letters. The advertisement prefixed to it states, that "It was thought proper to leave out some things that relate to the Author's family and other private matters; but nothing has been left out that throws the smallest light upon the history of those times." This is scarcely correct: many of the passages omitted may not be strictly historical, yet they throw great light on the spirit and temper of the times. But there are numerous Letters entirely omitted, such as his correspondence with Sharp previous to the Restoration, and others on subjects of Literature, besides all those local and personal details which, however unimportant in themselves, enhance the interest, as they add to the genuine character, of such documents. A complete and accurate publication of Baillie's Letters was therefore a work that had long been desired by persons who felt any interest in such matters.

The present Edition of the Work was undertaken for the Members of The BANNATYNE CLUB; a literary Association in Edinburgh, instituted several years ago, for the purpose of preserving, in an accessible form, the more valuable remains of our National History and Literature existing in manuscript, or in printed works of great rarity. In regard however to the acknowledged importance of this work, and as the Rules of the Club do not restrict the circulation of works so printed among the Members, when of a kind likely to interest the Public, it was resolved, although the chief expense of collating and transcribing would fall upon the

Club,⁽⁶⁾ that some arrangement should be made for having an extra impression thrown off for general sale, and for securing its publication at a moderate charge. The usual quarto size of the Club publications being less suited for that purpose, as necessarily adding to the expense, the lines of the pages have been overrun, to alter the form into royal 8vo., so that both Editions might usually correspond page for page, as well as in other respects. This plan, however, has proved the means of greatly retarding the completion of the work. As to the mode of editing, I may add, that the text has partly been given from the Manuscript belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, but chiefly from that of 1701, (which was most obligingly granted for that purpose by the Reverend THOMAS M'CRIE,) and then very carefully revised and corrected by the Author's original copy; the use of this latter MS. having been obtained three years ago for The Bannatyne Club, by the special permission of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Author, in the course of his correspondence with his cousin WILLIAM SPANG, frequently transmitted him copies of public papers, and other documents relating to the affairs of the time. Many of these he also caused to be transcribed along with his own Letters. To have inserted the whole of such extraneous matter would greatly have increased the size of the work without materially adding to its value. On the other hand, either to have incorporated some of them in the text, or entirely to have omitted them, might have been equally liable to objection. The plan that has been followed, was not adopted without due deliberation. In the Appendix to each Volume is given, first, a complete List of the various Papers

(6) For this purpose the services of my worthy friend Mr. DAVID MEEK were secured; but besides the necessary collation and transcription, numberless minute investigations were required, (which my own time did not permit of making,) for ascertaining the dates of letters, &c.; and to his great fidelity and familiar acquaintance with the ecclesiastical transactions of the period, it is but justice to add, that the work is greatly indebted.

interspersed with his Letters, and references to works in which a very considerable portion of them have already been published ; and next, a Selection of such contemporary Papers as seemed most worthy of notice. This includes from Baillie's M.S. such as either related to his own personal affairs, or to the University with which he was so long connected ; but instead of swelling the work by republishing papers merely from the circumstance of their having been collected by Baillie, this Selection generally consists of Original Letters and other documents hitherto unpublished. These have been collected from a variety of sources, and chiefly refer to the state of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland during the period which each volume embraces. This Selection however is much less numerous than I could have wished, owing to the limited space. The articles in the Appendix to the present volume being mostly written by the opponents of Baillie and the Presbyterian party, that such additions may not be thought incongruous to a work like the present, I may observe, that nothing seemed so well calculated to illustrate and confirm the Author's statements, or so clearly to point out the objects which the Scottish Prelates and their adherents had in view, when the troubles commenced, than the publication of such of their Letters and Papers, between 1633 and 1639, as could be recovered.

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June 1841.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

	Page
1637.	
Letter to Mr. William Wilkie, 2d January, . . .	1
—— to Mr. William Spang, 29th January, . . .	2
—— to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 14th August, . . .	12
—— to one of the Ministers of Glasgow, (without date,) . . .	13
—— to Mr. William Spang, 4th October, . . .	15
Note of Proceedings, since the 5th of December, . . .	25

1638.	
Letter to Mr. Robert Wilkie, 16th January, . . .	27
—— to Mr. Alexander Cunningham, (same date,) . . .	27
—— to the Principal, Dr. John Strang, (same date,) . . .	29
—— to Mr. John Maxwell, (same date,) . . .	30
—— to Mr. William Spang, 27th February, . . .	31
Narrative of Proceedings, from 21st December to 24th February, . . .	54
Letter to Mr. William Spang, 5th April, . . .	62
—— to Principal Strang, (without date,) . . .	66
—— to Mr. William Spang, (without date,) . . .	69
News from England, 15th July, . . .	72
Letter to Mr. William Spang, 15th July, . . .	73
—— to a neighbouring Clergyman, (without date,) . . .	95
—— to Mr. William Spang, 1st November, . . .	96

1639.	Page
Letter to Mr. William Spang, 12th February,	113
—— to the same, containing an Account of the Proceedings of the General Assembly at Glasgow, in November 1638, written in June 1639,	118
—— to Mr. Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, (20th December 1638.)	177
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 21st January,	179
—— to the Earl of Loudoun, 21st January,	181
—— to Mr. William Spang, 28th September,	184
—— to the same, Postscript, 12th October,	223
Instructions to Mr. Alexander Cunningham, (without date.)	225
Letter to Henry Glen, Glasgow, in November,	228
—— from the Provost, Magistrates, &c. of Glasgow, 23d November,	229
—— in Answer to the above, 27th November,	230
—— from William Yair, Glasgow, 26th November,	231
—— in Answer to the above, (without date,)	232
—— from the Provost, Magistrates, &c. of Glasgow, 7th December,	233
—— in Answer to the above, 11th December,	234
—— to the Earl of Eglinton's factor? (without date,)	235
—— to Mr. Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, 16th December,	237
1640.	
Letter to Mr. Archibald Johnstone, 30th March,	242
—— to Mr. David Dickson, 30th March,	243
His Testament, when he went to the Army, 4th May,	245
Letter to Mr. William Spang, after the General Assembly at Aberdeen, in September,	247
—— to Lord Montgomery, in September,	263
—— from the Earl of Rothes, Montrose, &c. 15th October,	266
—— from the Earl of Argyle, 17th October,	266
Another Testament, 22d October,	267
Letter to Mrs. Baillie, at Kilwinning, 5th November,	268
—— to the same, 6th November,	270
—— to the same, 18th November,	271
—— to the Presbytery of Irvine, 2d December,	274

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xv

	Page
Letter to Mrs. Baillie, 4th December, . . .	278
—— to the same, 12th December, . . .	278
—— to the Presbytery of Irvine, 12th December, . . .	279
—— to the same, 28th December, . . .	283

1641.

Letter to the Presbytery of Irvine, 29th January, . . .	288
—— to Mrs. Baillie, 6th February, . . .	296
—— to the same, 22d February, . . .	299
—— to the Presbytery of Irvine, 28th February, . . .	300
—— to the same, 15th and 19th March, . . .	304
—— to the same, containing a Journal of the Earl of Strafford's Trial, 7th May, . . .	313
—— to Mrs. Baillie, 2d June, . . .	353
—— to Lord Montgomery, 2d June, . . .	354
—— to Mr. William Spang, 15th July, . . .	355
—— to the same, 20th August, . . .	358
An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scot- land, 25th August, . . .	377
Letter to Mr. William Spang, (without date,) . . .	388
Memorandum for the Town and College of Glasgow, (with- out date,) . . .	398

APPENDIX.

No. I.—LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME FIRST OF THE
MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND
JOURNALS, FROM 1637 TO 1641. 403

No. II.—ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS, CHIEFLY RELATING TO
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, 1633 TO 1639.

1633.

1. Letter of Charles the First, to Bellenden, Bishop of
Dunblane, 8th October, . . . 421
2. The Articles for his Majesty's Chapel-Royal, (same date,) 422

	1634.	Page
3. Letter from Charles the First to the Lords of Council and Session, 13th May,		423
4. Warrant of Charles the First for establishing the Court of High Commission in Scotland, 21st October,		424
5. Account of Papers intercepted betwixt Archbishop Laud and the Scottish Bishops, (without date,)		428
6. Letter from Archbishop Laud to Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane, 14th January,		431
7. ——— from the same to the same, 6th May,		432
8. ——— from the same to the same, 1st July,		433
9. ——— from the same to the same, 4th October,		434
	1635.	
10. Letter from the same to the same, 12th January,		435
11. ——— from the same to the same, 19th May,		436
12. ——— from the same to Maxwell Bishop of Ross, 19th September,		436
	1636.	
13. Letter from Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, to the same, 17th February,		438
14. ——— from the Earl of Stirling to the same, 17th February,		439
15. Account of the Privy Council of Scotland, authorising the Service-Book, with his Majesty's Warrant, in October,		440
	1637.	
16. Discharge, by the Printer, &c. for Books furnished to the Chapel-Royal, in April,		441
17. Letter from Archbishop Spotiswood to Dr. Hall, Bishop of Norwich,		442
18. ——— from Lindesay, Bishop of Edinburgh, to the Presbytery of Dalkeith, 28th April,		442
19. Instructions how the Service came to be made: delivered to Dr. Balcanquhall by the King,		443
20. Information from the Earl of Stirling to Dr. Balcanquhall.		446

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xvii

	Page
21. Extracts from the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland, 13th June,—25th August, 1637, . . .	447
22. The Supplication of certain Ministers of Fife, presented to the Privy Council, 23d August, . . .	449
23. Information given to Councillors,	450
24. Letters to and from the Lords of Privy Council of Scotland :	
1. The Council's Letter to the King, 25th August, . . .	451
2. The King's Letter to the Council, 10th September,	452
3. The Council's Letter to the King, 20th September,	453
4. The same to the Earl of Stirling, 14th December,	454
25. The Earl of Loudoun's Speech to the Lords of Privy Council, 21st December,	455
26. Extracts from the Register of Privy Council, 1st and 5th March,	458
27. Letter from Mr. David Mitchell to Dr. John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe, 19th March,	463
1638.	
28. Letter from the Earl of Loudoun to Johnstone of Warriston, 24th April,	464
29. ——— from Archbishop Spotiswood to the Marquis of Hamilton, (without date,)	466
30. Dr. Balcanquall's Propositions to the King, at Oatlands, (without date,)	467
31. Some Directions sent to Presbyteries, 27th August, . . .	469
32. Note of the Private Articles, 27th August,	469
33. Letter of Instructions sent to Presbyteries, 28th August, . . .	470
34. Baillie's Commission to the General Assembly, 25th September,	473
35. Letter from Sir Thomas Hope, Lord Advocate, to the Earl of Rothes, 2d October,	474
36. ——— from Lindefay, Bishop of Edinburgh, to the Presbytery, 9th October,	475
37. ——— from Dr. Balcanquall to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, (without date,)	475

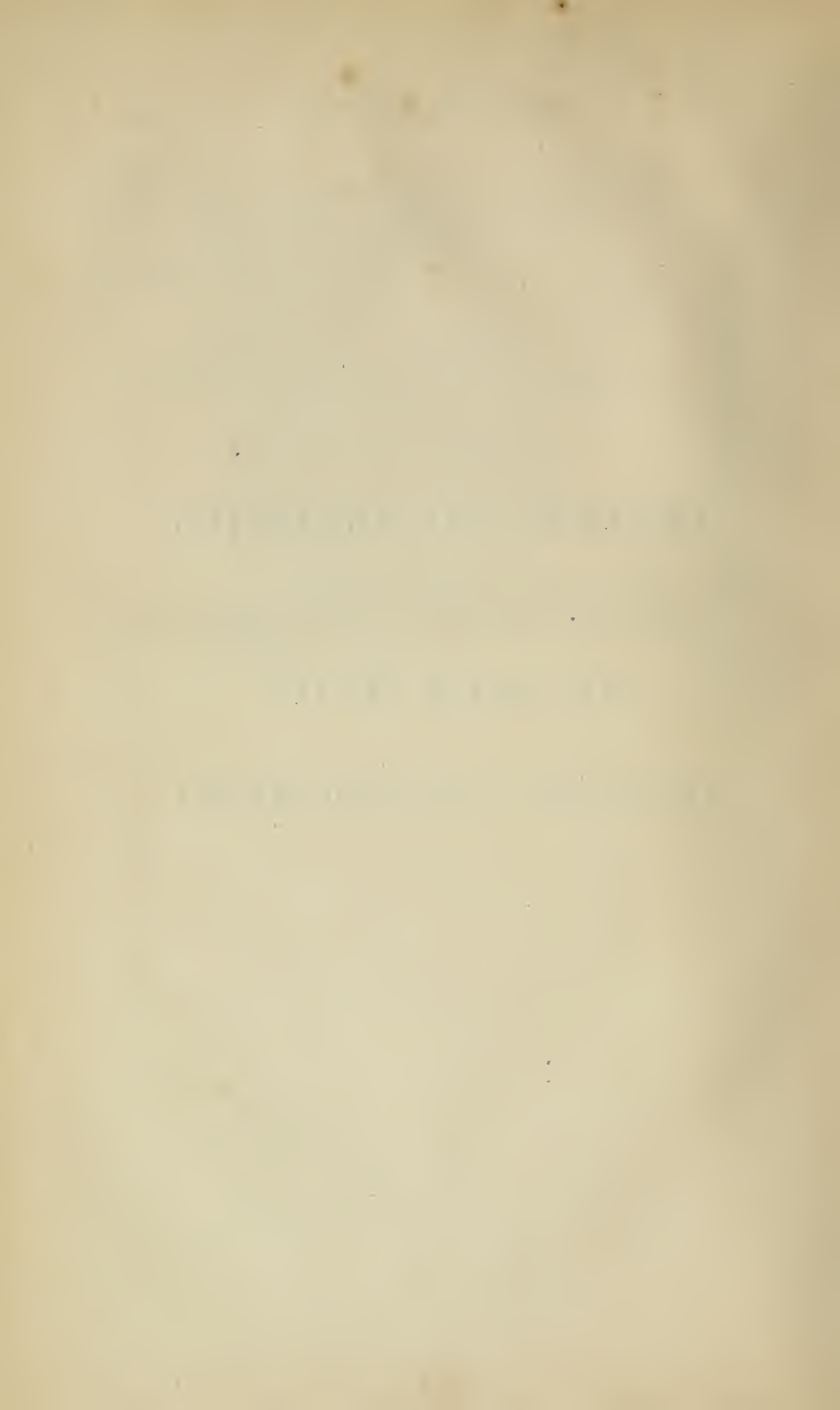
	Page
38. The Earl of Loudoun's Reasons to dissuade the King from swearing Protection to the Bishops at his Coronation, in June 1633,	477
39. Letter from the Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Balcarras, 11th November 1637.	477
40. ——— in favour of Dr. Balcanquall, in November 1638, and another from the King,	478
41. Letters to Dr. Balcanquall, in 1638 and 1639 :	479
1. From Mr. William Wilkie, 29th October 1638,	481
2. From the same, 6th November,	482
3. From the same, 11th December,	483
4. From the same, 26th December,	484
5. From the same, 11th March 1639,	487
6. From Dr. Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow, (without date,)	490
7. From Mr. William Wilkie, (without date,)	490
42. Commission from the General Assembly for visiting the University of Aberdeen,	491

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOLUME FIRST.—M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.





LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

TO M. W[ILLIAM] WILKIE.⁽¹⁾

THE Proclamation of our Liturgie⁽²⁾ is the matter of my greatest affliction. I pray you, if you can comand any copie, by your money or moyen, let me have on[e], and it were but for tuo or thre dayes, with this bearer. I am myndit to cast my studies for disposing of my mind to such a course as I may be aunfuerable to God for my cariage. Whouever, I am greatly affrayit that this aple of contention have banishit peic[e] from our poor Church heireftir for ever. In England, to this hour, as sun[d]ry Episcopall books latly printit does testifie, this fyre is yet reikand, and reddie upon occasion to brek out for the trouble of that Church farder then ever. Ar we so modest spirits, and so towardly handlit in this matter, that ther is apeirance we will imbrace in a clap such a masse of novelties. I find Andreus himself, the semigod of the neu faction, preaching befor King James, in a wreit dedicat to

(¹) Wilkie, who afterwards became Minister of Govan, at this time was a Regent or Professor in the College of Glasgow. "Certain remarkable passages" from his letters to Dr. Balcanqual were printed by Lord Hailes, "Memorials, &c. in the reign of Charles I." (p. 47,) who calls him, by mistake, William Willie; and he says, "This Willie appears to have been a sort of ecclesiastical spy, employed by Balcanqual, the great confidant of Charles I., in every thing relating to Scotland." The allusion at the close of this letter to Wilkie's hope of preferment, was, no doubt, occasioned by a knowledge of his interest in that quarter. Several of his letters to Balcanqual are preserved, and will be inserted in the Appendix to this volume.

(²) The Act of Privy Council enjoining the use of the Book of Common Prayer, is dated the 20th December 1636, and was next day proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh: but the book itself was not completed till May 1637.

King Charles by this sam Canterburie,⁽³⁾ sheuing that all Church Laues, that all Canones Ecclesiasticall, have allwayes been made in Church Assemblies, and not elswher. In Ingland it wes so ever; the leift ceremonie never appointit but in the Convocation; though Andreus wer silent, the constant practise of the Church, both universall and particular, does evinc this. It is to me a matter above mervell, whou any hes mintit to move our sueit Prince, to begin a new practise so late on our poor Church. Had [we] been truly, as onc[e] we wer falsly aleagit, but a pendicle of the dioces of York, yit more then a missive lettre would have been usit to have movit us imbrace a hole book of neu Canons, and mor then ane Act of Councell to have mad[e] us recev a neu Forme in the whol worship of God, prayer, sacraments, mariag, buriall, preaching and all. For myself, I am resolvit, what I can digest as any wayes tolerable with peic[e] of conscience, not only in deu tyme to receve myself, but to dispose others also, so farr as I can by word and writ, to receve quietly the same; but what ever be my mind, yit I am affrayit fore that there is a storme raisit which will not calme in my dayes. It's a pitie that we should have none to give our gracious Princ[e] deu information. They ar dear coft honour, which ar the pryce of our poor Countrie and Church peic[e] and liberties, betrayit to the lust, and sett onder the feit, of some feu forrein Prelats, if not on[e] alone. I mey vent this much of my grevit mynd in thy bosome.

I think reddily the tuo vacant Bishopriks shall be occasion of thy provision; but God mak the[e] a better on[e] than to[o] many among us ar. Bishopes I love; but pride, greid, luxurie, oppression, immersion in saicular affaires, was the bane of the Romish Prelats, and can not have long good succes in the Reformit.

Thy Brother,

Kilw[inning] Jan. 2, 1637.

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEAR AND LOVING COOSING,

EFTER long expectatione, and marvelling of your silence, at

(3) The English prelates here alluded to were Dr. Lancelot Andrews, successively Bishop of Ely, Chichester, and Winchester; and Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

laft this 20 of Januarie, I receaved your laft two together, and your Currents to the 53. I muft entreat yow to continew, not fo much your old kindneffe to me in wryting, for of this I do not complaine, as your old prudence in directing them ; it wes above, I think, fix weeks after the coming home of our Glasgowe merchants, that your letters promifed with them come to my hands. It is mervellous that in all our countrey we fhould have no word from over fea, more nor we were in America. Will yow be pleased to fend it ; poffiblie ye let us whiles want, of purpofe, that we may know the better to whom we are indebted. For my felf I am fo evill a payer, that yow may refufe to furnifh me any longer in this ware, as a desperate bankrupt ; alwayes, to give yow fome hope, I minde to pay the principall, even a whole Olympiad of Gazets. I have fent yow for annuallrent, half a gallon of our Glasgowe water ; I will intreat yow drink my fervice to your wife, affureing her that I did with her all prosperitie, and could be moft glad to doe her pleasure if ever ſhe came to Killwinning : tell her that ſhe may have confidence of a long and vigorous life to her husband, who wes born and brought up in fo happie a citie, where fuch livelie waters runnes in everie ſtreit.

Your Currents and letters make my heart both forie and glad ; glad I am to fee the help of God with the poor Langrave, by the victory of the Swedds ; glad I am to fee the wickednefs of that foolifh prince of Saxone punifhed ; glad I am that both the Cardinall was forced to retire from Picardie, and Galace from Burgundie, without any gaine of all their fearfull enterprizes ; I am alfo glad that the Swedds hes forced Lunenburgh to a neuterallitie, and Brandeburge (as it feems) either to a confederacie or contribution ; alfo that the diet of Ratisbone is broken up without a conclufion for a King of the Romans, and with a plain refufall (if we will hear it at laft after fo many hunder repetitions of the fame reall answer) to reftore the Palatinate. Bot moft glad I am that the meeting of Culen is like to evanifh ; for I wes and yet am greatly afraid of the French their levitie that they fitt down, being evill breathed men and foon out of wind, and leave their good friends, both Witinberge, and Trier [Treves], and Parme, and your Eftates, to fee to themselves, let be to conjoyne with our King in any league how neceffare ſoever at this time to both. Bot if it be true that they yet have courage and meanes to renew the warr on that fyde, and the Swedds continue on the other, if the Turk would truely come downe

on the fourth, I hope that the Austrians, albeit they once againe gatt the Croone, and Bavar also, for all his sone and heir, might be moved to suffer our banished men after so many yeares, come home and live in peace. I wes forie to see so much Christian blood monethly shed, and so great appearance of more to be shed, these warrs being yet, as it were, bot in the beginning.

For our estate at home, I doe not understand it; neither does any I meit with understand it better. After we were beginning to forget the Book of our Canons, before Zuile vacants, a Proclamatione wes made by ane Act of Councill, at the King's directione, brought home with the Bischope of Ross, (who the last year also brought us down our Canons,) to receive the Service Book. This all the Churches in Scotland are commanded to doe against Pasche nixt, under the paine of horning; yit to this day we cannot gett ane sight of that Book. The reasone, some sayes, is because our Scottissh editione is not yit compleatlie printed. I would rather think that some of our Bishops makes delay, as not being at a full point themselves what they would have in, and what out. I know much of it wes printed in Edinburgh before Zuill was a year. We heard then that the Bishop of Edinburgh chiefly had obtained that we should be quyte of the Surplice, Croffe, Apocrypha, Saints dayes, and some other trashe of the Inglissh Liturgie; bot since that tyme, they say that Canterburie sent down to our Chancellor a long writ of additions, which, nill he, will he, behooved to be putt in. However it be, my Lord Treasurer brought home a copie of our Scottissh Service printed at Londone; which fundrie hes perused, and sayes, they find no difference betwixt it and the Inglishe Service, save in one; to witt, in additione of fundrie moe Popissh rites, which the Inglissh wants: We must crosse in Baptisme, have ring in marriage etc. bot besyde, we must consecrate at sett tymes, with sett prayers, holy water to stand in the font; at the delyverie of the elements there is ane other, and that a very ambiguous prayer, as they say, looking much to Transubstantiation; the Deacon, on his knees, must, in ane offertorie, present the devotions of the people to the Lord upon his altar or table. For myself, I suspend my judgement till I see the Booke, only I fear the event be to the hurt of our poor Church. These which are averse from the ceremonies, whereof there is great numbers, yea, almost all our nobilitie and gentrie of both sexes, counts that Booke little better then the Masse, and are farr on a way to separate from all who will imbrace it. I think verilie, if they knew

[themselves] to be in no greater danger then Papists among us are, they would not fail to abstaine from the publick assemblies, as weill as they doe ; and their number and qualitie is such, that readilie it may procure from the Prince that libertie which the Papists hes ; and of this, without farder for the present, I think they will be glad ; yea, upon all hazards, though the law should take away all they have from them, it is like, when all ministers hes obeyed, they will never countenance a conforme Assemblée. God grant I may prove a false prognosticator ; I look for the most pitiful schism that ever poor Kirk has felt. The affections of both sydes dayly funders more and more, and both gives to other new occasions of misinterpretations ; the one puts poperie, idolatrie, superstition, in fundrie things which are innocent of these faults ; they speak of the persones and actions of men otherways then it becomes ; they give appearance that for the changes already made, albeit no farder were, of their mind to seporate. The other seemes wilfullie to add fewell to their flame ; to command upon sole authoritie, without ever craving the advyce of any, (so farr as we can hear,) if such things be expedient ; yea, if they be lawfull : bot Presbyteries, Sessions, Assemblies, must down ; the Bishop and his officiall, the Warden and the clerk, and the Priest of the parish must up ; the new formes of Baptisme, Eucharist, Marriage, Buriell, Prayers, Psalmes, Preaching, must be received under the paines of depositione, excommunicatione and horning ; who will not yeild, he is a seditious, factious rebell, not only against the Kirk and King, bot God and his fyfte command : Sundrie of them, in their preaching, discourses, and printed books, declareing their mindes for many tenets of Poperie and Arminianisme ; none of them shewing any appearance of zeall for repressing of Papists or Arminians at home, for redressing the afflicted state of Protestants abroad ; the most of them openlie hunting for advancement, state offices, pensions ; casting the modestie, painfull lecture, preaching, and such other ecclesiastick vertues underfoot.

Allace ! We make our self more and more unfavorie daylie ; when we have gottin our augmentations, we are so severe in exacting, that we are a common talking. The 34 year of God wes a fore year to our labourers ; bot the 35 yeir wes the worst that in this last age wes seen. The Commisfar feirs wes ten pound for meill and bear ; bot fundrie of our brethren are charging, to the shame of us all, for twelve and above. Others of us are breaking out in vyle adulteries ; mutterings of many ; two

under publick censure ; Mr. Archibald Grahame depofed by the High Commiffione. He wes thought ane eunuch, and fo gives it yit out with the greateft oaths ; bot I chanced to be at one of his tryells in Glaſgow, where fo fowll practices were deponed againſt him, that had he bein my father, I would have ſubſcribed to his depofitione. Mr. David Henderſone of Killmaurs is ſuſpended, and, as I think, ſhall ſhortlie be depofed for this ſame cryme ; never a papift preiſt accuſed of moe foule tricks than are deponed againſt him. We are like to become verie vile. The Biſhops of Argyle wes no ſooner dead, then a number lope to their friends for recommendations to Court ; yet three only could get themſelves leitit. Mr. Henrie Rollock,⁽⁴⁾ for whom the Chancellour⁽⁵⁾ dealls, and many courtiers : he is your good friend, but hes loſt all his reputatione, as it ſeemes, moſt deſervedlie ; it were good he wer a Biſhop, for then he needed preach none ; he might eat, wear, play, and look as ſtatelie as now he does, without challenging. The next is the Deane, for whom Roſſe dealls. The third is Dr. Monroe, who for that place is thought meeteſt, but hes no hope, becauſe few friends at Court. The Theſaurer,⁽⁶⁾ who now guides our Scotts affairs with the moſt abſolute ſovereigntie that any ſubject among us this fourtie yeares did kyth, is for his old maſter, Mr. James Fairley ; and he is moſt redoubted (though not upon the leits) for the greatneſs of his friend. This increaſes his colleage, Mr. Andrew Ramſayes malcontentment, who now is clean miſregarded by our great cleargie ; ſo he hes been preaching to the people's contentment againſt the Anti-chriſt, and is ſpeaking of dimitting his miniſtrie, and retireing to his own lairdſhipe ; yet they are few years paſt ſince moſt baſelie he wes begging the Subdeanrie of the Chappell, which yet I think he brooks.

The laſt year, our Biſhops guided all our eſtate, and became verie terrible to our whole countrie : they are now a little lower. The firſt rubb they had wes in the matter of the Abbacie of Lindores. They had weill near gottin that through, as a firſt preparative to have made all the reſt follow, that all our Abbacies ſhould have been conferred on preachers, that ſo many new Lords

(4) In the MS. this name is uſually written, in a contracted form, Roche. Henry Rollock, the perſon referred to, was one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh.

(5) John Spottiſwoode, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, 14th January 1635.

(6) John Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasuſer for Scotland.

of Parliament should have been erected for the Church. This all the Nobilitie did so band themselves against, that the King's minde was drawn clean off the designe. The next rubb they gatte wes in the matter of the Thesaurer, fra Canterberrie had gottin the Bishop of London Thesaurer of England. At the word of Mortoun's dimission, Rosse⁽⁷⁾ thought himself sure of that office, and so did we all; bot the Duke and the Marqueifs, sett out by a number of our Noblemen, did concurr to stirr up Traquair (as he letts out fore against his heart) to make meins for that place, that he might, by his great partes, be a barr to hinder the inundatione of our impetuous Clergie, which wes like to overflow all. This place he obtained in despyte of them; and since hes ever been a thorn in their side. Rosse being disappointed of his hope, went to Court to sollicit the breaking up of the Commission, as a thing most prejudiciall to the Clergie; for indeed it is an annihilatione of the teinds for all tyme coming, except that small portion of them which is alloted to the Ministers. This Rosse obtains, and the King's will discharging the Commissione is given to Traquair to carry to the Councill in a closed letter; bot being informed, I think by the Secretar, what he caried unawares in his bosome, he makes such remonstrances to the King, that he is content to give him a new direction, to be presented to the Councill after the first, willing the Commission to be continued, if so be after advysement they fand it expedient for the weill of the countrie. Traquair and Ross came home together; bot Traquair having the King's posterior warrand for the Commission's continuance, and haveing moved the most part of the Lords of Councill, even of the Bishops themselves, to subseryve the expedience of that continuatione, he hes obtained from the King a new warrand for the dounfitting of that Commissione, the 8 of January, which wes up since the 24 of July: This is thought the greatest affront that ever Rosse gatt, and hes cooled much his courage. Belyde the whole nobilitie, both here and at Court, which backs Traquair, he has made a part of the Bishops themselves to be for him; Brechin, Murray, and whereof most I marvell, Galloway, evidently are his men; the Chancellor is so terrified by him, for fear of some his own practices, what I know not, that he is not, nor dare not be much opposed. Glasgow he abuses pitifullie at his pleasure, after, with very much adoe, Brechin had obtained to him the

(7) Dr. John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.

King's hand for the annuities in his Diocesse, till he was fullie payed of his fyve thousand pound sterling. Traquair, after long delayes, at last gave him way, bot, to this day, doe what he can, he frustrates him, and receives himself those annuities, to Glasgoves infinite malcontentment : yit he hes plaid him a worfe hurt since. After the Bishop had made incredible dinn and busines with our honest Toun, when by no meanes he would be contented, except he were relieved of their Ministers' stipends, and receaved acknowledgement of everie particular holder in the town as the master of their ground ; Patrick, ⁽⁸⁾ by Traquair, obtains the King's hand to a signature, wherein their holding of the Crowne immediately their patronage of the Blackfriars and Laigh Church, and many moe of their rights, challenged by the Bishop, are confirmed ; this Patrick getts through all the Sealls, and home to Glasgow, by their deir friend the Thesaurer, in spite of all that opposition which the Bishops conjoyned could make. If he doe a third like thir two to poor Glasgow, I think he will kill him with displeasure. There is a God. We hear the Bishops are confident that Traquair shall be their arme to force the country, by horrible fynes, to obey all their injunctions : they say he gave Canterberrie this assurance at his first advancement ; but others doe hope that he will be moved to remonstrate to the King the countrie's grievances at the Bishops proceedings : it is evident that he fetts himself to crosse their generall designs, and almost professes to doe particular despite to his antagonist Rosse, also to Glasgow and St. Andrewes.

Mr. Rutherfoord, of whom you write, was silenced and confined to Aberdeen, for preaching against the Articles of Perth and such things. It is true he refused to give the Chancellour or ony of the Bishops their styles ; they were animat also against him for taxing Camerone in his book, and most for his indiscreet railing at Jacksone ; also it is long since the Register, dealing to have Mr. Henry Rollocke coadjutor to the blind Bishop of Galloway, did put in the King's hands a treatise written by Rutherfoord upon Conventicles, or the extent of private men's libertie in publick praying and expounding of Scripture, to be ane argument of that Bishops negligence. All thir things and some moe did provoke them, bot the alleadged cause of their censure was onlie Conformity. The man is godly and a prettie

(8) This person was evidently Patrick Bell, who had been Provost of Glasgow in 1634, and again in 1638.

scholar; however I like not weill his obscuritie in that book, and I mislike also his conclusions and reasonings in a pamphlet of his, goeing athort our people, A Relation of a Conference of his with Sincerfe of Galloway,⁽⁹⁾ wherein he will have our kneilling black idolatrie. One of his grounds is a tenet which he imputts to the Bishop, that the Act of Perth does injoyne to kneill, for reverence, to the mysterious elements; this kneilling I think a Papist would not maintain, so I take it for a calumnie; always I take the man to be among the most learned and best ingynes of our natione. I think he were verie able for some professione in your Colledges of Utreck, Groninge or Rotterdam; for our King's dominions, there is no appearance he will ever gett living into them⁽¹⁾: if yow could quietlie procure him a calling, I think it were a good service to God to relieve one of his troubled ministers; a good to the place he came to, for he is both godlie and learned; yea, I think by time he might be ane ornament to our natione.

Concerning Duræis⁽²⁾ businefs, when ever I hear of the advancement of it, I am refreshed; yow neid put no questione on our side, for we did ever earnestlie fute it. I marvell of your Hollanders that does oppose it now. The best of them, Voetius, I am sure, and, as I remember, Rivet and Valle, hes declared in print their judgement for that Unione. I fear the Saxon divines shall now retrace their Leipfick Conference. I wish Duræ would turn his Hypomnemata into a full storie, like that of Hospinian, in Re Sacramentaria. His answers that he hes gotten from Divines and Princes, if they were in print, would be much for edificatione. I was much bettered by the writ of the thrie English Bishops. I wish yow sent to the Colledge some wrytes of that kinde, such as Paræi Irenicon, and Crocii Assertio Augustana, with Menzeri Anticrocius, and one Christophorus Massenus, or some other, who writes weill on that subject. However, it be now two years since Duræ writ to St. Andrewes of that purpose, yet never did I hear of any such purpose, no, not to this day, bot from yow, albeit, in such purposes, I am curious

⁽⁹⁾ Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway.

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Samuel Rutherford had been deprived of his living as Minister of Anwoth, in 1636, by Bishop Sydserff:—he was restored in 1638.

⁽²⁾ Mr. John Dury, (in Latin Duræus,) a learned Divine, who laboured assiduously, both at home and abroad, to bring about a Union betwixt the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches.

of intelligence. I approve weill the Bifhop's wifdome in concealling that from our people, for they would not fail to tak it for a policie of theirs, to bring us on that farr, to yeild firft to the Lutherans and then to the Papifts; fo if they faw any fuch matter in hand, they would, by that means, be the more confirmed in ftanding ftill where they are. I have a mind to have fome books from London, if yow had any acquaintance there that would tak paines to buy and fend them to yow. I think I might have them fo als foon and als fafe, as any other way. Yow will wreit to me if yow think this courfe expedient, alfo what way I fhall fend yow the moneys. If yow had any thing to be answered here, it wer my greateft eafe to give money to your Father. For the prefent, I defyre from Amfterdam fome little things; if it might be, I wifh they were bound, and that in leather, for I love not your whyte parchment. I defyre then, *Acta Remonftrantium*, and *Amefii Antifynodalia*, *Voffii Hiftoria Pelagiana*, *Ufferii Godefchalcus*, *Doffat's Letters compleat*; thir books I hope to fee, and wifhes them of my owne, alfo *Apologia Remonftrantium*, and *Vorftius de Deo, cum notis completis*. I have many other of *Vorftius'* wreits. I have fein that of the Colledge, bot the notes were not full, being ane evill editione. I wifh yow [would] fend to the Colledge fome who refutes his Reafons, and alfo that yow fend to them a *Mercurius*. I muft be in your debt till yow wreit to me the beft way of fending yow money. Hereafter I fhall have money at yow; God willing ere I wryte for books. If I wryte feldome, yow feie I am fo long that I fafch yow; bot what fhall I doe, we muft meafure our neighbour by our own foot, the longer your letters to me are, they were ever the more pleafant. I fend yow heir inclofed one of my letters to my coofing, Mr. Creichton; yow will fend it back to me, for I have not ane other copie. Shew me your opinion of the trueth of my arguments, and if yow advyfe me to goe on in fuch Conferences; for the prefent he has fent me his judgement of Predeftination, wherein he is fully with *Arminius*. I am upon my answer, which if yow pleafe yow fhall fee.

We are in good hopes, that *Arundell's* return to Court fhall doe us much good. It appears that all the King's fubjects are moft willing to give of their goods and perfons what can be craved for the *Palatin's* reftitutione. Only the queftion will be to give the Parliament-men way to complaine of fome pretended abufes in Church and State. We hope that no Churchman nor Statesman will be fo divelifh as to marr that fweet

harmonie betwixt the King and the Parliament, which now is altogether necessar for the removeing of that greivous infamie under the quhilke our dominion long hes lyen, to the infinite greif of our sweit Prince. It's our heartie prayer there might be a Parliament in Ingland which might obtain all misorders there redressed : this would be some hope for us also to be heard in our like greivances ; except this, we have no other worldlie hope ; if the Palatine be longer neglected, if any wicked spirit hinder the calling of a Parliament, or a just hearing when it is called, we are feared for worfe evils then yit we have felt. Our Thesaurer, they say, is written for to Court ; his freinds gives out it is to perswade the Duke,⁽³⁾ with whom he hes great credit, to that match with Pembroke's sonnes widow, Buckingham's daughter, whereto the King cannot get his minde, how facile foever, yet fully wrought, for all her infinite portion. We had hopes he might have obtained one of the Palatine's sistres, but now, if he would look thereaway, frae the King hes shewed his will of his matching otherwayes, it might prove his hurt : Poor Prince, God helpe him ! Buckinghame his friends hes drawn him down from high hopes, (if it be as the report is ;) however, our Thesaurer is a great courteour, bot I feare he cannot stand long ; he caries all down that is in his way, with such a violent fpaite, oft of needles passion. They say he brake up the Council the other weeke in spleene, without conclusion ; Glasgow and Galloway, and the Advocate, against his minde, standing to the dissolution of a late Border marriage, wherein an heretrix was seduced to consent to ane youth of my Lord Hume his friends, and thereafter was brought by her own freinds to repent and crave the annulling of her pretended marriage. It is marvelled that Galloway would have crossed him ; alwayes he fell upon the poore Advocate pitiefully with his tongue, and hes affrayed him with Sir Lewis Stewart's succession to his place. I pray God so guide our Statesmen, that they may agree to seek the weell of our fighting land and our Church, more affrayed for a storme then it was this long tyme. I must close at last, remembring my service and my mastres to yow and your mastres, whom I am very desirous to see in Scotland. The Lord be with yow, and send yow matter abroad, and me at home wherewith

(3) James Fourth Duke of Lennox. He married Lady Mary Villiers, only daughter of George first Duke of Buckingham, and relict of Charles Lord Herbert, who died in 1635.

your nixt letters may refresh me, and myne yow, more then thir our last can doe. So I remain your loving cousine,

[R. BAILLIE.]

Send me also, if ye can have it, Latii Historia Pelagiana, and some good Treatises of Brounisme. I hear Answerth hes written for their separation, and Paget or some other against it, which I gladly would have, for I feare to have too much use of such peeces. Yow have here also my Conference with Mr. Creichton anent the matter of herefie; if yow keep all close to yourself, as I know ye will, and send all thir 7 sheets back, yow shall have any other you require.

Jan. 29, 1637.

TO MY LORD ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.⁽⁴⁾

Please your Lordship, your Lordship's letter of the 7th of this inst. I received the 13th late, wherein I am desired to preach the last Wedensday of this instant before the Assembly, and to frame my sermon to incite my hearers to the obedience and practice of the Canons of our Church and Service-Book, published and established by authoritie. I am much obliged to your Lordship's estimation of my poor giftes, and does humbly thank your Lordship for intending to honour me with so great a service; but, withall, am sorry that my present dispositione necessitats me to decline the charge. I will confesse myself to your Lordship freely, for I have found ever such æquitie in your Lordship, and so favourable a respect towards me in all my affaires, that I am imboldened, without all dissimulation, to speak what is in my minde; the truth is, that as yit I have not studied the matters contained in the bookes of our Canons and Common Prayer; only I have taken a flight view of them, whereby, for the present, my minde is no wayes satisfied; yea, the little pleasure I have in these bookes, and the great displeasure I find the most part, both of pastours and people wherever I come, to have conceived against them, hes filled my minde with such a measure of grief, that I am scarce able to preach to my own flock; bot to speak in another congregation, let be in so famous a meet-

⁽⁴⁾ Patrick Lindsay, of the Family of Edzell, in Angus-shire, Bishop of Ross, was translated to the See of Glasgow in April 1633.

ing, and that upon these matters, I am at this tyme alluterlie unable. Your Lordship, I put no question, is so æquitable as to take in good part this my ingenuous confession of the true cause why I am unable to accept that honourable imployment which your Lordship's more then ordinar respect would have laid upon me; so for this and many moe favours receaved, farr above my deserving, I pray God to blisse your Lordship, and to continue yow many yeares to be our overseer; for be persuaded that mony thousands here where I live are gritly afrayit, that whenever your Lordship shall goe, their peace and quietnes shall goe away with yow. This is

Your Lordship's very loving Friend, and obedient Servant,

R. BAYLIE.

Kilwinning, August 14, 1637.

To (5)

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

As I promised to yow, so I have performed. Yesterday morning I shew to my Lord, that I intended on Sunday to have a Session for to send a Commissioner to supplicat the Councell, as I trusted mony of my neighbours would doe. After he had for a little dislyked my purpose, and proposed some impossible wayes of his own, at last he was weill content to approve our Supplicatione, and, if he had health, to back it, or else to write to his freinds. At my departure my Lord Montgomerie lighted; he assured me, that whether his father went or no, he would not faile to goe to Edinburgh for this eirand. Thence I went to Stevenstoune. Mr. John Bell, I left him willing not onlie to cause his Session supplicat, but to goe to Dalry and acquaint Mr. Robert Bell with the purpose, and to wreit to Mr. James Fullertoun, Mr. William Ruffell, Mr. Hew Eglintoun, to send the cheif gentlemen of their paroches with the Supplication. Thence I went to Ardrossane. Mr. Alexander hes promised to send a Supplication, and to intreat himself, James Mitchell to carry it. Also to go to Kilbryde this day, and to requiest Mr. George to move his Session on Sunday to send Hunterstoune or

(5) In the MS. this Letter has no address. It probably, however, was directed to one of the Ministers of Glasgow, either to Robert Wilkie or John Maxwell: *Vide infra*, p. 19.

Waterstoune with their Supplication ; he hes promised to write thence to Mr. Thomas Craig, that it was our desyre he fould be earnest with old Skelmurlie to carrie their Supplicatione. In my return, I came be the Kirilaw, where I left Cunninghameheid resolved to carie the Supplication of Stevenstoune, and to tak Mr. John Bell with him to Edinburgh. He promiseid also to goe this day to requeist old Blair to accept the Supplication of Dalry, for I thought it expedient that he wer in Edinburgh, especially to move his goodfone Blakhall, to informe my Lord Duke of Lennox. I have written to Mr. Michael in such a fassoun as yow would laugh at. I have told him how I understood of the Supplication to be presented ; bot of your dealing or mine, I have told him nought. I have desyred him to fend me a double of his parochie Supplication, that I may conforme mine to it, and intreats him for this courtesie as a great favour ; also I desyre him to shaw if they will give their Commiission to young Rowallane, or to whom else. This I think be all that yow requeisted of me at parting. Every thing hes succeeded according to our minde. It rests that we pray for a happie event to God, that he would avert the poprie of the one side, and the schisme of the uther, and the bloodie sword of both. It were good that Hefilheid were in Beith on Sonday to accept the Commiissione of his parochie. Cunninghamehead promised to write to Cappingtoun to accept the Commiissione of Dundonald. We adverteifed Mr. John Ferguill that was in Dalry to adverteife his neighbours at his returne. Yow have neglected Kyle and Carrick ill : yow have tyme to adverteife Kyle yet, that out of mony paroches there may go a gentleman. When yow come to Edinburghe, yow will doe weill to imploy Mr. Archbald Johnstoune rather then they yow named to me, to mak that Toun supplicat. Neglect not to cause Angous and Rothus at least, if no mo, to speik plaine Scottish to my Lord Duke of Lennox and the Thesaurer ; what may cost them readilie their life and their lands, fall they not use means diligentlie to avert it. Wherever yow goe, imploy the Supplicationes of these yow know uses to pray in earnest ; however I differ far fra yow in judgement about many things, and ever the longer the more, yet the troubles of our poore Church and State I would redeem with the losse of my right hand, yea, of my head, and all that I have, bot my foule alone and my conscience. The Lord be with yow, as happie as yow have been, to procure this good and wise course of supplicating, both now and before. I trust

God shall make yow als happie hereafter, if this meane prevail not to be his instrument to withdraw people from intraged, fleshlie, unchristian, and divelische courses, whereupon nature does sett too many, and the divell spurres them under the false pretext of religion.

Your Brother,

[R. BAILLIE.]

All that I have done is with so little dinn as was possible. The double of your Supplication will be given to all the Ministers I have named, except to Mr. Michael, for fear to marre him be any kinde of our prescriptiones. As yow have desired, I have written also to Dunbarton.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEARE AND LOVING CUSING,

My best reply to your complaint of the rarity of my letters, is their prolixity, if not superfluous tediousness, when they come. I delayed also for a while to wryte, till ye had answered, as fundry tymes ye promised, to some passages of my last, which did requyre answer. Ye shall doe weell hereafter when ye take leasure to wryte to me, to have my last besyde yow, that when ye take a blenk of it, ye may remember the cheif points wherein I crave your answer; bot the cheif cause of my so long delay, was my hovering expectation till our present commotions had come, if not to some conclusion, yet to some crise, that from thence I might have advertised you with some certain ground, what was our present state, and what hopes or fears we had for the future; bot lest this my expectation should occasion in yow thoughts of my undutifulness, if it continue any longer, I shall shew yow the estate of our affaires as they are, at least as I am informed of them; though as yet, they are hinging without any certaine, so much as propension to settle in any posture, which is knowen to us, or well imaginable to any man; only God knowes what he will doe with us all; for all, King, Court, Church, State, England, Scotland, seemes to be in a very staggering state, if God with his hand hinder not men and divells from their humorous inclinationes; for, as yet, I think there be no resolution taken on any hand.

In my last I shew yow how that, in the breaking up of the Winter Session, there was a Proclamation, by found of trumpet,

commanding all subjects, ecclesiastick and civil, to conform themselves to the Liturgie against the nixt Pasch. Till that term there was no dinn; for the books were not printed till Aprile was past, and a while thereafter. No diligence could obtaine a sight of them; bot in May, when letters was obtained by diverse of the Bishops, commanding, under the paine of horning, every Minister in their Dioceffe to buy, for the use of their parochie, two of these books, there began to be much talking of that busines; which increased when the Bishop of Galloway, in his Assembly, had purchased the consent of the most part of his ministers to take these books, to use them; as the word went, to buy them when they come from the presse. Well I wote his Lordship also held in Galloway an high Commission, where, for matters of conformity, he fyned some gentlemen: he confyned the Magistrats of Kirkubrie to Wigtoun for a tyme; the Laird of Earlstoun, who, by Lorne, and the rest of my Lord Kenmure's curators, was intrusted with the most of that pupill's affairs, for his absence, he fined in 500 merks, and confined his person to Montrose. No dealing could move the Bishop to pass from the execution of this sentence; yea, at the Councill table, when Lorne was relateing some circumstances of this businesse, he got a reply from the Bishop, which he called a lie, and so raise in high passion, and yet remains malcontent for that injurie. For myself, I think the Bishop could not be so impertinent, bot that rather that wise nobleman would make use of some rash word, which hes fallen from his mouth; however, he and all the nobles takes it for a very pert affront done to their estate, even in Councill. The matter, I hear, is before the King, and yet not agreed. It went also braid and wyde, and was told to the Bishop's face, by my Lord Dumfreis, before the Thefaurer, that he did wear under his coat, upon his breast, a Crucifix of gold; to which challenge his reply was bot faint. A certain gentleman told me, that he did see, and handle, and conferre concerning that crucifix, with the Bishop. For all this, I doe not believe it, for I, upon my old respect to the man, made M. R. Hamiltone his familiar pose him upon the matter; who reported to me his full purgation of this calumnie. However, that Synod and Commission in Galloway, that supposed lie and crucifix, did give no little occasion to the increase of the people's murmures. The Bishop of Rosse himself, in his Cathedrall at least, did, long before that time, and so to this day continues to read a Liturgie, whether the English, or ours printed at

London, I doe not know. The Bifhop of Dunblane, at his Synod, did read it; and gave all his Minifters Michaelmes terme to advyfe, whether then they would ufe that Book, or leave their places. The Bifhop of Edinburgh in his Synod, when Mr. H. Rolloke had preached at length for the obedience to the King and Church, did read the Book. Mr. D. Michell and young Durie were the chief anfuerers. St. Andrewes in his dioceffe did propone the buying and ufeing of the Booke, and thereupon took instruments. Glasgow was fick in Edinburgh; fo in our Synod was no word of this matter. In the meantime, fome copies of the Book goes from hand to hand; fome of the unconforme pairtie makes it their text daily, to fhew the multitude of the Popifh poynts contained in the book; the groffnefs of it far beyond the English; the way of the impofing of it, not only without any meeting either of Church or State, bot contrare to ftanding lawes both of Church and State; in a word, how that it was nought bot the Mafs in English, brought in by the craft and violence of fome two or three of the Bifhops againft the minde of all the reft, both of Church and Statesmen. Thir things did found from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers, were the table talk and open difcourfe of high and low. So it goes to the mids of July, when the King's letters comes down to diffolve the Commiffion for the Tithes, till farder advyſement, procured, as moft thought, by the Theſaurer, to croffe the Chancellour; who at that tyme was to draw in the Churches of the Abbacie of St. Andrewes, his new caſualty, and to cauſe provide each of them a locall ſtipend within the pariſhe, which would have annihilate the tacks of many noblemen and gentlemen athort all Fyfe, fet by my Lord Duke of Lennox; for many paroches were all dilapidat, and the Miniſters, whiles two or three, provided out of the tithes of other pariſhes: fo the Chancellour obtaining a locality to the Miniſter, according to the Act of Parliament, within the parochie, would have much augmented his own rent, and diminifhed that of the tackfmen, and hurt the credite of the houſe of Lennox, who had receaved moneys for theſe tacks, which they could not warrand till expedients could be found. To remead this evill, the Theſaurer getts the Commiffion diffolved. St. Andrewes, whether to preveene this plot, or for what other deſigne, reſolves to Court, and to Winter there. He thought to have uſed meanes to have been ſent for; or, if theſe failed, to have pretended a voyage to the Bathes. Glasgow alſo did proteſt,

oft tymes, that he would goe and complaine of the Thesaurer ; who did continue, notwithstanding of all his contrare promises, to frustrate him of his gift of fyve thousand pound sterling, out of the annuities of his Diocese : for this voyage he had coft his horse. So then, my Lord Arch-Bishopes being resolved for Court, they thought meet, ere they went, to doe a peece of acceptable service to the King, that when they came, they might be the more welcome : they will have the Liturgie practised in all the Churches of Edinburgh, without farder delay. A letter comes down from the King for this effect : The Bishope and Ministers of Edinburgh are sent for : St. Andrews will hear no reason of shifting, bot peremptorily commands them all to intimate, out of a printed paper, the King's command to have the Scottish Liturgie read the Sabbath following in all their churches. The Commission is read out of all the pulpits ; only Mr. Andrew Ramsay flights it. The whole body of the Towne murmures and grudges all the week exceedingly ; and who can marvell, discourses, declamations, pamphlets, every where against this course ; no word of Information, in publick or private, by any to account of, used for the clearing of it. So, on Sondag morning, when the Bishop and his Deane, in the great Church, [and the] Bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriars, began to officiat, as they speak, incontinent the serving maids began such a tumult, as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound given to any, yet such was the contumelies in words, in clamours, runnings and flinging of stones in the eyes of the Magistrates, and Chancellour himself, that a little opposition would have infallibly moved that intraged people to have rent fundry of the Bishops in pieces. The day thereafter, I had occasion to be in the towne ; I fand the people nothing settled ; bot if that Service had been presented to them againe, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put in ward ; the Towne put under ane Episcopall interdict, which yet continues ; no preaching, no prayers on the week dayes, no reading nor prayers on Sunday. The Chancellour wrote up presently the story to the King, with some wype to the Thesaurer ; who that foule day was from the towne. The Thesaurer and Counsellors being highly offended, that the Chancellour should wryte in such a busines without their privity, delayed to write or send their post till the Fryday. It was thought the Councill's letter did extenuate the matter so much, as it might be laid on the rascall mul-

titude, with some reflexion on the Bishops imprudent precipitation. In the mean tyme, there was great fear for the King's wrath : the towne and countrey did quake till the return of the King's pleasure. Our gracious Prince was glad that the Towne, and all of any note, had been free of that tumult ; as for the rascall multitude, he committed the tryall and the censure of the fact to the Councill, only did command the use of the Service book with all possible diligence. Before this tyme, the most of the Bishops had raised letters of horning, to charge all the Ministers in their Dioceſſe to buy two books for the use of their parishes within fifteen dayes. Glasgow was very diligent in chargeing all his Presbyteries ; and by no intreatie, would delay so much as to his Assembly in August, but would have us all to the horne presently who would not buy. St. Andrewes moved many to buy the books without chargeing ; only two or three unconforme men were charged in his Dioceſſe. Their wes ane overture made to us in Irvine, to supplicat the Councill for a suspension of this unreasonable charge ; after much advisement and doubts, we concluded to send Mr. William Castellaw to the Councill, with a Commission to supplicat in the name of us all, for a suspension. We send over to Aire, to require them to conjoyne ; but Mr. William Annan, their moderator, *pro imperio*, did discharge all such motion ; only Mr. James Bonar went to Edinburgh for himself, and two or three others of his brethren. I having occasion, within two dayes thereafter, to be in Glasgow, did motion the matter to their Ministers, who had gotten presently letters to be ready against the Sunday nixt, to read the Service in all their churches. I had not much adoe to cause them call their Presbytrie, and subscribe all of them a pithie Supplication, penned by Mr. John Maxwell, carried by Mr. Robert Wilkie, on Wednesday, to the Council. Upon that Supplication mainly, for there was no more bot ours in Irvine ; Mr. James Bonar, for two of Aire ; Mr. Alexander Henderſon, for himself, and two of St. Andrews, (whose supplication, because much esteemed by the people, I have sett down ;) I say, Glasgows supplication, and Mr. Robert Wilkie's diligence, to his infinite praise, did obtain from the Councill that strange letter to the King, which here ye have, and ane Act from the Councill, declaring that their minde in their letters, of chargeing the Ministers, was alone to buy the Books for their own information, bot not for any present use in their parishes. Many noblemen by letters, many gentlemen in person, did solist the Counsellors,

one by one, and gave them all these Informations, which here ye have also. All the Councill was most earnest to satisfy the countrey in holding off the yoke of that black book; only at the Bishops vehement sollicitations, for the refounding of the printer's expences, for which they stood obliged, there was no suspension given for the buying of two books. Whill ane answer should be returned from the King to this letter, all the farther prosecuting of the matter was delayed to the 20 of September. Our Synod in Glasgow was indicted on the last Wednesday of August. The Bishop wrote to me from Edinburgh, to preach thereat; and, withall, to incite all my hearers to obey the Church Canons, and to practise the Service. I wrote back a flat refusal, shewing the irresolution of my own minde. For all this, in the Friday before the Synod I receive new letters, commanding me, upon my canonick obedience, to preach on Wednesday before the Synod, committing the matter of my Sermon to my own discretion. However I had but two free dayes, yet I choosed rather to obey then to have cast my self in needless contests with a troublesome man, and made my self ready as I might, on that 2 of Timothy: "I charge thee before God, to preach in season, and out of season," &c. The Bishop, as I was informed, had written to Mr. William Annan to preach on the Thursday; but coming to the town on the Monday, whileas I could not winn till the Tuesday late, the Bishop agrees with him to take the Wednesday, and thinks to keep me for the Thursday, (as he said idly to me) being the chief day of the Synod, when yet he might know that then the Synod would be dissolved. Glad was I that Mr. William Annan took that burden off me; for indeed I was not prepared as the tyme required. I would have spoken no syllable of any conformity, but pressed these pastorall duties, which would not have pleased all. So I took it: and the event proved it to be a good providence for me, that I was freed; for Thursday I peremptorily refused. Mr. William Annan, on the 1. of Timothy, "I command that prayers be made for all men," in the last half of his sermon, from the making of prayers, ran out upon the Liturgie, and spake for the defence of it in whole, and sundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the Isle of Brittain could have done, considering all circumstances; howsoever, he did maintain, to the dislike of all in ane unfit tyme, that which was hinging in suspense betwixt the King and the countrey. Of his sermon among us in the Synod, not a word; but in the towne among the women,

a great dinne. To-morrow, Mr. John Lindsay, at the Bishop's command, did preach; he is the new Moderator of Lanrick. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should twitch the Service Book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit; he took the advice, and lett that matter alone. At the outgoing of the church, about 30 or 40 of our honestest women, in one voyce, before the Bishop and Magistrates, did fall in rayling, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr. William Annan: some two of the meanest was taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of sundry in words and looks; but after supper, whilst needleslie he will goe to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the causeway, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four Ministers with him, but some hundredths of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, and flaves, and peats, [but] no stones: they beat him fore; his cloake, ruffe, hatt, were rent: however, upon his cryes, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger, even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best qualitie would have been found guiltie. To-morrow, poor Mr. William was convoyed with the Baillies and sundry Ministers to his horse; for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his onlouping, his horse unhapiely did fall above him, in a very foule myre, in presence of all the company; of which accident was more speech then of any other. I think that Town's commotion does proceed most from Mr. John Bell's vehement dislike of the Booke, whereto I take him much to be furthered by his good sone, Mr. James, so shamefully abused by the Bishop, as I wrote to yow before. Alwayes, I suspect, these tumults will hinder the Bishop, for all his stoutness, in haste to cause read Service in his Cathedrall. Great was the longing of the whole countrey for the 20 of September; against it, all did expect this business should take some crise. The most of the parishes in the Sheriffdom of Aire, Fyfe, Louthian, Cliddesdaill, Stirlingshire, Stratherne, did send in Supplications with their chief gentlemen, to beseeke the Councill to deprecate the King, that he would not urge the heaveie burden of the Liturgie. A number of Earles and Lords, whose names ye have, a great number of Barons, sundry burghes Commissioners, (Glasgow I moved, and by God's help, overcam many

difficulties,) went to keep the dyet. My Lord Duke of Lennox coming down post for his mother's buriall, who had died of a feavor, and was buried the 17 of September in the night without ceremonie; for her husband, mainly by her princely carriage, is more then four hundreth thousand merks in debt; my Lord Duke, I say, had the carrying of the King's letter to the Counsell. A copie of it I have sent yow. For all the harshness of it, the Commissioners presented their severall Supplications. There was one common one presented by my Lord Sutherland, the first Earle of these who were present, in name of the Nobilitie, Barrones, Ministers, Brughes, there present. Ye have the copie, both as it was presented, and as it was thereafter corrected and mended to be sent up to the King. My Lord Duke was carefully sollicit to agent this weighty business, and hes promised to doe his endeavour. In his passage, he was magnificently entertained in the Town House of Glasgow,—he hes subscribed, in the Bishop's presence, an ancient band of his house, to maintain that good towne under the King, against all whomsoever to his power. His Grace did avow, that the King was misinformed much about the nature of the business. It is thought, that two yeares since, the Bishop of Ross and Deane of Edinburgh being at Court, did give assurance, that the nobilitie and body of the land did much long for this Liturgie, and would give the King great thanks to give it; also, that with this last letter of the Councill, which all who were present, even the Bishops themselves, whose names ye have here, did subscribe, there went up privie informations from the Bishop of Dunblane to Canterbury, (for the rest promised to wryte nothing dissonant from the publick letter,) shewing that if the King would goe on, he should finde little difficultie, though some few puritanes in the Councill would make it seem otherways. However, the Councill made that Aēt which here ye have; and all, with most earnest affection commended the affair to the Duke's Grace. The Thesaurer, his guider, layes it much to heart; and albeit it was greatly feared that he should have been the violent executer of the King's commands, yet he hes given the Noblemen full assurance, that he will venture all he hes before our Reverend fathers get our sweet Prince so farr abused, as to losse needlessly the hearts of all his subjects. By the King's peremptory command, the town of Edinburge wes forced to receive, the 18 of September, Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, for their Provost. When they would have joyned with the rest of the burroughs to supplicat, he did hinder.

After the Councill raife, a committee, as ye see in the Act, was ordained to sitt still, for to finde means how the Book should be quietly receaved in Edinburgh without farder delay. The people hearing of it on the Saturday, publickly, before the Bishop, railes on their new Provost. On Monday he calls in the Tolbooth a Councill; the body of the towne keeps the dyett; men, women, and all rushes in: All the threats of the imperious Provest could not make any of them move. The Book, all of them cryed, they wold never have. At last, they were moved to goe forth, by the Baillies request, till the Councill had advysed; bot with assurance, they would not goe from the doore till they had concluded to supplicat for the towne to the Committee. The Provost, after he hed drunken all these contumelies, was glad to promise a Supplication, and to assure they should as little and as late be troubled with that Book as any Burgh in the kingdome. Against the nixt Councill day, the 1 of November, it is expected, that the most of all the Nobility, Gentry, Burrows, shall be present, to send up their Commissioners to Court. What shall be the event, God knows: there was in our Land ever such ane appearance of a sturr; the whole people thinks Poperie at the doores; the scandalous pamphlets which comes daily new from England, adde oyl to this flame; no man may speak any thing in publick for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, farr above any thing that ever I could have imagined, though the masse in Latine had been presented. The Ministers who has the command of their mind, does disavow their unchristian humour, but are noways so zealous against the devill of their furie, as they are against the seduceing spirit of the Bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the crying sinns of all estates and professions, (which no example of our neighbour's calamities would move us to repent,) is going to execute his long denounced threatnings, and to give us over unto madness, that we may every one shoot our swords in our neighbours hearts: our dreggs is like to be more bitter then was the brimme of God's cup either to the French or to the Dutch; ye and all your neighbours had much need to pray for us, as we have oft done for yow in your dangers. The barricads of Paris, the Catholick league of France, is much before my eyes; but I hope the devill shall never finde a Duke of Guise to lead the bands.

The Ministers being mett at dinner together, in a great num-

ber, at the Councill-day, Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. H. Rolloke, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Alexander Henderfone, Mr. J. Ker, and many moe did advyse of overtures to calme this storme. Ane of them drew them up in this forme, which here I fend you : the updrawer is averfe from all conformitie, yet modest here as could have been expected. I defiderat one overture, namely, a clear demonstration of their madnefs, who in this or any caufe will goe loffe their foule in refifting authority. The moft of thir things I think ye knew before ; yet, that ye may fee it is neither unkindnefs nor lazinefs that makes my letters to yow fo rare, I thought good ye fhould hear them altogether from me alfo. Weele is you, whom the ocean divides from thir evils, but yet grace and nature will not let yow be feperate from the near fenfe of them. Your Father this half year hes kept the houle ; it were good ye came, and bade him once fareweell, and viewed your mother countrie before it be defolate : the hearts of all doe tremble for feare.

I wrote to yow for fome books, as ye will fee in my laft letter ; fome of them ye have fent, the reft it is no marvell ye have not fent, I am fo great a dyvour : But God willing, if we be all living about Candlemas, I fhall have moneyes at yow for all I wrote for, and for my four yeares Currants. Send me no books unbound : I wifh all in leather ; bot frae it cannot be, it's better to have them in your parchment, then to be fafched and extorted with James Sanders in Glasgow. Dear and loving Coufine take all this in good part ; commend me heartily to your wife. My heart is for the prefent full fore for that poor Land wherein we were borne, and Church wherein we were regenerat ; if it were not a God who permitted a powerful devill to blinde and inrage men againft the common principle of cleare naturall reafon, let be equity or religion, I think both our Bifhops and their oppofers might be eafily withdrawn from deftroying themfelves and all their neighbors ; bot God and devills are too ftrong for us : The Lord fave my poor foul ! for as moderate as I have been, and refolves in the fpite of the devill and the world, by God's grace to remaine to death. For as well as I have been beloved hitherto by all who has known me, yet, I think I may be killed, and my houle burnt upon my head ; for I think it wicked and bafe to be moved or carried down with the impetuous fpait of a multitude ; my judgement cannot be altered by their motion, and fo my perfon and ftate may be

drowned in their violence : I with my fears may be disappointed.
The Lord be with you.

[R. BAILLIE.]

October 4, 1637.

My fears in my former went no farther then to ane ecclesiastik separation, but now I am more affrayit for a bloudie Civill warr. My seven sheits of wreits with Mr. Chrichtoune⁽¹⁾ yow will send with your particular censur weill clofit. I have written another since on Predestination : if you pleas I shall send it you. I wish that some of your letters wer far more particular and large then this long tyme they have been : yow continually forget to send to the College a Mercurius.

Ther cam a comand to the Counsell, and from thence to all our Borrowes, that no Magiftrat should be chosen but of men conforme. If that Act wer urgit, we could have in all our Tounes no Magistrates at all, or verie contemptible ones. But impossibilitie here will crave a dispensation ; yet it shows our Bishopes intention to be heavie urgers of thir traditions on all publick officers as weell as on poor ministers.

A NOTE OF PROCEEDINGS SINCE THE 5TH OF DECEMBER.

THE Commiffioners came to Edinburgh on Tuesday the 5th December, and were dealt with by the Counsellors, that upon Wednesday, the 6th thereof, we should not go to Linlithgow on the 7th, there to present our supplications to the Counsell there to be holden, upon promise that nothing should be done there to our prejudice ; and that within 48 houres after their returne from Linlithgow, a day should be appointed for receaveing our greivances and supplications.

Upon Thursday the 7th in Linlithgow, and in Edinburgh on Saturday the 9th, Proclamation was made, declaring the King's abhorring of all superstition of Popery, and freedome from intention to allow any thing contrary to the religion presently professed, and laudable lawes of this kingdome.

Upon Monday the 11th, Proclamation for fitting of the Counsell and Session at Stirling the 2d of February, and untill that tyme, of the Counsells sitting at Dalkeith, Tuesday and Thurs-

⁽¹⁾ John Crichton, Minister of Paisley, was deposed for erroneous doctrine, by the General Assembly, in November 1638.

day weekly. Upon the self same day the Commissioners were dealt with be the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, to goe to Dalkeith the morne; thereafter to attend the Counsell in a small number, not exceeding twelve in whole; and to divide their supplications, every rank and Shireffdome coming with their supplications apart: which, because it tended to division, was refused.

Upon Tuesday the 12th, the Commissioners coming forth as they were appointed, were assayed, If they would divide their numbers? If they would send in their supplications by a maister or clerke, and not come in themselves? If they were come as The Three Estates, or as supplicants of all ranks? Whereunto was answered, That they would not divide, nor send in their petitions by the clerke nor maister, nor call themselves otherwayes than supplicants of all ranks. At length, the heads of their supplications being understood, they were delayed till the morne.

Upon Wednesday the 13th, the Commissioners coming againe, as they were appointed, were dealt with to alter their subscribed supplication, in the poynt thereof that concerned the Prælates as their parties; which being found by the whole Commissioners destructive of the subscribed supplication, and without the bounds of their commission, was refused; whereupon the Counsell refused to receive it on these termes; and while the Commissioners were about to take instruments of their diligence, and the Counsell's refusal, the Counsell brake up abruptly.

The brethren mett daylie, and likewise the rest of the Commissioners, and by conference, by reasons of subscriptions, by reasons of not altering any thing in the subscribed supplication, by reasons of union, and to conform themselves in unity in the good cause more and more unanimously, and to insist for answer to their supplication; whereof, when they saw no appearance of answer, they resolved upon a protestation before the Counsell, and a supplication to his Majestie; and saw a necessity of humbling themselves and their flocks, in respect of the present distress of our Kirk; but would not take upon them to indyte a set universal publick fast, but thought it fitt that every man be himself, in his own tyme, so conveniently as he could within their own charge, with consent of their sessions, should humble themselves publickly, and acquaint their people with this obtruded Liturgie, how farre contrarie it is to the Confession of Faith, sworn and subscribed be all ranks in this kingdom.

They resolved also, that the Colledges should be brotherly admonished to beware of the Service Book, and of suffering

any corrupt doctrine to be taught amongst them, lest parents should be forced to remove their children.

Upon Tuesday the 19th of December, we went to Dalkeith to attend the Counsellors answer to our petitions formerly given in, and presented this Bill, the copie whereof followeth. ⁽²⁾

FOR MR. R. WILKIE.⁽³⁾

16th of January 1638.

RIGHT REVEREND,

I am longer your debtor then I promised: your long stay in Edinburgh made me flacker in my performance. Alwayes for this delay of tyme, I have sent yow ane large usury, my papers much enlarged beyond that they were before. I hope ye shall be comforted by them, and encouraged to goe on in your disposition, by the strength of God, to [oppose] these who now, in their publick avowed wryts, condemnes almost all the most fundamentall truths of our profession, of manifest error, if not heresie. I think they are verie few who will be pleased to take paines to try the wreits which the Canterburians hes published thir last nyne years, bot they will be forced to justify these who are most forward among us to oppose, with all their might, what innovations comes from their sacred hands. If ye be encouraged, I have all I wish by performance of my promise, which ye did draw from me by your request at your last parting; so I rest your loving and much obleidged.

FOR MR. ALEXANDER CUNINGHAME.⁽⁴⁾

January 16, [1638.]

ALEXANDER,

These are thanks for this dayes letter; the larger it was I

⁽²⁾ The Bill here referred to, and the various other Papers which Baillie mentions as transmitting copies of to Mr. Spang, are transcribed in his MS. Register of Letters. It was thought advisable, however, to keep his own Letters and Journals distinct from such documents, most of which are easily accessible in a printed form.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Robert Wilkie was appointed one of the Ministers of Glasgow in 1621, and was frequently connected with the University. He was Dean of Faculty in 1621 and 1625, Rector in 1629, and Vice-Chancellor in 1637.

⁽⁴⁾ It is probable that this person was the same who was proprietor of the

lyked it much the better, yet ye muſt not lyke this the worſe that it is ſhort, for it is now paſt eleven at night. I marvell upon what ground the report of my ſcrapings is riſen ; the truth is, at my going to Edinburgh, foreſeeing I would be ſpeared at my reaſons of my diſlyke of our book, I caſt my thoughts on the new falſe doctrines, which I had read of late in ſome Engliſh treatiſes, whereto our book in ſundry paſſages was applicable. Of this I ſpake in the meeting when I was poſed ; my diſcourſe I was intreated to putt in write, by ſome of the hearers, as alſo by ſome of the brethren of Glaſgow, who ſeemed to lyke the purpoſe. At my returne I made a little collection for their ſatiſfaction ; this I did ſhew to ſome very few, who to my knowledge hes no copie of it at all, and did keep it ſo ſure and cloſe as I could wiſhe, having their faithfull promiſe to that end ; for my Lord Montgomerie, he knew not of it by me leſſe or more. Alwayes ſince ye are deſyreous to ſee theſe ſcriblings, I have written to Mr. William Wilkie, to whom I communicat all I have, to ſhow yow them. I know ye will be ſecret, for wrytes of that kinde are very dangerous. For matters of ceremonies, I know no reaſon of changeing my minde ; yea a late book, which others admire as a peece unanſwerable, hes made me more averſe then I was from theſe mens doctrines and practiſes ; bot withall I am glad to joyne with them in oppoſing a common enemy ; ſince no other way is left, bot either to ſwallow down all that the Canterburians can invent, or elſe to oppoſe them plainly in their lawleſs practiſes. I pray yow ſtudy much, and pray much, that ye may be a good man and a ſchollar, which are not too oft together.

If ye have beſyde yow my letter, written the 6th of March 1636 to yow, at the firſt publiſhing of the Book of Canons, the double whereof this day I finde, ye will ſee that what now I doe is no change of my minde, bot the performance of that [which] then I reſolved ; yea, if ye will read a leiſſe in Latine, which about this ſame day four year I penned, and about that tyme ſhew to Mr. William Wilkie, who now hes it, ye will finde me altogether the ſame man this day which then I was. I moſt indure by ſome ignaries to be counted a penitent, as retracting of conſcience my differences which, in preaching and wryting, I had with ſome men ; bot it is not ſo.

ſmall Eſtate of Hyndhope, in Selkirkſhire, and afterwards became Miniſter of Ettrick. Alexander Cunningham the Hiſtorian was his younger ſon.

FOR THE PRINCIPALL.⁽⁵⁾

REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER,

I have been, I suspect, too long in your debt : receave now from my boy seventeen dollers, two shillings, and a sixpence, which in my counting is fourty-eight punds ; this is eight pound for each of your six volumes, if any man more bidd, at my coming I shall either make it out, or restore the books. I have sent yow also my little collection from the late English treatises I have seen. I wish indeed ye did consider the passages : I did draw it up mainely for yow ; for besyde your desyre that I should doe so, my earnest desyre that ye should be acquaint with all I knew, made me take that paines to the end, that finding these men who now rules all, so corrupt in the maine poynts of our doctrine, ye might be moved to help the Church of God at this so needfull a tyme. Your great place and great abilities does call yow to it before any man I know in the west of Scotland. Your first concurrence did a great deall of good to further that univerrall refuseall of the Book which followed. Your withholding of your hand from the last complaint, I hear much spoken of, and heavily taken ; bot what I can I justifie it, at least excuses it to my power. However ye continue to joyne in that complaint or not ; yet I wish earnestly that ye may try the way of our Court Clergy, and if ye finde them to be in a course of undermyning our religion, that ye would not faile to bear witness of it, as none can doe better. The hazard of so doing will not be so great, as the conscience of so good a turne will be comfortable, come what may. Bot I have clean forgot myselfe by my idle presumption to advyse the like of yow in such a matter. I have sent yow my last tuo conferences with Mr. Creichtone. When ye get leasure, ye will cast them over, and at meeting give me your censure. Mr. John Maxwell was earnest with me for a sight of these papers ; if ye thinke it expedient when ye have read them, let him see them ; ye may see what I wrait to him : if ye think it not expedient, burne the letter to him ; as for my conferences with Mr. Creichtone, keep them for your self alone. We are all well, praised be God, and desyres to hear the lyke of yow all. Our commendations remembred. I rest,

Your Brother,

Kilwinning, January 16 1638.

R. B[AILLIE.]

⁽⁵⁾ Dr. John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Stafford and Coofins, and what other books I left with you, I pray yow give to my boy: I am much craved for them. Ye will clofe Mr. John's letter if ye think meet to delyver it.

FOR MR. JOHN MAXWELL.⁽⁶⁾

REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER,

Ye refreshed me at our last two or three meetings, and still I am refreshed when I remember your full consent with me in all the points now in question, and your hote zeale against the new doctrines of the English faction. Ye desyred me to draw up these things in write, whereof I did speak to you, and send them to you, that ye might in your sermons, in that eminent place before the scholars, fett yourself against these new errors as manfullie as the yeares bygone ye had done. In the matter of Antichrist, I have done as ye desyred; receive therefore these my papers: if there be any passage whereof ye doubt, I hope to make it good, for since that wreit, I have fallen on other their treatises wherein they vent the same errors which are there, and some moe and worfe, if moe or worfe can be. Thir are times that every one of us must help others, and strengthen others to maintaine the truth of God committed to our custody. When they troubled us bot with ceremonies, the world knowes we went on with them, (whereof we have no cause to repent,) so farr as our duty to God or man could require: bot while they will have us, against standing Lawes, to devoire Arminianisme and Popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witnes of their oppression though we should die for it, and preach the truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against all who will gainsay. Much good may ye doe in this cause; your first Supplication did much help: goe on in the name of God; whatever danger ye can fall in by doing God service, it will not be comparable to the great curse of God upon Meroz, who, when able, and called, wer unwilling, for their own reasons, to help the Lord against the mighty.—Had I one half dozen so able and stout as ye to goe before me, I would not be afraid to reason the equity of our cause in the face of an Œcumenick Synod, against all the Canturburians in Brittain, though they had on their syde all the Bishops with them, as they have not the halfe. The Lord be with you,

⁽⁶⁾ One of the Ministers of Glasgow.

moſt loving Brother, and direct you what you have to doe in your place and at thir times.

Your Brother.

Kilwinning, January 16, 1638.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Feb. 27, [1638.]

COOSING,

Oft hes your letters been welcome to me, and much wiſhed for, bot none ever ſo wiſhed, ſo welcome as the laſt. A moneth before, I was in a great perplexity concerning yow, as Mr. William Wilkie can teſtifie; for to him only I ſent word for ſecret tryall of the truth. I apprehended your death: for Mr. Robert Blair told me, that at his laſt being in Edinburgh, David Jonkkin, and fundry other merchands of Edinburgh, at divers occaſions, had dealt with him to ſee if he would accept the Miniſtrie of Camphire. His averſneſs, after ſo manie ſea croſſies, to accept any charge over ſea, made him reject the motion without any farther inquire; bot I concluded, that theſe men could not be ſo impertinent as to ſpeak of your charge to another, except they had been aſſured of the vacancie of it, either by your death or tranſportation: this I thought not poſſible, without my privitie. The other therefore I did much feare, and was not fred of manie heavy thoughts till I got your letters; bot thereafter I bleſſed God that ye were to the fore to the Church, to your Countrey, to your friends, and to me. I am glad alſo that my letters, or any thing from me, does you pleaſure. The ſtate of our affaires, ſince ye aſſure me of your deſyre to know them from me, have it ſo farr as I am informed.

What had paſt to the 20th of September laſt, ye have in my former letter. I ſhall ſend you now what hes befallen ſince, after ſome gleanings of the former tyme, whereof ſince I have had intelligence. The 20th of December 1636, there come a miſſive to the Councell, brought doune by the Biſhops of Roſſe, commanding all to conforme themſelves to a Liturgie, which the King had ſeen in write, and approven. The miſſive ye have at the letter (A,) the Act of Councell and Proclamation made therefrae is printed in the frontispeece of our booke. It was well near May thereafter ere the books were printed: for, as it is now perceaved by the leaves and ſheets of that booke, which

was given out athort the shoppes of Edinburgh, to cover spyce and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed: bot for what cause we cannot learne; whether because some gros faults was to be amended, or some moe novations was to be eiked to it; both reasons are likelie; only it is marvellous that so many being conscious of necessity to this deed, the secreet of it should not yet come out. Bot shortly after the outcoming of the booke, the Bishops, upon a narrative not well grounded, as the event shewes, obtaines ane Act of horning on all ministers, the 13th of June 1637, who will not buy two of these books for the use of their parishes; this Act ye have at the letter (B): what followed on the first practise thereof in Edinburgh, I wrote before. From the 24th of July to the 10th of August, the posts rann thick betuixt the Court and the Counsell, which satt every other day, to finde means for peaceable introduction of the Service. There wanted not good will in the Magistrates and Ministers of Edinburgh, for to do his Majestie service, as ye may see in the minut of the Counsell acts at (C;) yet all wes delayed to the 20th of August; at which tyme the foure Supplications (which by the diligence of one man, D.D.⁽⁷⁾ upon very small, or no hope of successe, was procured from Glasgow, Irvine, Aire, Fyfe,) were presented, and that favourable letter which ye have before, was written by the Counsell to the King; to the which come down that sharp reply, the 20th of September, which ye heard likewise. The sharpness of it I nothing marvell, considering, besydes the Bishops information, that the Magistrates of Edinburgh, as they say, in name of the Towne, did wryte to Canterburie, that however some of the base rascall multitude had made dinn for that service, yet that they themselves, and the greatest and best part of the city, was most willing to obey the King in that or any other commandment he would be pleased to enioyne; that they had offered stipends above their power, to their second Ministers for to read the books: I hear indeed that their second Ministers were content, upon the offer of some more then was promised, to embrace that charge; and that they would count it ane accumulation of favors, if the King would, by his Grace's meanes, rest assured of their obedience. For this offer of so heartie obedience, and charges to their second Ministers, Canterburie, in his answer, returned them both in the King's name, and in his own,

(7) David Dick or Dickson, then Minister of Irvine, and afterwards successively Professor of Divinity at Glasgow and at Edinburgh.

most heartie thanks. What marvell then if the King should call all that din and tumult, whereof the Councell wrote the 24th of August, a needles noise; as we heard it was called also before by my Lord Alexander, who went to Court after that Councell day, and yet there remaines, a man very favourable to the Book, and a great reasoner for it.

The matter, as ye heard the 20th of September, grew much hotter, where the four poor Ministers were converted to 24 Noblemen, a number of Barrons, near a hundreth Ministers, many Towns, Commissioners from 66 parishes, all together appearing in the street, at the Counsell-house doore, and everywhere in the eye of my Lord Duke of Lennox. The supplications and the Counsell's act ye have before; take now also the Counsell's letter to the King, at (D.), wherein they promise to doe their endeavour for the Booke; bot withall professed grief for his Majesties hard construction of their former diligence. By what meanes the people of Edinburgh did extort from their Provost, a supplication to the Committee, which satt still, for finding meanes to have the Booke yet read in their town, ye heard, and so I closed my last.

Wee expected not a Counsell day againe before the first of November, at soonest; yet St. Andrews did advertise the towne of Edinburgh to expect the answer of their supplication the 18th of October. We were informed that their supplication was suppressed, and never sent to Court; only the Provost wrote to Canterburie, that that confluence of innumerable people the two last Counsell dayes, had suggested such things to the poor ignorant people, that had razed the good resolutions, which, by their continuall paines, had been before imprinted in their minde; and however they had assured of their ready obedience and obsequiousness, upon the confident assurance which from tyme to tyme they had taken of the greatest and best part of their citizens, yet they were forced to supplicat the Counsell, that they might be continued in the same estate with the rest of the kingdome; promising, that they would not forbear to do their master service to their power, and would stryve to reimprint in their people their former good resolutions, that for the present were taken away. To the same purpose they wrote to my Lord Stirling. The appointment of the 18th of October, for the towne of Edinburgh, was kept long secret; but when it drew near, our neighbour hearing of it, took it for a deepe policie to separate Edinburgh, who now was joyn'd with the rest of the kingdome:

fo we are all advertifed to keep that 18th day, who otherways were not minded to appear before the firft of November. That dyett I kepted, at my Lord Montgomerie's defyre, and my Lord Rothus intreaty by letter to him. The noblemen, gentlemen, and minifters of the Weft and South, did meet in frequent number; bot, at the beginning, were verie forrie of their voyage. St. Andrews had not come over; none of Fyfe to count of were prefent. We expected no Counfell day: we took our advertifement to be a falfe alarme, and our warner, [Mr. Johnftone] befide his cuftome, to have been too rafh: we began to be afhamed, and feared that meeting of ours fhould be mocked by the adverfe partie; bot at once we fand our felf farr miftaken: A Counfell meets; we hear a dumb rumor that hard letters were come from Court; that St. Andrews of purpofe had abfented himfelf to deceave and withdraw Fife from that meeting; or rather, as I thinke, becaufe he defyred to be abfent from the ungracious employments of that day. However, the commiffioners of parifhes, above two hundreth, gives in their fupplications to James Primrofe, the clerk, together with a dollor at leift the peece. This done, all goes to confultation; the noblemen to one houfe, the gentry to another, we to a third. Mr. Andrew Ramfay is our moderator; he enquires of every man, if he diffented from the Book: all did, both for matter and manner of impofeing it. I was pofed fomewhat more narrowly, becaufe they fufpected my minde in thefe things. I replied, with fome peice of blufhing in fuch ane auditory, the like whereof I had never fpoken, That albeit I thought myfelf obleidged, in charitie, to conftitute all that caufe from authoritie in the beft fenfe that any veritie would permitt, yet I behooved to difapprove the Book, both for matter and manner; upon thefe reafons, which at more length I had to fhew. I was not minded to fpeak any more in publick; yet after I heard tyme fpent by many in their poor and foone anfuered objections, I was the more content to yield to the importunitie of fundrie, who drew me with their hands forward, to fpeak fome of my reafons. I had thought on a way of oppofeing the Book, by God's providence, which had come in the minde of none of that company, fo farr as I yet know, to prove the errors that were apparent, or might be deduced by confequence from the Book, to be the minde and avowed doctrine of the book-makers, by testimonies of thefe books which Canterburie of late had printed. A number of thir paffages I had perquire; fo I was heard with very great applaufe, and ere even was too

famous a man in all the toune, and intreated that what I had said, or could say more to that purpose, I would put it in write ; for that way of proceeding was counted to be verie advantageous to our cause. This I did ; and since hes, from manie hands, gotten manie thanks, and expects from the Bishops, if ever they gett up their heads againe, manie stroakes : readily I shall send yow a double of it. It is after the order of Vedelii Arcana, and Festi Hommii Specimen, et Socini Remonstrantismus.

While we were thus occupied, some of our number, who had been abroad, comes in and shoves us, that by found of trumpett we were all discharged the toune within 24 houres : the tenor of the Proclamation ye have, and the King's letter, whereupon it was founded, at the letter (E). A little thereafter, the same day, by another Proclamation, as I remember, the Session and Counsell was indicted at Lithgow, the first of November, for the first Session, and thereafter at Dundie. All thir things were feared and foretold by some of the Bishops. The best policy that could be used to break the combination of the land, was to delay them, that, being wearied with tyme, they might fall off. The Proveist's information, that their people's good resolutions was altered by the confluence of strangers to the Counsell, did, as seems, procure their discharge to remaine longer in toune ; and it was thought that the Counsell and Session was that toune's god, so that the fearing to want these, would draw that people any where. To counterpose this policy, the other party, after a little astonishment and rage, resolved, in the short tyme was given them to stay, to draw up a formall complaint against the Bishops, as authors of the Book and all the troubles that had and was like to follow on it. This is done very secretly ; to the gentry and ministrie is letten fall only a small generall. We are all defyled by the nobilitie, to stay till they sent to us to communicat their resolution to-morrow. In the mean tyme, they committ the penning of that complaint to Mr. Alexander Henderfon and my Lord Balmerinoch, on the one hand ; to Mr. D. D. and my Lord Loudon on the other : that night these four did not sleep much. To-morrow two formes were presented to the Nobles. Our westland one was received, and incontinent subscribed by some 24 Earles and Lords, some two three hundred gentlemen of quality : all did flee upon it without much advysemēt. It was done very shortly and secretly ; for tyme straited. About four afternoone it came to the ministers roume. At that tyme I was abroad : when I came in it was going fast

through the hands of breither. I fpeared at one or two what they had fufcryved, who could not informe. It feems too many went on *fide implicita*. I defyred the write to be read over to us who new come in. When I heard the piece, I was putt in great doubts what to doe : fome hard paffages were in it ; it had neither been reafoned nor voted, but only read, and after all the nobles and gentries fufcriptions, prefented to our hands. If I had refused my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day, for marring, by my example, a good caufe, as yefterday I was famous for furthering it with my difcourfe. After a little filence and advyement, I got my minde extended to fufcription, upon thir two grounds : 1. That the words “ Seeds of Idolatry and Superftition, and the Maffe,” without thrawing, might reach farre ; and indeed, according to my minde in the Booke, after the Englifhmen’s late commentares, fuch feeds truely were fowen. 2. That who fufcryved a complaint upon the narrative of many wrongs, it was enough to bide by the conclufion, and fo many of the premifes as truelie did juftifie it. It was declared by the penners and chief hands in that write, that they intended no farder then to obleidge all the fufcryvers to complaine againft the Bifhops, who had been the authors of a Booke fo many wayes faultie ; but not that every fufcryver fhould be tyed to believe all the parts of the narrative. Upon thir two grounds I got my hand to that write, which here ye have at the letter (F,) and did never repent of that fufcription ; for after tryal, and much ftudy, I thinke there is no word into it bot I could defend it in reafon. However, I thought then, and yet does thinke, that the penners were much more happie then wife. I thinke they were very imprudent to make that piece fo hard, fo rigorous, fo sharpe, that they minded to prefent to fo many thoufand ftomacks of diverfe temper. Had they been to require the hands of none bot men who were of their faith of Bifhops and ceremonies, they had not been rash ; bot their ftrength confifting in the union of a multitude, the greateft part whereof was farre otherwayes, and ftill are, of ceremonies and fundry things in that Booke, then they are, they fhould have attempered their words in more generall termes ; which they might have done, without hurting their maine intention, and ventureing to loffe the hands of the moft, and moft confiderable of all the Cleargy of Scotland. For this their ventorious rashnefs, I much chyd the authors of that write. They gave contentment by this, among other fpeeches, that hereafter, if the lyke fervice were

put upon them, they should be loath bot to take more of our advyce, who in some things were otherways minded then they. However, the goodnes of God has covered their infirmity, as still I take it. Of men who are opposit to the Book, I know very few at all, yea none of any consideration, who hes refused their hands to [this] write, except our brethren in Glasgou; for they all, except old Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Wilkie who are both very forward in all this cause, have yet refused to subscriue upon their own reasones; bot they are not thought of in so great a number. There are at it now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. I heare [of] none away bot Craigie, and Pollok Maxwell, and the Constable of Dundie. All the townes have subscribed, except Aberdeen, whom they suspect.

While this write is in subscriueing, the burgeses of Edinburgh are putt in a high rage. They finde their supplication had never been presented to the King: they see the Counsell and Session removed, the greatest evill that they did feare execute upon them: they understand, by the former letters, that promises were made to work them to the embracing of the Booke: they feared that the nobles and gentry were put off the towne, that they, being left alone, might, by threats and allurements, be brought by their Provost whereto he would. Thir reasones make the multitude in a high moode to flock to the Counsell-house, where their magistrates did sitt, and sent in to require that the Provost and Counsell would appoint Commissioners for to joyne in supplications and complaints, with the rest of the countrey; also to assure them of their ministers and readers restitution to their places; with denuntiation, reall and intelligible enough, that except all were presently granted, they needed not to expect to come out of that house with their lives. Upon these fears all was granted. James Cochrane, John Smith, and a third of their old bailiffs, in whom they had most confidence, were chosen for Commissioners; ane Act in write, subscribed by all the Magistrates hands, was given out to them, for their ministers and readers; so the most of the people went away in triumph. While thir things are in doing, the Bishop of Galloway comes up the streets towards the Tolbuith, for the examination of some witnes, in the cause of Francis Stewart, Lord Bothwell, and Roxburgh. While he is near the doore, the women, after some quarrelling of him for his crucifixe and clamours, begins to pluck at him, and so affrayes him that he cries to the gentlemen for helpe; who, presently, with their swords and good words, holds the peo-

ple off him, and carries him to the Laigh Counfel-houfe. It was not much from ane dangerous uproare ; bot the diligence of the gentry, whom the people did refpect, and the obtaining of all their defyres, held all in : yet durft not the Proveift or the Bifhop either ftirr out of doores till the Thefaurer and Wigton came to them, and convoyed them through the ftreet. In the afternoon a Proclamation is made, declaring this tumult to be barbarous, infolent, and all the evils you can call it, and commanding that none of the inhabitants fhould, under the higheft paines, be feen on the ftreets, bot for their neceffary affaires : fo it feems they informed his Majeftie of that hour's work, as ye will hear in the fequel. The Proveift and Bifhop were fo evill feared, (as I thinke indeed they had reafon, for, it feems, a little matter would have made them be pulled in fmall pieces,) that they durft no more compear in the toune. The Bifhop held him about the Thefaurer. The Proveift went off the toun in a rage, as was thought, to poft to Court with his complaints : bot, after fleeping, he ftayed in Leith and about the toune for fome dayes, till the calmeing of the people's mindes.

That afternoone the Nobilitie did ufe all diligence to have a Counfell for prefenting their Magna Charta ; which, after great paines, they obtained. My Lord Loudon penned a letter in their names, containing a fmoother complaint of their hard ufeage, and requireing license to ftay in the towne for terme affairs, withall intreating to receave the Supplication, which was inclofed in a paper by it felfe. The Counfell gave them leave to ftay 24 houres farder ; and to all who would come and fhew the neceffity of their particular affairs, they promifed license to ftay longer : bot as for their new Supplication they would not read [it,] becaufe they were fimplie difcharged to meddle with any thing [that] concerned the Church in that dyett ; however affuring their willingnefs, when their hands were lowfed, as they trusted they fhould be fhortlie, to receave it, and give it ane convenient anfwer. The Bifhop and Proveift, in this conference with the Noblemen at the Counfell, were fo farr from giving them thanks for refcuing their lyfe that day, that to their faces they imputed the appearance of tumult, and their particular danger to the comeing of the nobilitie and gentry to the toune in fo frequent number, alleadgeing that thefe tumults fell not out bot when they were in toune. The other made much vantage of that calummie, making this their fpeech a ground of their nixt famous meeting the 15th of November, for to choofe

Commiffioners to wait in finall numbers on the Counfell, according to the Bifhop's and Proveft's motion. This was the preſence; bot the truth was, that night after ſupper in Balmerinoch's lodgeing, where the whole nobilitie, I think, ſupped, ſome Commiffioners from the gentry, townes, and miniſters mett, where I was, quoth the dogge, among the reſt. There it was reſolved to meet again, the 15th of November, in as great a number as poſſibly could be had, to wait upon the anſwer of their prior ſupplication, and to gett their complaint once tabled and received, and to doe farther *pro re nata*; for, to this houre, I cannot learne that any plott or deſigne hes been laid by one or moe, bot only a reſolution taken to make the beſt uſe that wiſdome and diligence could, of every occaſion, as it preſented itſelf, for their maine end to free us of the Bookes. In this meeting, Loudon and Balmerinoch were Moderators; both of them, bot eſpecially Balmerinoch, drew me to admiration: I thought them the beſt ſpoken men that ever I heard open a mouth. The harmony, mutual love among all, zeal and gravity, was greater, in my minde, then was in a meeting of very churchmen this forty year. With prayer, Mr. Andrew Ramſay began and ended. Mr. Thomas Abernethie ſpake exceeding well in the farewell to the Nobles, for the reformation of their perſones, and uſeing the exerciſe of piety in their families; which all took weell, and promiſed fair.

The fame of that 15th day ſpread at once farr and broad, even to the King's eare, and all were in great ſuſpence what it might produce. To counterpoſe all ſiniſter accidents, the Theſaurer indiſcited a Counfell at Lithgow the 14th of November. We thought all that the King's minde was come doune with my Lord Theſaurer deput, Sir James Carmichael; bot he had nothing, neither in write nor word. Mr. William Livingſtone told a number of us, in the meeting, that Sir James had ſaid to him, he heard the King aſſure, he would have the Booke through, on all hazards, and would never have a letter of it altered; yea, Mr. William reported thir news to Traquair; who advertiſed Sir James of the inconvenience of this report, whether true or falſe. Sir James, highly commoved with Mr. William's raſheſſe, aſſuring the utter falſet of that brute; that he had reported the cleane contrare to fundrie, to witt, that the King, upon the information that our Scotiſh ſervice was diverſe, and much more near to Popery than that of England, had, with his own hand, noted ſome of theſe diverſities, and was diſpleaſed

with them, showing, he had no intention that our Booke should be any thing worse than the English ; also, that the King had given a very late proof of his good affection to religion, who, on my Lord (as I thinke) of Devonshyre's complaint, that his lady was seduced by the priests, and made goe to masse, whence he had pulled [her] almost by violence, crying to all that were at that masse to give out his wyfe, or else he would burn them all together ; upon this Lord's complaint, the King had made a very strict proclamation against these seducing priests.

At this Counsell day, to gett the numerous meeting of the 15th day following kept in order and quietness, they did it by privie conference. The Thesaurer, Lauderdale, and Lorne, as the three wyfdest and most gracious of the Counsell, wrote to the rouse where the Noblemen mett, and shew the informality and danger of that their meeting. After much reasoning, it was agreed, that their meeting was legall and necessary to expect the King's answer to their heavy greivances ; that because this was like to take some tyme, they had mett, in a good number, to choyse some few Commissioners, some two gentlemen out of each shyre, and two or one ministers of a presbytery, who hereafter ought to attend, without so great confluence ; and, for this time, they had so divided themselves in severall companies, and kept within doors, that their numbers were not disorderly. The Counsellors were content of their choosinge Commissioners, whom they undertooke, by some few, who were to wait in the towne, to advertise tymously of the King's answer, which they trusted should come shortly ; for they heard of a Commission, given by the King to the Earl of Roxburgh, who was then in his way. Such matters as thir passed that night. To-morrow, when the noblemen had advysed, they went down some foure of them, with some others of the gentry, townes, and ministry, to the rowme where the Counsellors were mett, so many as were in the towne ; albeit these oft protested they were not a Councell. Here Rothus spake for the Supplicants, and Traquare replied, with great admiration to some, of his wisdom and faculty of speech. It was required, first, That they might choyse their Commissioners from all shyres, as well absent as present, who had, or were to give in their supplications, to attend his Majesties answer ; which, if it was not satisfactory, they craved, that their meeting again in frequent numbers, might not be mistaken. The Advocate, after some little displeasure of the Thesaurer at this motion, resolved, that they might meet

in law to choofe Commiffioners to Parliament, to Conventions of Eftates, or any publick bufinefs. 2. It was required, That order might be taken with fome Bifhops and Minifters, who, in privie difcourfes and fermons, had flandered them as mutinous, feditious, and rebellious. When the Thefaurer had fliighted thefe men's paffionate words; it was thirdly required, That the people of Edinburgh, who in words and clamours had paff bound, bot done no harme, might likewise be paff; upon which condition, they would pafs from the former farr greater and more confiderable injury done to them. In this, it was faid, nought could be done in the Proveift of Edinburgh's abfence; for he, of purpofe, with the clerk and fome of his faction, had gone off the towne to behold the event of that meeting. It was fourthly required, That the Minifters of Edinburgh might be reftored to their places. To this the Bifhop protefted his willingnefs; bot behooved to deall with the Chancellor and King, that they might be replaced, fo as might be moft for the content of themfelves and all others. Fifthly, it was required, That the Bifhops and others might furceafe the urging or praëtife of the Book till the King's minde were knowne; and that fo much the more, as the Baillie of Brechin did report to the Counfell of their Bifhop D. Walter's importunity to take instruments in God, the King, and in his own name, being a counfeller, that he difcharged their choofing a Commiffioner to fupplicat againft that Booke, which now he was minded to read. This the Counfellors promifed they would advife the Bifhops; and, as it is thought, both the Thefaurer and the Chancellor advertifed D. Walter [Whitefurd], that he fhould forbear the Book for a tyme:—Bot he being refolved to ferve the King in a tyme when other feeble cowards couched, would not be counfelled; bot on the Sunday following went to the pulpit with his piftoles, his fervants, and, as the report goes, his wife, with weapons. He entered earlie when they were few people, he clofed the doores, and read his fervice: bot when he had done, he could fcarce gett to his houfe; all flocked about him, and had he not fled, he might have been killed: fince, he durft never try that play over againe. The effect of that dayes meeting ye may fee in the Counfell's letter to the King and Secretar, at the letter (G); the fruit of it to our countries caufe, was the conjunction of the Towne of Edinburgh with the reft; for at their commiffioners motion to the noblemen, it was refolved, that their caufe fhould be defended as common, fo far as law could fustaine, and then it was thought fustainable;

that the matter which the Bishops called so barbarous a tumult, was nought bot a very modest keeping of their possession, when these, against all law, would have intruded the corruption of their Religion; so whatever skaith had followed on that intrusion, the usurpers, not the defenders, must be charged with it, according to King James maxime of the Pouder treason, "That in the danger of the Prince, or of the Religion, every one, without reproof, may run to their defences." Such things are now begun to be more then muttered. The other advantage we gott, was the settling of ane advysed and constant order by Commissioners, countenanced by the Counsell; that we may pursue and defend our cause against the Bishops no more by a tumultuary confluence, but by the stayed resolution of a great number of the choicest heads in the Kingdome. The Noblemen meets all; of the Ministry, one from every presbytrie; of the Gentry, two from every shyre; and one or two from every burgh: the forme and tennor of the Commission is at the letter (H.) The diligence and policy the Gentry resolved on for to advertise one another, to the remotest parts of the Kingdome, that all in a truce might be convened, see at the letter (I.)

At this dyett I was present against my mynd; for I love no travell; bot the Presbytrie was importune with me to goe, on the report of my service at the meeting before. When we mett, at the Counsellors desyre we were divided in three companies; the Bishoprick of St. Andrewes and Edinburgh together; of Glasgow, Galloway, and Argyle together; and the rest in a third rume. There was a Committee of all thir, some eight or nine, by themselves, the rest had nought to doe bot give our prefence; for, in effect, all was done by the witt and grace of the two archbishops, Mr. A. H. and Mr. D. D., joyned with three or foure of the Noblemen. In our rume we could scarce gett our countenance kept for lake of purpose. I was putt oft to speake of my collections, which I did with greater contentment, as it seemed, to others then myselfe, they were so oft rechanted.

Wee are not well at home, till we hear of my Lord Roxburgh's arryvall, of his letter to the Thesaurer to keep a Counsell at Linlithgow the 7th of December, of the Thesaurer's advertissing hereof our legers at Edinburgh, who presently, by post, acquaints all their colleagues in the countrey. All [the] Commissioners came to Edinburgh on the 5th of December. They were earnestly dealt with not to goe to Linlithgow, upon assure-

ance nought should be done to their prejudice, and that within four days they should have a new meeting of the Counsell. This, after much debate, was granted. At Linlithgow, the Counsell was frequent; the King's letter of trust to Roxburgh was read; ye have it at (K.); also his Majesty's declaration of his intention to make no change neither in religion nor laws: this was proclaimed by sounde of trumpett; ye have the Counsell's Act at (L.) Another Act that same day, intimating the fitting of the Counsell weekly hereafter in Dalkeith, and of the Session, after the first of February, at Stirling. At the first of November, the Thesaurer and some of the Lords came, and made a phrase to sett down the Session in the Palace of Linlithgow; bot finding that house out of order, and all the subjects grieved to see Edinburgh deserted for the common cause, and the Members of the Session extreamly unwilling to leave that toun, wherein alone they found themselves accommodat, they wrote up to the King the incommodities of that place for the Session, and obtained the removeall of it to Stirling at the named day, hoping to obtaine, before that tyme, the returne of it to the old seat. The King's declaration was heartily receaved, as most gracious in it self, and most advantagious to our cause; for if it be not made cleare, that the Bishops pressing of this Booke is contrare to the declaration of the Prince, the undertakers to prove it in their complaint are most willing to bear the blame. I have heard some men very politick, I think, in finding out, or rather imagining policies where readily there is none, thinking, that it is the Bishops intention, by this declaration, to have stopped for ever all mouths that would have muted against the Booke or them, as, in the last Parliament of England, the King's declaration of his minde in Religion was the stopp of all proceffe against these who were like to be censured for innovating therein; and that our takeing of our selves to accuse the Bishops as our party, before that declaration, was a preventing and countermining of that plott; but my bluntness pierces no thus deep. Roxburgh's Commission, ye see, is generall: it was thought he had many private instructions, and some of them hard. The word went, that some letters he sent back clofed as they were, knowing the impossibility or inexpediency of their execution. Some suspected it might be the apprehending of some of the most fearing nobility; for it is alleadged, that some Ministers about the Bishops, from [whom] many of our Canterburian assertions descends before they come downe, gave out, that it had

been good to have past Balmerinnoch when he was in before the pannel; and that if the heads were removed, this body of petitioners would soon dissolve. Others sayes, that he had warrant to deal with men as he fand them disposed, by huge and vast offers. Whatever of this be true, the event seemes to declare, that his maine direction was to assay all possible meanes of divideing these who were so straitly combined, and that in a way legale, which none could reprove. The Thesaurer at that tyme was much, as is thought, threatened by the King: and it is no marvell; for, besyde other misinformations, Sir Thomas Thomfone, [the] Register's good-brother, had written to Canterburie of him exceeding maliciously; which letter he gott, and challenged on his calumnies, bot imputed them mainly to [the] Register, with whom he bears almost professed enmity. Wigton being taxed in that misinformation, took occasion, in the Counsell-day at Linlithgow, upon some idle words of the Register, to fall on him with most opprobrious words, as a base villain and pultron, whom he threatened to stick, but was holden off him.

In the Counsell-dayes following at Dalkeith, there was much adoe; the Thesaurer, Roxburgh, and Lorne, dealing with all their might to cause the Petitioners, for eschewing the appearance of multitude, to divide their supplications, and appear, the nobles, gentry, townes, ministry, severally, and that according to shires and presbyteries; these, that they would not deale with the Bishops as parties, but seek the Books to be away, and their matters helped without taking to any man's persons; at least not to take them to the Archbishops and Bishops without exception, bot to so many of them as they could finde faulty. These poynts were so pressed, that Rothus and Loudon both was in yielding; bot after advyfeing, all concluded, that they neither could, by vertue of their commission, nor would, for many feen reasons; see thir at (N.); as also reasons to subscribe the complaint putt abroad and penned by the author of the complaint, especially the lossing of the subscriptiones and hands which were at the complaint as it stood, and the division of the body, which so would infallibly ruine. For thir and the like causes they all peremptorly resolved, that one letter of that writ they would not alter, and in no case divide. They were content, at the Counsell's pleasure, that in the most of their dealings there forth the Counsell, there should appear bot twelve chosen from the whole Commissioners; Rothus, Loudon, Montrose, Lindesay, thir four nobles; Cunninghamhead, Keir, Auld barr, as I remem-

ber, from the gentry ; James Cochran, John Smith, and the Provost of Culros ; Mr. James Cuninghame minister at Cumnock, and Mr. Thomas Ramfay at Dumfreis. The Thesaurer was so earnest in agenting these matters, which they, after advyement, esteemed the losse of their cause, that fundry concluded him to be a most dangerous peice, and one in whom they might not trust. I thinke indeed that man holds the wolfe by the eares, and hes adoe with all his parts, which truely are not found to be many and great ; bot whatever be his intention, my heart hes a great respect to him. I take him to have been hitherto a very happy instrument to the Church and Kingdome, and a most true, and faithfull, and most happie servant to the King. St. Andrewes satt a dyett or two in Dalkeith, and held off the Counsell to receave any of the Petitioners complaint ; which when they did finde, they prepared a protestation ; and being frustrate two or three dyetts, the Counsellors riseing abruptly, thinking to weary or to shift them to the riseing of the Counsell, which drew near, at the Zule vacants, they sett two or three noblemen at the fore doore, with two notars and their protestation ; [and] as many at the back doore, alyke furnished, resolute to protest without farder delay. The Counsellors seeing there was no better, for feare of this protestation, which ye have at the letter (O.), did grant them assureance to hear fully what they had to say. So on Tuesday the 20th of December, the Petitioners gives in their bill, and the Counsell gives out their answer in a written subscribed act, for lesse would not content after so many shiftings ; the doubles of thir ye have at the letter (P.)

The first dyett at Dalkeith the Counsellors thought to have eluded the vehement earnestness of the Petitioners, as it seemes by their letter to my Lord Secretar, which ye have at (Q.) ; bot that hope failling, and St. Andrewes foreseeing the necessity to yield to the supplicants importunity, he gave over any more to come to Counsell, and all the Bishops with him : for all the Petitioners complaints ran mainely to have the Bishops declyned, and so raised from the Counsell-table ; they thought meet therefore themselves to praveene, lest if they had been forced to it, it should have forestalled their cause. So then the last Counsell-day, Thursday the 22d of December, was act[ed] the last part of our schene [scene]. The twelve Petitioners came in name of all the Commissioners. My Lord Loudon delivered this speech, see the letter (R.) and with it gave in the two old supplicationes, these of the 20th of September and 18th of October, which had

lyen in the Clerk's hand, not acknowledged by the Counsell, because discharged then to meddle therein ; albeit privately they were looked on, and sent up also to the King underhand : also with these two old pieces was given in a new bill and a declinator, which ye have at the letter (S.) ; and upon the deliverye of these foure wreits, my Lord took instruments by a double peece in a notar's hand. Thereafter the two ministers spake. Mr. James Cunninghame had this short speech, at (T.), which moved all the Counsellors, and drew tears from fundry of them : the postscript is right quick ; so much the more as it could not be forethought. To all thir wreits and speeches was given, after ane interlocutor, this Act in answer, at the letter (U.)

The next question [was,] How all this should be signified to his Majestie ? All agreed, it was no way safe, nor sufficient, to committ the busines to packett ; that it was necessarie altogether for some of the Counsellors to goe up to Court. Both Traquair and Roxburgh seemed willing to accept the charge, if it had been laid on them ; yea, to be æmulous of it. Some inclyned to the imploying of the one, some to the other, most to both ; at last, all the Counsell resolved to wryte of the necessity of his Majestie's information by some of his servants, the choyce of the men they remitted to his own discretion. With this the vacants came ; all went home, bot some few Commissioners, appointed by turne to lye still in Edinburgh for all occurrents. When the cuntry wes away, the Provost fell a fresh to his policies, deales mightily to make the towne supplicate apart to seek the King's favour, and pardon for their tumults ; gives them full assurance, will they bot use these formalities, the King shall freely pardon them, shall quyte them of the Service Book for ever, except the whole Kingdome be moved willingly to take it, which he thought would never be : for in all his discourses from the beginning, he enveighed against the Booke as much as any ; also, that Counsell and Session should presently be restored to them, and their privileges much augmented. It seems the man had undertaken to make that towne come in the King's will ; and so, for the effectuating of his promise, did give assurance of many things which neither he could nor would be any wayes carefull to have performed. By this dealing, he had prevailed with a great number of the Counsell ; bot the Commissioners that were in the towne finding it going so, remonstrated to the Towne Counsell by James Cochrane and John Smith, (very good instruments in all this matter,) That their supplicating apart might be the betraying of

the whole Kingdome; their craveing pardone for any thing some bafe people in the toune, which could not be found, had done againft the innovators of religion, would be a preparative to bring the whole City, and all in the Kingdome who had oppofed the Booke, within the compaffe of law, and the courteours mercy; alfo, that the crafts and commons would be inflamed to violent them all, if they would affay to conclude any fuch things, as it is faid they were indeed ready to doe. Upon thir remonftrances, the Proveft's dealings evanifhed, and all the Counfell refolved to ftick by the reft of the Kingdome, to defend their juft caufe by the law, and fuffer all inconveniences ere they, as they had done too oft before, fhould be ane evill preparative to the reft of the Kingdome. In the meantyme, the Prefident flippes to Court. The Counfellors had advyfed, and entreated him not to goe, upon the Nobles defyre, who required, that none fhould be permitted to goe, farr leffe he, who was almoft a profefled enemy to them, and an agent for the Bifhops, that the King's firft information might be by thefe of the Counfell whom they expected fhortly the King himfelf would call for. Notwithftanding, he went his way; bot to the great malcontentment of all. His friends gave out, his only eirand was, for his Father's ⁽¹⁾ dimiffion of the Chancellary, and compofition therefore; for the fettling of the Seffion, which, to the great prejudice of all the members of the houfe, had long vaicked, and was longer like to vaicke. In his way, it is faid, he diverted to York and Durehame, and fome other of the Bifhops. When he came to the King, they fay, his information was fo hard, that the King was penfive, and did not eat well; bot that my Lord Haddington hearing of his mifreports, was bold to putt in the King's hand a late miffive which he had got from his good-brother Rothus, having a fhort information of the countrey's proceeding; for the abfolute truth whereof Haddington undertook. The reading of this contented fomewhat the King; whereupon his minde being difpofed towards the Lord Thefaurer, my Duke of Lennox wrote for him to Court, and thereafter the King himfelf, and Marques of Hamilton alfo. With all this, he went to Roxburgh, and fhew it to him, of whom he was jealous. Roxburgh was nothing content that he was not fent for; yet he pretended the neceffity of his ftay for his onely fonn's marriage with Arroll's

(1) Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Lord President of the Court of Session, was the second Son of John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

daughter, and in the meantyme, did write with the Thesaurer favourable letters to the King, in the prejudice of any misinformation the President, or any other, could make.

The Commissioners were very earnest, that the Thesaurer would take up ane Information, which Balmerinnoch and Mr. Archbald Johnstone (the only advocate who in this cause is trusted,) had penned, to present it, together with their Bills, which else would be bot naked peices. This he absolutely refused to look upon or touch, for he said he was to purge himself by his oath to the King, that he had seen no such thing, only he was content it shoud goe in his company, and assured it should come to the King's hand. So he went away with my Lord Orbiestone,⁽²⁾ whom he keeps by all meanes to hold the Marques fast. By the way he wes almost drowned; he come out of a water, they say, hinging by his horse taile. His porter being dismissed for evill service, sett upon his Lady, in the garden of Dalkeith, with a drawn sword; and had not other two servants gone betuixt, who both are hurt, the villaine had certainly killed her. They say, that Stirling is like to be disgraced; that the King being malecontent he was not more tymously informed of all thir matters, the Thesaurer shew, that though they were discharged publickly to fend any word of that business, yet they had acquainted ever privately the Secretar,⁽³⁾ that he might advertise. This the Secretar granted; bot shew that he was hindred by Canterburie to present the King some peices. Canterburie denyed this, hoping to bring Stirling off another way, though in this he succumbed: bot all this is bot uncertaine rumors.

So ye have all I know in this matter, whether true or false: readily there is not any one from whom ye can gett a more full narration. I have conferred, and had use of the wreits of these who had chief hand in all the matter, both of the Nobility, and of the Gentry, and Ministrie: for your satisfaction I was the more curious; what will be the end, no living can guesse. If God be pleased to bring upon us the year of our visitation, the devill could never invented so pregnant a meanes, and have ruined this Isle, one and all, from the prince to the ploughman: for will the Prince, at the clergies defyre, goe on in violence to presse their course, the mischieffs are present, horrible, in a clap:

(2) Sir John Hamilton, one of the Lords of Session, under the title of Lord Orbieston.

(3) Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, was Secretary of State for Scotland.

will he relent, and give way to our Supplications, the danger is not past: We wot not where to stand; when the Bookes of Canons and Service are burnt and away, when the High Commission is doune, when the Articles of Perth are made free, when the Bishops authority is hemmed in with never so manie laws; this makes us not secure from their future danger: so whatever the Prince grants, I feare we presse more then he can grant; and when we are fully satisfied, it is likely England will begin where we have left off, to crave order of the greater and more intollerable abuses of their Clergy; so that it is not probable our dangers can be soon easily evited; to prevent thir, the course we use is humiliations in privat and publick, which indeed hes gone through oft the most of our congregations. If God be pleased to be gracious, we know he hes wisdom to turne this affaire, which may wracke all, to the redressing of all, to purge the Church of all that leaven and tyrannie of the English Bishops whereunder it long hes groaned, to give to our Laws and Parliaments the old and full [authority] and liberty and truth, to joyne the heart of the King and his subjects faster in love then ever, and remove the jealousies and griefes whereof the minds of both this tyme byegone has been replenished, to enable us to help the Churches abroad, and to contribute all our forces of witt, learning, and armes, against the Antichristian faction. Thir are our prayers and slender hopes in the midst of our desperat feares.

This farr I had written long agoe, but now many things are fallen out. The Thesaurer came backe from Court the 19th of February. About eight dayes before, his man had come doune with a peremptorie command, by sound of trumpett, to cause the Members of the Session to be at Stirling, for their office. The Lords obeyed; bot the Advocates of any note would not goe thither. The Thesaurer, when he mett with the Nobles, assured them, with oathes and great asseverationes, that he had no direction from the King concerning their Supplications. In this Roxburgh did joyne with him; bot from friends at Court, they were informed of the contrare, and shortly, by privie intelligence at home, gott a double of the King's injunctions, which was a proclamation to be made at Stirling February 20th; wherein the King took the Books on himself, and discharged the Bishops of all fault, condemned all the supplications and subscriptions, commissions and all meetings hitherto for that end;

bot did pardone bygones, discharging all such meetings in tyme to come, under highest paines, and yet was willing to hear supplications which did not inroach on his royall prerogative, either in matter or manner, as the former had done. This coming out to light, posts went forth athort the whole countrey, with this information, written by Mr. Archibald Johnstone, for to him the prior informations, both from Court and otherwayes, oft after midnight, are communicat. This information the Bishops cast on the Thesaurer, and so it is thought; yet Mr. Archibald assured me it came from none of his.

This alarme being given, all did make haste. The Thesaurer finding his purpose revealed, intended to have the proclamation precipitat. He had before perswaded the Nobility that onlie two should goe to Stirling, where he assured no prejudice should be done to their cause: bot it was found he intended to keep these two, Rothus and Lindefay, prisoners in the Castle of Stirling; therefor the Nobility resolved to goe together. To prevent this, the Thesaurer and Roxburgh went from Edinburgh a little after midnight. One of their footmen being taking a drinke in a tavern, where a man of Lindefay's, I think, lay, told, that his master was that earlie on horse for Stirling. His companion was not long in advertising his master; who at once wakened others of the nobility: so Lindefay and Hoome took post, and outrode the Thesaurer; the rest followed at leafure. The Thesaurer not finding a number for a quorum, without Counsell did make the proclamation early in the morning. Hoome and Lindefay stood in the crosse with the Lyon herauld, and made a protestation. The Counsell meeting in the afternoone, did approve the proclamation; which was much marvelled at, especially that Angus and Neper should put to their hands to it. It was thought that Lorne, Southesk, Lauderdale, and Wigton should be put off Counsell; bot we see it was not so. Angus and Neper hath showed their repentance for their rashness. The Advocat comeing the morne, would by no meanes subscryve the act of approbation of that proclamation, for this reason especially, that the King's direction in it was transgressed; for the King's warrand bare bot the hiest paine, bot the proclamation did beare the paine of treason. Thir things hath much alienated the minds of the Nobility from the Thesaurer, both that he should have deceived them with his oathes, and also extended his commission, to the uttermost bounds, if not beyond, to the ruine of their cause and persons. Yet it is said for him, that at Court he

was putt in great danger of his place. The King did pose him upon thirty-eight articles in wryte, furnished by the President against him; wherein he gave the King reasonable answers, withal that he gave the King a full information of all the wryts and deeds had past, that he had brought the King to a tollerable mood, till letters come from the Chancellour, assuring, that as the Noblemen who were banded for the slaughter of David Rizzio did disband and flee away so soon as the Queen, his good dame, had proclaimed them traytors; so upon the King's condemning of the Nobles proceedings, and discharging them hereafter under these paines, all this combination would vanish, and the King would so come by his intent. Thir letters altered the King's minde, and put him to take the course which may prove wonderfull unhappie: peremptorily he commands the Thesaurer to execute it, and for his fidelity and secrecy put him to his oath. This he undertook, yet leaving under his hand his contrare opinion and advise. Howsoever, the Thesaurer, who indeed hath been an happie instrument in this business, is like to losse both the King and the Countrey, which will seeme sweetnes to the Bishops in the midst of their ruines. The charge was to remove from the towne within six houres. The Noblemen who came in frequency against the afternoone, stayed all that night, and for no request would remove; for they alleadged their protestation did warrant them. Yet when the Chancellor and Thesaurer had yoked their coaches to depart, professing that the Session and Counsell would break up as troubled by them, they were content to goe; and so they did, leaving direction to these who came there to attend the common business, to follow them to Edinburgh; also when the Counsell did meet, or the admission of my Lord Doune to their number, Arthure Erskine and Poomeese thronging in with the multitude, after the ushing of the house, did present the declinator, and tooke instruments thereupon. My Lord Doune subscribed presently the supplication, to the great discontentment, as they say, of Murray his father. The Bishop of Galloway was like to have received injury in Stirling; but the Magistrates saw to him. In his returne at Falkirk, the wives railed, and shord him with stones, and were some of them punished; also at Dalkeith, upon Sunday, the wives so railed upon him, that the Thesaurer put two of them in prison. The Bishop is in great fear and danger, and shoves little of his old desyre of martyrdome in this so good a cause. When we come to Edinburgh, the 22d of February, we found

that the proclamation had been repeated there, that sixteen Noblemen had gone up to the croffe with the Lyon herauld, and after their reverend hearing of the King's proclamation, had caused Mr. Archibald Johnstoune, at the same tyme and place, to proclaim their protestation. In the meane tyme, the countrey gathers fast to the toun. The Noblemen, Gentry, Cities, and Ministers, meets in severall roomes. The Noblemen, with Mr. Alexander Henderfone and Mr. D. D[ickson,] resolves the renewing of the old Covenant for religion. A little incling of this is given out at first to the rest. Mr. D. D. is imployed in the Colledge church to preach, where, in a great congregation before noone, he shews the expediency of renewing the Covenant. Mr. H. Rollock seconds that motion, with amplification, in the afternoon. In the Grayfriars, Mr. John Adamfone strykes on the same string before noone. Mr. Andrew Ramfay, in the afternoon, for spareing, was misliked. The two other kirks are not regarded. Mr. Henrie's ⁽⁴⁾ plainness made me suspect their intention, in this new Covenant, to make us forswear Bishops and Ceremonies in our meeting. I had discovered the same minde in some, alledging over and over, that the Achan 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 sharpe and so modest a reply, that excluded thereafter this motion from this meeting. Bot I was filled with fear and great perplexity, left the bond, whilk I found was in conceaving, should containe any such clausfes; for this I thought would inevitably open a gape, and make a present division in the Ministry, which was the earnest desyre and sure victory of the Bishops. This I caused remonstrate to the Noblemen whilk they took well, and made Loudon shew me and Mr. George Young, whom I had sent to Loudon to declare my fears, their write, which was scrolled, professing their minde to give us all contentment, and rather to destroy it, then that thereby any rent should be made amongst us. The write had three parts; First, the old Covenant, word by word, as ye have it in the Harmony of Confessions, after our Confession of Faith; the next part consists of Aëts of Parliament, whilk all are for our Confession against Poperie; the Third hes an application to the present case: in this was all the difficulty; for there was indeed clausfes in it requiring the suspension of our practife,

(4) This evidently refers to Mr. Henry Rollock, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and not, as in the former edition, to "Mr. Henderson."

then of our approbation of Bishops and Ceremonies. After reasoning, it was yielded to me, to change this clause, to forbear practice. I shew it was ever my minde, since I was a minister; but not to approve in judgment, it was impossible till I was otherwise informed. So they required but my disallowance of the corruption of the Bishops government; whereunto I yielded. Some other clauses also, which might have seemed to import a Defence in armes against the King, this I could not yield to in any imaginable case; for the grounds I had learned from Monsieur Cameron ⁽⁵⁾ I had not yet leisure to try; so, for the present, I could subscribe nothing which was against my minde. These were also changed; so that no word, I hope, remains in this write, which, in any congruities, can be drawn against the Prince; but many sentences are expressly to the contrary: so in their two points of my fears, Loudon, by his wisdom and equity, gave me contentment. This courtesy was due to me; both because they hoped what would content my scrupulous minde, might be appearance satisfied others who were of my judgement, whereof there was a great number; as also for the regard to my selfe, to whom they profess some respect for my pains in this cause, not only in my first write of Queries, but also of my second of the Parallell, whereby they esteemed their cause somewhat furthered; besyde that they expected, that I being satisfied, would be an instrument to give others contentment, as since they have found.

My Lord Caffills had my scruple anent the Defence with armes. He sent for me; but I eschewed to confirme him in that which he professed he had from Monsieur Cameron. He got in a clause in the write which contented his minde. Thus we being contented, they ventured yesterday to present it to our meeting. Rothus, Loudon, Aldbarr, and others come downe. They read it first in private to a number of us who were Commissioners for Presbyteries, and thereafter to all. The objections which were moved by some few were soon satisfied: all being interrogate, man be man, gave their hearty assent; only some three or four brether of Angus, who had sworn obedience to the Bishop, could not finde how to dispense with their practice and oath. My Lord Rothus finding our great harmony, departed with the

(5) Mr. John Cameron, an eminent Protestant Divine, who resided abroad during the chief part of his life. He was Professor of Divinity at Saumur, previous to the short period that he held the office of Principal of the University of Glasgow. He died at Montauban, in 1625.

profession of great joy : for this union was the great pillar of the cause ; and it could never have been obtained, if distraction had been in the ministry who had subscribed the former supplication, whilk mischance was much feared ; and, indeed, great occasion had the imprudency and rigidity of the first formers of that write given of these feares. It is expected that this day the hands of all estates shall be put to it, and thereafter a declaration shall be made of our innocency in this whole proceeding, and of the injustice of the Bishops, with an earnest desyre to have our Prince informed in the truth of this cause, be way of the most humble Supplication. To-morrow, in Stirling, is expected a frequent Counsell, where there is hope that the Counsell will lay the wyte of all thir evils upon the B[ishops] back. What will be next, the Lord knows ! we are to humble our selves in fasting and prayer. It becomes yow weil there, and all the Reformed churches over sea, to commend our cause heartily to God, as we have oft done for yow in the like case. We have no assurance yet or warrand that any one line of the Booke shall be remitted, bot hopes are made of withdrawing both Liturgie, and Canons, and Commiffion, and all, if we would let the Bishops alone ; bot the most part is peremptorly resolved not to endure any longer their lawlesse tyrannie.

A NARRATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS FROM THE 21ST OF DECEMBER [1637,] TO THE [24TH OF FEBRUARY 1638.]

THE Lords of Secret Councell having receaved from the Supplicants their petitions, complaints, bill, and declinator of Bishops, at Dalkeith, the 21st December, promifeing to represent thesamen to his Majesties royall confideration, as concerning matters of that consequence wherein they could not determine by themselves ; their Lordships were then pressed earnestly by the Supplicants, not only to recommend these, bot to intreat my Lords Thefaurer and Privie Seall to carry the supplications, &c. and informe his Majestie in these matters ; which did well befit their places, being the greatest affaires that ever had fallen within the compass of their confiderations ; because a dumb Information, though never so exact, was not capable of replies, nor could it anticipat such doubts as his Majestie might propone. This desyre was often repeated in privat to my Lords Thefaurer and Privie Seall, by diverse of the Supplicants, with a demonstration

of these evils which might follow from his Majesties want of just information and knowledge of the true state of business here.

The longing desire of the Supplicants for their answer made them appoint some of their number to attend at Edinburgh, for getting and giving notice of my Lord Thesaurer his returne from England; and upon advertisement that he was expected about the 12th or 14th of February, many of the Supplicants resorted hither; who being together at his coming to Edinburgh, February 15th, and expecting then answer to their supplications, two of their number were sent to enquire for the same. Being with Privie Seall, his Lordship denied his having answer to them, or that he knew any certaine tyme when they might expect the same, or by whom; only he believed they should have it shortly. He acknowledged not that the Counsell had recommended to him the carrying, and informing of his Majestie anent the supplications; but that his Majestie had received the supplications, and considered them. The Thesaurer and Privie Seall taxing the petitioners for impatience in waiting his Majesties answer, were answered, It was now near half ane year since the first supplication was delivered to the Counsell in September, and the matter concerning wrong done to Religion ought to have been speedily repaired by his Majestie as being the Lord's deputy over his people, especially for preservation of that Religion whereunto himself is subject as well as the people, God having all-ways expressed such displeasure at the corruption of his true worship, or introducing any seed of superstition or idolatry, which was alwayes informed of these things they petitioned against; that they are confident they would have obtained ane speedier redresse from so good and religious a prince, if his Majestie had been truly informed, or not prevented by such suggestions as excused, or covered the unsoundness of these Books and wickedness of these other novations; and assured, That if the matter had only concerned their own lives and fortunes, they would have patiently endured the longest delay of his Majesties resolution; but this matter might excuse importunity in them, and required expedition from his Majestie. They finding my Lord Thesaurer spare to discover any thing concerning this business, parted, to make account of their obscure answer.

On the 16th, some of the Supplicants got notice of ane proclamation to be made, which contained his Majesties approbation of the Service Book, as only fitt for the use of the Holy Church, and taking on himself the causing forme it; a dispensing with

the nobility and gentry for their bygone meetings; and a discharge of all the meetings hereafter, under the pain of treason. Whereupon four or five of the supplicants were sent from the rest, to my Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seall; who meeting first with my Lord Privie Seall, and disclosing to him the tenor of the supplication, he seemed unwilling to speak any thing thereof, professing he had no commission, and knew nothing of that business. Going to my Lord Thesaurer, and expressing their grief at the said proclamation, they desired to know the truth of him; who refused to make known to any what he was commanded to deliver to the Counsell only; and keeping all very close, seemed to press the necessity of inhibiting meetings, and that by proclamation. It was answered, That the obedience of the charge was the way to let all these evils come upon them, wherewith the Church and State were threatened; for they met together to advise anent supplicating and consulting about the best ways for preventing evils; and as the end was lawful, so had they never fallen in disorders at their meetings neither in word nor action, but had always concurred in electing the best and humblest motions, restraining these that were rude; which would have appeared and given offence, if ilk shyre had petitioned apart; and if they should stay at home, what could they do, but every one endure what soever was imposed, and so the Church and State to suffer.

These returning to the rest of their number, they all resolved to send four or five to Stirling, to give information to the Counsellors concerning the proclamation, as after follows. First, That the Supplicants had been from tyme to tyme put in good hope of a gracious answer, especially by the Act of Counsell in August last, declaring, that the buying of the Service Book, and not the using of it, was only intended, and by his Majesties declaration in December last; but by this proclamation, their former hopes would be turned into feares. Secondly, That the proclaiming of a dispensation to the Supplicants, for that which they were assured they were doing in duty both to God and his Majestie, would either make his mercy misregarded, or force them to condemn their own doings, so justifiable before God and the world. Thirdly, That the prohibiting of such like peaceable proceedings, under the pain of treason, would make the Supplicants either incur the imputation of treason, or else be casten all into the hands of the adversaries, and cast themselves loose of religion, liberty and peace, against the duty which they owe to God,

the Church, and the Country. Fourthly, That, contrare to the King's Majesties declaration in December last, this proclamation transferred the guilt of these novations from the Prelats upon the King's Majestie; not that he can be judged the author thereof, bot that they may escape censure; whereby it is hard to say, whether his Majestie be more dishonoured, or justice frustrate, or his Majesties good subjects disappointed. Fifthly, That the Supplicants tremble, that after so many supplications and declarations, bearing the manifold feeds of heresie, superstition and idolatry, to be contained in the Service Book, it should be declared, be proclamation, to be the forme of God's publick worship, and the meane of maintaining true religion, and holding out of superstition; which must make the subjects either receive what their consciences doe condemne, or directly oppose themselves against his Majesties proclamation. Sixthly, Since that many worthie Counsellors hath regrated the passing of the first Act in favours of the Service Book, and hath made many excuses for the famen, the Supplicants are confident, that having a new occasion of more mature deliberation, they would rather give counsell to his Majestie to choose a course that may give satisfaction to the desire of his good people, than by confirming so summar a conclusion, greive many, wound their own hearts, and work further disturbance in the church and countrey.

The Thesaurer and Privie Seall hearing, that some were to be directed to Stirling, sent for three or foure of the Supplicants; and understanding their resolution, preased to dissuade the famen: bot these shoves the necessity they conceived thereof, and that for preventing the inconvenience of the proclamation, which would prove so hurtfull, falling upon these particulars in the Information, and upon the report, that the Burrows were excluded from the dispensation offered to the Nobility and Gentry by the proclamation, that a criminall pursute might be intended against Edinburgh, did shew a resolution in the whole Supplicants, to intend a criminall pursute against the Bishops and their followers, as soone as the other should be awakened, and that for sclander of so many of the faithfull subjects to be mutinous and rebellious for opposing innovations brought in religion by them against the lawes, and their exercising of the judicatories not established by Parliament, to the heavy oppression of the liedges; for the which faults, as in law, their lives could not escape, so these of Edinburgh did not fall within compass of law for life or fyne, considering how little they did,

how great evils were enforced upon them, and what was their Magistrats dealing towards them. The Supplicants, upon better advyement, fand a necessity of useing a declinator at Stirling, lest there the Bishops should sitt in judgement, and give out any Act in that buſsineſſe, wherein they were declared parties, and ought to be declyned; resolving to propon the said declinator only by two of their number. They were advertised upon Sunday in the morning, that some of the Bishops followers had said, that the proclamation would inhibit any of the Supplicants to appear where the Counsell satt; that if they should present the declinator, they should be put fast; which made the Supplicants to determine to goe together to Stirling, and to be present in the towne at the proponing thereof; thinking, that being together, they were more able to give the Counsell information and satisfaction, then by so few, which might be dazaled with difficulties of new propositions and actions not expected. And few houres after this resolution, some of the Supplicants, by permission of the rest, declared the same to my Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seall for preventing of mistake; who immediately sent for foure of the Supplicants, wishing them to change their resolution of going to Stirling, and expostulating with them for the way of carrying their buſsineſſe, alleadged, If the Supplicants had followed their advyse in supplicating apart, and against the Book of Common-Prayer, Canons and High Commission only, it had succeeded better with them; they might have petitioned for the rest of their greivances, after once hearing and proving fully their first complaints; that, by appearance, the King would never hear them so long as they complained upon Bishops; and assured, that the Supplicants did now see their own error in not following their former advyse. It was answered, That being a publick buſsineſſe, which concernes the whole kingdome, and the matters of such consequence, it could not be carried in so private a way as your Lordships proposed; the matter being such as religion and policy were extremely wronged, the subjects thereat grieved, behooved to have recourse to their Prince, for commanding redresse by the ordinar course of law, which hath been alwayes customable to subjects in the lyke case; and if the whole Supplicants had been so trustfull in a matter so great and universall, as if it had been any of their own particulars, their Lordships could bot engaged life, fortouns and honour, for a good successe to follow their advyse; and though their supplications being restrained, as your Lordships desired, might gett

audience, yet if, after supplicating against these other evils which are the root that hath produced such fruits, his Majestie should then refuse to hear any further, would it not grieved them to see the subjects suffer by the relying upon unpauned trust, and the whole envy transferred from the Bishops upon their own heads? They asking them, What course the Supplicants would take? were answered, They would propone their declinator at Stirling for the reasons forsaids. They saying, It will be refused, were answered, The Supplicants would then protest for an immediat course to his Majestie, upon their denyall of justice, and present their supplications to his Majesties self. They doubting his Majestie will accept the samen, were answered, The Supplicants would doe their duty, and committ the event to God Almighty, who is sufficiently able to protect his own cause, and their just proceedings.

Thus parting, and returning to the rest of the Supplicants, they appointed foure or five of their number to goe very tymely to Stirling, for preventing the Thesaurer and Privie Seall their accustomed diligence, in omitting no meanes that might conduce to their ends; and also the Counsell-day was appointed to be the following Tuesday at ten o'clock. Yet was the Lord Thesaurer and Privie Seall on horseback be two o'clock, and in Stirling be eight in the morning on Monday the 19th; bot were outridden be some of the Supplicants, whose being before them made them expect the coming of the rest, and so convened all the Counsellors present in the toune to hasten out the proclamation before their coming.

The Counsellors then present could not make a quorum; yet did they proceed with their proclamation at the mercat crosse by ten o'clock, where the Supplicants made protestation. The rest of the Supplicants coming after noone, and hearing of the proclamation, went to the Thesaurer, Privie Seall, and other Officers of State, requiring a sight of the proclamation, that they might advyse with the same; who denyed any sight thereof till it should be proclaimed in other places; bot by relation, they smoothing the contents thereof, and differing much from others who heard it read at the crosse, made the Supplicants uncertaine what it contained; who resolving to leave no lawfull meanes unassayed, sent one of their number to the Clerk of Counsell, requiring only a sight of the proclamation for their perusal; upon whose refuseall, instruments were taken. The Counsellors grudged to finde so many to resort there to Stirling, who had come very

frequently from all the nearest adjacent places, and that upon very small advertisement. The Thesaurer and Privie Seall sent for some of the Supplicants; who being asked, What they were minded to doe? They shewed them they would use a declinator, and, in case that were refused, a protestation, as they told them at Edinburgh. They renewing their often repeated motions of division without successe, were earnest, that the Supplicants should remove all out of the toun, seeing they were to doe no more in that busines. The Supplicants objected the ratifying of the proclamation in Counsell, which as yet wanted that warrand; they assured them of the contrare very firmly, as also gave assurance that no prejudice should be offered to these who presented the declinator or protestation. Whereupon they undertook to deale with the rest of the Supplicants; who being conveyed in the Kirk, filled the same; and with very great difficultie, obtained their consent to remove after dinner toward Edinburgh, upon the relation of the assurance they had gotten the proclamation should not be ratified in Counsell; and having appointed some few of their number to stay, and propone the declinator and protestation forsaide. After dinner, as they were going to Edinburgh, two or three of the Supplicants went to the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, having some other Counsellors with them, and desired their stay should not be interpreted to proceed from contempt, for they could not obtaine sight of the proclamation, neither from their Lordships, nor from their clerk; having asked it, and taken instruments of his refusall, thereby to be informed what it enjoined; and although it had no legal strength, yet conceaving it to be a declaration of his Majesties minde, which they had been, and would be alwayes most willing to obtemper, without prejudice of the cause they had in hand, they were resolved to part. When the noblemen were gone, the Counsellors went to Counsell in the Castle of Stirling at foure a'clock, where two of the Supplicants gave in the declinator; which being refused, contrare to the Act of Counsell at Dalkeith, they protested, and offered to take instruments in the notars hand: and being reproached, that they brought in common notars before the Counsell, they offered to take instruments in the clerk of Counsell's hands, which he refused; whereupon they took instruments in their own writers hands. That night the Counsell ratified the proclamation. One who had the informations, and by the forementioned promise was put in security, hearing thereof, caused delivver some of them the next morning to some Counsellors

there that most relished religion, and best know the Service Book ; who being informed, fand themselves infnared by their consent, and was heavily grieved.

The proclamation was made at Linlithgow upon Wednesday the 21st of February, where protestation was made, as at Stirling, by three or foure of the Supplicants ; and at Edinburgh on Thursday the 22d of February, where a great many noblemen, barrons, ministers, and others, supplicants, standing within and about the Crosse, after the proclamation was read, the protestation was also read publickly, and instruments taken in the hands of notars.

On Fryday the 23d, the number of the noblemen and others being increased, at their meeting they treassd [traced] the suggestion to fundry of the Supplicants labouring divided Supplications, which was generally dislyked, and ane new dealing with the Counsell by way of supplication, restrained to the Service Book, Canons and high Commiffion, which was apprehended by very few. This made all consider the particular condition and former proceedings of these prime statesmen, principall suggestors of such motions : and although the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, both for the greatnes of their fortouns and hereditarie conditions, were considerable with the chieft of this land, as deeply interest in the good of this state, which, with their approved understanding, might induce the expectation of all needfull care and faithfull carriage befeeming their place, interest, and knowledge ; and although they seemed extreamly grieved for their present evils, and, by frequent information, fully perceived the root whence they flow, yet the preservation of their places and credit with his Majestie, by appearance hath made them forbear to doe or informe fully about these who they thought was so acceptable to his Majestie ; and many of the Bishops being the yoke fellows with them in burden of the state, and others of that minde watching over their wayes, ready to informe against them for any thing that appears not conduceable to their end, and obtaining sollicitations from persones of power in their own favours to the said statesmen, hes made them all this while to labour rather the quenching of the paine, then the cureing of the disease, and to make a diversion from the root of evils by a fair addresse of these Supplicants, for the present pruneing of the branches. All their proceedings in this bussines being fully considered, was found to intend this end, such complying being fitter for the servants of a person, then of ane state. Some of

them, by words and actions, so much laboured amidst right and wrong, as they will, except they mend it, get the like recompence to them, who indeavour reconciliation betwixt Protestants and Papists, which is neither thanks nor trust from either, as our own late experience proveth. Bishops had their Commissioners.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

April 5th [1638.]

COUSINE,

Thir are in such haste; that they cannot be satisfactory. I sent yow by William Cuninghame, with one Gibson of Leith, two double pieces and a five merk piece : before we be miserable, I wish my debts were paid. Also I sent yow two quarts of Rosa Solis, that once yet ere we die ye may drink my good health. Your letters are more unfrequent to me then ordinary ; ye know the cause. The doubles of the King's proclamation, and the countrey's protestation, with the newly subscribed Covenant, I would have sent to yow, according to my promise in my last, had not Mr. William Wilkie assured me that he would have them at yow before this. The great business among us since that tyme has been, to have that Confession subscribed be all hands ; and through all hands almost has it gone. Of Noblemen at home, who are not counsellors or papists, unto which it was not offered, I think they be within foure or five who has not subscribed. All the Shyres have subscribed, by their Commissioners ; and all the Townes except Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Craill ; yea, the particular gentlemen, burgeses and ministers have put to their hands ; and the parishes throughout the whole countrey, where the Ministers could be persuaded, on a Sabbath day, all have publickly, with ane uplifted hand, man and woman, sworn it. Mr. William Anan himself has thus farre proceeded, to all our admiration ; our marvell is increased, when he is said to repent it, and to say, he was constrained to doe what he did : the man is so resolute, and the oathes of this wryte are so frequent, clear, and deep, that who has taken them, I think, he cannot readily recall them. I hear for truth, that Mr. William is put in a great dumpe, and, after some trouble both of minde and body, has gone to Glasgow and Edinburgh ; to what purpose I cannot yet say. I suspect the town of Air's motion to him to consent to receive a helper, which they would name, and

provide him, without any diminution to his stipend, hes troubled him more then anything else ; for they seem peremptor to have a minister conjunct with him, and that, either Mr. Robert Blair or Mr. George Dumbar their old minister, or such a man who will bear down Mr. William, and so kill him when he hes lost the Bishops his old freinds. This peremptory and unexpected motion, I fear, is the cause of his perplexity and change, if he doe make any.

The greatestt opposites in the West to this subscription are our friends in Glasgow: all the Colledge without exception ; Mr. John Maxwell, Mr. John Bell younger, and Mr. Zacharie, they are not only withdrawers of their hands, bot all of them pathetick reasoners against it. How this comes I will not say, bot I have my own thoughts ; yet old Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Wilkie are passionately for it, albeit half derided by the other as simple fooles : it is like to fall out evill among them. The body of the Burgeesses hes subscriyved. My Lord Boyd, old Blair, Keir, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Michael Wallace, and I, went in, as Commissioners from the meeting of Edinburgh, to deal with the Colledge and Ministers to joyne with the rest : bot I foresaw it was in vaine ; for no reasoning could move any of them to passe from the smallest of their scruples, which yet they multiplied. We left them resolved to celebrate the Communion on Pasche day, in the High Church, kneeling ; bot Mr. Robert Wilkie and Mr. John Bell are resolved to passe that day, and the next Sabbath to celebrate, sitting, in the Laigh Kirke. After our departure with small contentment, they did agree to delay all celebration for a tyme, and so did intimate to the people, from pulpit ; bot when it was found that Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Wilkie would delay only Pasche day, and no longer, Mr. John Maxwell and young Mr. John Bell thinking their credit interested in ceding this farr, made intimation to the people at the evening prayers on Saturday, to come the morne to the Communion in the High Church ; some few base people did come, and filled some four or fyve tables, who were served by the Principall, and Mr. John Maxwell. The nixt Saturday, Mr. David Dickson had the preparation sermon in the Laigh Church, and Mr. John Maxwell in the High : to the one's sermon, all flocked who could throng in ; to the other's much fewer. This, I fear, be a proclamation of redde warre among the clergy of that towne ; bot the pley I thinke shall be shortly reedde.

To Aberdeen the burrows sent Mr. Robert Barclay provest of Irwine, and the Clerk of Dundee, in commiffion ; bot thir people, by the Marqueffe of Huntley's instigation, and the Northland Bifhops, were fo preoccupied, that willfully, without allegation of reafon, they refused. Their Doctōrs for the moft part are favourers of the Books ; and how farr our folks of Glaſgow, or any non-fubſcryvers, are oppoſit to the Books, I cannot ſpeak much for the preſent. D[octor] Baron hes given out ſomething in write for the Booke, whereof I am forrie ; not for the write it ſelf, for if the piece I ſaw be it, it is a very poor one, that will never hurt our cauſe, bot becauſe I tender that man's eſtimation as one who was half deſigned to our Theologicke profeſſion in Glaſgow, which he can never attain to with any tolerable contentment of our country, were he ane angell, if once he have fyled paper in maintainance of the Booke. Edinburgh continues conſtant. Mr. Henry [Rollock] and Mr. Andrew [Ramſay,] yea, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Hamilton, and Mr. John Livingſtone, preaches there to the peoples heart. Mr. Matthew Weems in the Canongate, Mr. Forfair in North-Leith, all the Colledge, Principal D. Sharpe, Regentes, [and] all the Schollars, (except Mr. Robert Rankine and Mr. John Broune, with ſome few boyes with them,) have ſubſcryved and ſworne. The Miniſters of Stirling, before the Lords of Seſſion, are inveighing dayly againſt our Biſhops. St. Andrews itſelf, we hear, for the moſt part, hes ſubſcryved. What ſhall be the end, God knows !

The Counſell ſent to court my Lord Orbiftone with thir inſtructions, here incloſed. The Noblemen ſent Mr. John Livingſtone before him, with what inſtructions I know not ; bot it was fore againſt my minde that he ſhould be employed at this tyme, being a Book man, a preacher rigide and paſſionate, and, which was worſt, ſtanding under the ſentence of excommunication of the Iriſh Church. He was not at Court four houres till the King ſpoke of his coming, of the way and manner of his voyage : this made him to poſte back, after one day's, at moſt, lurking at London. It is thought that Orbiftone, who overtook him by the way and outrode him, behooved to be the informer ; which will impair much of that truſt which Orbiftone hitherto did injoy amongſt us. The noblemen drew up a common letter, to be preſented by the Earle of Haddington to the Duke, Marques, and Morton, conjunctly, intreating them, if they thought to undertake the preſentment of their ſupplikations to the King. The

letter and supplication I will stryve to send to you with the nixt ; thir were not ready when Mr. John Livingston went away. Orbistone at his returne filled the countrey with good news ; but we fand thereafter, that all resolved on the King's letters calling up Roxburgh and the Thesaurer, and my Lord of Lorne, for to consult before any farder was proceeded in that matter, according to one of the articles of these instructions which Orbistone carried up, and did nothing please the countrey ; for we thought them bot only complements, and inclyning to censure our meetings of unlawfullness. However, we are informed, that the best lawyers, both Hope, Nicolstone, and Stewart, being consulted by the King, does declare all our bypast proceedings to be legall. The three Counsellors⁽⁶⁾ are all to Court ; we are full of feares : the Thesaurer hes lost all his trust with us ; Privie Seall never had any ; we tremble for Lorne, that the King either persuade him to goe his way, or finde him eirands at Court, for a long tyme. Brechin and Roffe are both to Court, the two most unhappy of all the Bishops. It is said, that Roffe, before he went from home, was affrighted with the boyes who burnt the Service Book where he was ; this made him slippe away difaguyfed over the mounts. It seems, according to Orbiston's instruction, that the King hes called up these two of the clergy as his former informers. We are praying to God, and wishes you to concurr with us, that this affaire now in the balance may have a fair end : Our country is at the poynt of breaking louse ; our lawes this twelve moneth hes been silent ; diverse misregards their creditors ; our Highlands are making ready their armes, and some begun to murder their neighbours. Dowglafs, Abercorne, and Semple, are openly arming among us ; readily after their example other Noblemen will provide presently their houses with musquett, picks, powder and lead. We hope, that since the Palatine is gone to Germany, and the King has sent to Hambrugh to renew the league with Sweden, since the prentises of London, as we heare, does force the delyverance of Canterburie's prisoners, and fundry there intends a legall proceffe against the Bishops usurpations, we hope that a peaceable decision may come from Court ; yet we feare God let us not go so soon out of the snare, so small hitherto hes been our repentance ; the violence also, which we see breathed out of the Bishops and their fol-

(6) The three Councillors here named, were the Earl of Traquair, Treasurer, the Earl of Roxburghe, Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Lorne, better known by his subsequent title as Marquis of Argyle.

lowers mouths, againſt their oppoſites, and the countrey's undiſſembled rage againſt them, as the only authors and contriv-ers of all this danger, I fear it end not ſmoothly. Mr. Robert Hammlton, and Mr. John Lindſay, hes been very ill uſed in Lanerick, by the women, as I doubt not Mr. William Wilkie will informe yow. Mr. Robert Hammlton is fully reſolved to be revenged for his wounds; and for this end, wrote ſharply to the Theſaurer and Chancellour, yet all lyes over; this ſame may further the miſchief.

I have made all the Colledge wryte to yow for a Rituale Romanum, Miſſale, Breviarium, and Pontificale. I pray yow, be-cause I have preſent uſe of them, faile not to purchaſe them fair and lately printed, for we have old Sarum; alſo Joſephus Vice-comes de Ritibus Baptiſmi, etc.; take my aſſurance, that for theſe the Colledge will give yow thanks, and I alſo. The Lord be with yow; and, pray for us.

[TO DR. STRANG, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
GLASGOW.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Your Letter to me was moſt acceptable; that ye thought not good to conferr with me by write, I likewayes approve; for of that kinde of jangling I am over weary. Glad ſhould I have been to have come unto yow wherever ye had deſired, if ſo I had conceaved any hope to doe yow pleaſure; but it was another, and not your ſelfe, who required me to come to Glaſgow that day, when I could not well winn; and the laſt voyage I made to that place, for the like end, was allutterly fruitleſs, for there I fand my ſelf allutterly unable to ſatiſſie any of theſe brethren, in any the leiſt of their objections againſt our late Confession; bot I thank God that ye are come much nearer, by theſe good means ye name of your reading and prayer: I am confident, upon the continuance of the ſame, that ye ſhall come on that little ſtep which remaines; and, if it might be the will of God, from my heart I wiſh, ſo ſoon as is poſſible, to ſee yow come clean over, where ſo many of us are who loves yow dearly, and whom ye alike doe love. Our maine feare to have our religion loſt, our throats cutted, our poor countrey made ane Engliſh province, to be diſpoſed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Biſhope of Canterburie; thir our feares are builded mainely

upon the withdrawing of our brethren's hands and countenances from us, in that course which we conceive to be most necessary at this time. Our hopes, under God, which we have, to cross the underminers of our whole religion and civil liberties also, is in the universal harmony and conjunction of all brethren. Your hand I took ever to be of especial importance; I know not only the deserved dependence which many brethren had upon you, but your great estimation and abilities whereby this good cause might be furthered, if ye had joined: I think it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life, or shall have to your death, to do God, our Church, our Country, a piece of good service. The declaration of your mind before all the world, let be these your name, in the points ye express, readily will be granted; but a band in write in the terms ye set downe, I fear be not yielded: so far as I know, the like was not craved of any. The first part of it, That you did subscribe so far as that Confession was not prejudicial to the King's authority, the office of Episcopall government it self, and that power which is given to Bishops by lawfull Assemblies and Parliaments, and in so far as we are bound to withstand all innovations in the worship of God, contrary to his written word, and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, this I think it very needless to crave; for 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. I do not only believe that there is no word into it that makes against the King's full authority, so far as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawfull Assembly or Parliament; or that by this write we are obliged to oppose any novation, or any thing at all which is not contrary to God's word: not only I believe this, but he professed so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any to this hour. But for me to have craved this much under any their hands, I thought it needless, and very inexpedient for them to have granted; for it had been an express granting in write, to be registered to the world's end, that they thought there was just occasion given to suspect that, in that write, there was something which truly did oppose the King's authority, etc. If any presently, or hereafter, shall abuse any clause of this write, to overthrow the King's authority, &c.

as many abuses Scriptures themselves to their own bad intentions, I think it abundantly contents me, that I can make it evident, not only that at my subscription I professed, by word and write, that I did believe there could no such thing be deduced from that write, of which profession I have many famous witnesses; but the chief ground of my satisfaction in this case is, that I can make it evident before the world, that the write has no such errors, else would I never have subscribed it. So, Brother, in my poor judgement, the first part of your desire is not meet to be fought; as for the other, that requires the admitting of a Protestation to practise conformitie, in case of deprivation. Though the fear of the Books be not removed, however I think, in that case, ye will be very loath to conforme upon any danger that is likely to come, yet, in my minde, it might be easily obtained, by Duchall or Mr. Matthew, from the prime of the Nobility, to take that your subscription, with an expresse declaration, albeit, no written protestation which they should subscribe, that ye should be permitted, in case of a danger, which your conscience thought real and true, of present deprivation, to doe in Perth Articles as ye thought expedient, without any note of infamy or perjury. For my own part I was not minded, on any hazard whatsoever, to practise kneeling, so long as the danger or feare of thir late novations did remaine, whether this late oath had been taken or not; and this feare, I think, cannot be removed without a lawfull Assembly or Parliament; so that indeed I take all subscribers to be obliged to abstaine from kneeling, &c., on whatsoever hazard, till that terme at least be past, and my selfe I finde obliged to abstaine possibly longer, I meane ever, till the feare of thir dangerous innovations be away, where-to I take the Articles of Perth to be now inductive and so scandalous; which just fear cannot any wayes be removed by the discharge of the books by proclamation, yea readily not by Assemblies or Parliaments. However, I take all subscribers, after the allowance of the first Assembly and Parliament, to be as free in the matters of Perth as they were before their subscription; and ye who has obtained to subscribe with the reservation ye crave, to be free in your practise of these Articles even before either Assembly or Parliament: this freedome, I thinke, your subscription takes not away, being taken with that limitation proponed; for my own part I would concurr to have it freely granted to you, hoping that ye would not stand upon the formalitie of a publick write, if ye obtaine the witnessing by word of so many

and so famous men as ye could require : this I take to be the only thing whereon ye stand, which I think may be obtained to you most readily. As for formalities ye wont not to be carefull: I am hopefull, when the practise of Conformitie is put in your will, ye will not be stout for it, if ye see that the urging of it is mainly to put away the best and ablest opposites to popery out of the land ; and that their removers are avowing, so fast as they can, the grossest poynts of popery, in print, with applause and advancement for that only cause ; if ye see that, I know ye have a tender heart and will not for your life, let be places, doe any thing which may truly further so wicked a plott. That it is no lesse then popery in grosse which the Canterburian faction is now aiming at, I stryve to shew in thir Quæries which here I send you ; I doe it farther in another little write of Parallele of our Service with the Masse and Breviarie, which I shall send yow if ye like this. However, doe what ye will, subscribe or not subscribe, be assured of my high estimation of yow, and affection to yow, and confidence of your zeall and orthodoxie ; trusting that when the subscribers of this Covenant are made away, either banished, or made foulie to recant, which I feare shortly, (if God avert not,) that ye and fundry other of your brethren shall begin where we have left, and be ready with your blood to seall the truth of God as fervently as the forwardest of us. Only let me intreat you most earnestly, as ye would refresh my heart singularly, subscribe this write so shortly as ye can with any condition ye can obtain from your Commissioners : there is no hand now in Scotland which I doe so much desire at it as yours.

Thir in great haste and confusion as your pressing bearer can shew. The Lord be with yow, dear and loving Brother, and help us ; for, except he concurr with his extraordinary mercy, I take the religion, libertie, and peace of our land, houghed and clean overthrown for our dayes. So I rest,

Your loving Brother.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

I writt to you my last with James Brown of Saltcots ; after a quarter of a yeeres expectation, I receaved your last ; I was not content of your so long delay. You see in so dangerous a tyme you want not mine of the hiest purposes ; I feare I must now

leave off to write, least by the King's shippes my letters be intercepted.

After the departure of Privie Seale and the Thesaurer, Lorne also went up. He was sent for by a privie missive, not by a letter to the Counsell, as the other two: his going was against the heart of many his friends; yet he was peremptor to obey. There followed the Chancellour, Prefident, Register, Rossie, Brechin, Galloway; the Marques shortly after called up for Orbestoun. We were all long in suspense for newes: at last we heard of the violent and wicked counsell of Rossie and Chancellour, shewing, that a partie might easlie be made within the countrie; that Huntlie, and Aberdein, Seafort, M'Kay, Grant, and the Northland Clanes, which had not subscribed, might easily overway all the subscribers, with the concurrence of Hamiltoun, Dowglas, Niddale, &c., if so the King would imploy a little of his force, and lay by Lorne. For the preveening of this, diligence was used to send some lawers to the uttermost North, who obtained the hands of all these Clanes to the Covenant of the countrie, with the most of the name of Hamiltoun, Dowglas, Gordoun, and all the Campbells without exception. No a Burgesse of St. Andrewes or Dundie refused; and in Aberdein there will be as few recusants as in Glasgow. This word being sent to Court, made the King mislyke Rossie's advyce. Great has beene the accusations of our Bishops against the Thesaurer, as one who had intelligence in this matter with the countrie; and his recriminations against them was great, as these who, by their miscarriages and imprudencies, had miscooked all the matter. The course they resolved upon, after many toe's and froe's, was to send downe the Marques of Hamiltoun, with a commission to treat with Mortoun, Haddingtoun, Thesaurer, Privie Seale as assessours. The offers they are to make are secret: We heare they are such as will give no kynde of contentment; albeit the Bishops are confident they are so reasonable, as will give content to many, and so be able to make a division among the subscribers, which to them is a win field. For to preveene this, the Noblemen and Commissioners drew up these things which they wer minded to crave, and without the which they could not be content, which they sent athort the countrie, and to Court also, for the Marques' sight: for when the Noblemen had returned answer to our letters, the Duke to Montrose, the Marques to Rothes, Mortoun to Lindefay, that the King was to give an answer to their desires by proclamation, and thought

not meet to answer or look upon the supplication, which they sent back closed as they got it; our Noblemen hearing that this proclamation was to come downe with the Marques, they wrote up to him earnestly, not to accept any commission wherein he had no full power to give the countrie some reasonable contentment. However it be, the commission is put on him: his letters are come to all his friends to meet him at Hadingtoun, the fifth of June. The Thesaurer and Lorne are returned, and have holden a counsell at Dalkeith; hes written for all the Counsellors, none of the Bishops are forgott, to meet at Dalkeith, the sext of June in Counsell, with the Marques of Hammiltoun, the King's Commissioner. The Commissioners here at Edinburgh hes advertised all the countrie to be in Edinburgh some dayes before. What will be the event of this great day, God knows! We can not heare that the Marques of Hammiltoun is to offer farder than the recalling of the Books, and limitation of the High Commission; and that upon the condition, or rather command, that we furrender all our subscribed Covenants, and ly under the old danger of Perth Articles and the Bishops' unlimited tyrannie. If this be not accepted, as there is no appearance it will ever be, we are threatned with a bloodie onfett by the Navie on the East Coast, by an Irish Armie on the West, by all the power three Marqueesses in Scotland and the Popish partie can make, with the help of the North of England. We have indyted a generall Fast the third of June. In God is our great confidence: we see yet nothing but appearance of mischiefe. Our people many of them are not humbled, nor in the state of penitents; our Bishops and their followers are yet in a furie, and have adoe with a people like themselves.

You write not to me what your people in Holland thinks of our matters. We heare that your Conservatour has written to the King, that some munition is coming to us from Campheir; be assured, if it be true, he could not do us an office we would take in worse part. Some are muttering that you are in your church-service practising some part of our books. I think you are not mad at thyr tymes needlessly to fyde with the unhappie and unjust partie; what the matter is, write to mee in your next. If you mint to any such thing, expect a short deposition; and if the Burrowes be overthrowen, that they cannot remove you, be assured to be removed out of their hearts for ever. We know yet no other but that our religion, liberties, lives, are in extreme danger: the Lord help us.

Lorne hes beene very plaine with the King: and now, when he is returned, is alfe farre our way as ever, God be thanked. The Marques is thought to be changed the King's way; all maks for the ruine of this Isle, and I see yet no meane to re-meed it. Canterburie will remitt nought of his benfall; he will breake ere he bow an inche: he is borne, it feemes, for his own and our destruction; yet there is a God. When our Noblemen were on the point of departure from Court, the Bishop of Ross presented some sheets of paper, penned by Brechin, against the Thesaurer; thir stayed their journey some dayes. Galloway syded heere with the Thesaurer; but Brechin, with a marvellous ingratitude, became a traitour to him, revealing all his secrets he had gathered in his companie: much fowle flyting was among them. The mater is rather delayed than fully componed; however, some are come home, and the rest expected daylie.

NEWES FROM ENGLAND THE 15TH OF JULY [1638.]

FOUR Commiissioners, Lord Arundell, Lord Newport, Sir Harie Vaine, Secretarie Cooke, are deputed to prepare by sea and land. Pennintoun is to be sent over to the north with the ships. Many flatt-bottomed boats are to be made. Ane hundredeth smiths are conveyened for iron work, and carpenters to make carriages for eighty field pieces; twenty-five thousand swords to be prepared; many picks and musquets to be put in cases and sent to the north; sadlers appointed to make numbers of great saddles. Lord Antrum hes hyred a Scottish ship, loadned and furnished with powder and munition of warre for Ireland. Weems, the canon-maker, hes conditione to hyre a shipp, and to loaden her with light cannons and powder for Dumbarton. Lord Arundell is to come to fortifie Berwick, Carlile, and some other places. Sir Harie Bruce hes offered his service to the King long agoe. He asked Sir John Seaton if he would serve the King: He answered, he would, bot not against his own countrey, where he had his life. Both Kirkcudbright and Lochryan are aimed at, beside some other places upon the West sea, for landing of flatt-bottomed boats from Ireland: also there are flatt-bottomed boats prepared for landing either in Fyfe or Louthian fyde, or both. Letters are directed to every shyre to have the trained bands in readines the 4th of July. The Com-

millioners are to relate to the Counsell what number of trained bands, and what number of preparation for warre of all kinde, are appointed, and how soone they can be ready. Lord William Howard hes written to the Lord Arundell, beseeeking him to take to heart the buffiness of Scotland; for if they take arms, the north of England will joyn with them, and therefore it were best to use a peaceable course.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG, JULY 22, [1638.]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED COOSIN,

The longer and more frequent my letters are to yow, it seems ye resolve that yours to me shall be the shorter and more rare; yet the contentment which oftymes before I have felt, and does hereafter certainly expect of the length and frequency of your writings, forces me to continue my course of showing to yow how all goes with us, so oft as I can have occasion of bearers, and so fully as I can get information by the writes which comes to my hand, and the reports of the most intelligent I doe meet with.

After that our gracious Sovereign had taken at length information of these he sent for to his Court, and of the Bishops who come up unsent for, it is thought that for some days he was perplexed, tossed here and there with diversitie of resolutions. The bloodie counsell of St. Andrewes and Roffe, upon assurance of ane sufficient party in the countrey, was past from, not only by our Noblemen's contrare assurance of the vanity of that expectation, evidenced by the catalogue of the subscribers, especially of the Northland men, of whom the chief hopes were made; but these bloody conclusions were left also, by the advyse of the English counsellors, who freely are said to have spoken of the injustice of such a course, and the danger which it was like to bring to the state of England, as things went, their deep malcontentments lying for many years, but overplastered, without any solide cure. The plainnesse of Lorne is much talked of; nothing he is said to have dissembled of all he knew of our countrie's greivances, of his own full mislike of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the Bishops' misgovernment, of his resolution to leave the kingdom rather than to consent to the pressing of any other, let be of himself or his servants, with these burdens, which were against conscience. He put in the Mar-

ques' hands a double of the late English proclamation, decyding the famous controverſie of the Episcopall juřiſdiction in their own names alone, and not in the King's. When this came to the King, it is thought he was moved with it, as not having marked before its incroaching upon his prerogative, and did chyde with Canterburie for it before the Marques; a quarrell which evidently made the Archbishop look down on Lorne, who did publickly avow, in the write, contempt of his malice.

Theſe counſells of force being laid by for the tyme, with the increaſe of deteſt of the authors, our Biſhops, little leſſe in England then at home; a concluſion paſſes of ane amicable treatie for the countrey's contentment. Long it was ere a perſon could be found of parts requiſite for ſuch a ſervice. Morton, Roxburgh, let be Haddington or Stirling, were not of ſufficient ſhoulders. The Theſaurer was once lyke to have been employed; bot the Biſhops, to preveene the employment of their mortal enemy, did of freſh, when no ſuch matter was expected, give in ſome ſheets of vehement accuſations againſt him, of all things they could corraſe,⁽⁷⁾ penned by Brechin,⁽⁸⁾ bot ſubſcryved by St. Andrewes and Roſſe alſo: they did not requyre Galloway's hand to this challenge, knowing his intereſt in the accuſed. The poynts were thought for the moſt part bot light: the King would not take tyme to diſcuſſe them; ſo they were caſt by as condemned, or laid up as ane band above the accuſed's head, to be applyed in tyme to his fydes. However, the Biſhops' poynt was wone: the Theſaurer miſſed the commiſſion. He made no formal recrimination to his partie; albeit, it is ſaid, he ſpake either to the King or prime courteours, of horrible crymes, which he could make good, eſpecially of St. Andrewes; and indeed their carriage, at this ſame tyme, even in England, hes not been eccleſiaſtick. Much is ſpoken of their wyne and feaſting, of their abſence from all divine ſervice on the Sunday. When the Theſaurer was decourtred, the eyes of all was on the Marqueis⁽⁹⁾ for the commiſſion. The ſharpneſs of the man; his late obligation to the King for his very being, by the gift of our taxation; his Father's throughing of Perth Articles, which now was become a maine part of our queſtions; the want of any other made him the only man; for the Duke [of Lennox] is thought to have no ſuch ſtuffe as a Commiſſioner for ſuch buſineſs required; beſyde that diſverſe does now ſpeak of his

(7) *Corraſe*, to ſcrape together. (8) Dr. Walter Whitſoord, Biſhop of Brechin.

(9) James Marquis afterwards Duke of Hamilton.

inclination to poperie. The Marqueſſe, to the uttermoſt of his power, declyned this charge, as a ſervice wherein his feare was greater to loſſe allutterly at leaſt implacably to offend theſe whom leaſt he would ; either his bountifull and gracious maſter, or his mother-countrie, wherein, after the King, his hopes was juſtly greateſt, then any expectation to bring this intricat buſineſs to the wiſhed end. Yet there was no remeid ; yield he muſt to his Maſter's peremptor command, who laid upon his back the commiſſion, with a ſtrange Memento, that he was informed, (as indeed our Clergy, Prefident, and Register lets him be ignorant of no whiſper which they know among us,) of his countrey-men's purpoſe to ſett the Crowne of Scotland upon his head ; yet ſuch was his truſt in his loyaltie, that he would imploy no other to repreſent his perſone, at this ſo dangerous a tyme, wherein, If I be the foole, yow muſt be the knave.

My Lord Commiſſioner his Grace, would not ſtirr from the King, till he ſaw all our countrey-men, which the Court any way might ſpare, ſent home before him, to doe for the King's ſervice all the good offices they were able, at leaſt to doe him no evill offices with his prince, by their miſinformations in his abſence. The Theſaurer, Lorne, and Galloway, were the firſt who came home together in coatch as good friends. This made the people to begin to ſpeak better of Galloway : bot it ſeemes his fear of the people's furie does ſtill remaine ; for he comes not in publick, ſave in the Theſaurer's company : in his family does he live, and that privately enough ; he keeps his old wife plainneſſe, for he rownes not that he avowed to the King his neceſſity to leave Scotland for feare of his life, for the want of the word, which he could not hear delivered anywhere without ſentences of rebellion, and ſacraments which he could not participate there without profanation. So ſoone as thir came doune, a Counſell was called at Dalkeith, a commiſſion was formed for the Marques by the Advocate, the double ye have at (A.), letters were directed throughout all the kingdome to all the counſellors, none of the Biſhops excepted, ſtraitly chargeing all to be preſent at the next Counſell-day in Dalkeith the ſixth of June.

Register and the Prefident followed the Theſaurer. We hear nought of their dinne at this tyme about Court : it ſeems both their credit is much impaired there. The Prefident⁽¹⁾ brought with him a proteſtion of a new ſtraine, to hinder any execution of law againſt himſelf or his cautioners, their perſons, lands,

(1) Sir Robert Spottiswood, President of the Court of Session.

goods ; his debts are found farre above his goods. It is thought his father the Chancellor ⁽²⁾ hes brought with him the like targe. It is said, that himself and his children will be in sixteen or seventeen score of thousand merks in burden : the world wonders by what means. His estate of Bishopricks, Priorie, Chanterie, will be better than fourty thousand pound a-year. His traine and house has been ever naughtie exceedingly. It is said the Deane ⁽³⁾ has the like shield. The parson of Leith has one, I know, and the parson of Liberton another, for diverse thousand pounds of more debt then they have ever appearance to defray, if they finde not a purse ; for now bishopricks and abbacies are desperat. It is very scandalous that clergymen should be avowed dyvors, and troublers of the countrey beside. He of Leith ⁽⁴⁾ is a malicious railer against the Covenanters, in pulpit and every where. He of Liberton ⁽⁵⁾ does us a very shreue turne ; posted lately to Court, informed the King, after he had closed our buffiness and dismissed our Statesmen, of continuall outrages of our people against ministers, for their love to his service ; amongst the rest, the towne of Edinburgh's onsett on D. Ogston for his life in the church ; the people of Torphichen upon Mr. G. Hanna : this did adde oyl to the King's flame. The trueth is, that Ogston, minister at Collington, made his people, who would obey him, answer his examination before the communion on their knees, as the priests doe in their shryving ; this, and other things, (for he was brought from the North ⁽⁶⁾ to that place by Bishop Forbes,) made him infamous ; so, in his addition to the exercise in Edinburgh, speaking somewhat, I suppose, of the Virgin Mary, he was conceived of the people, but wrongously, to speake error ; whereupon, after sermon, at the out-coming of the church, a number of women waits on, and did shoare him with stroakes ; but Mr. A. Ramsay, and Mr. H. Rollocke, did get him safe to the session house, and thereafter convoyed him to his horse. Mr. Hanna has ever been in hott watter with his people since his entrie ; so the Sunday after his people had subscribed against his command, they sett on him in the church, ryves his gowne, gives him dry cuffes, and so without farther harme dismisses him.

⁽²⁾ The Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor.

⁽³⁾ Dr. James Hanna, Dean of St. Giles, and one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

⁽⁴⁾ Dr. William Wishart, Minister of Leith.

⁽⁵⁾ Mr. Andrew Learmonth, Minister of Libberton.

⁽⁶⁾ Mr. William Ogston was Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen.

This is much regrated by us all, and the ministers in Edinburgh inveighs much against thir finfull uproares; and since there has been no more of them.

With the President come word of my L. Alexander's ⁽⁷⁾ death. I have into it a losse of a near coosin and familiar friend: The King did profess his losse of a servant of great hopes. Ye know, beside the gallantnes of his persone, he was both wise, learned, and verie well spoken; the Countrey makes not much doole for him, for they took him for ane advancer of the episcopall causes to his power. It feares me his death will undo that ryseing House: their debts are great; his Father is old, and extremely hated of all the countrey for his alledged briberie, urging of the Psalmes, and the Books for them, overwhelming us with his Black money. His Sonne is bot ane infant ⁽⁸⁾; his brother Sir Anthonie, and Robert also are dead; Henrie will not be able yet for his place; and if he should, what he can gaine must be for himself, and not the House. Many who intended his Father's overthrow, were withholden for respect to him. In a three or four days feaver, beside all mens expectation, he expired. I think, indeed, that God is just: among a number of his excellent parts, I knew him to have been very licentious in his pleasures before his marriage.

There waited on our Bishops at Court, one D. Carffe, ⁽⁹⁾ whom I know not, and Mr. Leviston, who both are bitter against us; also Mr. Laudian, the Marqueis' chaplane, who hes written somewhat against our courses, at least, for kneeling, against Rutherford. They say he is dead also; I much regrate it: he was an excellent philosophe, sound and orthodoxe, opposite to Canterburie's way, albeit too conforme: I counselled oft Glasgow to have him for their Divinitie Lecturer.

⁽⁷⁾ William Lord Alexander, Viscount of Canada, was the eldest son of Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling. He died at London in March 1638.

⁽⁸⁾ The infant son here alluded to, died in May 1640, about three months after succeeding to the title, by the death of his grandfather, the first Earl of Stirling. The title then devolved on Henry. His brother, Robert's name, is omitted in the genealogical accounts of that family.

⁽⁹⁾ In a letter, in the Editor's possession, written by this Dr. Carse, to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, dated London, Jan. 10th [1636], he signs himself "your Lordship's most faithfull servant and cosen, John Carse." He speaks of his "Curate at Brixton;" and in reference to some expected preferment, through Maxwell's influence, he professes his willingness to lay himself "in all duty and service at the feet of our Holy Mother, the Church of Scotland, to be disposed by her as sche schall think fitt."

The multitude of our Scottish Lords, which were sent down, Morton, Lithgow, Kellie, Marr, Kinnoull, Haddingtoun, Belhaven, Amont, and many moe, made us thinke, that the King minded to call shortly a Parliament, wherein he might make use of their voices; for else we saw not to what purpose their presence here could serve. It was given out, that our Bishops were very loath to come from Court, but they were forced to goe; that after their dismissal, they sought leave to goe to the Bath, to passe tyme so till they saw the Commissioner's success: yet it was not so; for at once St. Andrewes came. Ross also and Brechin came to Berwick; but to come any farther, for all their boldness, they durst not yet venture. It is said they are there very merry, as our people also. St. Andrewes, Edinburgh, Dumblane, makes countenance oft to be in the Dean's house.

On Sunday, the third of June, his Grace was in Berwick: that day was a solemn Fast over all our Kingdome, where tymous advertisement could be given. Some of our non-subscribers refused to joyne. In Edinburgh,⁽¹⁾ Mr. Alexander, D. Elliot, Mr. Mitchell, etc. being required to joyne, took them to be advyfed with their Bishop. At the first he was content; but, thereafter, having written over to Dalkeith to Galloway, who newly was come home, repented, and on the Sunday morning sent a discharge to the ministers to intimate; which they obeyed: but Mr. H. and Mr. A.⁽²⁾ did intimate it in their churches, and I also in the Colledge-hall, where that day I did preach. For this long while bygone, some of the Nobilitie, Shyres, and Borrows, waits on in Edinburgh, every man his fourteen dayes. Some of the Ministers also keeps their turne, and preaches to their Commissioners in the Colledge-hall. On Monday, the Ministers of Edinburgh would have been at the intimating of the Fast in their week sermons, notwithstanding of the Bishop's discharge; but the Commissioners, mainly on Mr. Andrew's motion, (for I was witnes to it, and did much reason against it,) did send some of the Town Counsell to Mr. Alexander, to discharge him, and the rest to joyn in the Fast, except they would joyne in the maine causes, to pray for a blessing to

(1) The Ministers of Edinburgh at this time, besides the Dean, (see p. 76,) and the three who are here mentioned, viz.—Alexander Thomson, Dr. James Elliot, and David Mitchell, were David Fletcher, Andrew Ramsay, and Henry Rollock.

(2) Mr. H. stands here for Mr. Henry Rollock, and Mr. A. for Mr. Andrew Ramsay, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, whose names are of frequent occurrence in this work.

the Covenant. So, on the Wedensday, Mr. Alexander, with many teares, in the midst of his sermon, shew his willingness to joyne in the Fast, if he had not been discharged : his teares purchased him little pitie. It is marvellous how much more that our good friend is hated of his people then Mitchell himself, or any other there. I was sorry for D. Eliot's grief. I had yielded to Mr. Henrie to preach in his church on the fasting Sunday, with the Doctor's good lykeing ; they had agreed to put me in the forenoon, Mr. Henrie in the morning, the Doctor afternoon ; for in the fasting churches they had three sermons. Yet before Sunday the Doctor is discharged to preach in that church at all, unless he would subscribe, lest he should marr the devotion of his hearers by his evill example : there was no remeid ; Mr. Samuel Rutherford was put in his place ; the congregation was great exceedingly ; many of our Nobles were there ; and indeed that peoples humiliation was greater then I hoped for, God be thanked ! Mr. Henrie is a man much more mortified than I thought ever to have seen him, and preaches very patheticklie. Mr. Rutherford has an excellent gift both of preaching and prayer, and, which helps all to the peoples minde, felles all the fourteen Bishops and hoghes the Ceremonies ; yet in this he goes little beyond Mr. Henrie. As for Bishops and Ceremonies, I melled not with them ; bot of the Service book, I spak some more then my hearers had been acquainted with from any other : by this I did please them.

On the Monday great reasoning there was for meeting of the Commiffioner. His Grace had written almost to the whole nobility, and gentry of note, to meet him on the Tuesday about Haddingtoun. Many would gladly have done him that honour ; bot for the Reasons that ye have at (B.), favouring much of Rothes pen, it was decreed, that none of the subscribers, no not of his dearest friends and vassals should goe ; only my Lords Loudon and Lindefay, and some two three Barrons, should go out, and carrie the excuse in name of all. With this dealing his Grace seemed nothing well pleased, and was like to have returned post to Court in malcontentment ; bot Rothes, having communed some two three houres with him in Dalkeith, did appease and remove his mistakings.

Some days before, an accident fell forth which well near had occasioned great misintelligence among all. It had been resolved at Court, upon the Bishops complaint that the King's houses were unfurnished, when the Noblemen had provided so large

munition for all theirs, that the Thesaurer should furnish the Castle of Edinburgh with powder and lead, and other necessaries, whereof it stood in great need. The Thesaurer gives this charge to Patrick Wood; who layes in, either out of the Tower of London, or by his moneys, privately into a ship of Leith, threescore and odds great barrells of powder, some hundreds of picks, some kifts full of musquets and matches. When thir came to the roade, the Thesaurer being advertised, come into the towne. After supper, according to his directions, his man Daek and Patrick Wood, that night, causes in haste, and all the privacy they could use, carry all that munition to Dalkeith. To-morrow the whole towne and countrey is full of no other discourse. Patrick Wood is much detested by all for his readines in such employment; he is called to the Commissioners' table after then once, and strictly examined: his answers at first were somewhat proud; but at once his courage cooled, when his bands began to be posted to the registers, many in one day; much he did quickly pay; the Covenant without delay he did subscribe; many good friends did for him what they could; yet all had enough ado to keep him from the hands of the people, and hold off, for a tyme, his numerous creditors. On the Thesaurer lighted more indignation, that he should have secretly caused convoy, in the night, to the place of meeting, such provision, for what end else but to blow us all up? He came in, and to Rothes, Lorne, and Loudon, purged himself of such wickedness; confessed the necessity laid upon him to provide for the Castle of Edinburgh, but being forewarned by some noblemen and gentlemen, subscribers, of their resolution to cease on that provision if it were caryed towards the Castle, he thought it meet quietly to carry it to Dalkeith, the nearest of the King's houses, then to tempt them to fall in a ryot, which might make matters desperate of reconciliation. However, it was thought the Marques took not this service well of the Thesaurer; for albeit to Lindefay, who was sent to Berwick, to try, among other things, what was his part in this munition, he confessed he knew of the lading of it; and oft since in his discourse he has striven to facilitate his treatie, by threatening us with the readines of the King's navie to sett upon us, with ten thousand land souldiers well trained. Three dayes after, we forced him to give over comuning; and it is known, that in his way through Northumberland, he gave direction to the sheriffs to have their trained bands in readines; which, for that end, twyce a week since have been mustered:

Also he spake of the readines of a Spanisb armie in West-Flanners to be employed where the King would direct. For all this, the conveying of that munition privately to the place appointed for his amicable treaty, it is said, he took it from the Thesaurer for a disfavours, as done of purpose to hinder the success of his Commission in his hands. Many thinks, that the Thesaurer and Roxburgh both are not contented, that in this imployment themselves were neglected; and therefore are not very carefull to further this service. Yet for all that is said in this, I believe the Thesaurer is honest; and whatever he might be moved to doe for the King's pleasure against us, yet will I not thinke, that he would be so madd as in any thing to disobliged the Marqueis, to whom this twelve moneth he has stuck so close, and whom, if he should irritat at this tyme, when so many are in his topps, his ruine seemed to be inevitable. Alwayes this action of the Thesaurer, as many other since the beginning of this weightie affair, done by him, whether of purpose for that end or not, hes much furthered our cause, hes made all the countrie flock in a trace to the towne, putt all in a greater eagernes then ever. The inequity to meet with the Marqueis at Dalkeith so provided, laid a necessity on the Marqueis to come and treat in the towne, or else in the fields; for this provision was ane just reason of our distrust; and which was most, not only a watch of some hundreth armed citizens was put nightly in the towne, for it was expected, that Huntley, Harries, Abercorne, and Winton, were to be in with all the power they could make; bot also the gentry began, in armes both night and day, avowedly to watch the Castle, that none of that provision might be caryed from Dalkeith thereto, as the Thesaurer said it would, and much more, which was coming in moe ships.

This Castle-watch was much spoken of, as the first of our illegal actions. Bot it was replied, That since ane innocent defence by armes to the body of a State, in the evident danger of their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, was granted to be lawfull by the law of God, nature, nations, and chiefly by the laws and frequent practises of our nation, approven by diverse standing Acts of Parliaments; this being granted, as few among us now makes question, (some indeed does, whereof I am as yet one,) it cannot be denyed bot all things simplie necessary for that innocent defence are alike legall; of the whilk, the keeping of that Castle in the present case, and praveening the putting of it in such a state, wherein it may easily, in twelve houres, destroy that good

towne, the head of our nation, the only convenient place of our meeting, the maine finew of our union and defence ; our providence about this place, upon this ground, is thought justifiable to all equitable men. If our designe had been to have made any invasion, nothing more easie, than by three dayes hunger, or six houres assault, to have taken that Castle and all the others also the King has among us ; bot our folks are far from such acts of hostilitie, if they be not forced to them. The Commiffioner would not grant to come to the Abbay, unless he were solemnly met, and that watch were removed. Of the first we made no question ; to the other, after much debate, we agreed, on condition, that Haddington, Southesk, Lorne, the intercomuners, should ingadge their honour, so far as was possible, that in the mean tyme there should no munition at all, neither any victuales more than for daily use, be put in that house. This was yielded to by them : so the watch was discharged. Bot the Commiffioner would not stand to that communing, and took it for a distrust of his honestie, when any more was craved than his bare word : so the same night the watch was sett to againe, and that in a double number. Yet when, at the town of Edinburgh's renewed suit, the Commiffioner was contented to come in, notwithstanding of that watch, Lorne took it upon him to discharge it simply without any condition, and in this was obeyed, for the Commiffioners' contentment : only a privie watch was ordained, and yet is kepted ; yea, all wishes there had been no other from the beginning, for it is thought sufficient for their end.

The Counsell at Dalkeith mett frequently. Huntley was there, bot with a small traine ; he spake nought as we hear against our cause : he carried himself like a Protestant. We sent Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. James Boner, Mr. Thomas Abernethie, and a fourth, athort the Counsellors, to sollicit them for their favour, in these words ye have at (C.), penned by Mr. David Dick. All gave good answers, and Huntley shew, that he had found our cause since he come South, more equitable then in the North he was informed of it : for the Books, he should be glad to be instructed by any they would send to him, what evill could be found in them. The man is of a good discourse, bot neither trusted by king nor countrey ; his power also is contemptible in this cause : many of his name hes subscribed ; himself and fundry of them are over burdened with debt. Forbefes, Frasers, Grants, M'Kenzies, M'Cayes, Macintoshes, M'Laines,

M'Donalds, Irwines, Innices, let be all the Campbells to a man, are zealous subſcryvers; and a fifth part of them were able to make a diſjune of all the Gordouns when at their beſt; albeit now the moſt of the Gordouns depends on Sutherland, as all in the South on Kenmure.

That day in counſell St. Andrewes ſat with the ſeales, as ſome ſaid, with the Marques commiſſion, as others, hung about his neck in a pooke, as the faſhion is for the keeper of England in the King's preſence. Our noblemen ſubſcryvers will not ſo much as ſpeak to him, and ſcarce look on him; and that according to a concluſion paſt at their Table, that in the dependance of this cauſe againſt the Biſhops our only partie, no ſubſcryver ſhould any wayes countenance any of them. This, I fear, be bot a preface to their proceſſe of excommunication, or inditement upon their head of high treaſon: diſverſe thinks the King will not be much againſt this, if ſo that in the ruine of thir mens perſons, he could find a meane to preſerve his own honour, and their Epiſcopall eſtate. Nothing at all was done in the Counſell: the Commiſſioner was not pleaſed to this day to acquaint any there with his Majeſties minde; only his folks lets out, that he was confident to leave the countrey in peace, and give them, ere he went, full ſatiſfaction; bot it ſeems, that the manie miſſives poſted daily to him from Court ſince that tyme, hes reſtringed his liberty to doe what then he intended.

In his entrie at Leith, I think as much honour was done to him as ever to a King in our countrey. Huge multitudes as ever was gathered on that field, ſett themſelves in his way. Nobles, gentry of all ſhyres, women a world, the town of Edinburgh, all at the Water-gate; bot we were moſt conſpicuous in our black cloakes, above fyve hundred on a bray-ſide in the links, our alone for his fight. We had appointed Mr. William Livingſtone, the ſtrongeſt in voyce and auſtereſt in countenance of us all, to make him a ſhort welcome; bot a good friend of yours and myne was raſhly officious to informe D. Balquanquall,⁽³⁾ (who is come down to wait on his Grace as almoſt a chaplaine, upon hopes, if all goe well, quickly to obtaine ane Archbiſhopricke, he is for nocht laigher,) that in the harangue were invectives againſt the Biſhops; which was nothing ſo, for ye may read the ſpeech at (D.): Upon this information, the Commiſſioner excuſed himſelf to our Nobles, and, in paſſing, to Mr. William himſelf, ſaid that

(3) Dr. Walter Balcanquhal, Dean of Durham. For the 'good friend' his informer, *Vide ſupra*, note page 1.

harangues in field were for princes, and above his place ; yet what he had to say he should hear it gladly in private. So our spokeman, with other two or three of our number, went and delivered to the Commissioner in his chamber what here ye read without any farder ; for we discharged him to enter in any other purpose, all being resolute to give answers to what should be proponed in a public way, after advyement with all the brethren. Our friend, for his rashness to informe, I did much chyde. The Marques, in the way, was much moved with pitie, even to tears ; he professed thereafter his desyres to have King Charles present at that sight of the whole countrey, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safety of their liberties and religion. His Grace's countenance and carriage was so courteous, and his private speeches so faire, that we were in good hopes for some days to obtaine all our desyres : yet at last, when we heard, that all the power he had was to cause read at the Crosse a proclamation of the King's pleasure, without any farder commission, our hopes became well near desperate. What was in the proclamation we could not learn ; only there was much speaking of a command to surrender, and give in our subscribed Covenants, upon promise to ratifie by Parliament, all or the most part of the matters contained therein. This was a motion infinitely displeasing to all ; and to put the Commissioner from all hope of obtaining any such proposition, Reasons were given out, I think, by Mr. Alexander Henderfone, which ye have here in print, why upon no termes, it was possible for us to passe from any poynt, lesse or more, which we had sworne and subscribed. This resolution was firmly kept by all. Mr. W. Cochran,⁽⁴⁾ a sharpe and busie man, was like to have incurred great disgrace, and public censure, at the gentries table, for holding privie conference with the Thefaurer, and letting some overtures fall that favoured of altering, upon good conditions, some clauses of the Covenant. This our strickness stopped the proponing of a surrender, or altering of any thing in the write ; only the Commissioner shew, that he was minded to proclaime the King's pleasure. Our commissioners, some two three of the Nobles, Barrons, Burrows, and Ministers, shew their resolution to protest if it were not satisfactory. This the Commissioner, and all he could make, laboured to dissuade with might and maine, with many promises, with great threats ;

(4) Probably Mr. William Cochran of Cowdon, who was afterwards knighted, and raised to the Peerage, first as Lord Cochran, and then as Earl of Dun-donald.

bot in vaine, for we were peremptor ; being informed, without a protestation, and that presently upon the back of the proclamation, our posterior meetings would be illegal and subject to censure : the Reasons that were given out for the necessity of protesting, ye have here at (F.) All these would not put the Commissioner from it ; he shew in this he would see the King obeyed ; he would come up to the Crofs, and back the lion-herauld ; if they would protest, he would denunce them all rebels. The Thefaurer comes up the way on the Thursday before noon, calls for the lion-heraulds, makes soupe the Crofs for the hangings. All our people conveens, some thousand gentlemen with their swords loose in their armes, about the Crofs ; a scaffold is made for Cassills, Durie younger, Mr. William Livingstone, and John Smith, to protest for the Four Estates. When this dangerous resolution was perceived, the lion-heraulds were advertised to provide horse, which made us conceive they intended to read the proclamation in other burghs. This made many make their horses ready to have convoyed the Heraulds where ever they went, and course was taken for to have protesters provided in every burgh where the proclamation was like to be sent.

This our firme constancy made the Commissioner pass from motioning any more his proclamation. It seemed to many, that his instructions were of so many parts, that he had warrand to presse every piece to the outmost, and then to passe from it, if no better might be, to the nixt. This seemed to some of us the beholders, bot little policie ; we thought it had been more expedient for our division, their maine end as was thought by some, to have at the verie first granted frankly all they could be brought to, than to offer some few things, whilk could content none, and to enter upon second offers after the resolute rejection of the first. This did bind us all the faster, made us the more bold in pressing our full desyres, upon hopes, that an ambulatorie and passing commission was not yet passed on the halfe of its way, let be to be near the last end.

On Fryday we did present to his Grace a common Supplication, which ye have at (G.) To make way for a ready answer thereto, there was some nine Propositiones spread abroad of purpose, that they might come to the courteours hands, containing articles to be advysed, upon supposition that delays, crafts or force, should be used against us ; ye may read them at (H.) This half boast did make the Commissioner receive our supplication in the better part. On the Saturday he pro-

mifed, after his returne from Kineil on the Tuesday, ane answer to it. On that Sondag he heard Mr. Alexander Henderfon preach, and thereafter conferred with him at length in private. Of this we all do much marvell, and cannot see a reason why he should have given such ane occasion to the Bishops censure, whom he knew to be ready enough, upon every shadow, to calumniate him to the King as ane inclyner to the puritane side. He was indeed offended with some of our preachers: Mr. Andrew Cant, ane superexcellent preacher, as all report, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. William Livingstone, Mr. Robert Douglass, Mr. A. Blackhall, and diverse other, had pressed the extirpation of Episcopacie. Every day in that week there was a preaching in four or five diverse roomes, except the Saturday: what was said by any, all incontinent was delate to his Grace in no better termes, be assured, then was delivered. Mr. Alexander Henderfon had been spareing, and Mr. David Dick much more; so that he was censured of too much prudence, and behoved to help it by his scourgeing of the Bishops in posterior sermons. Upon request of some counsellors who loved our cause, the Bishops, by some, in sermons, were dealt with more soberly then before; bot nothing at all was remitted by others.

On Tuesday our Commissioners went to his Grace for ane answer to their Supplication according to promise. The answer was, That their demands of ane Assemblie and Parliament should be granted; bot first some scruples anent the write behooved to be satisfi'd. Thir were to be proponed by the three former intercomuners; with these were appointed to treat for us other three, Rothes, Montrose, Loudon: they agreed their conference should be by write. The scruple proponed was this; His Majestie may conceive, that the Confession is so generall in the clause of mutual defence, that it may not only containe a defence for religion and his Majesties person and authority, liberties and lawes of this kingdome, bot also a combination for defending of delinquents against authority and law, even in other clauses than these forsaide. Our comuners took it to their advysement with their companie, if therefore it were necessary to draw up a humble remonstrance, to explaine our dutifull intention concerning the clause above written. The Tables both of nobles and gentry fand, after long dispu'tt, that such remonstrances were dangerous; likely nought bot delays and snares were fought for. Yet it was granted, that in a renewed supplication, that clause should be sufficiently cleared, if

fo that they were not needlessly incombered with more interrogatories. The supplication is drawn up by the Nobles, bot mislyked by the Gentry and Ministrie; for what cause I know not, for yet I have not seen that peece. The Commiſſioner also would have them agree to a declaration of this claufe of his forming; bot this all did refuse: yet at last all did agree upon a Supplication, in thir terms, which ye have at (J.) Against this the Commiſſioner did not say much; only shew, that what he had in his Instructions concerning ane Assembly and Parliament would not content them; neither would all yet they had said content the King: for all that, he would not leave the matter desperate; he would post to his master, and see if by himself he might give better informations than he could by his missive letters; he trusted shortly to returne with satisfactory instructions. This necessary overture we could not refuse; bot we intreated his Grace for the earnest agenting with the King, thir Six articles which ye have here at (K.) The day of his returne he hes named for the longest the fifth of August.

What we speake of the Service-book was occasioned by the Bishops continued madness. However, all does think that the King's proclamation shall free us for ever of that unhappy book altogether: yet they are so neglectful of their gracious master's honour, that by their words and deeds they make the world suspect that the King hes no intention to keep his word: Unhappie servants to so good a master! Galloway's man assured Mr. James Blair, that the book might well be corrected in our assembly, bot it behooved to goe through. The Bishop of Edinburgh avowed to Mr. James Lang, that in the book there was no evill; that it was much better then that of England; that for all our present uproares, that book would goe through, whoever would say the contrare. The Bishop of Dumblane came to the Commiſſioner, shewing that he was to read service in the chappell, and required his Grace's countenance to it. The Commiſſioner bade him "Doe so," bot to be present at it, it was no part of his commiſſion. Thereafter, when Dumblane was assured of the evident danger he might incur by such an attempt, he returned and shew the Commiſſioner, he behooved, for fear of his life, to let alone his reading. His Grace's answer was nocht bot as before, "Doe so." For all this, they go out, St. Andrewes to Rosselin, and in that chappell read the service: this constant report is now questioned. In this I marvell much of their wisdom. St. Andrewes still grows in his rage; he is

going back in haste to Court to worke us what woe he can : it is like he shall never returne. Our people thinks, by clear law, if they gett any reason, to have [him] excommunicat, and readily thereafter execut. It seems he is so desperate, that he would be content to fall in the peoples hands, for the desyre of martyrdome : Would to God he and his brethren could preferre the safety of the King and kingdome to their own honour, and satisfiackion of their wicked passions.

What we speak of the interruption of our trade, is occasioned by that arreistment of the States of our merchands armes, at the instance of the King's Agent,⁽⁵⁾ and your Conservator⁽⁶⁾ also, as we hear, upon a most false narrative, that the King has declared us all traitors, and we are in the acts of open rebellion. However we were most unable to revenge such injuries, many whereof it is thought we have gotten of late of your good Conservator ; yet he should fear, if not God, the avenger of liers and hurters of their countrey, yet the King, to whom he does dangerous wrong through our sides. Who ever steires the flame betwixt the King and his subjects, at this time, seemes to be most mortall enemies that the King ever had, either to his person, or crowne, or posteritie ; and that arreistment will not be a small coal to that fire. Ye have oft showed to me of that man's facultie of lying and wicked humors many wayes ; if ye, after the knowledge of it, take yow to his side, your miserie, when he procures it, will not be so much regreted.

Befyde other things I wrote to yow before, whereof I have receaved no answer, I heard of your letters, I think within this twelve moneth, to St. Andrewes, concerning the speeches and prayers of your churches there for us, as their persecute brethren. What are ye doing ? Your letters were sent to the King by the hand of the President. Though I heard this *obiter*, yet few, I think, among us doe know it, and God forbid they should. I pray yow come over, if ye desyre to keep your old estimation ; but come over resolute to subscribe, as now all among us inclynes to doe. At our townsmen's desyre, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of that people to the Covenant ; my Lord Eglintone was appointed to be a witness.

⁽⁵⁾ Sir William Boswell, King's Resident at the States in Holland.

⁽⁶⁾ Patrick Drummond, Conservator of the Scots Privileges, at Campvere. He was knighted previous to October 1640, at which time he was suspended or deposed from his office by the Committee of the Estates of Parliament.

There, with many a sigh and teare by all that people, the oath was made; Proveſt, Baillies, Counſell, and all except three men, Patrick, James, and Mr. Archibald, held up their hands; Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] and Mr. John Bell younger, hes put to their hands; the Colledge is thought will ſubſcryve; Mr. William Wilkie I know will; the Forfuithes [Forfyths] hes ſubſcryved, and almoſt all who refuſed before; ſome they will not have their hands, bot mindes to proceſſe them. Mr. Crichton, ⁽⁷⁾ my couſin, is ordained to be ſummoned for his corrupt doctrine and practiſes, before their preſbytrie; and two affiliates out of the foure next adjacent preſbyteries. I think I could move [him] to make a publick recantation for bygones, and give all poſſible affurance for tyme to come; bot it feares me all this keep him not in his place. Mr. James Forfuith hes been ſo idle in his written proteſtations read out of his pulpit againſt our Covenant, the antichriſtianiſme, jeſuitiſme of it, and what not; alſo in ſome paſſages againſt our Noblemen in his ſermons, and ſome other miſcarriages, that it feares me his cenſure ſhall be deep; ſo much the more as he is not liklie to carry himſelf with any cannyneſs in tyme comeing. Mr. William Anan, ⁽⁸⁾ preſently after his ſubſcription, went to Edinburgh, where he hes remained ſince above a quarter of a year: he is in great conſuſion and perplexity. With his own conſent, Mr. Robert Blair was admitted his ſecond: all his company is with the Deane, and Biſhops. The brethren ſent out to him commiſſioners oft to join with them in their meeting, bot ſtill he would not: the towne of Aire dealt much with him; bot in vaine: ſo they at laſt gave in a complaint of his miſcarriages, with a reſolution never more to receave him within their pulpit. I think there is no ten Miniſters in the kingdome ſo much obliged to their people's gratuitie, as he alone was, and ſtill would have been, if he might have been pleaſed to have done any tolerable duty. The preſbytrie is ordained, with the aſſeſſion of ſome neighbours, to cite him, and to goe on with him in proceſſe for faults to be lybelled: it is lyke he hes no minde to returne. The Biſhop of Dune ⁽⁹⁾ hes written over to him, and Mr. David

(7) John Crichton, miniſter of Paisley, to whom Baillie addreſſed a ſeries of Letters, which are alluded to at pages 10, 24, &c. Theſe, extending to 82 cloſely written pages, form part of the Second Volume of the MS. into which Baillie's Letters were "doubled" or tranſcribed.

(8) William Annand, Miniſter of Ayr. *Vide ſupra*, p. 62.

(9) Dr. Henry Leſley, Biſhop of Down and Connor, in Ireland. He was a native of Scotland.

Mitchell, that they would come and live with him : likely Mr. David Mitchell will shortly be processed for his doctrine.

There is a great work of reformation intended among us, and evidently begun ; there is much amendment of common faults ; we hope it will spread to our neighbours of England and Ireland : the oppression there of the Bishops on mens foules, bodies, and goods, is so pitifull, that it is marvellous if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents. The late uproares of the Innes of Court, we hear, shall be bot the proæme to the insequent tragedie, if Canterburie will be pleased to remitt nocht of his accustomed stiffness. It is like, that our victualling of Dunkirk draw France and Holland on our Prince, and the Spaniard on us ; all this, it fears me, marre still the Palatine's designs. Alace ! for the pitifull slaughter of our countrymen at Antwerpe : this must be your Prince great want of providence, who advanced such a handfull so farr in the enemies bounds, without either spies before them, or a back armie or fort for retreat : a unhappines in a Generall is to be pitied ; bot such a neglect of conduct is intollerable, and cursed. Alwayes unhappie we, who in such interprifes are commonly sure of the strokes.

Ye have here also some Reasons against the Service in print. Our presse at Edinburgh is now patent : we hope not to trouble yow so much there as we were wont. I took the author to be Mr. Henderfon ; bot I am informed since, that they came from Mr. George Gillespie, a youth who waited on my Lord Kennedy, and is now admitted to the kirk of Weems, maugre St. Andrewes baird, by the presbytrie. This same youth is now given out also, by these that should know, for the author of the English Popish Ceremonies :⁽¹⁾ whereof we all doe marvell ; for though he had gotten the papers, and help of the chief of that fyde, yet the very composition would seem to be farre above such ane age : bot if that book be truely of his making, I admire the man, though I mislyke much of his matter ; yea, I think, he may prove amongst the best witts of this Isle.

While we are expecting the Marqueis way-going, behold new stories, whereof we did not dreame. His Grace, on Saturday, comes up to the Crosse, makes for a proclamation. Diverse of

⁽¹⁾ This anonymous work, by George Gillespie, afterwards one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, is entitled "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland," &c. 1637, 4to. This edition appears to have been printed in Holland.

the nobles, many of the gentry were away home, being secure of all till the Commissioner's returne from Court ; yet numbers flocked to the Crosse put themselves in readines to protest ; bot they superceeded, finding the Proclamation, besyde the expectation of all men, to be nocht bot a restitution of the Counsell and Session to Edinburgh dureing the King's pleasure. This great benefite not being looked for, not being fought nor thought upon by any at that tyme, was receaved bot with small acknowledgement ; so much the more as the maine narrative ranne upon the incommodities which the Lords did suffer by their fitting in all other places, as if this favor had been intended only for their accommodating.

Tomorrow, on Sondag, his Grace went to Seaton ; where, in Tranent, he heard Mr. Robert Balcanquall ; with whom we were nocht pleased ; for however he has subscryved, yet in that sermon, as in all the rest of his carriage thir divers years, he was more cold and wise, than zealous and stout to speake one word for the good cause. We thought that the Commissioner had been thus far on his way ; yet to-morrow, as if he had receaved new Instructions from the post, he returnes ; and on Wednesday, betwixt twelve and one, causes proclaime, as ye have it at (L.) This proclamation was heard by a world of people, with great indignation : we all doe marvell 'that ever the Commissioner could think to give satisfaction to any living soul by such a declaration ; which yet oft he professed with confidence of that piece before it was heard : there must be here some misterie which yet is not open. This declaration cannot be that which his Grace brought with him, that was thought certainly to containe a command of furrendering our Confession : bot of our Confession is no syllable ; yea this hes been by appearance drawn up here very lately by the Bishops and Statesmen who are trusted, with the consent, as it seems, of the Commissioner ; for the date of it is bot six or seven dayes, at Greenwich, before it was proclaimed in Edinburgh. There was on a scaffold anent the Crosse, *simul et semel*, read by Mr. Archibald Johnstonie, a protestation, which ye have at (M.), avowed by Cassils, young Durie, Provost of Dundie, and Mr. John Kerr of Pannes, in name of the nobles, barrons, burgessees, and ministers. Some out of shotts cryed rebels on the readers ; the people in a fury would have been up to search : it was feared Mr. Robert Rankine, or Mr. John Browne, or the Deane, might have been rent in pieces ; for they were thereabout in the Dean's chamber ;

bot the diligence of the Noblemen hindred the searck, so there was no hurt done to any. The Nobles, at dinner, are informed, that the Commiſſioner was about to gett the Counsell to approve the declaration as satisfactory; whereupon they presently fell a writeing these Reasons which ye have at (N.); and after dinner went to his Grace, Rothes, Montrose, Loudon, with doubles of these Reasons for staying the Counsellors from making any approbatorie act. There past between them some high words: Loudon told his Grace roundlie, they knew no other bands betwixt a king and his subjects, bot of religion and lawes; if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them; boasted they would not be, such feares were past with them. Notwithstanding, the Commiſſioner prevailed so farr with the Counsellors, that they all, except Lorne and Southesk, did, in their chamber, not publickly at their Counsell table, sett their hand to this act, which ye may read with admiration at (O.) When it was heard, there was conceived so high offence by us all, at these men, whom we were assured were ready to subscribe with us the Covenant, that our grief was unutterable: Yett all came about for the good of our cause; the unreasonableness of their grievous injurie being remonstrate to them, they fell presently to repent; and for our satisfaction, did not rest till they had gotten back that subscribed act, and rent it in small pieces. We hope that our sweet Prince, and all neighbour nations, will judge the declaration, not so much approved by our Counsell, in their privat, and too much hastened subscriptiones, if not stolen from them by vehement solistation, as disavowed, yea detested as unreasonable by their open, avowed, and deliberate renting in pieces of their approbation thereto. For mitigating a little of our minds, there was offered to us a more favourable proclamation; as ye have the act of it at (P.); bot it was holden in, because we were ready to protest against it as not satisfactory.

This manner of dealing hes made us speak out that which was before bot in the mindes of some very few, our right from God, which the Prince may not in law or reason take from us, to keep a Generall Assemblie. The Reasons of this conclusion ye have at (Q.), in print, done by the advyse of three or foure of the best witts. This is the highest string yet our necessities hes drawn us to strike on. At my first hearing of it, I was much amazed: I was allutterly averse from thinking of any such proposition; bot after some study, I find my mood allayed. I

intreat yow try the minde of Rivett and Voetius, if when the Prince or State are unwilling, the Kirk may keep a Generall Assembly in times of necessity, though authority should discharge; also direct me to all the wryters ye are able for my help of information. I am feared that this boast of our right, only in policie, as yet they say, be indeed put in practise: the events I groan to imagine.

Lorne shew the Commissioner, he was informed from Court, of Antrum's undertaking to come over upon his lands. He knew not any of his own merits to procure such acts of hostilitie, bot if such oppression were offered, he would see to his defences. We hear of some six or nine of the King's ships coming to our North seas: some says they are goeing only for the protection of your Bushes, for the tenth barrell of their fishing, lately granted by your States to the King. They speak also of Arundell's coming down to Berwick. All thir things putts us in flocht. The Commissioner went away on the Munday early, after he had given some good words to our Nobles. He intended to dyne with the King on Fryday. He took the 12th of August for his return. In the meantyme we have, on the 22d and 29th of July, a univerfall fast. It is lyke, at the Counsell-table in England, our affair may gett some fatall stroke one of these dayes. Mr. David Dick and Mr. Alexander Henderson are convoyed by my Lord Montrose, and others, north, to draw in, if they can, these who yet lyes out in the sheriffdome and towne of Aberdeen. If God blefs that labour, all our countrey, now to count of, is as one man in this businefs, which goes on like Elias' cloud, from a hand-breadth to fill the whole lkyes. When we look to our deservings, and the dealing of God round about, and the pregnant appearances in human affaires, we are afraid our whole Isle be terribly shaken, if not made desolate, before this storme calm: Our trust is in God. There appears not yet from men any likelyhood of peace, or any possibility of it, as matters goes on both sides. The Bishops may be at once excommunicat, and all their wilfull followers: if for them our nobles blood be shed, the Isle will hardly keep any of them.

Dumblane is to Court. Brechin and Roffe, if they be yet in Berwick, we know not. St. Andrewes is yett among us. The Nobles gave in to the Commissioner, ere he departed, ane accusation of brybery and other crymes against the President and Register. He defyred them superceid their persuit till his re-

turne: so these two fitts yet still in the Session. If they gett reason, it is thought they are both undone; and none among us will pitie their ruine. My Lord Commiſſioner hes so caryed himself from his coming to his going, that he hes made us all suspend our judgment of his inclination, whether it be towards us or our opposits: yet the warriest and most obscure breasts will be opened by tyme. We have had all this year hitherto most feasonable weather, great appearance of increafe on the ground, for the relieff of our heavily distressed land by the by-gons scarcity. We are not yet troubled, whereof we marvell, with any of our adversaries wreittings, either from England or at home; readily we will be overwhelmed with a speit of them at once. Some little things of D. Barron, Forbes, and Panter, are stark nought, and very unworthie the authors. What ye wrote ye saw of mine, it is apparently a sheitt which off hand was given to the extemporarie objections made at the beginning against the Covenant; if it be poore, no marvell. Bot I have written two larger pieces, apologizing for our proceedings, which I have offered to the tryell of our opposits; yet without a reply: thir, when I can get doubled, ye shall have, such as they are. We are grieved for the stoning of D. Monroe, when he came from Edinburgh, where he had much company with the Bishops, and was thought to be a spye to them of the actions and proceedings of the Noblemen. The women at Kinghorne, at diverse parts of the towne, in great multitudes, were sett for him. Some gentlemen in company defended to their power, and gott him on a great horse, whereby he escaped death, bot not wounds and blood. Thir unhappie and ungodly violences hurts our good cause: they are lamented by us; bot there will be no remead for them, except the law be patent for our grievances. Just and very heavy grievances must either vent the way which God, law, and reason hes appointed for their ease; or by violence they will make a way for themselves, which nature, reason, law, let be God, does not approve.

Wryte ye to me so rarely, so shortly, as ye please; ye see I stryve to move yow to change that course. The Lord be with you, and your spouse, and all ye love there. If we knew not of a rest in heaven, where there is no fray, our life on earth would whyles be comfortless.

Your Coosin.

July 22.

Receave at (R.) the last Supplication given to the Marques;

ye fie it is pickeand ; it obtained the poynt of refcinding of that A&t of Counfell : and ane Information from England, which hes put us all newly agaft if it be true. Strange ! that Canterburie ſhould be ſo furioſſie unjuſt. I hope God hes raifed him to mak our Iſle once quyt of Biſhops, for all. St. Andrewes is to Court. Mr. Chrichton's eſtate ſee at (T). This day twelve moneth, the ſerving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the Biſhops pride, when it was at the higheſt.

[. (²).]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

The papers ye wrote for, my Queries and Paralell, I had neither my ſelf ; bot I ſent to Mr. John Bell of Stevenſton for a loan of that double himſelf made : he hes ſent yow both. Ye muſt not fail to ſend them back to him. I was fully purpoſed to have been with yow to-morrow, and to have taken yow with me to Lowdon ; bot I was advertiſed yeſternight from my brother of his wife Chriſtian's ſickneſs, and of her deſyre to ſee me ; ſo of neceſſity I muſt to Glaſgow to-morrow ; the week following I muſt preach on Wedneſday, and celebrate the Communion on Sunday, God willing, ſo that I will not gett yow then ſeen ; and thereafter is the meeting of Edinburgh. It is fore againſt my heart, that I winn not both to conferre with my Lord Lowdon and yow, bot ſince ſo neceſſare occaſſions diverts me, I muſt take the hinderance from God's providence. I am ſo full of doubts about our Generall Aſſembly, if the King diſcharge it, or which is equivalent, yield not to it, when it is ſo earneſtly fought, that my heart hinders me to be a Member of it. This I am ſorry for, for many reaſones ; and wiſhes that I might be reſolved cheerfully to goe on in this with my brethren, as I have done in all other things ; bot the more I aſſay, my minde is the more averſe. My Lord Lowdon is the man from whom I expected ſatiſfaction ; and for this end had fundry purpoſes to goe to his Lordſhip, both in Edinburgh and here.

My maine doubts are, 1^{ſt}, That I finde no example of a Nationall Aſſembly meeting againſt the will of the Supreme ma-

(²) There is no name affixed to this letter ; but it was probably addreſſed either to Mr. W. Caſtellaw, Miniſter of Stewarton, or Mr. Michael Wallace of Kilmarnock.

gistrate rightly professing, neither in antiquity, nor in any of the Reformed churches to this day. *2dly*, By all appearance, our meeting in a Generall Assembly of our owne will, will make our hopes of peace desperate for ever, whill that Assembly be annulled. *3dly*, The causes alleadged for the necessity of it, considering our late Covenant so mighty a barre against error, and the discipline of Presbyteries doing with evill ministers or professors what we will, are not so pregnant, bot they may admitt of a delay. *4thly*, The reason from the law, or nature, from scripture, or antiquitie, infers bot a permission, bot not a command, under the pain of sin to meet.

Some other doubts I have ; bot my chief is, my heart fails me to think on it. In our first printed Reason, a Parliament seems to be avowed no less necessary ; which, to think upon without a King, seems to me a horrible fountain of all mischiefs. I trust thir my thoughts ye will keep them very close : I communicat them to yow, that ye, as if they were your own, may gett satisfaction about them. I pray yow, frae I cannot come to yow, doe me the good (I speak not now of compliments) pleasure or favour to come to me, and it were bot for an hour or two, if ye may not stay ane night, before Tuesday the 25th of this moneth, the day appointed for choosinge our commissioners ; for I will then be in a strait. I know I will be chosen for one, and, as I am now sett, of necessity I must refuse, which will be exceedingly evill taken ; however, I pray yow, after your conference with Loudon, let me see yow this Thursday or Fryday, or the next week. The Lord help us.

[FOR MR. W. SPANG.]

COOSIN,

By your last, the 7th of July, I was made glad that all my former, without intercepting, had come to your hand. Your largeness also in answers gave me full satisfaction. Ye shall not need hereafter to write any word of apologie to me. I did never believe any of these calumnies ; yet I thought good ye should be acquaint what some malicious or mistaken people did report. I hear that ye and the Conservator both, in the late Convention of Burrowes, by your letters, gave good contentment. Mr. William Struthers wife, and we all, thanks yow for your kinde offer to print that paper I sent yow ; bot she is not so desyrous to have it to the presse as before ; so ye shall super-

feid till advertifement. As for our great affair, have here all what I know into it fince my laft.

Our Brethren who went to Aberdeen wes bot coldly welcomed in that town. Fryday, the first night they came, their Doctōrs sent to them a number of enfnareing Demands, hoping by disputts and janglings to make their journey fruitless. Thir Demands much studied, yea, put in print, and scattered athort as farr as the Court of England, were anfuēred by our brethren against to-morrow, and at night given to the Doctōrs. For all this, the Doctōrs refused to lend us any of their pulpits ; yea, the voyd church was made fast, and the keys keepled by the Magistrate. Howsoever, in my Lord Marfchell's close, there were three sermons heard by a hudge confluence of people. Mr. David Dickson in the morning at eight hours began ; and after sermon anfuēred shortly, and popularly, to all the Doctōrs demands. At twelve hours Mr. Alexander Henderson did preach, and Mr. Cant at four, to no lesse a multitude then at the first dyet : they wyfely did choyse the tymes when there was no publick services in the churches. After all, at a table in the close, some four or fyve hundred, at least a good number, whereof fundry were of the best qualitie, did subscryve. On Mononday, they went out to the Sherifffdome, where, with much labour, they perswaded many. My Lord Marqueis of Huntley, and the Clergy of the toune, had preoccupyed the hearts of all that people with great prejudices against our cause ; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the diocesse was obtained to the number of fourty-four Ministers.

On the Saturday, at their returne to Aberdeen, the Doctōrs had ready in print Replies to our brether's Answers. To thir our brether gave an Answer at once, and so returned home. Since, the Doctōrs hes been on a Triply, which yet is not come out. Howsoever our brethren had great disadvantage in tyme, and place, and laike of books, yet God and the cause hes made, in my judgement, no pregnant infirmitie kyth in their answers. We are well content that these men, who are the learnedst, without question, of our opposites, hes gotten the occasion to print and reprint what their best engynes is able to say against our proceedings, with answers, which we trust shall in the end prove satisfactory to all, as already they have done to D. Guild and Mr. David Lindsay, moderator of Aberdeen presbytrie, and diverse others, who at the first were much withholden from coming to us by these Demands. Our Bishops were not permitted to come to

Court: St. Andrewes, it is said, was countermanded in his way; so he lay in Morpeth a number of dayes in the common post-master's; yet at last all three, Brechin, Ross, and he, went to Newcastle, and there lives as they may in ane common Innes. The Thesaurer sent them some hundreth dollors, and the Commissioner, in his way, some more money, for their entertainment. Ross posted to Court, gott some two houres of the King, and without seeing of Canterburie, in haste was sent back. Diverse of our clergy hes visited them. D. Panter hes returned from them; and since lurks: D. Wishart, and Mr. Lermont of Libberton, stayed behind him. The rest of St. Andrewes Doctors, Howie, Bruce, Martine, Baron, hes all subscribed: D. Monroe, since his strokes, is among the foremost in our meetings: the Arch-deane, after reading of the Covenant in his church, by Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, hes not preached: that day Mr. Armor wes well pyked; so that towne hes now no ordinarie ministers, bot are supplied by the presbyterie. I thinke D. Panter for doctrine, and Arch-deane [Gladstones] for drunkenness, are under process. Mr. Creighton did appeal from the Presbyterie; so did Mr. James Forsyth: to the one they lay a number of errors, proven by many witnesses; to the other they lay preaching the conveniency of bowing at the name of Jesus, simonie, and a number of lesser matters: The one offers in discreet termes all contentment for bygones and tyme to come; bot is not trusted: The other is full of will and passion, and, which I much marvell, is inclined to Canterburie *in omnibus*, as it seems, which in him is a late and great change. Both are suspended, and went to the Bishops: Mr. Creighton is forward to Court, hoping to be preferred in England or Ireland; I think, however matters goe, there shall be no more place for him in Scotland. Mr. James was filled with great words by the Commissioner, whom he mett; and the Bishops put him in hope that the King shortly would be upon us with an army.

The Commissioner came back before his day, D. Bakanquall with him: He kepted himself more reserved than before; his Mother⁽³⁾ he would not see; Crowner Alexander he did discountenance; Mr. Eleazer Borthwick he met not with; after four or fyve dayes parleying, no man could gett his minde. The reason of this carriage, they say, was his desyre to remove all

(3) The Mother of James Marquis of Hamilton was Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James Seventh Earl of Glencairn. She was a most decided and zealous friend of the Covenanters at this time.

jealousies, which his enemies, from some passages of his carriages the last voyage, had laboured to put in the King's mind: The King was indeed displeased with his Mother; and when his brother, Lord William's patent for the Earldom of Dumbar⁽⁴⁾ came in his hand, he tare it, for despite, as he professed, of her. Crowner Alexander openly did give countenance and allowance to our Nobles meetings; Mr. Eleazer was the man by whom his Grace, before his commission, did encourage us to proceed with our supplications: from all this now his Grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn. While we began to fear delays, behold a Eleven demands are required of us, to be performed before our Assemblée could be indicted: they were very evill taken of us all, as meer shiftings, and propositions invented by our Bishops for the frustrating of all our designs; this were twice read at all our Tables, and a common Answer framed to them, which here ye have at (A.) We expected ane reply to our answers; which, if it had been given, we might have yielded to fundry of these things: but his Grace said, he was at a non-plus, and behooved to be again at the King before he could proceed.

In our answer to one of the articles, we were near to a discord among ourselves; The Committee appointed for the first blocking of all our wrytes, had said, none should meddle with the election of commissioners from Presbyteries to the General Assembly, but Ministers and Elders. At the reading of this our brethren stopped; alleadging, that this answer did import the ordinar sitting of laick Elders, not only in Sessions, but also in Presbyteries, their voteing there in the election of Ministers to bear commission: this they took to be a novation, and of great and dangerous consequences. For myself, it was my good luck to have studied somewhat in that question; I was satisfied in my minde, of the lawfulness and expediency of our old practise and standing law, for Elders sitting and voteing in presbyterial matters, especially in election of commissioners to Assemblies: so I was silent; but many made dinne; and all required the changing of the answer to more generall words, which might give the power of that election to these who had the custom or law in tyme bygone for choosinge; this did not hinder Elders to obtaine all their right or defyre, only it held off the present determination of a question

(4) Lord William Hamilton seems never to have obtained this title, which was then in abeyance; but he afterwards regained the King's favour (*vide infra*, p. 116,) and was created Earl of Lanark, 31st of March 1639.

very important. This our correction of that clause made such a stir at all the Tables, both of nobles, barrons, burgesſies, that they all resolved to quitt us in the cause, if presently they obtained not that poynt. Some from them all comes to us : After a little reasoning, there was no remead ; we all yielded, though some fore against their stomach : bot of all evils, division to us now is incomparable the worst. The clause of our Elders therefore behooved to stand as ye see it : yet that question is like to make us trouble ; for fundry of the brether are very jealous of the gentry's usurpation over them.

This storme being past, we finding that all or the most of the Marqueis demands tended to the praelimitation of our Asſembly, and so did inroach on the freedome thereof, there were Reasons drawn up for to fore-arme us against the proposition of any such praelimitating ; which, if I can gett, ye shall see at (B.)

For two or three dayes we were in great perplexitie, none knowing what well to doe : the Commiſſioner had no more to say ; we were inclined some to wait on, moe without farder patience presently to give order for our Asſembly by ourselves : a Committee is chosen, of all our Tables, to consult privatelie on this matter. This was the only question wherewith, from the beginning of this matter, my minde was tormented ; and if I were through it, I doe not foresee any other whereupon I would so much stick : my minde was so full of doubts at that tyme, that if I had been posed, I would have dissented from meeting in an Asſembly without the King's permission. Alwayes the matter, for fear of opposition and division, was never mentioned in publick, and so I said nocht ; for I had resolved before, in my field-coming, to be silent through all this dyett, so farr as I was able ; to sigh, and pray, and take heed, bot no further.

After the Commiſſioner fand us on thir consultations, he sent to entreat for a delay of conclusions before yet once he might post to Court, to represent, bot not to deale for the King's acceptance of our Answers to his late demands : for to promise to move the King to be content with them, he would not, himself esteeming our answers unreasonable. This his proposition was rejected of all, and all delay refused upon so naked a narrative. Thereafter his Grace came near us, shewing by Lorne and Southesk, that he found out, upon farther information, that our answers was according to our lawes, which before he knew not ; bot now having found it, he was hopefull so to represent it to the King, that he might obtain, by any other voyage, the indiction of any

Assemblée as free as we could wish. This new motion was so well proponed to us all in a common meeting by Lorne, an excellent spokesman, and so well seconded by Rothes, that many inclined to grant to the Commissioner the delay he craved; yet the body of the Gentry, of the Burrowes, and the chief of the Ministers was flatt against it; who, by discourse, found worlds of dangers, if this meeting should dissolve without taking of present order for the Assemblée, and many more things. My heart was fore grieved to see the unreasonable stiffness of many, which, for feare of mistake, I durst not mint to reason against in publick: yet at last God made reason and equitie cary it against the hearts of fundry of the chief ministers, albeit we had all resolved, for feare of division, to have yielded to these of our brether who were most wilfull, if no better might have been; but the authority of Lorne and Rothes, who were here earnest agents, did cary the matter. When I saw the unexpected conclusion, I rejoiced in God, and, by this experience of his watchfull Providence over this great cause, made hopefull he would not suffer it be spoiled by the imprudencie of many uncannie hands which are about it.

So soone as the Marquis had gotten our promise, of leaving all things as they were till the 20th of September, and taken in hand to agent to his power the obtaining of our Four Articles, 1st, The full freedome of our Assemblée in the members and matters, 2dly, The hastening of the tyme, 3dly, The commoditie of the place, 4thly, The discharge of intercepting of our letters in England; that same Saturday afternoon he went away towards Court, hoping on Thursday to see the King. One of the causes that made some of our number to deale the more peremptorie with the Commissioner at this tyme, was his injurious letters to Aberdeen: for, in his way from Court, he wrote not only to them great thanks, and moved the King to doe the same, for their carriage towards our brethren; but spoke of us contumeliously, as ye may see in the double of these letters at (C.); yea, not so only, but for no words would he be put from printing of a Declaration of the truth in these calumnies, as he said, which we in our Answers did put on him. For my selfe, I marvelled in the tyme, that the Commissioner should have made that demand about our mutuall band in termes so advantageous for us, and should have professed his satisfaction in our answers to that maine impediment of our Assemblée: but having done so, I thought he would never have recalled it, or put it more in question; yet it seems his unfriends hes made such informations of that his un-

advysednefs, that in all hazards he muft retreat it : he was made affured, that the whole Tables would teftifie the contrarie of his Declaration, and caufe print their contradiâtion, that he thought it meeter to undergo all hazards, then to fuffer that (whether true or falfe) alleadgeance to lye upon him, without his publick difclaiming of it. I hope to fend yow with the demands, anfwers, replies, duplyes, and triplyes of Aberdeen, the Marqueis declaration, and the Minifters answers to it, all printed; with our Nobles letters to Aberdeen, in wryte.

In the heat of all thir actions, God did much incourage us with Father Abernethie the Jefuite's converfion. On the Thurfday there after Mr. Andrew Ramfay's fermon made for the purpofe, in a large half houres fpace, he made a very fweet difcourfe⁽⁵⁾ of his errors, and reclaiming by the grace of God, with many teares of his own and the moft of his hearers; thereafter, with great defyre, he fubfcrived our Covenant, and fpake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can finde no apeirance of hypocrifie in the man. He shoves us many things, which I hope to fend yow with Mr. Andrew's fermon in print: among the reft he told, that there is eighteen priefts at leaft ever in Scotland; he gave their names and abode: he tells, that in England there will be above fix thoufand: that at London there will be above three hundred mafles fung every Sabbath; that he knew, on a fix years fince, when he was laft at Rome, a conclufion paff in the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, for to ufe meanes to draw the Church of England to that of Rome, bot to mell no farther with our Scotifh Church than ane affociation with England, upon hopes, by this conformitie alone, to gaine us fullie by tyme. There went out in his name reports of Canterburies intercourfe of letters with the Pope, of the contryving of our Scotifh Liturgie at Rome; bot when I pofed him on thefe, he denyed his knowledge of any fuch matters, albeit he confefled to me fome ftate-paffages, which might have been prejudiciall enough to him if they had gone abroad.

Sofoon as the Marqueis went away, the Tables advysed on inftructions for the Generall Affemblic to be execute prefently after the 20th of September, the longeft terme which the Com-

(5) This difcourfe was printed at the same time as Ramsay's Sermon, "at the receiving of Mr. Thomas Abernethie, sometime Jesuite, into the societie of the truly reformed Church of Scotland."—Edinburgh, 1638, 4to. It is entitled "Abjuration of Poperie, by Thomas Abernethie, sometime Jesuite, but now penitent Sinner, &c. in the Gray-frier Church, the 24. of August 638." 4to.

missioner had craved for his return. The common letter sent to the Presbyteries ye have at (D.); the instructions at (E.); some notes sent with them, drawn out of the Book of Discipline and Generall Assemblies, for the contentment of these who had scruples anent the voyces of Elders in choyseing of commissioners for the Assembly, at (F.); also some private articles sent to these ministers whom most they trusted, at (G.) According to this, a very solemn and generall fast was kept every where the 16th of September; and thereafter all sessions did choose their elders to goe to the Presbyteries after the 20th day, there to vote for the choyse of three ministers and one elder to take commission for the expected Generall Assembly. Among us in the West there was a commission drawn up, by Mr. David [Dickson,] to be the common forme of all sessions, at (H.): this I much disliked, as containing the seed of new, idle, and dangerous questions; this, when I saw, I caused alter into the forme ye see at (I.), at least for my owne session and some others.

All this tyme my minde was afflicted with doubts: I thought the King would never indict such an Assembly as we could accept; I saw all was resolved to have one according to their minde, though the King should discharge us: If I went not to it, being required, I foresaw much hurt would befall me; and to it I could not goe as I was. In this strait, I sought much my God; and he now has delivered me out of this thornes. I reasoned with the best of those that was against an Assembly without the King: their reasons I thought not pressing; my reasons I withheld from them; but to these who were layd down for it, I communicat my minde. None of my brethren did give me tollerable satisfaction; at last I went to my Lord Lowdon's house, and conferred two nights with him: I returned reasonable well satisfied, and well near resolved to countenance the Assembly, forbid it who would. While I am in this thoughts, behold a proclamation indicting the Assembly at Glasgow the 21st of November; this put me out of all question.

At this time also the Commissioner prevented his day: he came to Dalkeith the 15th of September. We could not for a while learn any of his news: the word went he was to intimate an Assembly in the Spring at Aberdeen; this displeased all: our affairs could not admitt so long a delay; we would have taken it worse then a flat refusal; that place was extremely incommodious for old grave men to travel to in such a tyme of the year: yea, it was unsafe; for in and about that towne there

would be above ten thousand fighting men, who might have killed, or done injurie to us all: bot we fand it far otherwayes. The King's will at (K.) was exceedingly gracious in the most of our defyres; the unhappie Books, the Commiſſion alſo ſimply diſcharged; Perth articles made free; Miniſters entry as we could wiſh; Biſhops ſubjected to the Aſſembly; the Aſſembly and Parliament indicted at the tymes and places wee could have defyred: only one thing frayes us, the ſubſcription of ane other Covenant. This, and the convoy of it, makes us tremble for fear of diviſion; alſo the continuall rumors of the King's preparation for warre; two hundred thousand pound ſterling taken up of the cuſtoms; one hundred and fifty offered by the clergy for that end; twenty-five thousand pound ſent over to Holland for arms; appoynting of the North to be ready for marching: thir things maks us fray. At ſome prior meetings, to fundry I did regrait, who might, as I think, ſhew it to the Commiſſioner, for they had his eare, that they gave us our defyres by bitts, and with boaſts; that in likelihood the beſt meanes for calming of our mindes were to grant us all at once, what by tyme they would ſuffer themſelves to be driven to by any violence. This courſe at laſt is taken: if it had been a little before uſed, or yet if we could be perſuaded of the ſincerity of it, matters might go well; bot the reaſon why we are malecontent yet ſtill, ſie in our proteſtation, at (L.), as alſo in the common letter which was ſent athort the country with the proteſtation, at (M.): tyme will decypher much.

Our Preſbyterie, with one conſent, on the 25th day, chooſe my Lord Lowdon for our elder of the ſhyre, Mr. Robert Barclay for the towne of Irwine, Mr. David Dickſone and me: betwix Mr. John Bell, Mr. H. M'Kell; and Mr. William Ruſſell, many votes was divided; but pluralitie fell upon Mr. William Ruſſell. Mr. Michaell [Wallace] was cleane miſregarded; whereof I am forrie for many reaſons; bot his wilfull oppoſition of the laick Elders procured him that affront, and will gett him more, if, againſt all reaſon, he continue wilfull, as he is like to doe. Paſley did chooſe Mr. William Briſbane, his ſon Mr. Matthew, and Mr. John Hamiltone, and [John Briſbane of] Biſhoptoun; Mr. John Hay, abler much then any of them, was paſt by for his too much countenancing of Mr. John Creichton, and other reaſons not inconfiderable. Glaſgow had appointed Tueſday for their election: we all thought it expedient they ſhould chooſe my Lord of Eglinton for their elder: This I ſhew by write to ſome of

the presbytrie; whereupon they sent James Stewart of Chryft-wall with a letter subfcrived by Mr. John Bell elder and younger, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] Mr. James Sharpe, and others, entreating the nobleman to be present with them at their election, with many kinde, courteous, and preffing words. Upon this he goes, very evill in health, for we all did preffe him. Yesternight he wrytes, that his coming there was in vaine; the Presbytrie would choofe none that day, had delayed the election till the 10th of October; had written a complementing letter to the Commiffioner for the benefite and honour of the Affembly in their town. For this I am exceeding forrie: How the matter went, I know not yet; bot I am afrayed that this action prove unhappie. This is the third tyme, when their miscarriage will grieve the whole countrey: the example by taking a course by themselves is now most pernicious to us all; it will be the first open doore to division: their last divisive motion had well near raised a mutiny amongst them, and a bloodie trouble. I pray God this bring no hurt to us all, and them first of all: bot of this more hereafter. We are all going to Edinburgh to our last consultations before the Affembly. There goes athort a Speech, in the name of the Duke of Lennox, diswading the King from warre with us: ye have it at (O.) The speech at first was thought to be truly spoken at the Counsell-table by the alleadged author; bot now we hear it is bot supposititious. However, they say Canterburie is become our great friend, and by all means a perswader of the King to peace, though with the ruine of all the persons of our Bishops. Their processes are fast forming: Brechin, they say, is undone; adultery is like to be proven; the whore, and the child goes up and down the streets proclaiming it; bot besyde, other probations are clear to make it unquestionable: St. Andrewes, I fear, be made infamous: No kinde of cryme which can be gotten proven of a Bishop will now be concealed.

When I was on the poynt of going to Edinburgh, I received advertifement of a countermand from the meeting there, which had thought meet, for the Marqueis contentment, to hinder the convention of Commiffioners, once appointed; for his Grace was offended, that before the Affembly such a great convocation of the members of the Affembly should meet: also the meeting scalled, to the end that all gentlemen might be at home at the Michaelmas courts; where, by the acts of Parliament, the Shyres are ordained yearly to choofe commissioners for the Parliament,

whether indicted or not ; so, left his Grace should gett nominat such men as he pleased, the gentry were required to be all in these courts, and attend that election. Frae my voyage to Edinburgh was hindered, I went to Glasgow to see how all went : I fand that the danger was greater then I feared. The proclamation was posted from Edinburgh hither by Orbiston, who rode with it on the Sunday for haste ; yet the Toun Commissioner had preveened him ; for on Sunday advertisement came by him, that a protestation was used against it : for all that, it was applauded to by the town, by too many with too much joy, without any number of protesting ; the ministry standing in the Crosse, with a number of notcovenanters, joyning in all the tokens of their joy, and concurring all in wryting of the letter of thanks to the Marqueis. Thereafter the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Patrick Bell, and others, went to the Marqueis, in Hamilton : It was feared that they had promised over much to him : I fand them peremptor for the equity of subscryving the King's Covenant, and iniquity of our counter-protestation ; also very averse from choyfing commissioners according to our minde. I could doe no more bot sorrow, and be afraid with the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Archibald Fleiming, Mr. William Wilkie, and mainely with Patrick [Bell], whom the Marqueis had caused the Bishop name Proveft, I think, by Mr. William Wilkie's information to Doctor Bakanquall ; and Patrick caused my brother,⁽⁶⁾ Matthew Hamilton, William Neilson, be made baillies, Walter Stirling deane of gild, men all simple, and at his own disposition. I shew, fra all our brethren in the Covenant had protested, that this new subscription would be ane of the most dangerous divisive motions that yet was used ; if they would begin, at the Commissioner's desyre, to subscryve, that the whole countrey could not bot take them for traitors, and these men-fworne, the authors of all their ruine. However, they were resolved of the expedience to subscryve ; yet I knew that their wisdome could not permitt them to practife their resolution, as indeed hitherto they have abstained. As for the choyfing of their commissioners, I likewise shew them all my minde. I was grieved to see their minde so farr from our courfe ; yet God guides good men even in their bywayes. The Tables in Edin-

(6) The Magistrates of Glasgow, elected at this time, October 2d, 1638, were, Patrick Bell, Provost ; *Henry Glen*, Matthew Hamilton, and William Neilson, baillies ; &c. If Glen was the person whom Baillie here mentions, he must have been his half-brother or brother-in-law.

burgh wrote to them, that thirty-nine presbyteries already had chosen their commissioners, as they were desired; that the rest were in doing; that they heard of none who were unwilling; that they would be entreated, not to be first who should begin a dangerous preparative. Withall my Lord Lowdon, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Boner, come, with instructions to clear their scruples, that they pretended against the choying of Elders for commissioners. It was so caryed, that election was made of old Mr. John Bell, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and Mr. James Sharpe, and my Lord Eglinton, or, in his absence, my Lord Fleeming. Mr. John Maxwell gave in a protestation, which no other would subscriue. The Marquis came in himself to receive their subscription, and laboured with them what he could till night, after Doctor Bakanquall's sermon in the High church; but was forced to leave them to ten dayes advysment. So he went away with small contentment, and to my heart was brought great joy for the constancy of that Town which we have reason to love best.

We thought this subscription a very deep and dangerous plott, and so opposed it every where what we could. The Marquis and Counsellors as yet has come no speed in obtaining hands to it. After ten dayes, Mr. [Sir William] Elphinstone, Justice-Generall, and Belhaven who now hes Sir George's ⁽⁷⁾ estate and house, buisie agents for his Grace, required the Counsell to subscriue. George Porterfield, incontinent, at the table, used a protestation; but the Provost required a delay yet of eight dayes: we hope this delay shall draw on to the Assemblie, which is all we crave. Receive here the proclamations and counsell acts in print; never so many acts in one day, and of matters of so great moment: Had that one clause of subscribing ane other Covenant been away, we had blessed the Marquis for his notable service at this tyme. At the table arose a great question about a clause of the Proclamation; the Register had penned, "The subscription of the King's Covenant, according to the tenor of it," Lorne, Advocat, [and] Wigton, desired it might be put in "According to the date of the [15]81 yeare, and as then the religion was professed;" mynding by this clause the exclusion of Bishops, and all other novelties since brought in our Church. The in-

(7) Sir Robert Douglas of Spott, was created Viscount of Belhaven in 1633, about which time he purchased from the heirs of Sir George Elphinstone, Lord Justice-Clerk, the Barony of Gorbals and Blytheswood, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

ferting of this claufe at laft was obtained of his Grace ; and in this claufe diverfe does triumph. Receave alfo the proteftation in print ; there is inclofed in it both the reafons of protefting, I fpake of at (L.), and againft all prelimitation of the Affembly, I fpake of at (B.) ; fo ye laik nothing when ye have print for wryte ; alfo the demands of Aberdeen, with the Marqueis declaration going before, and our answers, with the Tables reply to the Marqueis demands, fpoken of at (A.) Aberdeen's triply is come to the Marqueis in print : he does fuppreffe it, as he gives out, left more matter of strife be miniftered to the countrey ; whatever be the caufe, it is fent to Court to be revifed : if it come to my hands ye fhall have it. I hope that town of Aberdeen is now lykeweyes gained ;⁽⁸⁾ for the Crafts obtained by threats, that all their magiftrates and counfell, according to the aët of Burrowes, fhould be chofen of covenanters alone ; and when the proclamation was made into it by the Marqueis of Huntley, to his face the proteftation was read, Forbes, Frazer, and others, encouraging the citizens.

It was required once and ofter by the Noblemen, that his Grace would give a warrand for to funmond the Bifhops ; bot after this demand was fhifted, ane other courfe was taken, which I fhall fend you. My Lords Lowdon, Boyd, [and] Mr. David Dick, according to the direction of the Tables from Edinburgh, went in this laft week to the Prefbytrie of Glasgaw, gave in a fupplication in name, as ye may fee at (K.), of Covenanters who were not members of the Generall Affemblic againft Mr. Patrick Lindfay, minifter at fuch a kirk, pretended Archbishop of Glasgaw, and his Collegues, for crymes enough ; and required juftice, or ane answer. The Prefbytrie, after deliberation, refolved, and wrote it as an aët, that fuch a complaint was made to them ; which, for the weight of it, they did remitt to the Generall Affemblic. The extract of this aët, with the libell, was fent to the Bifhop, and put in his hand by the church-beddall, before two witnes : this, being indorfed, is thought a fufficient fummonds. On the morne, old Mr. John Bell preaching in the High Church, the Thurfday before the Communion, made intimation to the people, that fuch a complaint was given in to their Prefbytrie, which they did think meet not to conceall from them ; fo, by John Anderfone, the clerk's fervant, the whole lybell is read in audience of the people. [In the] afternoon, the Noble-

⁽⁸⁾ Baillie, in the margin of the Original MS. has fubfequently added the words, " This is not fo."

men and others goes to the Session, and entreats, that the town would by no means subscryve any other Covenant before the Assemblie : the Proveſt would make no promiſe ; which his answer, by Mr. David Dick's benign interpretation, was taken in good part. On that ſame laſt Wedenſday, the Preſbytrie of Edinburgh did pronounce the ſentence of ſuſpenſion againſt Mr. David Mitchell, notwithstanding of the Marqueis not only requeſt, but at laſt charge by a meſſer, to the contrare. This miſregard did highly commove his Grace ; bot his wrath to-morrow was increaſed by the women's great infolency ; who, finding that D. Eliot went to pulpitt, when they expected Mr. Henrie [Rollock,] after ſermon fell upon him and Mr. Fletcher with many ſad ſtroakes : the cauſe and manner we know not yet clearly, bot are all grieved at the heart for it, and wiſhes that the actors were exemplarelie puniſhed. The Marqueis hes called ane frequent Counſell againſt the 28th of this month. It is much feared, that he go to Court, and leave us the ruleing of the Assemblie as we pleaſe ; bot if he ſhould doe ſo, we are reſolved to keep the dyett, and expects God to be with us, when we uſe our right in ſo needfull a tyme. Great rumors of hudge preparation for horſe and foot in England, of hudge munition from Holland to them ; yet our people is no whitt afraid : we ſie what we doe be juſt and neceſſar ; as for the hazards, we leave them to the proviſion of God, who is our only patron.

I receaved, yeſterday, your letters, of the date of September 17th. I am ſorrye ye take theſe fooliſh calumnies ſo deeply ; ye have ſpent three large letters, for the moſt part in their refutation. What I heare was not much, and from hands little conſiderable ; never trouble yourſelf any more with ſuch fooleries. I hope ere now long all be evaniſhed : a little tyme, with eaſe, does ever clear honeſt men. For your ſubſcryving of the Covenant, I think it not needfull, and them not wiſe that requires it of yow ; none of our Officers of State in Counſell or Session was deſyred : fundrie of the Advocats was ſpared. If the Burghs, by any conſiderable commiſſioner, doe require it of yow, ye may then advyſe. Your preaching at Zuill, I think, ye would omitt ; for ſo we minde in all our land, to whom ye ought to conforme.

The laſt tyme I was in Glaſgow, as my cuſtome alwayes is, I went and ſaw your Mother, where I ſand that your Father was fitted ; and not only by hir, but fundrie of my freinds, I was aſſured of his moſt chriſtiane and comfortable carriage and diſcourſe to his very laſt, to the great contentment and joy of all :

ye and I could not wish to die with more faith. Your Mother also had good courage and health. I am sorry that things goes so cross this year with our friends; that Force and Chastilion should beene so shamefullie raised from St. Omer, and your Prince from Gelder, and Grave Morice from Los Santos; that Conde should have been so staid at Fontarabie; Vercelli also taken by the Spanish; and D. Bernard should have been looking this half-year on the walls of Brisłak; and the Palatine triffling tyme about Meppen: for the Swedds, I see not what their eirand is now in Germany, bot to shed protestant blood. It is like they may come over to Brittain, if Assemblies end not our quarrells. I marvell ye try no more your divines' judgements of our matters; Voetius, and Rivett, Walæus, and others of note: we would be refreshed by their encouragement. I put no question bot they are informed from many hands how matters goes. If, against the Synods, ye can furnish me with any farder helps about Bishops, then are in Gerson, Bucerus, it is well. We had much need of all your prayers the next Sabbath, and some following. The fourth of November is a solemn fast for a blessing to the Assemblée. It is like to be the most frequent and considerable one that ever was in this land: ye would doe well to be at it ere it ryse.

This last week, on Fryday the 26th of October, it pleased God to show me ane evident token of his mercifull providence. My second boy, Hary, a most prettie child, of two year old, about eleven hours, following his mother to the brewhous, is unattentively near the caldron full of seething wort; at taking of it by, it falls on the ground; had it tumbled to the one syde, as we all marvelled it did not, the babe behooved to have been burnt to death; bot God's hand sett it on the bottom that it gyled not, when it fell out of the crooke, to neither syde; only, with the fall, some of the scalding wort gushed out upon the babe, and yet, so that his whole face is safe; only on his hindhead, neck, craig, and one hippe he is scalded. My heart had been overmastered with grief, if so unworthilie my prettie child had either been deformed or killed; bot now I, and all that loves me, are obliged to rejoyce in God's gracious providence, who can present a most fearfull danger, and make it go over with a little twitch: there is grief in the want of children, and as much in having of them; bot in none of these things is our miserie or happines.

The Counfel of Edinburgh, before Michalmas, did cite Mr. Rankine and Mr. Browne, two of their Regents, to answer for

faults to be laid to their charge. Mr. Rankine was then in England, and did not compear: It is thought he is ane Arminian, and all what any of the faction maintaines. Mr. Browne compeared, and offered to clear himself of all could be laid to his charge: bot his proceffe was short; it was shewn him, that he had his place only during their pleafure, and it was not their pleafure he nor his colleege, Mr. Rankine, should brook their roomes any longer: So programmes were affixed for the provision of two vacant places in their Colledge.

There was an accident that shortly would have begun our calamity, if it had not been in tyme seen to: The horfe which our cowpers had bought at Maton fair, were arreifted, many of them by the Mayor of Newcastle; Johnstone, and others, for that hindered all the dryvers of neat and sheep to goe through to England. Our noblemen dealt with the Marqueis, that the Mayor's injurious arreiftment might be loosed; when he made some delay, they told him, that they quickly would goe and fetch them, or twyfe as many in their roome; whereupon the Marqueis presently wrote to Newcastle; who difmiffed our horfe; and fince, our borderers has suffered the dryvers to goe through. The King's ships also on our coast a while troubled us; bot after they had entered fundry of our fhipps, without any harm, and shew that their commiffion was no farder than to search what they caryed, that fear past. It is thought their maine design was to have catched Generall Lefslie by the way, bot he, for fear of them, come over in a small bark. He hes caufed a great number of our commanders in Germany fufcryve our Covenant, and provided much good munition. It is thought many in England hes intelligence with us; that the armes in England are mainly to fuppreffe the Lower Houfe men, of whom Canterburie stands in great doubt.

The last meeting in Edinburgh concluded the articles ye have at (S.) The Sabbath following is the first fasting day for the Affembly. If God be with us, we hope to have our Church and State put in a better case then it hes been these threttie years bygone; bot if he desert us, we cannot avoid presently to fall into great danger to be a field of blood, and, thereafter a poor flaved province, at the devotion, both in religion and lawes, of a faction which to us is extreemly suspect of wicked designs: betwixt this great hope and great fear now we hing. The Lord be carefull of us: Ye there are not feeling members, nor thankfull for our oft compassionating your evils and dan-

gers, if, at this tyme, ye joyne not in hearty prayers ; for other help we have gotten little from any of the Reformed churches, which to us is marvellous. All forraigne divines litherto hes been filent : they care not for our woes ; though popery should swell on Brittain, it seems they regard it not ; however, the lesse comfort we have from men, we will lean the more to God. I wish my nixt letter may not be sorrowfull ; for I minde to write no more to yow till our Assemblie be closed. Our commendations to yow and your wife ; the Lord be with you. I rest, November first,

Your Coosin.

Laiking ane carrier for some dayes, I broke up my letters to shew yow farder, that the second of November the Commis-sioner went to the Tolbooth, and moved the Lords of Session, who wer present, to subscrivve the King's Covenant : yet Durie, Craighall, Scotistarbett, and Ennerteill did peremptorie refuse. Thereafter, in the Counsell, he was very pressing to have a declaration passe their hands of a resolution, or command, or approbation of the King's will to have Episcopacie standing with some caveats, and this not to be questionable in the ensueing Assemblie. To this fundrie of the Counsell was inclyning ; bot after the Advocat's ⁽⁹⁾ stout opposition, it was gotten crossed for that tyme : for this contradiction the Advocat was per-fumed, by the Commissioner, with many unkind words. The noblemen gave in to the Counsellors, by way of supplication, some reasons to hinder their assenting to any such declarations. We are glad of the motion ; for the crossing of it in Counsell will be a great encouragement for us in the Synod, to determine in that matter what we find expedient. How all will go He knows to whom we are in all our land now fast praying. We are resolved to keep the twentie-one [day of November] in Glas-gow, and to goe on by God's grace, as we shall be answerable to God, oppose who will. It is like there shall be opposition : Rosse is at Court, and expected daylie by the Commissioner, with the King's last commandments : We expect no grace from his hands ; for it was his holie fingers who carryed us down the first the book of Canons, and thereafter our book of Service ; if now he bring the discharge of the Assemblie, he bot continues to be lyke him-self, ane meek, and calme, happie instrument ⁽¹⁾ for the peace

⁽⁹⁾ Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate for Scotland.

⁽¹⁾ These words, here used ironically, in the printed edition are altered to " an unmeek, uncalm, and unhappy instrument for, &c."

of this poore Church. The rest of his brethren, the Bishops, are come to Edinburgh. Preparations in England for warre goes on ; magazines of victuall, mustering of great horses, on our borders, are talked off.

TO MR. WM. SPANG, FEBRUARY 12, [1639.]

DEAR COOSING,

I have receaved all your former, with the currents, to the 8th of Januar ; the last was broken up, and Mr. Robertson's also, wherein myne was inclosed, bot it was so written, that, apparently of purpose, ye have putt it in these hands which ye did suspect of violent curiositie. I marvell ye have not yet receaved my last, written in the beginning of November, wherein I give yow a full information, whence I left, to the beginning of our Synod. What ye write in your last fyve large apologeticks, I told yow before to have been almost needles paines ; a word was enough to have wyped away such foolish calumnies : had my letter in tyme come to your hand, it would have made yow more stout against your imperious session. I hope hereafter ye will be resolute, and they also, to let Zuill preachings alone, according to the Act of our Assemblie. I am very well pleased with your thoughts of the Service-book ; they are judicious and learned, and, which is much more, I think them true : ye shall doe very well to proceed in that studie. For your furtherance, I have sent yow my Meditations of that same kinde, drawn up long agoe, and sent abroad ; I could now make them much larger, for sundry moe Canterburian wryts hes since fallen in my hand, whereby that faction may be easily convinced of fould Poperie. My Queries were out more nor a year since ; my Parallell shortly thereafter, for the justification of our complaint and declinator, before there was any word of our Covenant. If your divines there were informed, from such collections, of the state of our controversies, they would undoubtedly pitie our cause the more. The way of our partie is avowedly to full Arminianisme, and really to so much Poperie as the Pope requires at their hands for the present, yea, much more ; it hes been proven at our Synod that numbers of our brethren hes preached the most of the Canterburian tenets. It is marvellous that we can hear of none either in Scotland, Ingland, or Ireland, after all this dinn, who hes given the least signe of repentance,

or of revocation, of any their errors. They have called back our wicked Books, bot will condemne no letter of them; so far as we know, or can know by any thing they have said or written, they are bot waiting when the sword of our sweet Prince shall make them way to force us receive all their most extravagant dictats, or else suffer. I should be glad to see what ye have written *De Jure Patronatus*. Our old discipline is for yow: To move this question yet, is not seasonable: our greatest difficultie will be with the King; for the most of all our patronages are in his hand. That Wounded Beast,⁽²⁾ is a beaftlie peice; we all mislike it. We doe not know the author of it; I wish it were Mr. Can⁽³⁾ of Amsterdame; he should then be bot a poore, rashe, and foolish spirit, whereof I would be glad; for I am affrayed for that man and his complices. They send over, a little before our Assemblée, a pamphlet, "The Guyde to Sion," not yet much eyed, yea, disavowed by all; bot, if God give our Church peace, I am affrayed for the grounds of that sect: When we have battered down Rome, and Ley,⁽⁴⁾ the walls of Amsterdam I wish might hold in their snell brazen shott from these places of our towres that are most weake. I pray yow help me with some peices of Brounisme; we will have neid of such weapons presently, both offensive and defensive. We are put in hopes to gaine these men, if we be dexterous; bot I am more feared they gaine some of us; for, so farr as yett I see, according to the grounds of too many among us, the Brounist's arguments are unanswerable: it is in vain to abhorre the conclusion, where the antecedent is loved; such hatred is either not sincere, or cannot be constant.

Long ere now I had given to yow ane large account of our Assemblée's proceedings, had I not this fixe weekes been daylie

(2) This evidently refers to a tract entitled "The Beast is Wounded: or Information from Scotland, concerning their Reformation, &c.—Printed in the yeare that the Bishops had their downefall in Scotland, [1638.]" 4to. "It seems by some notes which I find in the margent, (says the Publisher), that it was sent from a Scotsman to some good friend that he had in England, and in likelihood a strict Nonconformist." It was apparently printed in Holland, and is called *The first part*:—No second part ever appeared.

(3) 'Mr. Can,' or John Canne, to whom Baillie was disposed to attribute the above publication, was Minister of the English Congregation of Brownists at Amsterdam.

(4) Ley probably for Leyden, as the supposed stronghold of the Arminians, so named after Dr. James Arminius, who was Professor of Divinity in that University. In like manner, Amsterdam is here mentioned as the chief seat of the Brownists.

expecting the extract of the Acts to have been sent from the Clerk to our Presbytrie ; but yet are they not come. We hear they are to be printed ; yet we are not content of the delay. The reason of their inholding, I cannot suspect : the presse has been occupied with our long-looked for protestation ; yet it seems there must be more in it, which yet I know not. When they come out, either in write or print, ye shall have them with my commentare. In the mean [tyme,] receive some of my Assemblée labours, my speech of Arminianisme, and of the Books, which I was forced to make in a very short time ; also my discourse of Episcopacie, together with two old Meditations. Receive also the protestation ; consider it well : it meets with that bitter proclamation, which has put in print, and long agoe dispersed athort all England, if not farder, all that could be invented to make us and our Assemblée detestable.

My Lord Commiſſioner his Grace seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statesmen the King has ; a great lover both of the King and his countrey : as he left nothing unassayed among us to gett the King his will, so we hope he has done his endeavour, and will continue, to obtaine the countrey justice at the King's hand. Though he has done all against our proceedings what the heart of the Bishops, in any wisdom, could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was putt on him : so much the more also, that the Supplication of the Assemblée, sent up with Mr. George Winram, was presented by him to his Majestie, in all humility and earnestness. It was heard with attention, and referred to the consideration of the Scottish Counsell at London. The King wrote thereafter to our Counsell, that for to be nearer information of our affaires, he was minded shortly to come down to York ; in the mean tyme, that they would be thinking of overtures. We are informed, that the Counsell of Warre sits daily ; that against Pasche or before, his Majestie, at York, is to visite his army of 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot. The Marquis was at his upgoing, in great perplexitie and doubts ; however, he did all that could be done, and more than any other could have effectuall ; yet the matter itself was of such nature, that it could not be wrought to the King's purpose : yea, some passages did miscarry besyde the doer's intention, to the hinderance somewhat of the King's designs. The subscriyving of the King's Covenant by the Counsell was so cunninglie turned, by flight of hand, that it became the soveraigne ingyne to overturne Epif-

copacie, for whose establiſhment it was onlie requyred by the King. The turning of this canon on the King, lay heavilie upon the back of the Marqueis wiſdome: to be unfortunate is a crime great enough in a monarch's court; bot ſick was either the ſtrength of the Marqueis declaration, (which with the next ye ſhall have in print, and the anſwer of it, alſo), or rather the benignity of our juſt Prince, that for all his fear, yet he was moſt graciously received; and for a token of favour, hes gotten to his brother⁽⁵⁾ already the Privie Purſe, and a place of the Bed-chamber; whence the Earle of Ancrum is removed; whether for the zeale of the Earle of Lothian, his ſon, in the countrie's cauſe, or for his long and evident infirmity, which made him very unmeet to ly in a prince's chamber, we doe not yet know.

We look for no other bot in the Spring the King to come in perſon, upon Louthian and Edinburgh, with a great land army; that one part of his navie ſhall go to Aberdeen to joyn with Huntley, another to the coaſt of Fyfe and Louthian, a third to land from Ireland on us in the Weſt ſome little armie. We are conſcious to ourſelfe of no cryme againſt the lawes of our Church or State. We hope God ſhall look on the equitie of our cauſe; the little oppoſition we dow make is making readie. I was latelie in the minde, that, in no imaginable caſe, any prince might have beene oppoſed; I inclyne now to think otherwayes. In all our queſtions I confeſſe no change bot in this only; whereto I was brought, not by Paræus, or Buchanan, or Junius Brutus, for their reaſons and concluſions I yet ſcunner at; bot mainly by Biſhone de Subjectione, where he defends the practiſe of all Europe, Spaine, France, Germany, England, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Swan [Sweden,] who at diverſe tymes, for fundry cauſes, hes oppoſed their princes. I am ſomewhat confirmed by the laſt duplie of Aberdeen, which, though wyſely for a tyme was ſuppreſſed by our Commiſſioner, yet, being fighted and approved by my Lord of Canterburie, is now come abroad among us: They will have us to believe, that our whole eſtate, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turciſme, to be ſpoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all, yet the ymay make no kind of reſiſtance; the concluſion is ſo horrible, and their proofs ſo weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I lyke it much worſe then I did. I ſee the reformers of our Scottiſh Church all to the contrare; Luther, Melancton, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Abbotts, Whittakers, alſo gives leave to ſubjects, in

(5) Lord William Hamilton, *vide ſupra*, p. 98.

some cases, to defend themselves, where the Prince is absolute from subjection to any man, but not absolute from tie to the lawes of Church and State, whereto he is sworne, which is the case of all Christian Kings now, and ever also since the fall of the Roman Empire : A pittie that in thir most dangerous times Canterburie should cause print among us such conclusions, which, if they came from the Prince, would put all our people in absolute desperation : bot God be thanked, none of our Princes did ever crave what they ascryve to them, let be to be absolved from the tie of laws, that nomothetick power, yea no that power to impose taxations, so farre as yet we have heard, was never assumed by any of our Princes to this houre ; bot all our civill lawes hes ever been made, and the leift taxation ever imposed by the King and his States in parliament or convention. This new faction, as it would destroy our religion, so it layes down grounds for the overthrow of the kingdome, and that under the fair pretext of advancing both. I am yet in study of this question ; I pray yow help me what ye can upon it in your nixt letter. Rivett is much cast up against us ; bot so far as I find in his “Jesuita Vapulans,” or in that psalme, I think without reason : It is marvellous if he condemn what his mother-church of France did approve, and that church of Holland, wherein he now lives, does this day practise. I wish ye writ to him, and others there, concerning this matter, bot so that ye be not found. I doe truely think that the only way to save the King’s authority among us, yea, to keep this poor kingdome whole and intire to his service, and of his posterity for ever, is our present uniforme conjunction to hold off his armies by supplications, as hitherto we have done, or otherwayes also, in case of necessitie extreame and unavoidable : for if we should divide, and one part yeild, or joyne with the King’s army, besyde the killing, of necessitie, of numbers of the best of his Majestie’s good and most loving subjects, which would be ready to goe and die at the walls of Constantinople, let be of Rome, Vien, or Madrid, in his service, the rest would be so weakened and discouraged, that no help for many years could be expected from us against any of the King’s enemies ; which at thirtymes were to the King, not only an irreparable losse, bot also a fearfull danger, when England is so full of malecontents, to whom there appears no possibility of giving satisfaction, so long as the Canterburian party does keep their feet. The fear of our nation hes kepted our neighbours in order to this day : if we be so broken either in heart or strength, that

we cannot be in readines, in a short warning, to flee to our sweet Prince's back, stormes is likely to arise, in that flatt ayre of England, which long hes been glooming, that all the skill of the Archbishop's braine will have adoe to calme, before a thunderbolt break out on his own pate. Bot for state-matters, we will meddle no further, then to pray for our dear father King Charles, and our poor mother the Church and Kingdome of Scotland: If they discord, it will cost us their children many teares and much blood: God, who is a father to both, send them good greance, and confound these who is the true cause of their variance, that shame being poured upon them, they may repent, and convert their witt for conjoyning what they have been putting long afunder.

That piece of Aberdeen to Mr. Durie, I pray you purchase a double of it, for I long to see it. Ye promised me some of the Mercuries Francoes, and Gallo-Belgicus; let me have them. All that passes here ye shall have from me soone, or syne: let me know what I am in your debt, for now I am in wealth, bot at once I may be spoyled of all, and I shall be loath needleslie to be in any man's debt before the tyme. Remembering my heartie service to yourself and your wife, I rest Your old freind,

Feb. 12, 1639.

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT GLASGOW IN
1638.⁽⁶⁾

COOSIN,

As ye earnestlie defyred, and I did also promise, receive now the proceedings of our Assemblie, as my memorie, necessarlie now short, after ane half year's tyme, with the help of some little notes, can furnish. I will poynt at the things which I conceive to be most materiall, passing fundrie matters which the Diaries gathered in the tyme, by the hands of many wrytters, does insist upon.

Notwithstanding of the indiction, our hopes were bot slender ever to see the downfitting of our passionatelie defyred Assemblie with the Commissioner's consent; for daily he fand himself more and more disappointed in his expectation to obtain these things

⁽⁶⁾ In the Original MS. Baillie entitles the following communication, "Story of the Assemblie of Glasgow, to Spange."

which, it seems, he put the King in hope might be gotten. Episcopacie to be put in place of safety, above the reach of the Assemblée's hand, was now seen to be impossible; his engines for this purpose, by the skill of his party, was turned back upon him; the Counsell had subscribed the King's Covenant, as it was expounded at the first in the 1581 year: his declaration, that Episcopacie was then in our Church, and will, that the Assemblée should be discharged to meddle in the tryall of this matter, could not be gotten concluded in ane Counsell act: fundrie Lords of Session being required to subscribe the Covenant in that his sense, refused; with a protestation, that the exposition of these parts, which might make for or against Episcopacie, should be referred to the determination of the ensuing Assemblée. Noblemen and Ministers chosen commissioners, did not dissemble their minds in their discourse of the unlawfulness, at least the inexpediency, of this office in our Church, and so their designe by any means to have it presently putt down. This put his Grace in great perplexitie; for he did conceive, as some said, by the words and wrytes of fundrie of our nobles of chief respect, that the Assemblée might have been gotten perswaded to establish, at least to permitt, or passe by untouched, that office: when the contrary appeared, he was at a nonplus; for his instructions had made the place of Bishops a *Noli me tangere*; but their personnes was permitted to the doome of the severest mouth among us, where their miscarrying had required censure. His next disappointment was in the matter of the Covenant: he hoped to have gotten the King's Covenant universally subscribed, and ratified hereafter in the Assemblée; so that the other, which had been subscribed by us before, might be quietly, without any infamous condemning of it, suppressed and buried: but far above and against all his thoughts, that Covenant universally was refused; and, among these few who put their hands to it, diverse avowed their minde to be in all things the same with these who had sworn the first. The missing of this intention increased also much his Grace's malecontentment. In two other designs also, he found himself close deceived: he thought, an act for the freedom of the practice of Perth articles, might have contented us; and without condemning the matters themselves, before the Parliament by supplication had been brought to the casting of the standing law: but ane universall inclination appeared in all to have the things themselves tried without delay, and acts presently formed anent them, as their nature was found to require. Siclyke his in-

structions carried him to the removall of the High Commission, books of Canons, Ordination, [and] Service, bot no to reason or condemn any thing contained in any of them, which might reflect against any public order, or any thing practised or allowed by my Lord of Canterburie, and his followers, in England or elsewhere: We in no case could be content, except we were permitted to examine all that was in these Books; their matter now being the avowed doctrine of many in our Church; and since we did finde the articles of Arminius, with many poynts of the grossest poperie, in the books, in the preachings, and in the discourses of our bishops and ministers, we were resolved to have these doctrines censured as they did deserve, without any spareing for respect to any person who did maintain them.

The Commissioner, finding himself mistaken in all thir, and many moe of his designs, was feared to labour the discharging of the Assemblie before it began, or at least to marr it so, if it satt down, that it should doe no good. We referred to this intention his diligence to obtain subscryvers to protestations against the Assemblie; we heard by our opposits, of hudge numbers of thir, yet when it came to the proof, there was but few who could be moved to put their hand to such an act, yea, not one, who durst avow it, and reason the lawfullness of their deed: some twenty hands at most were at the Bishops declinator, all opposit to our Covenant; some few others, specially eight of the Presbytrie of Glasgow, (who, to the Commissioner's great discontent, refused to adhere,) made formes of protestations by themselves; bot to no purpose. From this same intention, we alleadged, did flow the putting to the horne, some days before our sitting, all these Commissioners of the nobles, gentry, ministers, who, for any civill cause or pretence could be gotten denounced, that so the Synod should be deprived of many members: This practise was so new, and so strong reasons given in, why this kinde of horning should hinder none from voyceing in a synod, as ye may see at (A.), that no use was made or durst be made of any such exception; only the Thesaurer his good will, by the invention, was collected to be bot small towards our cause. A proclamation also was made, that none should come to the place of the Assemblie but such as were members, and that in a peaceable manner: We protested all might come who had entres of partie, witnes, voters, assessors, complainers, or what ever way; and that every man might come with such a retinue and equipage as the Lords of Counsell should give example.

Thir, and many moe occurrences, put us in a continuall fear of the Affembly's discharge: Yet the King's word was ingaged so deeply; proclamations, public fastings, at the King's command, had already past; and mainly the King's thought, that the inserting of what he had granted, anent the Service-book, Canons, and Perth articles, into the Affembly books, would give some contentment to the people, and disingadge his promise of ane Affembly, though nothing more should be acted: thir and such considerations made the Affembly sitt down, contrare to all our feares, and a fair face to be made for a while by the Commissioner, as if he intended nothing else, and did confidently expect his sitting still, till all questions should be peaceably decyded for the content of all.

On Fryday, the 16th of November, we in the West, as we were defyred, came to Glasgou; our noblemen, specially Eglington, backed with great numbers of friends and vassalls. We were informed, that the Commissioner and Counsellors were to take up the Toun with great numbers of their followers; so the nearest noblemen and gentlemen were defyred to come in that night well attended. The Toun did expect and provide for huge multitudes of people, and putt on their houses and beds excessive pryses; bot the diligence of the Magistrates, and the vacancie of manie roomes, did quicklie moderate that excess. We were glad to see such order and large provision above all men's expectation; for this that Toun gott much both thanks and credit: it can lodge easily at once, both Counsell, Session, Parliament, and Generall Affembly, when ever it shall be required.

On Saturday the most of our Eastland noblemen, barones, and ministers, came in. In the afternoon my Lord Commissioner's Grace, with the most of the Counsell, came in. My Lord Rothes, Montrose, and manie of our folks, went out to meet his Grace: much good speech was among them; we protesting that we would crave nothing but what clear scripture, reason, and law would evince: his Grace assuring, nothing reasonable should be denied. On Sunday afternoon, some of the wyfest of the ministrie consulted upon the ordering of affairs. For my self, I resolved no to be a medler in any thing: I was well lodged: I had brought in a trunk full of my best books and papers: I resolved to read and write, and studie so hardlie as I could all incident questions.

On Monday the Ministrie mett in three diverse places; for no

one private place could contain us. Out of every meeting three was chosen, nyne in all, to be privie to hear references from the nobilitie, barrons, burrowes, to ryen and prepare what was to be proponed in publick. We laid it on Mr. Alexander Summervaill, ane old half blind man, fore against his heart, to preach on Tuesday, to-morrow : he did prettie well; at length he infit on the extirpation of all Bishops, little to the contentment of some, bot greatlie to the minde of the most. Our privie consultation was about the Clerk and the Moderator. We were somewhat in fuspense about Mr. A. Henderfone ; he was incomparablie the ablest man of us all, for all things : we doubted if the Moderator might be a disputer ; we expected then much dispute with the Bishops and Aberdeen's Doctors : we thought our losse great, and hazardous to tyne our chief champion, by making him a judge of the partie ; yet at last, finding no other man who had parts requisite to the present Moderation, (for in Messrs. Ramsay, Dick, Adamson, Rollock, Cant, Livingstoun, Boner, Cunninghame, there was some things evidentlie wanting,) we resolved, Mr. Henderfone of necessitie behooved to be taken. Mr. Johnestoun to us all, was a nonfuch for a Clerk.

In the afternoon, Rothes, with some commissioners, went to the Commissioner's Grace, showing the custome of our Church was to begin her Assemblies with solemn fasting ; also that in the absence of the former moderator, the eldest minister of the bounds, or moderator of the place, used to preach, and moderat the action till another be chosen ; that old Mr. John Bell, for the reverence of his person, let be other considerations, were meet to begin so great an affair. To the fast his Grace did presently agree : to the other motion he shew, that it was his place to nominat the preacher to begin the action ; that he knew none worthier that honour then the man they named ; that he should think upon it : So after an hour he sent D. Balquanhall to Mr. John, desyreing him to preach on the Wednesday, and moderat till another were chosen.

On Tuesday, after sermon, the fast was intimat, and preaching in all churches to-morrow. Afternoon, we, in our meeting, appointed preachers for all the churches, as we did so long as we remained in town ; for we took it to be our place : howsoever, Mr. John Maxwell refused to lend his pulpitt to any so long as the Commissioner staid ; and craved of his Grace, that none might come there bot himself. So for the first two Sundayes, before and after noon, Mr. John took the High Church,

and preached after his fashion, nothing to the matter in hand, so ambiguously, that himself knew best to what fyde he inclined. I moved in our meeting, that in our advysemments at leyst, we might follow the course of Dort, the commissioners from one presbytrie should have their ordinary meetings to advyse together of every matter of importance; for we were from every presbytrie fyve, three ministers, one from the shyre, one from the burgh, which might help one another in consideration. This was applauded to; bot when we came to the action, this and fundrie other good overtures could not be gotten followed: every man behooved to doe for himself; private association could not be gotten kept. We intended to have had sermon in the afternoon, where we were, in the Great Church, and so to have delayed the opening of the Synod to the morrow; bot danger being found in law to delay the Synod to another day than the King had appointed, we resolved to let the people continue in their humiliation in the other churches, bot presently after sermon in the morning, we, the members of the Synod, thought meet to begin our business.

1. On Wedensday, the 21st of November, with much ado we could we throng into our places, one evill which troubled us much the first fourteen dayes of our sitting. The Magistrates, with their toun guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whyles the Commissioner in person, could not gett us entrie to our roomes, use what force, what policie they could, without such delay of tyme and thrumbling through, as did grieve and offend us. Whether this evill be common to all nations, at all publick confluences, or it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or whether in thir late tymes, the love and admiration of this new reformation, have at all publick meetings steared up a greater then ordinarie zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the speciall cause of this irremediable evill, I doe not know; only I know my speciall offence for it, and wishes it remeedit above any evill that ever I knew in the service of God among us. As yet, no appearance of redress. It is here alone, where, I think, we might learne from Canterburie, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modestie and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so farr the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, maks such dinne and clamour in the house of the

true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs.

When with great difficulty we were sett down; the Commissioner's Grace in his chair of state; at his feet, before and on both fydes, the chief of the Counsell, the Thesaurer, Privie-Seall, Argyle, Marre, Morray, Angus, Lauderdail, Wigton, Glencairne, Perth, Tillibardine, Galloway, Haddingtoun, Kinghorne, Register, Thesaurer-Deput, Justice-Generall, Amont, Justice-Clerk, Southesk, Linlithgow, Dalzell, Drumfries, Queenfberrie, Belheaven, and moe; at a long table in the floor, our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commissioners from presbyteries, Rothes, Montrose, Eglintoun, Cassils, Lothian, Weemes, Lowdon, Sinclair, Balmerinoch, Burghley, Lindefay, Zester, Hume, Johnston, Keir, Auldbar, Sir William Douglass of Cavers, Durie younger, Lammington, Sir John M'Kenzie, George Gordon, Philorth, Towie, Newtoun. Few barons in Scotland of note, bot were either voters or assessors; from every burgh, the chief burghes; from Edinburgh, James Cochran and Thomas Paterfon; from all the sixty-three presbyteries three commissioners, except a verie few; from all the four Universities also; sitting on good commodious roomes, ryfing up fyve or six degrees, going round about the low long table. A little table was sett in the midst, fore anent the Commissioner, for the Moderator and Clerk. At the end a high roome prepared chieflie for young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleeming, Boyd, Erskine, Linton, Crichton, Livingstone, Rossie, Maitland, Drumlanerik, Drummond, Keir, Elcho, and fundrie moe, with hudge numbers of people, ladies, and some gentle women, in the vaults above. Mr. John Bell had a very good and pertinent sermon, sharp enough against our late novations and Episcopacie: the pitie was, the good old man was not heard by a sixt part of the beholders. That service ended, Mr. John came down to the little table, began the Synod with heartie prayer; which I did second with affectionate tears, and manie moe, I trust, with me. My Lord did give in his commission to Mr. Thomas Sandilands, as deputt by his father Mr. J. Sandilands, commissar of Aberdeen, clerk to the last Generall Assemblie: his Grace did harrang none at all; as we did expect he should: we found him oft thereafter as able to have spoken well what he pleased as any in the house. I take the man to be of a sharpe, ready, solid, clear witt, of a brave and masterlyke expression; loud, distinct, flow, full, yet concise, modest, courtlie, yet simple and natural

language: if the King have manie fuch men, he is a well served Prince. My thoughts of the man, before that tyme, were hard and bafe; bot a day or two's audience did worke my minde to a great change towards him, which yet remaines, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriouſlie evill. His commiſſion was in Latine, after a common, legale, and demibarbarous ſtyle; ample enough for ſettling all our miſorders, had not a claufe concerning Inſtructions made it too reſtrict and ſervill. [B.] The copy I have not yet gotten. After this, our commiſſions was given in to the Moderator and Clerk for the tyme, almoſt every one in the ſame tenor and words, containing a power from the Preſbytrie to the three Miniſters, and one Elder, to reaſon, vote, and conclude, in their name, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God and the Confeſſion of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as we ſhall be anſwerable to God and the Church. A double of my commiſſion, ſee at (C). The Preſbyteries, Burghs, and Universities, were called after the order of ſome roll of the old Aſſemblies, not of the later. This was the labor of the firſt day.

2. On Thurſday, the next dyett, we had no ſcant of proteſtations; more than a round dozen were inacted. After long delay, and much thronging, being ſett in our places, the Moderator for the time offered to my Lord Commiſſioner a lite, wherupon voices might paſſe for the election of a new Moderator. Here did ariſe the teuchest diſputt we had in all the Aſſembly. His Grace, the Theſaurer, Sir Lewis Stewart, (for after the rancounter I wrote off, at the Counſell-table, the Advocat's ſervice was no more required, but Sir Lewis uſed in his roome,) reaſoning and preſſing with great eagerneſs, that in the firſt place, before any Synodicall action, the Commiſſions might be diſcuſſed, leſt any ſhould voice as commiſſioners, whoſe commiſſion was null, at leiſt not tryed to be valid; this was a ready way to turne the Aſſembly upſide down, to put us in a labyrinth inextricable; for, before the conſtitution of the Synod, the Commiſſioner ſhould have ſo drawn in the deepeſt queſtions, ſuch as the power of Elders, the ſtate of Miniſters cenſured by Biſhops, and many moe, which himſelf alone behooved to determine, no Aſſembly being conſtitute for the diſcuſſion of any queſtion. Againſt this motion therefore, as rooting up all poſſibilitie ever to ſettle any Aſſembly, bot at the Commiſſioner's ſimple diſcretion, Rothes, Lowdon, (Balmerinock through all the Aſſembly reſolved to be weell near mute,) Dickſon, Livingſtone, Henderſone, reaſoned,

that custome, equitie, necessitie did enforce the choyfing of a Moderator and Clerk before the commissions be discussed, or any thing else done. After much subtilie, accurat, and passionat pleading, for both sydes had prepared themselves, it seems, for this plea, the Commissioner craved leave to retire with the Counsell for advysemēt: after a long stay in the chapter-house, returning, he was content to permitt voyceing for the Moderator; with protestation, That this voyceing should not import his approbation of the commissions of any voycer against whom he was to propone any just exception in due tyme, or his acknowledgement of any voycer for a lawfull member of this Assemblée: His Grace required instruments, also, of ane other protestation, That the nomination of a Moderator should no wayes be prejudiciall to the Lords of the Clergie, their office, dignitie, or any priviledge, which law or custome had given to them. Against both thir, Rothes took instruments, in name of the Commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, protesting, That his Grace's protestations should in nothing prejudice the lawfulness of any commission against which no just and true nullitie should be objected in the tyme of tryall of the commissions: also, that his Grace's second protestation should not hinder the discussing the nature of the office, and the alleadged priviledges of the pretended Bishops in this present Assemblée. My Lord Montgomerie, in name of the perseuers of the complaint against the Bishops, did protest, That his Grace's protestations should not be prejudicial to the discussing, in this present Assemblée, of their complaints against the persons, titles, dignities, and priviledges of the pretended Bishops. Mr. John Bell urged the voyceing for the Moderator; bot his Grace shew, that there was presented to him a paper, in name of the Bishops, which he required then to be read. Here also was some sharp reasoning; diverse alleadged, that no bill, supplication, protestation, or whatever, could be read to the Assemblée, before it were an Assemblée; bot immediately after the Assemblée's constitution, it should be in his Grace's option to cause read that paper of the Bishops, or any other, to which the Assemblée's answer should be returned. After reasoning, and requesting, his Grace did use his authoritie to require the reading of the paper: At once there arose a tumultuous clamor of a multitude crying, No reading! No reading! This barbarous crying did offend the Commissioner, and the most of us all. Silence being gotten, his Grace did protest, That the refusall of hearing that paper was unjust. Rothes also required acts of his pro-

testation, in name of the commissioners, That the refusall was just and necessar. All being wearied with the multiplication of protestations, bot the clerk, who with every one received a piece of gold, his Grace, whether in earnest or scorn, did yet protest of our injurie in calling the Lord Bishops pretended, whom yet the Acts of Parliament did authorize. Rothes, in our name, did protest, That they behooved to be taken for pretended, till this Assemblie had tryed the challenges which was given in against all their alleadged prerogatives. How needles foever manie of his Grace's protestations seemed to be, yet I was glad for his way of proceeding ; it gave me some hopes of his continuance among us. I thought that this way of protesting had been resolved wyselie in Counsell, whereby the Commissioner might sitt still till the end, and yet, by his presence, import no farder approbation to any of our conclusions, than he fand expedient. By appearance this course had been much better than that abrupt departure, which his posterior instructions, to all our griefs, and the great marring of the King's designs, forced him unto. Mr. John Bell again presented his lite for moderation. His Grace shew, that his Majesty had written letters to fix of the Counsellors, Thesaurer, Privie Seall, Argyle, Lauderdale, Carnegie, and Sir Lewis Stewart, as I think, to be his assessors, not only for counsell, bot voycing in the Synod. Argyle's letter was publickly read, that this his Majesty's desire should be condescended unto before any farder proceeding. It was replied, with all respect to the worthie Nobles named, that my Lord Marqueis in the produced commission, was appointed sole Commissioner ; that assessors were only for counsell, and not for multiplication of voyces ; that the King in person would require bot one voyce ; that the giving of moe voyces to the assessors might give way, not only to very manie, as in some unallowable assemblies it had been, but to so manie as by pluralitie might overwaie all. Against this refusall, his Grace did protest, with some grief ; and we also, desiring that our reasons might be insert with our protestation. At last, we were permitted to choyce the Moderator : Mr. John Kerr, Mr. John Row, Mr. J. Boner, Mr. William Livingstone, [and] Mr. Alexander Henderstone, were put in leit by Mr. John Bell ; for the leiting of the new is in the hands of the old. Messrs. Ramsay, Rollock, and Dickson, for withdrawing of votes, were holden off. All, without exception, went upon the last, as in the most of our matters there was no diversitie at all, or where any, it was bot of a few. I remember not how his

Grace voyced ; bot it was his custome to voyce rather by way of permission, then to say any thing that might import his direct assent ; for it seems he resolved to keep himself in all his words and deeds so free, that he might, when he would, disavow all that was done, or to be done, in that Assemblée. Mr. Henderson being chosen with so full an accord, made a prettie harangue, whether off-hand or præmeditated, I know not. There was a conclusion taken that night, after some reasoning to the contrare, to have bot one Session in the day, to sitt from ten or eleven to four or fyve [afternoon] : so wee were all relieved of the expences of a dinner ; ane earlie breakfast putt us all off to supper, for commonlie we satt ane hour with candlelight. We ended that day with the Moderator's prayer : Among that man's other good parts, that was one, a facultie of grave, good, and zealous prayer, according to the matter in hand ; which he exercised, without fagging, to the last day of our meeting.

3. In our third Session, on Fryday November 23d, the Moderator presented a lite to be voyced for choyfing of the Clerk. Here a longer dispuitt then needed fell in, betuixt the Commissioner and the Moderator, whom Rothés, bot especially Lowdon, did second. The Commissioner, whether of true intent to have a base Clerk, of whose submissness to injunctions they might be hopefull, or to shew his pitie and equitie to see every one kept in their right, where he had place, though he proffessed small obligation to the young man, who for no intreatie would be pleased to shew him any blenk of the Assemblée-books ; yet pressed much that this young man Mr. Thomas Sandilands might serve here, as his father Mr. James Sandilands commissar of Aberdeen his deput, since his father's decease could not spoill him of ane advantageous office, whereto he was provyded *ad vitam*. Yet it was carried, that since his father was not provided to that office bot by Mr. Thomas Nicholson's dimission, and ane corrupt Assemblée's consent, without any mention of deputation ; as also since he was so infirme as he was unable to attend the service, and unwilling to reside at Edinburgh, where the Registers of the Church behooved to lie : for thir, and many other reasons, the Clerk's place was found to vaike. Consideration was promised to be had of Mr. Thomas Sandiland's interesse, which he did submit to the Assemblée's discretion. In the lite, Mr. Thomas was first, efter Johnne Nicoll, and Alexander Blair, and Mr. Archibald Johnestoun. The Commissioner would not voyce to any of them, because he saw no

no lawfull dimiffion of the former clerk. The Moderator took his Grace then for a *non liquet*. Yesternight's plea was here renewed: His Grace required that his affeffors' voyce might be craved in the Clerk's election: The Moderator thought it unfit to trouble their Lordships to voyce about a Clerk, fince they did not voyce to the choofeing of the Moderator, a fuperior officer. Many words here were fpent, till at laft reafons in wryte were produced, why my Lord Commiffioner and his affeffors fhould have bot one voyce. I thought, in the tyme, thefe Reafons [D.] were of ane high ftraine, and fome of them did ftryke deeper on authoritie than I could have wifhed. Traquair craved ane double of them, and promifed ane anfwer; bot the fubfequent affaires, or fomewhat elfe, hindered that anfwer yet to appear. This high, yea higheft question, (for in all the Affembly we had nothing elfe that concerned authoritie,) was clofed by the renewing of yesternight's proteftations, on both fydes.

The lite put to voyceing, Mr. Archibald Johnftoun by all fave one, was elected: being deeply fworne, he was admitted to all the rights, profites, priviledges, which any in former tyme by that place had enjoyed. To him Mr. Thomas Sandilands, in face of the Affembly, did delyver two Registers, which contained the Acts of the Kirk fince the year 1590, testifying that his Father had never any more in his cuftodie. The Moderator required all earneftlie to procure the production of any the Church-Registers could be had; for the loffe of fuch a treasure as the Church's evidents was pitifull. His Grace protefted his willingnefs to doe his endeavour for fo good a work. Rothes intreated that the Bifhops might be caufed delyver what they had; for it was known that King James had fent a warrand to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone late clerk, to deliver to the Bifhop of St. Andrewes the Registers of the Church. After much regrateing the irreparable loffe of thefe wrytes, the new Clerk declared, that by the good providence of God, thefe books they fpake off were come to his hands, which there he produced to all our great joy: Fyve books in folio, four written and fubfcrived, and margined with the known hands of ane Gray and Ritchie, clerkes to the Generall Affembly, containing the full register from the Reformation in the [15]60 year, to the [year 15]90, where Mr. Thomas Sandilands's books began, except fome leaves which Bifhop Adamfone had riven out: thir one Winrhame, deput to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone, had left to ane Alexander Blair,

his fuccellor in office, of whom Mr. Archibald [Johneftone] had gotten them : the fyfth was ane extract by way of compend from the [15]60 to the [15]90, whereby in a good part Bifhop Adamfone's facrilegious rapine might be reftored. Thefe books the Moderator craved might be fought by Argyle, Lauderdale, and Southefke. Bot my Lord Commiffioner would not permitt his affeffors to undertake fuch employment, fince they were refufed voyce in the Affembly ; bot he was content that a committee of the members of the Synod fhould be named, for to try if thefe books were authentick and full registers. So Mr. A. Ramsay, Mr. John Adamfone, James Boner, John Row, William Livingftone, Robert Murray, with young Durie, the Clerk of Dundie, and Mr. Alexander Peirfon advocat, were appointed, to give their report and reafones fo foon as they could.

The Moderator then did require, that for the Affembly's full constitution, the Commissions might be put to tryall. Bot the Commiffioner caufed Dr. Hamilton firft to be called, and prefent his paper to be read. His Grace did urge much, that fince the former objections were removed, of the want of a Moderator and a Clerk, the paper now might be read. It was replied, over and over, that it could not be, till by the difcuffion of the commissions the Affembly were conftitute. Traquair preffed, That the paper poffible had exceptions againft the lawfullnefs of the election of the commiffioners, which were impertinent to alleadge, if once the commissions were approven. The Commiffioner affured, he knew not what was within thefe papers ; bot prefupposing they were formed for the opening of the eyes of thefe who were to voyce, anent the members of the Affembly, it was the onlie tyme to read them before the voycing. Rothcs replied, That exception againft particular commiffioners might not be proponed untill the tryall of their commissions ; and exceptions againft the whole Affembly could not be heard till it were ane Affembly. The Moderator eiked, That if in that paper there were any light to open their eyes, they fhould fhortlie profefse their repentance of their error in not reading it when it was required. His Grace protested, That this no reading before the tryall of the commissions, fhould import no prejudice to the Lords of the clergie, and their adherents ; and of this proteftation, he required ane act from the new clerk's hand. The Clerk faid, he could wryte no act without the Affembly's warrand, and it could give no warrand till once it were in being. The Commiffioner then required instruments in my Lord Regif-

ter's hands, of his protestation, since the clerk refused. The Clerk shew his willingness, at the Moderator's directions, to wryte his Grace's protestation; bot might give no extracts till the Assemblie were constitute. In the forming of this protestation, the Clerk, I thought, was to seik in that; his witt he kythed ever thereafter; the act behooved to be formed and reformed; the Commissioner and the Clerk did shape it over and over, and over again, ere they could fall on a fashion which his Grace could lyke: This made me pitie Johnestone, and think him the better advocat then clerk; bot the youth's tryed sufficiencie in both the arts proves my mistaking, or at least that this inlaik in the first entrie to his office was bot occasionall, and meerlie accidentall. In the progresse of this dispuitt his Grace shew the necessitie that was laid on him, in this passage, to be punctuallie circumspect; for howbeit he was a great Commiffioner, yet he was but a poor subject and servant, lyable to account for all his service. Much reasoning was that the Bishops exceptions against the judges should be heard before they were acknowledged and constitute for judges: when Traquair and Lowdon had harped upon this string a while, Argyle lends in his word, That a partie does give in their exceptions against ane assise before it be sworn, so why might not the Bishops give in their exceptions against the Assemblie, which now was like ane assise called and convened, bot not yet sworne. The Moderator cuttittie, (as the man naturallie hath a little choler, not yet quite extinguished,) answered, That the Commissioner his Grace was of great sufficiencie himself; that he only should speak there; that they could not answer to all the exceptions that a number of wittie noblemen could propone; that these who were not commissioners would doe weell to informe his Grace of what they thought meet, in convenient tyme. This check, I believe, was intended more for others then for Argyle, who would have taken it worfe if it had fallen on their fingers; always Lowdon took it off in a quick jest, that my Lord Argyle's instance was good, if the Bishops had once compeired as pannelled men before ane assise. This wearisome plea ended that dayes action, for his Grace acquiesced in his protestation.

4. The fourth session, on Saturday 24th of November, we waited long, till near twelve, for his Grace's coming in: The reason of this delay was not so much his breakfast, which was indeed daylie magnifick and very sumptuous, for so did the King allow that his Commissioner, in all his voyages, should have a

royall table; yet the reason of his Grace's almost daylie lateness was his consultations with his cabin-counsell, and long wrytes to the King, which daylie were dispatched of all occurrents. In the meanwhile the Moderator named preachers for all the churches, I think, without their own advyce: well I wott I had no thought of preaching, yet being nominat as one to preach to-morrow with Mr. James Boner in the Blackfriars, I could by no intreatie gett it declyned; so I behooved to depart, and make me readie so well as I could in so short a tyme. It is true, a moneth before I was advertised, that, among the rest who was named preachers at the assemblie, I was one; yet not thinking to be so soon employed, I could make no use of what I had prepared for that end. When his Grace came in, the Moderator required, that for the more quick dispatch, his Grace would be pleased the Assemblie might go on with some affaires at the hour appointed, which should all be repeated to his Grace at his entrie. The Commissioner replied, that he was sent there by his Majestie to attend this business alone; so it behooved him to be ane eye and ear witness of all [that] passed, that his account might be the more faithfull. The Commissions fell next to be examined; they were given in to the number of ane hundred and twelve, from presbyteries, burghs, universities. The Moderator required, for expedition, that all in the order of the catalogue should be read; that the commission against which any exception should be taken, might be laid aside for posterior tryall; that these against which nought was by any objected, should be taken by that silence to be approven. The Commissioner protested, That his silence should not be taken for ane approbation of any man's commission, for he had objections against many commissions which as yet he was not fullie instructed to propone, bot in due tyme should doe it. Amongst all the commissions none was controverted but threitein. Peebles was protested against by Mr. Robert Alliot, as if it had been procured by my Lord Thesaurer his indirect dealing: Here arose a plea, which continued two or three dayes thereafter. The Thesaurer justified his proceedings in many words, inveighed sharplie against the person of that minister, required that his Grace would see justice done upon him for lybellling in such a place against a prime officer of state. The Commissioner promised him reason. The Moderator admonished the Thesaurer to speake of the man in no other termes then were due to a minister of Jesus Christ. Rothes and others took the Assemblie for judge of whatever wrong was done

by that protestation. So myld and humble was my Lord Thefaurer, that he offered to submitt the censure of his carriage in that election to any one member of the Assemblie. After much debating in publick and private before a committee appoynted for that end, the commission was approvén; the fault of the protesting minister was thought to deserve no sharper censure then by a few words. Bot the most part of that day was spent in a hotter controverſie about the commission of Brechin. The Presbytrie had chosen first the Laird of Dun for elder; thereafter they mett in a more full number, and the pluralitie of voyces were caried to my Lord Carnegie: Dun his commission being ſent to be advyſed by the Table of Edinburgh, was returned, with the reaſons of their approbation written on the back, and ſubſcryved with the hands of Montroſe, and diſerſe others of that table. The clerk, I think unadviſedlie, read in publick not only the commiſſion, bot alſo the Table's ſubſcryved approbation on the back. His Grace preſentlie caught the advantage, required a double under the clerk's hand of that commiſſion as it was read, back and fore, that he might be thereby the better inſtructed for objecting againſt it and other commiſſions. This, after long diſputt, was reſused to him; becauſe the back of the commiſſion was both written and read accidentlie, and ſo extracts could not be granted of it. When Mr. D. Dickſon ſpoke of this back write, as having ſome negligence in it, Montroſe took him hotlie, and profeſſed their reſolution to avow the leiſt jote that was in it. The plea at laſt ended for that day with his Grace's proteſtation, that the double of that back wryte was reſused to him. The tryall of thir two commiſſions was given to a privie committee; who, after ſome days debate, ſand both to be rejected. Againſt the commiſſion of Rothſay, we of Irvine did object, That the Iſle of Bute was a part of our preſbytrie. In the tryall it was found meet to reject the commiſſion; and thereafter that Rothſay, having bot three kirks, ſhould be annexed to the preſbytrie of Dun-oune, to be erected of new in Cowell; for in prior Aſſemblies the whole dioceſſe of Argyle was not divided in ſeverall preſbyteries, nor the Iſles, nor Orknay; bot we took courſe in this Aſſemblie for that confuſion. The commiſſion both of the Presbytrie and Colledge of Glaſgow were laid aſide; of the Colledge, becauſe there was putt in foure names, Mr. John Maxwell among the reſt, a non-covenanter. In this we miſſed the Principall's wiſdome, or rather ſand his too great witt: no Univerſitie had ever offered, ſo farr as we know, to ſend moe commiſſioners

nor one; they thought, that their Univerſitie might have the privilege of ane preſbytrie, to ſend foure, unleſs a law could be produced that did reſtrict to one. In the tryall, many checks fell on the Principall, eſpeciallie from Mr. John Adamſone, who did ſomewhat petulantlie reproach him, when he touched the noveltye of the ſtyle of the Univerſitie of Edinburgh: Bot the chief reaſon why many mouths were readie to carp [at] all Dr. Strang ſaid, and to daſhe him at every occaſion, was, beſide the many paſſages of his former carriage ſince the beginning of this matter, a late very much miſliked dealing: At their preſbytrie's election of their commiſſioners, he had much objected, yet Mr. John Maxwell alone had uſed a formall proteſtation againſt the voyceing of ruling Elders in that election; bot ſome fourtene dayes or tuentie before the Aſſembly, the Principall and Mr. John Maxwell did draw up a proteſtation (E.), to the which they got the hands of other fix of their preſbytrie, Mr. R. Wilkie, and Mr. John Bell younger, Mr. John and Mr. G[avin] Forſyth, Mr. A. Forbes, and Mr. James Hutcheſon, ſtryking againſt the election of Elders, and, by conſequence the conſtitution of our Aſſembly; all the members whereof were choſen after the ſame manner. This wryte was putt in the Principall's hand for cuſtodie, not to be given in without the conſent of all; yet, as it ſeemes, by Mr. W. Wilkie's procurement, it was delivered without the knowledge of the reſt to the Marqueis, who made uſe of their example to move others to doe the lyke. It was caryed ſo cloſelie, that we did never ſuſpect any ſuch thing till the Fryday, the third day of our Aſſembly: Upon the firſt ayre of it we reſted not till we found it out: we took it all for a dangerous and undermynding plott, at leaſt for a deſigne, ſo far as lay in them, to have overthrowne our Aſſembly and divided us all: the invention we aſcryved to the Principall and Mr. William Wilkie. On the Monday we conveened the Principall and others in my Lord Lowdon's chamber: Mr. D. Dickſon, [the] Moderator, Mr. Rutherford, and I, reaſoned and intreated the Principall to paſſe from that wryte; we were at laſt plain with him, that if he would ſtand to it, it behooved us to deall with him as ane open enemy: He was putt to great perplexitie; the wryte was not now in his power; the Marqueis, by his recalling, would be more diſpleaſed then he had been pleaſed with the gift. Our reaſons and boaſts had perſuaded all the reſt almoſt of his partie to repent their raſhneſs; yea, the moſt of them under their hand to paſs from it. The Principall at laſt did the like, but out of tyme, about the end of

the Affembly ; and in fuch a way that did not fatiffie ; it was an unhappie aët, and the ground of much trouble to our good friends. Upon this the Marqueis caufed lay by my Lord of Eglinton's commiffion for Glasgou : yet in the tryall that commiffion was approven : For the proteftation againft it, when the Marqueis produced [it] to be read, the ingiver, Dr. Strang, flood up and oppofed the reading, to his Grace's great malecontentment, neither to our great lyking, fince it was not heartilie and fullie recalled. The Univerfitie's commiffion was annulled ; bot they were defyred to conveene and renew their commiffion to fome one : This they did not ; for fince they had fo involved themfelves that they could not, nor would not, nor durft not fyde with either of the parties, they refolved to be abfent. This courfe moved manie, specialle of the gentry, to call oft in publick for Dr. Strang to give account of his commiffion, intending to have dealt with him in rigour, as a declynor of the Affembly ; bot by the procurement of the Moderator, Mr. D. Dickfon, and fome other of us, we got their indignation eluded ; onlie there was appointed a committee from the Affembly, the conveener whereof was my Lord Argyle, to vifit the Colledge, wherein we intended not to have depofed any of their members, as they feared we would, and had occafion fo to doe, bot onlie to eftablifh, with their own confent, Mr. D. Dickfon, conjunct Profeffor of Divinitie with the Principall, that, by his grace and diligence, the great backwardnefs we had oft found in that Colledge and Toun might be remedied without any man's trouble. To this motion the Colledge feems to applaud ; bot the multitude of great affairs has hindered the meeting of that vifitation to this day, and now it is well near forgotten.

5. On Monday, the 26th of November, was our fifth Seflion. The reft of the Commiffions were read, and thefe few, which had been objected againft, were put to tryall. His Grace protefted to have libertie to object in his own tyme. Rothes preffed the prefent tyme to be moft fitt for objecting ; yet we gave to his Grace his choyce of what tyme he would. There was three or four commiffions of the North tinkled upon. The Univerfitie of Aberdeen fend their humanift, one Lundie, to have their foundation rectified ; this man had voyce among us, and a committee was appointed for the toun of Aberdeen to vifit their Colledge. The Prefbytrie of Aberdeen fend two commiffions, one with their moderator, Mr. David Lindefay parfon of Belhelvie, a ftirring and a pragmatick bold man, and Dr. Guyld ;

another, with one Harvie, for himself and Dr. Baron, and, as I thinke, Dr. Sibbald : in the tryall we found Belhelvie's commission to be approven, and the other rejected ; yet heartilie did we wish the coming of Dr. Baron and his colleagues. For a tyme we were put in confidence of their presence, and of some of the Bishops. Rofs, Brechin, and Galloway, were in the castle of Glasgou, as I remember, that day, and fundrie dayes thereafter in the palace of Hamilton ; bot it hes been their resolution, taken in common with the Commissioner, not to compear, knowing the Commissioner's determination to desert and leave us, as shortlie he did. One Mr. Thomas M'Kenzie came with a commission from the Chanrie of Rofs ; it was rejected, when we had considered the protestation of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbett, Seafort's uncle, against it. Mr. Thomas being rejected, gave in a protestation against ruleing Elders, with odious accusations against the Tables of Edinburgh. Rothes and the Marqueis both craved instruments of the production of that protestation ; bot the man at once went off the towne : we fand him thereafter a subferyver of the Bishops declinator, and a most vitious fellow, and so deposed him from his ministrie. Now at last we fand the Assemblie, to our great joy, fullie constitute, and so we went on to our businefs. The first matter was the tryall of the Church Registers. The Committee for that end was desyred against tomorrow to give in their perfect reports. When Mr. M'Kenzie's protestation against Elders voyceing in Assemblies was read, Mr. Andrew Ramsay got up in a forme, and with great confidence undertook to prove, from Scriptures, Fathers, consent of Reformed churches, our own church practice, and Assemblie acts, that ruleing Elders were lawfull and necessary members of Assemblies. The Commissioner, professing his own insufficiencie, promised to produce some who should prove the contrare. Balquanquall gybed in privat at Mr. Andrew's bragg, likening him to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him in the King's presence, in the quarrell of the King's croun : yet I thinke Mr. Andrew would have made his word good against any of his Grace's disputters, if they durst have come forward.

6. On Tuesday, the 27th, was our sixth Session. The Committee gave in their report of the fyve bookes of Assemblie, and their reasons why they took them for good and authentick Registers, as ye may see them in print in our Assemblie-acts. The Commissioner being resolved, as it seems, to be a consenter to nothing, though he professed many of his scruples loosed by these

reasons, yet did not approve of these as of authentick registers. The Moderator, for the weight of the matter, delayed the voycing till the morrow, desyreing all to be readie then to object or to approve. The Moderator then did propone the naming of affessors to himself, and of a privie conference. Mr. D. Doglishe [Dalglish] remembering the Episcopall abuse of the privie conference to enervat and subvert the Affemblie, made all unwilling to hear of any moe privie conferences : Affessors by any publick act were thought needles ; bot it was permitted to the Moderator to nominat whom he would to convene with him in private ane hour before the publick meeting, for ordering of matters to be treated that day. His Grace protested that such nomination should not be prejudiciall to the right he heard his Master was in possession of, to order the matters to be proponed in the Affemblie as he thought meet. Rothés affirmed the proponeing and ordering of things to be proponed was the Moderator's due. The Moderator thought his Grace's protestation needles, since all that was to be proponed should be in his Grace's audience, and with his own consent. For his privie assistance he named, of the ministers, Mr. Henrie Rollock, Mr. John Adamson, Mr. D. Dickson, Mr. D. Doglishe ; of the nobilitie, Rothés, Montrose, Lindefay, Lowdon, Balmerinoch ; of the gentrie, Cavers, Keir, Waughtone ; of the burrowes, James Cochrane, James Fletcher, Mr. Robert Barclay. For the bills, the Affemblie nominat Messrs. D. Lindefay, James Boner, William Livingstone, Dr. Strang, Dr. Guild, Messrs. Andrew Affleck, and Robert Dowglafs, William Colvin,⁽¹⁾ George Haliburtoun ; of the nobilitie, Cassills and Burghley ; of the gentrie, Dundas and Auldbar of the burrowes, John Semple and Mr. Robert Cunningham. At this time came in the long urged declinature and protestation of the Bishops. So soon as it was read out by the clerk, my Lords Montgomerie, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, [and] young Durie, took instruments, in name of the complainers, against the Bishops, of their acknowledging of their citation, of their compearance by their proctor, of their wilfull absence in person, that sentence may be given against them as present ; as ye may see in the instrument. Against all the poynts of this protestation,

(¹) This name in the 4to. MS. is very indistinct, and seems to be "Will. Colin" ; and in the other copies has been transcribed "null calm," which has no meaning, but is so printed "null Calm" in the edition 1775. There is little doubt that the person was Mr. William Colvin or Colville, then Minister of Cramond, and a member of the Assembly.

uttered by Durie, his Grace did protest. Thereafter his Grace produced three other papers; one subscribed by the Deane of Edinburgh, Mr. David Mitchell, Mr. A. Thomfone, Mr. James Forfyth, and others, to the number of twentie hands, bearing the name of a supplication, bot ending in a protestation against the Assëmbly, if Elders, or commissioners chosen by them, should have voyce; another to the like purpose, subscribed by the ministers of Dundie, and some few there; a third, by the eight named of the presbytrie of Glasgou. This was hardlie gotten suppressed by Dr. Strang the author of it, and was cast by with the Commissioner's open indignation. We were glad that the hudge number of protesters wherewith we were oft boasted, and which in all the kingdome carefullie were fought out, was now found to be so small, and of so little consideration; diverse publickly at once recanting their subscriptions; the rest to this day are favourers of the books, and allowers of the course which obtruded them. Against these protestations the Moderator caused read some papers for Elders places in synods, I think of Mr. D. Catherwod's ⁽²⁾ penning, who lived all the tyme of the Assëmbly privily besyde the Moderator's chamber, and furdered what he could by his studies all our proceedings.

7. On Wednesday, before we entered, we heard a secret bruit of the Commissioner's purpose to leave the Assëmbly that day, and to break it up so far as he could; which was to all our grief, and somewhat besyde our expectation; for howsoever we had bot small hopes of the Assëmbly's fitting down with the Commissioner's consent, yet since it wes sett, and protestations only used against the things which he disliked, we thought this course of protesting might have continued, and the Assëmbly not broken up, at least not so soon; so much the more as the Commissioner had oft vented among us, not only his great desyre, bot also his hopes and confidence, to sitt till matters were brought to some tolerable conclusion: bot that it was otherwayes, we did impute it to some new instructions, brought down by the Bishop of Ross, who latelie was come from Court to the town. Yet some sayes, the Bishop had not seen the King at this voyage; and the Commissioner had pressed the King peremptorlie, at his departure, [not] to give audience to any of the Scottishe clergie anent the affairs committed to him, and had gotten his promise

(2) Mr. David Calderwood, the historian. At this time he was unprovided with a parochial charge, and was not a member of the Assembly.

for it ; also that the raising of the Assemblée was resolved to be commanded as it was, before it satt down.

The business came first to hand was the Assemblée books : the Moderator required oft, If any had reasons to propon why they should not be taken for authentick Registers of our Church, which hereafter might make faith in judgement. The Commissioner, with great affection, testified his earnest desyre of seeing the Church restored to her Registers ; yet necessity laid upon him against his heart, to protest against the acknowledgeing of these books to be true and sufficient Registers ; and that neither his Master, nor the Lords of the clergie, should suffer prejudice, by any act in any of these books, which had not been delivred by the late Clerk's son. Notwithstanding of this protestation, all the Assemblée, in one voyce, accepted of the books as the true and authentick Registers of our Church. It is one of the notable passages of God's providence towards our Church, that these books were not destroyed, or put in hands whence we should never have drawn them : this fourtie years bygone so great a desyre being in the heart of the Prince and Prelates for covering in perpetuall darknes of our old Assemblies, which crossed their intentions ; so great negligence on our parts to keep these monuments, that no man among us, so farr as I could ever hear, knew what was become of these books, bot all took it for granted that they were in St. Andrewes possession, who would be loath ever to let them go, or any true double of them ; yet God hes brought them out, and sett them up now at the doore of our Church, to be the rule, after scripture, of this Assemblée and all other their proceedings. In reasoning with the Marqueis about thir books, the Moderator, falling on the ancient orthodoxie and unitie of our Church, thought meet to read in Latine, and to comment in English, a fair testimonie concerning it, from the preface of the Harmonie of Confessions. Our nixt purpose that day was the Bishops declinature. Two answers in write was framed to it, and both read by the Clerk : they were confessed to be raw and rude, bot promised to be perfected with the first conveniencie ; as indeed, some dayes thereafter, I saw two papers, one of the Clerk's forming, possible with Mr. Catherwod's help, another of Mr. Andrew Ramsay's, more short ; both which contained solid answers to all that was materiall in the Bishops invective yet was thought meet to be cast in another third better mould ; which ye see in print, the Answer to the Prelates declinature. The Moderator, finding

that many of the Bishops exceptions against our Synod were used by the Remonstrants against the Synod of Dort, did read and expone the answer of the British divines in that Synod, against the Remonstrants declinature. Dr. Balquanquall then craved leave to speak, but in my judgment had done better to have been quiet: the man is quick and eloquent, but seems not to be of any profound soliditie. He, in many words, shew that the case of that Synod, in judging of the Remonstrants and their cause, was different from the case of this Synod, in judging of the Bishops and their cause, in two respects: 1. The errors of the Remonstrants were in poynts fundamentall, wherein their opposits could not be declyned as judges; for in such things there can be no neutralitie, but at the rising of such errors, there must be a present syding and opposition: but the errors alleadged upon the Bishops were in matters of discipline, which the Articles of our Church makes alterable, and so no necessitie there is to be on either side of such controversies: Again, the Church of Holland had not bound themselves by oath and subscription to the other syde, as we have done. This replie was vitious in many things; yea, in my judgment, found or pertinent in no part of it. Much tyme was spent by the Moderator in answer to the first part, so that the second was neglected. I thought the Moderator took too much libertie to discourse (of that he professed had been his late studie) of poynts fundamentall and preter-fundamentall: as the Doctor was rash to make all the articles of Arminius's errors fundamentall; so I thought the Moderator als incircumspect to absolve all the Arminian errors, without a distinction of the cryme of heresie. Mr. D. Doglishe, after much speech of others, in few words replied, pertinentlie, that the Ancient Synods, in the questions of Donatus and Novatus, though they had opposed the schismaticks in matters preter-fundamentall, yet wes no more casten from being judges, then these Synods were, which mett for condemning of heresies and errors fundamentall: also, that our Bishops were mainlie challenged for Arminianisme and Poperie, which the Doctor acknowledged to be fundamentall errors. His Grace here wiselie brought the Doctor off falsehoods, whence all his witts could not have delivered him with his credit. Yet since, I see the Doctor hes used a noble trick to clear himself of all; he has made the King, who wes some hundreth myles from hearing these speeches, bear witnes, that the Doctor spake to a clean contrare purpose then some thou-

sands of us heard him ; especially that he never neither thought nor spake that any of the Arminians errors were fundamentall. We have been much mistaken with that man : we esteemed him ever a Dordracenist, and opposed to Canterburie in that cause ; bot now we see he has made the King in his Manifesto,⁽³⁾ print as much for the Arminians as the heart of Canterburie could wish. Shall even deanries, let be bishopricks, have the facultie, in so short a tyme, to metamorphose the minds of men ?

The Moderator required next the Assemblée might voyce, If they fand themselves the Bishops judges, notwithstanding of their declinaturè ? The Commissioner, finding that the tyme to execute the King's last commandments, shew the contrarietie of his steering affections, joy and greiff : joy that he saw the day wherein he might make good before the world, all that his Master had promised by him ; greiff, that he could not bring this toylsome busines to such an end as he heartilie wished. The King's will, subscribed and signed, he made the clerk read, and defyred to be registrate in the Assemblies bookes : ye see it in print in the Proclamation ; fundrie things thereby was granted to our desire ; bot yet nothing that gave us a tolerable securitie of any thing. We were not permitted to treat any thing, bot to take that write for our full and satisfactorie conclusions in all things :—to handle any poynt of the doctrines that were contained in the Service-book ; to examine the right or wrong of Episcopacie, Perth Articles, or any part of discipline, how unjust or tyrannick soever, that was in the books of our Canons and Ordination ; to try if the articles of Arminius, or a number of the grossest poynts of the Romishe heresies and idolatries, which our Bishops from that prædomining court-faction does yet maintaine, without recalling one of them, we were not permitted : Generall Assemblies were put in the simple arbitrement of the Prince, who, so far [as] we know, was not to indict them bot at the good pleasure of our ingracious Bishops, as the custome has been thir thirty-six years bygone. For all this the Moderator, in a very grave, digest, and learned speech, gave thanks for the King's great favors contained in that paper ; shew at length how much we counted ourselves obliged in conscience to give to the King, even in Church matters, an inspec-

(3) This refers to the well-known work written by Dr. Balcanquhall, (who had recently been appointed Dean of Durham,) in the King's name, entitled " A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, &c. By the King." Lond. 1639, folio.

tion, a vindication, a sanction, by way of law, a compelling by force churchmen to their duties, a calling of counsellors, a chief place in them, a great respect to their voice, and so much more, as the Commissioner professed, he spake as it became a good christian and dutifull subject. Yet when the Moderator pressed the voicing, If we were the Bishops judges? there fell a sad, grave, and sorrowfull discourse: The writers of the Diaries hes it almost word be word, but as I cannot repeat any man's words, so I am impatient to double formall discourses. This was the Commissioner's last passage; he acted it with tears, and drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, as I think; well I wot, much from mine; for then I apprehended the certaintie inevitable of these tragedies which now are in doing. Much was said of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the King, and country; of his grief, yet necessitie to depart: the cause he alleadged, was the spoiling of the Assemblée, which he had obtained most free, by our most partiall directions from our Tables at Edinburgh, two wrytes whereof he produced and caused read; also the precipitate intrusion of laick Elders to have voice in Assemblies, which they might readilie have obtained by the King's good lyking in this Assemblée; for he would take the voice of so many noble and gentlemen conduceable for his service, if so they could have had patience to have the right of their interrupted possession restored to them by order. This at length, by Rothes, Lowdon, and others, was answered, That the papers produced were supposititious, and never came from them: their true instructions they produced, and offered to justify; for they were only advyses to proceed wyslie in the election of Commissioners, but in nothing against either law or reason: for the question of Elders, they were readie to dispute it; that their place was according to God's word, our laws and practises; that his Grace was acquainted fullie with that difficultie before the obtaining of the Assemblée: if the Bishops, by their whisperings since, hes moved the King to recall the Assemblée on this pretext, the cause of the posterior evils must lie upon them, as well as of all the former. After many words hither and yonder, the Marqueis shewing, that he had commission to punish faultie Bishops, to rectifie all their abuse, to limitat that office, so that it should not be able to wrong the Church, and to doe many more things then he would expresse; but now, he behooved to renew all his protestations in his Master's name, and in the name of the Lords of the clergie, That no Act there should import his consent, and that

nought done by the voyces of the present members was lawfull; also that he discharged them to proceed any farther. While he was going, my Lord Rothes gave to the Clerk a protestation in write, prepared for such an accident, which was read, while his Grace was in departing.

The reason of this departure, and our protestation against it, were both enlarged and polished to that forme ye see them standing in print in the King's proclamation of December, and our protestation against it. It was the opinion of some of us, who are but short-sighted, and dyves not deep in the mysteries of state, that his Grace's stay some days longer had been in nothing prejudiciall to his Master's service; yea very conduceable to have kept all from these irremediable extremities all men saw by that departure to be inevitable consequent. The questions about the Judges of the Bishops, which his Grace took for the occasion of his ryfing, was brought on by his urgent pressing of reading their declinature; also a little intreatie, as I suppose, might have gotten that question delayed so long as his Grace had pleased; at least it would have given much real satisfaction, if, with his Grace's consent, we would have gotten acts formed according to the truth, about the Books and other things wherein we did truely agree; and in the acts about Episcopacie, if he had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readilie the most part might have been moved to use a greater temper than ever thereafter can be hoped for; or if in this his hopes had miscaryed, he might have protested, or risen, when that occasion had been offered: but from the beginning God has permitted, for his own high ends, to this day, the Bishops and their opposites so to carry the King and the Countrey, that there can no be possible agreeance, but by yielding all to the one fyde. For my own part, I thought that the standing of Episcopacie, in any the least degree, could not be yielded; yet the way of the removeall of it, had my advise been followed, would possible have been lesse irritative of the King, and no lesse sure for their everlasting exclusion out of our Church: but it is easie for any man wantonlie to discourse on the faults of deeds past, who yet being employed, could no wayes have amended them in the passing. No one man I know was more willing: It kythed by his extraordinar grief at their miscarriage: many dayes thereafter he forgot to eat his bread, and through grief fell in sickness: My heart pitied the man: besyde other evils, the mishappines of the affair, which could not be by any hand

fo compaffed as to give content to all, made him fall in fuch danger of his Majeftie's mifinterpretation, that no other means was left him to purchafe a good conftitution of his very fidelitie, bot that which many counts wicked, and all exceedinglie miferable, the offer of his fervice to overthrow his countrey; wherein, if he prosper, Scotland for ever will curfe the day ſhe produced fo unluckie a child: If in this alfo he prove unfortunate with fortune, that favour of his Maſter, which to him hes been over dear, will take the wings, and leave him alone in the feas of difcomfort; wherein he is like to gett ſmall pitie from the breaft of any man, except from that one of Chriſt, who uſes not to deſert theſe who are deſerted of all, when out of their deep afflictions he is humble called upon for his grace.

Before his Grace's departure, Argyle craved leave to ſpeak; and that tyme we did not well underſtand him; bot his actions ſince hes made his ſomewhat ambiguous ſpeeches plain: He ſhew, That the King had commanded him to attend that Aſſembly; that in all things his part had been fair; that he had never flattered the King for any of his own ends; that he took us for members of a lawfull Aſſembly, and honeſt countrey-men; that, at the King's command, he had ſubſcribed, with the reſt of the Counſell, the Covenant, and in that ſame ſenſe as it was extant in that [15]80 year, when firſt it was formed; that they would ſee by all means, in their conſideration of that Covenant, that they did not wrong the true ſenſe of it. Lowdon replied, and Rothes, That it was moſt neceſſary the Aſſembly ſhould pronounce of the ſenſe of that Covenant, ſince it was ſubſcribed by fundrie with diverſe ſenſes: ſome takeing it to ſtand not only with Episcopacie and Perth Articles, but with the Books, and all the poſterior novations of our Church; other, that it did exclude ſome of theſe; others, that it [did] exclude all. The Commiſſioner promiſed that a courſe ſhould be taken, how the King's intention, in craving ſubſcription to that Covenant, and the true ſenſe of it, according to the ſtanding laws of the Church and kingdom, ſhould be underſtood.

When the Commiſſioner and Counſellers had turned their back upon us, the Moderator wyſelie did harangue himſelf to our encouragement; and Mr. D. Dick, Mr. H. Rollock, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. A. Ramſay, of the clergie, Lowdon of the nobilitie, Keir of the gentry, Mr. Robert Cuninghame of the burrowes, ſpake ſome words of encouragement; and then put it to voyceing, Whether we would adhere to the proteſtation againſt the Com-

miffioner's departure, and remaine ftill to the end, till all things needfull were concluded, or not? All did heartilie promife to abide on all hazards, except fome three or four Angus men, who, with the laird of Aithie, departed, alleading their commiffion had an exprefs claufe of the King's countenanceing of the Affembly. Dr. John Baron, commiffioner for the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, I think, was away before, on the pretence of ficknefs: he had fufcryved the Covenant; bot what farder he meant I could not learn, neither then, nor fince. It was good we were all put to it prefentlie; for if we had been delayed till morrow, it was feared many would have flipt away. The Marqueis preffed our advyement to-morrow, and clofing with prayer at his departure; bot in this plot, as in many other, we difappointed his wifdome: yea, here it was efpeciallie where the fruit of the wife election of the members of the Affembly did kyth. Had not the moft refolute noblemen and barrons of the kingdome been there as commiffioners, or had not the minifterie been verie well wailed for the purpose, very readilie, at this poynt of tyme, we might have played the part of the Affembly of Aberdeen, or at leaft, fuch an fenfible divifion might have rifen among us, as had marred all the fruit of our meeting. Our laft queftion that day was, If we fand ourfelves judges to the Bifhops declinature? and all did voyce affirmative. While we were in fome piece of perplexitie, we were fingularlie comforted, that in the very infant of the Marqueis departure, a very noble youth of great expectation, my Lord Erskine, craving audience of us, did profefs, with tears, his great greiff, that againft the in-born light of his minde, he had withholden his hand from our Covenant, and perfon from our meetings, befought to pray to Chrift for him that this fin might be forgiven him, and entreated humblie we would now admitt him to our Covenant and focietie. We all embraced him gladlie, and admired the timeoufnefs of God's comforts and mercies towards us. At that fame time your two preachers, Mr. Forbes and Mr. Mackell, required to be admitted to our Covenant, and were received.

8. Thurfday, the 29th of November, we kepted our eighth Seflion. Argyle that day came back to us. The Moderator earneftlie intreated him, that though he was no member of our Affembly, yet, for the common entres he had in the Church, he would be pleafed to countenance our meetings, and bear witnefs of the righteoufnefs of all our proceedings; this, to all our great joy, he promifed to doe, and did truelie performe his

promife. No one thing did confirme [us] fo much as Argyle's prefence ; not only the man was the far moft powerfull fubject in our kingdome, bot alfo at this tyme being in good grace with the King and the Commiffioner, we could not conceive bot his ftay with us was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongft us to keep matters into fome temper, and hold us from desperat extreams : as indeed he was carefull that no word did paffe from any mouth prejudiciall to the perfon or authoritie of the King. After a fermon of Mr. Gillespie, wherein the youth very learnedlie and judiciouſlie, as they fay, handled the words, " The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord ;" yet did inroach too much on the King's aétions : He gave us a grave admonition to let authoritie alone ; which the Moderator ſeconded, and we all religiouſlie obſerved, fo long as the Affembly laſted ; yet afterward we found, that nothing was more againſt the ſtomack both of the Commiffioner and King than Argyle's ſtay. The letters that paſt betuixt Argyle and the King ſhowes, that this ſtay was the greateſt ground of all the wrath his Majeſtie ſince has kythed towards him, whom before he did ſingularlie reſpect : alfo betuixt the Commiffioner and Argyle there paſſed words of high enough diſdayne, little from threats and perſonal challenges. It hes been the equitie of our cauſe, which hes been the only motive to make that man, in that neceſſare tyme, to the extreame hazard of his head, and all he poſſeſſes, to encourage us openlie by his aſſiſtance ; alſo it was, I think, his performance of promiſe to Rothes and Lowdon, who had a great guiding of him, and had gotten ſome affurance, as they fay, of his joyning with us when it ſhould be needfull. He produced to us a letter that day from the Earle of Wigton, and the next day from the Earles of Kinghorne and Galloway, three counſellers, ſhowing, that they had ſubſcryved the Confeſſion as it was profeſſed in the [15]80 year, even as Argyle had ſubſcryved. Montroſe likewiſe declared, that he had commiſſion to ſhow us as much in the name of Marre and Napier, other two counſellers ; and it was declared to us, that Almond and Blackhall, two counſellers, alſo deſyred to be underſtood by us to have ſubſcryved in the ſame ſenſe. Thir eight counſellers reſused to ſubſcryve the aét, which, in the night before, was drawn up in the Commiſſioner's chamber, and proclaimed this day at the Croſſe, diſchargeing the Affembly under the payne of treaſon. This diviſion of the Counſell, the beſt part of theſe who were preſent evidentlie

fyding with the Affemblie, did not a little increafe his Grace's greif, and our joy.

Because the Bifhops, in their declinatour, had alleadged, that fundrie members of our Affemblie were lying under the censure of the Church of Ireland, or our own Church, the Moderator defyred the parties intereft in this calummie to clear themselves : [viz.] Mr. Blair minifter of Ayr, Mr. Hamilton of Dumfreis, Mr. Levingftone of Stranrawer, Mr. Macleland of Kirkcudbright. Sundrie of us could have wifhed, that for the ftopping of the mouth of our partie, thefe had not been chofen commiffioners ; yet the excellent gifts of the men would not permitt the electors to paffe them by. Mr. Blair, in name of the reft, in a brave extemporall harangue, fhew at length, that all the cenfures had fallen on them, were not only alone for their adhering to the difcipline of the Church of Scotland, bot all moft unjuftlie inflicted : he gave us all full fatiffaction. Thefe under the censure of our Church were, Mr. David Dick, and Mr. Samuell Rutherford, and the Laird of Earleftoun : thefe cleared, that what the High Commiffion had done to them was not only for righteoufnefs, bot that their fentences was evidentlie null, according to the Bifhops unlaues.

This day were eftablifhed three or four Committees for preparing in private the chief and moft weightie matters the Affemblie had to treat of. At Argyle's motion, the firft thing taken to confideration was the Confeflion of Faith, how farr it did exclude or admitt the posterior novations of our Church. Upon this committee were put of the miniftrie men not among the fitteft ; Mr. D. Lindfay, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. Henry Rollock, Mr. Thomas Mitchell, Mr. Walter Buchanan, Mr. Thomas Wilkie, Mr. Robert Henderfone, Mr. D. Dick, Mr. James Martine : I with Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. John Adamfone, and myfelf, had been with them ; for here it was alone where my minde was, and yet is, grieved. I am minded at leifure, God willing, to goe over again that committee's labour ; and if I find it right to approve it, which yet I cannot fully doe ; or if I find my doubts grounded, I minde to propone them in fuch modeft earneftnefs to the next Generall Affemblie, if the tyme be peaceable, as I am able. Of elders were chofen men fitt enough, Rothies, Lowdon, Balmerinoch, Sheriff of Tiviotdale, Keir, Oldbarr, James Cochrane, Patrick Bell, James Fletcher of Dundie. My Lord Argyle was defyred to wait on this committee ; which he did affiduouflie. Another committee was appointed

for confideration of the corruptions of the bookes of Service, Canons, Ordination, and High Commiffion. On this was putt fome of us who had written againft thefe pieces, Mr. A. Ramfay, Mr. J. Adamfone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Edward Wright, Mr. Alexander Peter [Petrie], Mr. William Menzies, myfelf, and fome others. When we mett, the multitude of men and fpeech put us in miforder; though we divided our felfe in two companies, yet I thought we could doe more every man apart then all together: for myfelf, I could doe nothing in company; only in a night or two, out of my former wryts, I drew that little extraction I fent yow, which I read in the face of the Affembly, when our committee was asked of their diligence, with the good lyking of all. My Lord Montgomerie preffed that his complaint againft the Bifhops might be heard. Upon his motion, the Bifhop of Galloway's lybell was read: A long and tedious work; for it had not only all the generall lybell, bot diverfe proper articles of his corrupt doctrine, and flipps in his life, foull Sabboth breaking, and other things lybelled at length. For the shortening and clearing of this, and all other their proceffes, there was a committee appointed befides thefe of the bills before named; one minifter out of each diocefe; and of elders, the Earles of Eglintoun and Weemes, Johnftoun, Wedderburne, Lawers, Tarbett, Kinhilt, Robert Baylie proveft of Innernefs, James Airth clerk of Pettinweeme, Mr. George Gray clerk of Haddington. Our folkes had not been fo diligent as need had been, to have their prooffes in readinefs for the particular crymes they had lybelled againft the Bifhops lives; fo that committee proceeded the more flowlie.

9. Fryday, the 30th of November, was our ninth Seffion. This day was fpent in trying of the late corrupt Affemblyes, the in-bringers of our novations, and caufers of our divifion and now incumbent evils. Every man fpake what he knew and pleased of the Affembly of Perth, St. Andrewes, Glasgou, Lithgow, and Aberdeen; bot for the putting of their Nullities in a formall act, a committee was ordained to revife the registers, whereof Mr. Johne Robertfone of St. Johnftoun was the chief. In all our meetings I marvell that our tounfman, Mr. Joſeph Lawrie, hes never appeired: he was putt out by St. Andrewes and the High Commiffion from Stirling: I took him long ſince for an excellent preacher; he now ſerves at St. Johnftoun: I heard he preaches againft the bookes; yet did I never ſee him in any of our conventions for thir matters. We ended the ſooner that the

committees might have the more tyme for their diligence : fuch small privie meetings are moſt neceſſare ; for otherwayes affaires cannot be exped : yet I fee not how the inconvenients for which we abolifhed privie conferences ſhall not aryſe in thir committees ; only the name ſeemes to be changed.

10. Saturday, the 1ſt of December, was our tenth Seſſion. Mr. D. Lindefay preſented to us (for he had the chief charge of the bills ; yea, the man's dexteritie and diligence in this kinde of employment was fuch, that to the end of the Aſſembly fuch buſineſs lay upon him almoſt alone,) three cloſed proceſſes before the preſbytries. Firſt, that of Mr. D. Mitchell, who this long tyme had delighted to grieve the whole land with the doctrine of the faction ; Arminianiſme in all the heads, and fundrie poynts of Poperie, proved by fundrie witneſſes, beſyde his declyning of the Aſſembly, which alone, according to the acts of our Church, imports depofition. He came to Glaſgow, at leaſt remained ſome dayes in Hamilton with the Biſhop of Roſs : no man could have kept ſuch a one in our Church without ſerious repentance for his manifold avowed errors. The nixt was Dr. Panter, profeſſor of St. Andrewes : I never ſaw the man ; bot his *Walaidos* ⁽⁴⁾ makes me love him as one of the beſt poets I know now living : the man hes a bonny ſpirit ; ſomethings in all ſciences ; bot St. Andrewes 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 while he began to recommend the Engliſhe method of ſtudie to our youth, to begin with the Popiſh ſchoolmen and Fathers, and to cloſe with Proteſtant neotericks ; a moſt unhappie and dangerous order. I hear, in his publick notes, he hes deboirded to the Popiſh juſtification, and, in his diſcourſes, to the groſſeſt Pelagianiſme in originall ſin, let be in other points of Arminianiſme. Did not the heavens cry for a vengeance againſt our Biſhops, though we had been dumb, who did hear and ſee our Church undermynded with ſuch instruments, of their own making and maintaining ? The third was Archdeane Gladſtanes, a monſter of drunkenneſs, and atheiſtick profanitie : Rome Pagan could not have ſuffered ſuch a beaſtly man to have remained a prieſt even to Bacchus. I hear that the man once had a very great appearance of many

(4) A Latin poem in hexameter verſe, dedicated to King Charles, entitled,—“*Valliadus libri tres, opus inchoatum: Auctore Patricio Pantero ad Fanum Andreæ Theologo.*” Edinb. 1633. sm. 8vo.

good parts; they say he was a trim personage of a man, had a prettie estate, was a schollar in all faculties; right eloquent, wyse and discreet, and free of all scandalous vyces; in favour with the King, court, and countrey: bot long since, having cast away the fear of God, all these gifts of body, estate, minde, hes evidently left him. These processees were read and considered, bot sentences delayed. Because their errors ran much on Arminianisme, it was thought meet to appoynt some to speak at our next meeting against these errors. Mr. D. Dickson and I were nominated: very evill will had I of that taske; my diligence upon the Books was not yet delivered off my hand: Arminianisme is a deep, and large, and intricat subject; our tyme was the next meeting; whatever I doe, I would doe it in earnest; so without tyme I can doe nothing. Alwayes there was no remead; that night and to-morrow at night I did what ye saw, and what the Assemblie was pleased [with] on that subject.

11. Monday, 3d of December, we kept our eleventh Session. The first action was the appointment of preachers for that week; for every day of the week, except Saturday, there was in the morning sermon for the people in two churches, albeit the committee for that end fell whyles upon men whose sermons were bot scarce satisfactorie: yet by many good sermons the people was much the better; and in one thing only the worse, that thereafter they liked the worse of their own preachers. At the entrie Mr. D. Dick made a long harangue of Arminianisme. I admired the witt of the man, and his dextrous expression: he refuted all these errors in a new way of his own, as some years agoe he had conceived it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. I was not called upon that day, so I was glad that my task was forgot; yet at night I studied the article of free will, which before I had no tyme to consider. Mr. David's discourse was much, as all his things, extemporall; so he could give no double of it, and his labor went away with his speech. Mr. David Mitchell was deposed that day with the consent of all. The Toun of Edinburgh gave in their greivances against the rest of their ministers, the Deane and his colleagues, Mr. Alexander Thomson, Mr. Fletcher, and Dr. Eliot; the first three as declyners of the Assemblie, and practisers of the Service-book; the last as obtruded on them by Sir John Hay's authoritie, and as too weak for that ministrie; also as one who had read the Liturgie in a diocesan Assemblie. To make the Assemblie the shorter, there was the day following a committee named to sitt

in Januar at Edinburgh, with the power of the Generall Affembly, to cognosce on the causes of the ministrie there, and what other cause should by the Affembly be recommended to their cognition. The love I had to poore Dr. Eliot, who had not indeed declyned the Affembly, made me both plead my self, and stir up Mr. R. Meldrum and Mr. Eliezer Borthwick, his friends, to deal with Rothes and others, that the committee of Edinburgh should have power at farthest but to suspend and transport him, without deposition. That day the Bishop of Orkney presented a letter to us by the hand of his son, showing, that old age, and sickness, and length of the journey, were the only causes of his not compearance; and withall, that he submitted himself to our censure. Some others of the Bishops did the like; and I doe verilie think that not three of the fourteen would have been unwilling to have laid their bishopricks at our feet, and, after any penance we had enjoined, returned to their old ministerie, had not fear of the King's wrath, and hope of our overthrow by the King's forces, holden them back.

12. Tuesday, the 4th of December, at our twelfth Session, I was called, by my expectation, to give account of my labour: I read to them out of my blustered papers that which I sent you of Arminianisme. I got thanks for it, and was fashed many dayes in provyding copies of it to fundrie. Complaints were given in against Mr. William Maxwell of Dunbar, and Mr. George Sydserfe of Cobrinspait, for very corrupt doctrine, and tyrannous behaviour to force their parishioners to conformitie. It is marvellous, how impudent all the familiars of the Bishops of Ross and Galloway were grown, in avowing pertly Arminianisme, and much Poperie. Thir two was referred to the committee of Edinburgh, and deposed by it: they were both declyners of the Affembly, and their own presbytrie, and appeallers to the King. Upon the complaint of the provost of Dundie and gentlemen of Angus, there was a committee nominat for the ministers of Dundie and Angus; fundrie there had declyned the Affembly, and were ill minded towards all our proceedings: I knew none of the men. The Toun of St. Andrewes complained, that their minister Dr. Withart had deserted them above eight moneths: they seemed content enough with the man's life and doctrine, if he would returne, and acknowledge the Affembly: howbeit malicious desertions so long a tyme be sufficient for deposition, yet we referred the case to farder consideration. We deposed Dr. Gladstones with one mouth. Mr. John Robertstone gave a good and diligent

count of the taske committed to him ; many good reasons why the Sixe last Assemblies were null from the beginning : Ye may see them printed in the acts. Upon this we voyced with one consent, the Nullitie of all these Assemblies. In the voycing it fell alwayes Mr. Alexander Carfe to be first ; very oft the man delyvered his voyce in a quick merry taill, so that he became to us almost a Pleasant. I was most glad of that day's act : I thought the nullifying of these Assemblies did clearlie quyte us of Bishops and Perth Articles, without the necessitie of any further scrupulous and divisive disputes : bot some that thinks no steill band sufficient to bind their tenets on the consciences of others, rested not with this vantage, bot drave their nayle to the head afterward, as ye shall hear.

13. Wednesday, the 5th of December, the Moderator, by way of clear consequent, deduced from yesterday's act of the Nullitie of the former Assemblies, the freedome of all from the oathes of conformitie taken by the Bishops ; of the restitution of presbyteries and assemblies to their rights, which never were null, but, for a tyme, suppressed by the injustice and violence of the Bishops ; the validitie of the admissions and depositions of ministers past latelie by presbyteries without the consent of bishops. Thir, and other such consequences, were not only deduced, bot sett down by way of acts, as ye see in print. That day, Dr. Robert Hamilton of Gleffurd, procurator of the bishops, his process was read : befyde his open affronting of the Assemblie, he was found to have been absent at Court, and at Edinburgh oft twelve, fifteen, eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reason bot pleas for augmentation, and futes of farder promotion. The man's gifts are every way mean : he had a good estate, and well to the foore ; bot being smitten by the ambition of his good brother Dr. Whyteford, [did] tread his steps of vain lavishnes and dilapidation of what he had, to seek what he did not deserve. He was found to be, according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provocking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day : he was, as we call it, an ordinar swearer ; for the faction delighted, as I have heard fundrie of them, to adorne their speeches with the proverbs, Before God, I protest to God, By my conscience, On my soull, and higher asseverations, by thir phrases to clear themselves of puritanisme : he was a violent persecuter, even to excommunication, and denying of marriage and baptisme of these who would not communicat with him kneeling. Many such things were

lybell'd againſt him. He wreitt a letter to the Moderator, as to Mr. Alexander Henderſon miniſter at Leuchars, ſhowing, that he might not compear before ane Affemblye diſcharged by the King, bot was free of theſe things he was challenged off; or what of his lybell was true, he was not worthie to be rebuked for it before a preſbytrie, let be called before a Generall Affemblye. Some dayes thereafter, when his witneſſes had been ſworn before all the Affemblye, and their depositions taken by the committee of the Bills, which was our conſtant courſe in all proceſſes, he was depofed by unanimous conſent of us all. Yet he would remaine ſtill, by violence, ſome few weeks at his church; bot at laſt the fear of excommunication, or rather of the countrey ryſeing there higher in crubing ſuch as he was, he fled to England, with many moe; where we heard he was preſented to the Biſhoprick of Caithneſs, to all our indignation at the perverſneſs of Canterburie, who would not yet ceaſe to provoke us, by conſerring biſhopricks on ſuch infamous and unworthie men. St. Andrewes lybell was read, and ſome parts of it conſidered; yet we did nothing of moment becauſe of Argyle's abſence at my Lord Blantyre's buriall; a poor man, well away: His ladie thereafter being long bruited with a baſe fellow, kythed with child to him; whereof, to all our contentment, ſhe died.

14. Thurſday, the 6th of December, was our fourteenth Seſſion. That day, many large and tedious treatiſes againſt the Books were read: We got all thanks for our labours. A reſolution was taken to putt us all in print; bot the multitude of our publick affaires that daylie ſince hes come thicker and thicker on our backs, hes invyed us that honour; and indeed there was many things in our pamphlets might not well have abidden the light, how well ſoever at the firſt reading they pleaſed men unacquaint with that kinde of ſtudie. Alwayes we cleared the mindes of all about the nature of the Books and High Commiſſion, and encouraged them with one mouth, to make the four ſharp decrees, which ye ſee in print, againſt the Service book, the booke of Canons and Ordination, and High Commiſſion. Theſe pieces are ſo vile, that none of our parties to this day hes ever minted to defend them, except by theſe parentheses which they make the King in his Proclamations caſt in for their commendation. I took it ever for one of our partie's greateſt crymes, that they caſt all burdens on the back of our ſweet Prince yet, and themſelves hes never endeavoured to

fatiffie as many of their challenges, either by maintaining them in reason, or confessing their errors by ingenuous repentance.

15. Fryday, the 7th of December, the Bishop of Dunkeld⁽⁵⁾ sent us in write his simple submission. Many spake for him, That he did not approve the late courses of the Bishops; that he had admitted fundrie ministers without the band of conformitie; that he did not deserve the censure of these who declyned the Assemblie. My Lord Lindeſay that day urged vehementlie the deposition of Mr. G. Halyburton minister of Craill; yet when we perceaved that the maine thing alleadged againſt him was bot medleing with the church-boxe, and negligence in counting for it, and that the chief quarrell was his late transportation to the great benefice of Craill, againſt my Lord Lindeſay's will, the patron of it, we would not gratifie any man's humorous spleen, bot referred the tryall of that proceſſe to the presbytrie of St. Andrewes; shewing that we thought the man's negligence in counting, being yet helped by refounding, of some moneyes, needed not be so odiouſlie exaggerat with the name of sacriledge as it was. Also a grievous libell of Arminianisme was given in on Mr. James Affleck, in the presbytrie of Dundee. The man cleared himself to us of all, bot some quirks in the second article; the gentlemen, who understood not well, thought every thing here capitall heresie. The man seemed capricious; in some things too simple, in other too lie: at last, after much privie conference, and publick agitation, he gave, as I think, satisfaction to all.

Hereafter the Bishops censures came thick upon us: we were fashed to goe through with them all, the breach of all the Caveats. Galloway⁽⁶⁾ was the first: besyde common faults, he was proven to have preached Arminianisme; to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and spoken for the comfortable use he found into it; to have indicted two anniverſarie fasts in his diocesse, and acted in his synod a communion for his ministers at all his posterior synods: he was found to have deposed ministers, fyned and confyned gentlemen, for unconformitie, embraced excommunicate papists, and professed more love to them than puritans; to have contemned exercise of prayer in his familie; to have prophaned the Sabbath-day by buying horſe, doeing any of his civill affairs openlie on it. Before the voyceing there was some reasoning about the nature of ſummar excommunication. The

⁽⁵⁾ Alexander Lindesay. Vide *infra*, p. 165.

⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway. He was the only Bishop who ſurvived to see the restoration of Episcopacy under Charles the Second.

Moderator, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. David Dogliff, and Mr. Andrew Cant, were for the lawfullness of it ; Mr. Andrew Ramsay and others were against it ; but the most agreed that the present excommunication of the Bishops, was not summar. Excommunication seemed to me so terrible a sentence, and that obstinacie, the formall cause of it, required admonition, and some delay of tyme after the closure of the proceſſe, that I voyced him to be deposed, but not presentlie excommunicat. In this I was followed by some fyve or six, but the rest went on to present excommunication. St. Andrewes⁽⁷⁾ lybell was, he was proven guilty, besyde his common faults, of ordinarie profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dyceing in tyme of divine service, ryding through the countrey the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falsifieing with his hand the acts of Aberdeen Assemblies, lyeing and sclandereng our old Assemblies and Covenant in his wicked book : It was undertaken to prove, before a committee, near to the place where the witness hes lived, his adulterie, incest, sacriledge and frequent simonie. He was deposed, and decreed presentlie to be excommunicat. The Bishop of Brechin⁽⁸⁾ followed : he was proven guilty of fundrie acts of most vile drunkenness ; also a woman and child brought before us, that made his adulterie very probable ; also his using of massie crucifixes in his chamber. The man was reputed to be universallie unfamous for many crimes ; yet such was his impudence, that, it was said, he was readie to have compeared before us for his justification ; but was stayed by the Marqueis, lest his compearance should have been taken for an acknowledgement of the judicatorie. I remained that night in my negative voyce, that no Bishop should be excommunicat till they had gotten more tyme to declare their contempt of publick admonition from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their Cathedrall : yet considering better of their declinature, I fand it an obstinat avowing of extream contempt ; and so to-morrow I professed of my recalling of my yesterday's voyce, and went with the rest in a present excommunicating of all the declyning Bishops.

16. Saturday, the 8th of December, our prime noblemen, Argyle, Rothies, and some other, fand it needfull to post in to Edinburgh ; for the Commissioner, with the counsellors of his fyde, was said to be in hatching of proclamations and declara-

(7) John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. He died at London in November 1639.

(8) Dr. Walter Whyteford. He died in England in 1643.

tions againſt us, which behooved to be proteſted againſt; alſo the Toun of Edinburgh ſtood in need to be ſupported with the preſence of ſome of our chief nobles, againſt the continuall terrors and allurements whereby their minds, yet weak, were oft aſſaulted by his Grace's emiſſaries. Before their departure, they were deſyreous to ſee that whereupon manie dayes they had ſpent privie labours, to be ended by the Aſſembly in publick. That which was moſt ſpoken of, as the taſk and intention of Argyle's committee before named, was the agreeing and making one of the two Covenants that was ſubſcryved by us, and the other by the Counſell. I had ſome hopes that it had been their mynd to have found out ſome expedients to have made a reconciliation ſomewhat agreeable to both parties: bot as the Marqueis, by the longſome labours of Balquanquall and others, rann to the one extreame of his declaration of the King's underſtanding of his Covenant, ſhewing that none might ſubſcryve, bot with ane expreſs intention of maintaining Epiſcopacie, as a part of our church policie, eſtabliſhed by our lawes, and warranted by our Covenant; ſo our Committee, by the toylſome labours of the Clerk, Catherwood, and others, was induced to pronounce, that all kinde of Epiſcopacie to be ſo farr oppoſed to that Covenant, that the ſubſcription of the one wes ever the reall abjuration of the other. How farr my poore ſoul hes been perplexed with theſe two irreconciliable extreames, my breſt is conſcious; manie a forrowfull day I have had ſince, and am like to have moe. In the mean tyme, I knew little what either of the two was hatching: had I been on their ſecrets, I would have offered the extreame diligence of my poor indeavoures, for the withdrawing of both from that rigour whence there can be no return for either without violence or diſgrace; and ſtanding to their peremptorie conſluſions, all agreeance in that poynt is made deſperat.

That morning, a little after eight, my Lord Rothes ſent for me to his lodgeing. I fand there Mr. A. Ramſay ſent for likeways: From us two wes expected moſt oppoſition to the future conſluſion. My Lord, and the Moderator with him, ſhew us, that the queſtion of Epiſcopacie that day was to be handled. According to my faſhion, I was plain, that I thought that office neceſſarlie to be removed out of our Church for ever; for great inconveniencies it had ever brought to our Church, and ſtill was moſt like, limitate as men could beſt: bot withall, I did heartlie wiſhe, that in the act of removeall of it, no claufe might be putt

which might oblige us in conscience to count that for wicked and unlawfull in itself, which the whole Reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and classick divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, did absolve of unlawfullness. The Moderator, in his answer, seemed not to deny what I alleadged of the judgement of churches and divines, but said, that possible our Church had obliged herself to reject Episcopacie more straitlie then any other. The tyme straited us, we might not enter in reasoning: my Lord and the Moderator seemed not carefull about any thing, but the firme removall of that state from our Church; as for the fashioning of the question and act, they desired us to forme it as we thought meet. Mr. Andrew was fullie in my minde: as they directed, he sett down presentlie into wryte his minde sharplie enough against the office itself, as a thing which for manie causes was necessary to be removed, but being to preach to-morrow, did not [that] day compear, to my grief; onlie sent his paper to the Moderator, which was publickly read as his voyce.

So soon as we were sett in synod, my Lord Weemes shew us, that our Bishop of Glasgow⁽⁹⁾ had sent for him, on old acquaintance, and intreated him to deal for favour towards him; telling, that he was pressed against his heart, by the Commissioner and Bishop of Ross, to subscribe the declinature. Upon this we sent to him sundrie to move him to passe from the declinature by wryte, and submit himself simply to the Assembly's determination. He seemed oft not farre from this course; yet as his promised pension of fyve thousand pound sterling had moved him to run so forwardly on any ungracious actions for keeping court-favour, so the hope of keeping his rent dureing life, and fear of present povertie, made him to be obstinate in his fault and heartles refuseall to submit, and patient to undergoe that sentence of excommunication, which for some dayes he seemed to abhorre with much feare and trembling. Since that tyme, he has lived verie privatly, mispent by all, and putt well near to Adamsons miserie: had not peace shortly come, his wants had been extreame; and without pitie from manie, or great relief from any hand we know.

After Weemes's motion, Argyle made the next proposition, of the great expedience to clear the doubts, which were now grown

⁽⁹⁾ Patrick Lindesay, Archbishop of Glasgow. He was preferred to the Episcopal See of Ross in 1613, and was translated to Glasgow in 1633. Vide *infra*, page 163.

frequent, about subſcription of the Covenant ; that he and others had ſubſcryved, at the King's command, the covenant, for doctrine and diſcipline, as they were underſtood in the [15]80 year, at the covenant's firſt updrawing ; that ſome did alleadge Episcopacie was a part of our diſcipline then avowed, others that then it was diſavowed ; that the Aſſembly, the fitteſt judge of that controverſie, would doe well to putt away theſe doubts by giving out the true meaning of the Covenant in that queſtioned point. This motion was thought reaſonable : ſo for clearing the mindes of all, the Clerk brought forth a large ſcroll, as the labour of the committee for the Covenant, conſiſting of three parts : 1. Of reaſones ſhowing the neceſſitie to clear the ſenſe of the Covenant in the [15]80 year ; Next, a number of paſſages of our Generall Aſſemblies from the [15]76 to the [15]96, and of our booke of Diſcipline condemning Episcopacie ; Thirdly, ane anſwer to ſome objections. After the reading of all thir at leaſure, the queſtion was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacie, in ſuch tearms, as I profeſſe I did not well, in the tyme, underſtand, and thought them ſo cunninglie intricat, that hardlie could I give any anſwer, either *ita* or *non*. To make any publick diſputt I thought it not ſafe, being myſelf alone, and fearing, above all evils, to be the occaſion of any diviſion, which was our certain wrack. The fardeſt I aimed at was, in voyceing, to declare ſhortlie my minde : ſo when all men were called to propone what doubts they had, before the voyceing, I, with all the reſt, was as dumb as a fiſh : When it came to my name, manie eyes were fixed on me, expecting ſome oppoſition ; bot all I ſaid was, That according to the expreſſe words of the Aſſembly 1580, 1581, Episcopacie was to be diſtinguiſhed : Episcopacie as uſed and taken in the Church of Scotland, I thought to be removed ; yea, that it was a Popiſh error, againſt ſcripture and antiquitie, and ſo then abjured ; bot Episcopacie *ſimpli-citer*, ſuch as was in the ancient church, and in our church during Knox's dayes, in the perſon of the Superintendents, it was, for manie reaſons, to be removed, bot not abjured in our Confeſſion of Faith. This Argyle, and Lowdon, and many, took out of my mouth, as not ill ſaid, and nothing againſt their minde, who ſpake not of Episcopacie *ſimpliciter*, bot in our own Church, whether or not it had been condemned at the tyme of the Covenant's firſt ſubſcription. I replied no more ; bot if I had conſidered the Moderator's ſtateing of the queſtion, as now it ſtands in print, I would have ſaid, without any

hesitation, as my voyce, that it did seeme to me to be Πολυζητησις, consisting at least of three much different questions, all which required diverse answers. Bot now I will not enter in that discourse: ye see, in my treatise, my minde anent Episcopacie to the full, whereto yet I stand. In voyceing, many to the number of fiftie and above, as some who curiously remarked, did avow removed Episcopacie, bot said nought of their abjuration: yea fundrie of prime men there yet will avow that they never thought all Episcopacie abjured in our Church, notwithstanding all was taken for abjurers and removers by the Clerke; and that very justlie, for answering affirmative to one part of the question, and negative to none, they ought to be taken as affirming the whole; yea not one when the question of abjureing come over againe, as it did twyce thereafter, would be plaine; bot all was content bot poor I, to be counted abjurers. If any man, for any respect, did dissemble his judgment, his own heart knows, I will judge no man. That day was closed with heartie thanksgiving for so great an harmonie in a matter of high consequence, where no small discrepance was feared.

17. Mononday, the 10th of December, was our seventeenth Session. Here at once was I putt in new troubles: the Articles of Perth were put on foot: a large paper read against them all, proving them to be against our old Covenant, and so abjured. The substance of this paper, as also that other of Episcopacie, ye have it in the printed act; nothing here to count of bot what Catherwood long agoe had printed, and we were willing to have answered when ever challenged. I pitied much to see men take advantage of the tyme to cast their own conclusions in Assemblée acts, though with the extream disgrace or danger of manie their brethren. The question was stated very cunninglie, as ye may see in the act alone about the removeall of these Articles out of our church; yea, the Moderator openly professed, that they were to burthen no man's conscience, to pronounce these things idolatrous or superstitious, as some esteemed them, neither did he touch the practise of any other churches, bot left them to be judged by their own master. For all this, considering the reasons brought in the paper, also the words which the Moderator putt in the question "to be removed, by the Confession of Faith," I presentlie saw the snare; and however I was resolved to dispute none, yet before the voyceing, I did openly complaine of the question's stateing, that to ask, If Perth Articles were to be removed according to our Confession, which

was conceived by way of oath and covenant with God, was all one, as if to speir, If they were truelie abjured before, and all who had defended them since, were truelie perjured; which was a very hard matter for manie to grant. The Moderator, a most grave and wise man, yet naturallie somewhat terned, took me up a little accurtlie, showing I might draw the question so strait as I pleased, yet he had not stated it so: however give my voyce. When it came to me, I said no more; bot at once I was found no mistaker; for Mr. Alexander Carfe, and after him almost all, answered the question, Abjured, and removed; and so, frae me was voyced than proponed, the conclusion by the Moderator was justlie made Abjured, and removed; to whom no man was noted opposite bot myself: for here I saw no place for distinction as before in Episcopacie; and so, without any hesitation, I voyced to be Removed now, bot never before abjured. I was verie loath to make any jarr in the Synod's sweet harmonie, yet I behooved to follow the freedome of my minde; whereof I have not yet repented, and for the which I have yet been taxed of none, bot my ingenuitie by the chief opposites more commended than the dissimulation of some others, who by their privie discourfes oft since gives occasion to think that the papers they then had read, had not drawn their mindes so fullie from their old perswasions, publickly verie oft preached, as to confesse their error, yea perjurie; at leist, their open and avowed, and long continued violation of the Nation's oath and Covenant.

That day there was a worthie motion made by that learned and noble gentleman, Oldbarr,⁽¹⁾ That as we had removed manie abuses and corruptions, so it were good to make positive conclusions for good order and discipline in tyme coming. Presentlie there was a committee ordained to sitt in my Lord Balmerinock's chamber, for receaving overtures of all kinds from all who were pleased to propone, and drawing them to short heads to be proponed to the synod, and enacted, if they were found expedient. The overtures I gave in ye may see at (G.) Manie gave in both by word and write; bot withall the committee took a very good course: they searched in our old Assemblies, if any acts had been made for these things we did now require; they fand, that for the most part good provisions had been made; so that it was needles to make any of new: thir old acts were, after some dayes, publickly read, and for the most appoven to be insert in this Assemblie, as renewed to their

(1) James Lyon of Auldbar, in Forfarshire.

old lyfe and strength, whereof oblivion and defuétude had long spoiled them. Thir ye see standing in print, for very good uses, if well observed.

This day we put fundrie of the Bishops through our hands. Edinburgh,⁽²⁾ befyde common faults of breaking the caveats, was proven to have been a preffer of all the late novations, a urger of the liturgie, a refuser to admitt any to the ministrie who would not first take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rotchet, a consecrator of churches, a domineirer of presbyteries, a licenser of marriages without bands to the great hurt of fundrie, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevater of the elements at consecration, a defender of ubiquitie in his book,⁽³⁾ page 142. He hes there, ye may see, somewhat favouring that way; which I marvelled oft was not remarked by his opposites; for these pages stood twentie years untouched by any that I heard off, till I poynted at them to our presbytrie about a year agoe. The man was conceived to be very worldlie of late. A little before our uproares for the liturgie, I had occasion to see him, and to be witness, to his ordination in the chappell of a presbyter: I liked much the worfe ever thereafter both of him and that service: I did never see a more graceless order, than he from his book, and these ministers about him, who could act these plays best, did use. I saw the man ydlie bitter, and made no bones of swearing and curseing; he professed his neglect of lecture; and in that I found him above all expectation poore: my estimation of that man before sight was great, bot after, just nought. We pronounced him to be depofed and excommunicat. It hes proven true of him, which I heard long agoe of his house, that it hes a fate to spew out the owners of it; so it did Gawrie, Lithgow, Airth, and others before him. The next that came to be sentenced was Aberdeen⁽⁴⁾. His proper faults were great scanders of frequent simonie; that though he was removed from the

(2) Dr. David Lyndesay, of the family of Edzell in Angus, was translated from the See of Brechin to Edinburgh in 1634. He died in England a few years after he was deposed and excommunicated.

(3) Bishop Lyndesay's "True Narration of all the passages of the proceedings in the Generall Assembly, &c. holden at Perth the 25th of August 1618." Lond. 1621, 4to.

(4) Adam Bellenden was translated from the Sec of Dunblane to Aberdeen in 1635. He died in England a few years after he was excommunicated by the Assembly.

Chappell-royall⁽⁵⁾ to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterburie's new wayes, yet he had been found [as forward] as any to presse the Canons and Liturgie; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sundays; that he inacted in his synods, without voyceing, publick fastings to be kept on Wednesday onlie; consecrat the chappell of ane infamous woman, the Ladie Wardhous; staid at his pleasure processees against papists and incestuous persons. He had not subscribed the declinature, as was thought, for lacke of no good will, bot onlie through distance of place the wryte in tyme could not be conveyed to him. That defect in his processe was supplied by the Moderator, with a discourse of his singularlie malicious apostacie; that he had been a man, by appearance, bot too zealous against bishops, and all their courses, so that his vehemencie, beyond the grounds of any reason, he knew did offend his wife and learned neighbor Mr. Patrick Simpson. We decreed him to be excommunicat. My Lord of Rosse⁽⁶⁾ did follow: his processe was no wayes perfect; the long legend of his erroneous doctrines was cleane omitted. It was committed to Durie⁽⁷⁾ to search for witnesses of a number of errors which all knew he gloried to preach even in Edinburgh; bot Durie's information came not in tyme: however it was proven, that two yeares agoe he was a publick reader in his house and cathedrall of the English liturgie; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rotchett, a deposer of godly ministers, ane admitter of fornicators, a companier with papists, ane usuall carder on Sunday: yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at The beaft; had often given absolution, consecrat deacons, robbed his vassalls of above fourtie thousand merks, kept fasts ilk Fryday, journeyed usuallie on Sunday, had been a chief decliner of the Assemblie, and a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State. Of his excommunication no man made question.

Mr. James Forfythe boore up the Bishops traine that day:

⁽⁵⁾ As Bishop of Dunblane, Bellenden was Dean of the Chapel-Royal when Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in Edinburgh with Charles the First, in 1633.

⁽⁶⁾ Dr. John Maxwell, after his excommunication, retired to England. He afterwards obtained preferment from King Charles, first as Bishop of Killala in Ireland, and in August 1645, as Archbishop of Tuam; but he did not long survive, as he died 14th February 1646.

⁽⁷⁾ Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, afterwards knighted, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

his bill caryed fundrie foule like faults, whereof they say he might have cleared himself for the most part ; bot it was his humor to be a declynor of the Assembly, and for no request of friends would passe therefra. He was accused of reading an inhibition for the teyndys againt his people on the first communion-day, at the table end, betwixt sermon and celebration ; for teaching the lawfulness of the bowing at the name of Jesus ; that our Covenant was seditious, treasonable, jesuitick ; that who kneeled not got no good at the communion ; he gave moneyes at his entrie for his place ; he strooke a beggar on the Sabbath-day : a number of such things was lybelled, and urged hotelie againt him. The Moderator, and others, for his sifter's sake, had a great minde to have delayed him ; bot no man speaking for him, he was deposed. I repented of my silence ; bot the reason of it was, both my loathness to be heard ofter in one day to contradict the whole synod, as also my feare and suspition of farder ills in the youth than yet was spoken of : for latelie having been at his house, with other his most respectfull friends, to give him our best advyce, not only with high disdain did he reject all our counsells, bot fell at everie passe bitterlie to defend all that was in our books ; yea, whatever we could alledge that the Canterburian faction had printed of Arminianisme and Poperie, he either defended it, or slighted as much as any I ever spake with : this sudden change in the youth, who, for all his love to the guyfes of England, yet I had known ever before to be passionatelie againt all Arminianisme and doctrinall innovations, stopped my mouth, that neither then nor since durst I deall for him till I was more assured of his orthodoxie. I fand his great companions, Mr. John Rae and Mr. Patrick Maxwell, that same way inclyned, to my great grief ; yea, the evill reward I have gotten for my diligence in obtaining favour to Mr. John Corbett, one of that fraternitie, and, as I thought, the far most modest among them, makes me the lesse grieved for my silence ; for that man, having gotten latelie to Ireland, hes printed a most poor and short, bot one of the most venemous and bitter pamphlets⁽⁸⁾ againt us all, that could come from the hand of our most furious and enraged enemy.

18. On Tuesday, the 11th of December, was our eighteenth Session. Orkney's⁽⁹⁾ proceffe came first before us : he was a

⁽⁸⁾ "The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour, &c." Dublin, 1639, 4to.

⁽⁹⁾ George Graham, of Gorthie, was translated from the See of Dunblane to Orkney in 1615. Keith mentions that after Bishop Graham had sub-

curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day; a fetter of tacks to his fones and goodfones, for the prejudice of the church; he overfaw adulterie, flighted charming, neglected preaching, and doing of any good there; held portions of minifters ftipends for building his cathedrall: yet for his mislyke of thir late novations, and letter of fubmiffion to the fynod, he was only depofed, and ordained, under the paine of excommunication, to give tokens of repentance againft fuch a day. Murray⁽¹⁾ had all the ordinar faults of a bifhop; befyde his boldnefs to be the firft who put on his sleeves in Edinburgh, did make manie urge his excommunication; bot becaufe he was not formallie fummone, the Moderator, with fome piece of violence, kepted him from that fentence; and when fome objected publickly his partialitie, he affured he had no reafon, for of all the Bifhops he had been to him moft injurious. I affented the more willingly to the Moderator's lenitie in this, hoping to have obtained to poor Glasgow the lyke favour; which he instantlie craved, bot all in vaine. A fourteen dayes agoe Mr. H. Rollock did excommunicat Murray, and that, as I think, in the Great Church, to performe, as he faid, the man's own prophefie, who faid in that place, he would be yet more vile to pleafe the King. There was objected againft him, bot, as I fufpect, not fufficiently proven, his countenancing of a vile dance of naked people in his own houfe, and of women going barefooted in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling. Glasgow's⁽²⁾ dittie was, befyde common faults, inactyng at his own hands, in his provinciall fynods, the praetife of the book of Canons; the urging, under paine of horning, the praetife of the Service-books; the exactyng from all the minifterie of his dioceffe twenty fhillings off the chalder of victuall for his charges at Court; the denying to the minifterie of Glasgow his own fiars, and dwanging them in their ftipends; the felling of commiffariots; that he was a grievous oppreffor of his vaffals, difcharged all expectants to preach till they had fubfcryved idle oathes of his own invention. He was depofed, and ordained to be excommunicat,

mitted to the Affembly and renounced Epifcopacy, Dr. Baron was preferred to the vacant See, but was never consecrated.

(¹) John Guthrie, Bifhop of Moray. After his depofition, he lived at Spynie Caftle till 1640, and after its furrender, he retired to his paternal eftate of Guthrie, in Angus.

(²) Patrick Lindesay, Archbifhop of Glasgow, was a cadet of the family of Edzell, in Angus. He had previously been Bifhop of Ross; and after his depofition he retired to England, and died at Newcaftle, in 1641.

except he preveened the sentence by fatiffaction. Argyle⁽³⁾ came next to hand : he seemed as worthy of censure as any : in his small tyme he had shewn good will to goe the worst wayes of the faction, far contrare to the opinion that all men had of his orthodoxie and honestie : he was ane urger of the wicked oath on intrants, ane obtruder of the Liturgie upon them, ane oppreffor of his vassalls, a preacher of Arminianisme, a prophaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to doe all that Canterburie could have wished. If a bishoprick be so unhappie ane enchantment, let it never more come in my good friend's hand. Against Isles⁽⁴⁾ nothing was lybelled bot the breach of the caveats ; yet both were sentenced with deposition present, and excommunication against such a day, without tokens of repentance.

There was joyned for convoy that day to the Bishops some ministers : our old commerad Mr. John Makmath received a part of the fruit of his too great societie with Messrs. Sincerffe, Maxwell, and Monteith. His proceffe before the presbytrie was produced ; where it was proven he had taught all Arminianisme ; also of prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, Christs locall descent to hell, damnation of children without baptisme, regeneration *ex opere operato* by baptisme, his obligation to say masse if King Charles commanded, his disdayne to come near the presbytrie. For thir and the lyke, the presbytrie's sentence of deposition was ratified by us. Mr. Francis Hervie, for his erecting of ane altar with railles at his own hand, for his drinking and carding on the Sunday, his marrying without proclamation our Bishop's son with Blantyre's daughter, was referred to the committee of Edinburgh ; who, I thinke, did depose him. A proceffe of adulterie against Mr. Francis Knoalls⁽⁵⁾, was referred to the presbytrie. Bot of all our monstrous fellows, Mr. Thomas Forrester at Melros, was the first, composed of contraries, superstition, and profanitie : he was accused of avowing, that said service was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God's essentiall worship, that all prayers should be read off books ; he made his altar and rayles himself, stood within and reached the elements to these who kneeled without ; he

(3) James Fairly, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was consecrated Bishop of Argyle, on the 15th of July 1637. Having been deposed from his Episcopal functions, he was afterwards appointed minister of Lasswade, Mid-Lothian.

(4) Neill Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, was preferred to that See in 1634.

(5) Mr. Christopher Knowes, in the Presbytery of Chirurside. (MS. Diary.)

avowed Chrif's prefence there, bot whether facramentallie, or by way of confubstantiation or tranfubstantiation, he wift not, bot thought it a curiofitie to difputt it; he maintained Chrif's univerfall redemption, and all that was in our Service-book was good: yet he ufed to fitt at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own houle, make a way through the church itfelf for his kine and fheep, made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peets in; that to make the Sabbath a morall precept was to Judaize; that it was lawfull to work on it; he caufed lead his corns on it; that our Confefion of Faith was faithlefs, onlie ane abjuration of manie things better than thefe we fwore to; he kepted no thankfgiving after communion; affirmed our Reformed to have brought more damnage to the Church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in a thoufand years. This monfter was juftlie depofed. We were brought to this poynt, that a man might have done what he would, without poffibilitie of restraint, if he had been fullie Epifcopall: bot the Lord be bleffed, that hes looked on our oppreffion, and hes made the Bifhops wickednefs a remeid for itfelf, and a potion to bring a clear purgation of our whole Church.

19. December the 12th, on Wednefday, was our nineteenth Seffion. Here we ended our toylfome labours of the Bifhops proceffes: the laft two were Dunkell⁽⁶⁾ and Caithnefs.⁽⁷⁾ Both had fimplie fubmitted themfelves to the fynod, and requested to be continued in the office of the minifterie: this their fubmiffion did obtain them favour; otherwayes there was truelie alleadged againft them the common faults, and als foule pranks of fimonie and avarice as any of the former. There fell in here long difputts and fpeculations, which I did not underftand, of the neceffitie to depofe every man *fimpliciter* from his office of the minifterie, who had not a place, or was to be transported for his fault from a place. Alwayes Dunkell, on the performance of his promifed fatiffaction, was continued in his minifterie at Semidores [St. Madoes]; and Caithnefs was to be re-admitted minifter to any place he could purchafe on the fame condition. Mr.

⁽⁶⁾ Alexander Lindesay of Evelick, Bishop of Dunkeld. Having abjured Episcopacy, he was deposed from his office as Bishop, but was continued as Minister of St. Madoes.

⁽⁷⁾ John Abernethy, Minister of Jedburgh, and Bishop of Caithness. Keith seems not to have been aware, that Dr. Robert Hamilton, although never consecrated, was preferred to the See of Caithness, upon Abernethy's renunciation. Vide *supra*, p. 153.

James Cunninghame, wearie of his patron my Lord Drumfreife his injuries, and not able to undergoe his wonted labours in his spacious parochen, required libertie to transport where he might have the occasion: this was granted; bot to his small profit. It was thought, he was furthered to make this motion, by his hopes to obtain the more large parochie, bot more profitable, of Pasley or Hamilton: and readilie he might have been made welcome to either; bot his too evident desyre to be at them, and from his own people, has made his own to disgust him, and these to have no great feast of him. The same was the imprudence of another right wise brother, Mr. D. Doglishe: his seeking of the Assemblée's libertie to transport, hes laid on him yet a necessitie to byde still greater then he had before; for Pasley, and other places whereat he aimed, tryed in the Assemblée some qualities, mixt with the man's learning, and excellent facultie both of preaching and reafoning off hand, for which they are altogether unwilling to have him their minister; so true it is in all suiters, *Sequentem fugimus, fugientem sequimur*. This last I was like to have found, had not God given me some good from my former bitternes. I was like, fore against my stomack, to have been drawn to Edinburgh, and my noble patron's credit was not able to shelter me from their violence; bot behold, so soone as my voyce about Episcopacie and Perth Articles came to their eares, I have become a soure plumb, a hatcher of some heresie in my breache, for which they will taste me no more: yea, if I be yet troubled to go to places for which I have no capacitie, as I am like to be, this is my targe, and mayne hope to brooke still my present happines, that a man who cannot assent to the churches chief acts, may not be put in ane eminent place. I live now by favour and mercy in private: my toleration in a more publick view were dangerous for the publick safetie: ye sie, *Aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo*.

The fears we had of the Marqueis victualling of Edinburgh Castle, made us desyre to see the Assemblée at ane short end; so, without farder delay, we decreed to pronounce the sentence of the Bishops deposition and excommunication to-morrow after sermon by the Moderator, in the same church. Evill will had he to undertake preaching on so short advertisement: yet there was no remeid; all laid it upon him.

20. Thursday, the 13th of December, was our twentieth Session. Bot before noon, to a great multitude, the Moderator had a good and learned sermon on the 1st verse of the 110th Psalm,

“ The Lord said to my Lord, sitt thou at my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool.” Thereafter, in a very dreadfull and grave manner, he pronounced their sentences as ye have them in print. My heart was filled with admiration of the power and justice of God, who can bring down the highest, and pour shame on them, even in this world, suddenie, by a means allutterlie unexpected, who will sin against him prouddie with a uplifted hand; and withall, I heartilie pitied these who were excommunicat, remembering the great gifts of some, and eminent places of all; whence their ambition and avarice had pulled them down to the dunghill of contempt. We have many arguments daylie, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, to be very lowlie, and to desire to pass over our lyffe in obscuritie, that so we may eschew many snares of the devill, and occasiones of shamefull ruine.

I did forgett Dumblane's⁽⁸⁾ processe: though he did not subscriue the declinature, neither was personallie summoned, having fled before to England; yet was he excommunicat, as one who had been a speciall instrument of all our mischiefs, having corrupted with Arminianisme diverse with his discourses and lectures in St. Andrewes; whose errors and perversnes kythes this day in all the nooks of the kingdome, haveing been a speciall penner, practiser, urger of our books, and all novations: a man sett in the Chappell to be a hand to Canterburie in all his intentions. What drunkenness, swearing, or other crimes was lybelled, I do not remember.

Mr. William Annan's processe came in that day: I pitied him much: the man, in my minde, had exceeding great gifts; bot profaneness, and a resolut opposition to all things he counted puritanisme, did spoyle all. His dittie was, That in a common head, *De invocatione sanctorum*, he had maintained saints dayes; he had preached in a synod a defence of our Liturgie, with many invectives against conceived prayers; he was frequentlie drunk, and ane ordinarie swearer; that he deserted his flock above eight moneths. He was by all deposed. It is strange to see that man's unhappines: he subscribed our Covenant; his people, and we all, had he been constant, were ready to have done him much pleasure. After his retracting, he befell so benumbed, that he hes ever since, so farr as I can hear, been near to ane irresolute fa-

⁽⁸⁾ James Wedderburn, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, was preferred in 1636 to the See of Dunblane, and the Deanry of the Chapel Royal. He died in England, in 1639.

tuitie in all his actions, farr from all his old vivacitie. Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, archdean of Ross, was also deposed for many fould crimes. Dr. Scrymgeour, my old commerad, had been suspended by the presbytrie for reading of service, pressing conformitie, preaching too groslye necessitie of baptisme, fornication since his ministrie, drunkenness, playing at cards on Sunday. He gave in a humble confession and supplication to the Assemblie : we did all pitie him, and the Moderator, his neighbour, was his singular friend ; yet Newton,⁽⁹⁾ Roth's uncle, was exceeding peremptor to have him deposed ; for he saw no other possibilitie to be quyte of him ; for without a present *terminus ad quem*, the synod gave no actual transportation ; and so a man who fand not a present place, behooved to be deposed, for we would hear of no minister without a place : yet at last Newton was contented to referr his deposition to the Presbytrie. Dr. Hamilton's proceffe was closed that day, and he deposed with one voyce.

21. Fryday, the 14th of December, was spent on things more private. A new commissioner from Caithness was received : upon his regrade for layk of expenses in so farre ane way, ane act was made for supplying the commissioner's charges. Wigton, according to his promise to Montrose, compeared, and shew his minde in subscrying the Covenant in the Counsell, and promised constancie in the present doctrine and discipline. One Shepherd, a minister about Dundie, came in that day, as the other one Rollock minister at Dunc, confessing their fault and ignorance in subscryving the Assemblie's declinature, and intreated they might gett leave to putt out their own names. It was granted them, on assurance of their publick repentance for this fault. The commissioners of Edinburgh and Dundie protested, that this favour might be no preparative for their ministers. St. Andrewes complaint against Dr. Wishart, who had deserted them for manie moneths, was heard : their supplication also, that they might have Mr. A. Hendersone for their minister. Here Edinburgh protested, that he was their elected minister. The contest betwixt Edinburgh and St. Andrewes was great for two or three dayes : the man himself was verie unwilling to remove anywhere, yet fra there was no possibilitie of staying where he was, he inclyned much rather to St. Andrewes then Edinburgh ; at last, after much contest, some few more voyces carryed him to Edinburgh. Mr. R.

(9) Hon. Sir John Lesley of Newton, a younger son of Andrew, fourth Earl of Roth's, and ancestor of the fifth and subsequent Lords Lindores.

Hamilton's proceſſe of Liſmahagoe was produced by their preſbytrie, and his answers to it, wherein he answered ſatiſfactorilie almoſt to all : bot Mr. W. Livingſton's ſpleen againſt him was great ; and he had it not for nought. The Aſſembly deſyred to hear him: He came within a day or two. They putting [him] to paſſing from the declinature, and ſubſcryving the Covenant, I was ſett to confer with him : he ſeemed to draw near us ; yet ere he would come clean over, he would ſee the event. He ſpake ſo to the Aſſembly, that they gave him tyme to advyſe till the Committee. When that came, he did, I ſuſpect, compear : however, they depoſed him : yet ſuch was his headineſs, that he would miſregard their ſentence, as before he had the preſbytrie's, and, notwithstanding, preach on ſtill, till the fields grew a little fouler ; when he fled to England, with others. His neighbour, Mr. John Lindſay of Carluke, being over ſhott in debt, had long agoe fled to Ireland, and ſo deſerted his flock : his place was declared vacand ; Mr. Nerne's alſo of Carmichael, for he was overtaken with ane incurable phrenſie. Mr. John Lindſay of Carſtairs was depoſed in our next Synodall aſſembly at Glaſgow : ſo that faction, which had holden Lanerick preſbytrie thir years bygone in continuall vexation, was clean defeat. Some part of the printed overtures this day were agreed on.

22. Saturday the 15th of December, order was taken, as ye ſee in print, for Provinciall ſynods ; the perſons and tymes named for the Committees of Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irvine, Jedburgh, Forreſs, and Kirkcudbright. Dr. Panter's proceſſe referred to the committee of St. Andrewes : the proviſion of his place, as of all places of the King's preſentation, the Aſſembly [not] to meddle into it till afterwards. Mr. John Lundie, profeſſor of Humanity, gave in a ſupplication for a viſitation of the Old Colledge of Aberdeen ; that while as the Parliament 1597, and Aſſembly preceeding, had granted them power to rectifie their old foundation, yet their Biſhop had deſtroÿed that new rectification, and urged on them, for conſuming of their rents, chantries, prebendries, profeſſions of the Canon law, according to their old Popiſh foundation, by vertue of his place of Chancellour. My Lord Balmerinoch proteſted, for his enteres, that Biſhop Elphiniſtone's firſt foundation ſould not be altered : when Lundie, the Univerſitie's commiſſioner, replied, That they required no other alteration than of Popiſh offices opoſed to the Reformed religion, which their Biſhop of new had poſed on them. Both Balmerinoch and all did conſent to that

visitation petitioned. Some contests there was betwixt Skelmurlie and Mr. Thomas Mure minister of Cumrey, Mr. Patrick Stewart and the Sheriff of Bute, which was referred to our committee at Irvine.

23. Monday, the 17th of December, was our twenty-third session. Many things this day went through hand, as indeed in this longfome Assemblée, no day passed without dispatch of manie buifnesses. I was drawn out, at the beginning of the assemblée, by Mr. Robert Wilkie, to conferr with Lismahagoe: this was by God's providence; for the first thing done that day was the reading of the former acts in forme, and craving of assent to them as they stood. If I had been within, I could not bot have repeated my contradiction to the acts of Episcopacie and Perth articles, to no purpose, bot my oun trouble. Also the good old acts were read, as the committee of the [Overtures] had putt them in forme, and appoven; bot the pitie is, that our feares and affaires since hes been soe manie, that we have had no leasure to think of their execution. The toun of Dundee gave in a supplication for the person of Belhelvie to be their minister; and Mr. John Bell elder, for the transportation of Mr. David Dickson to be his helper. The toun of Edinburgh protested, That their priviledge to choose of all the ministrie whom they would, should not by such supplications be infringed. The matter of Mr. David was much tossed; we had gotten in all this affair much fasherie by the toun of Glasgows backwardness: the main cause of this was ascribed to the disposition of their clergy; the best, yea, the only remead we knew off, was the placing Mr. David among them: though no place did vaik, yet there was privat weell-willers who did obleidge themselves for a stipend to him till a place should vaik. My Lord of Eglinton was exceeding averse from his transportation: I, for our Presbytrie, who was not acquaint with the motion, did speak against it, and prepared the Reasons ye see at (H.) to give in to the Assemblée; bot there was a committee ordained to hear the parties, Argyle, Montrose, and others, to whom, by tongue, I delivered the substance of these reasons. My Lord of Eglinton also shew, with passion, his sense of his own damage in that mans transportation. By this means the motion was crushed: yet the great appearance that Edinburgh hes to spoyle us of him, and the great need Glasgow and that part of the countrey hes of his labour, hes made both him and us somewhat more inclynable to his transportation to Glasgow, than we were at that tyme.

The spleen of manie against the Principall in the Assemblée was great : for manie passages of his carrying in this affair, especiallie the last two ; his subscryving that which we affirmed, and he denyed, to be a protestation against elders, and so our Assemblée, consisting of them, and ministers elected by their voyces ; also his deserting of the Assemblée ever since the Commissioner's departure, upon the pretence that his commission being once cast, because it was foure, the electors would not meet againe to give him or any other a new commission : everie other day some one or other, nobleman, or gentleman, or minister, was calling that Doctör Strang should be summoned ; bot by the diligence of his good freinds it was still shifted, and at last by this means close put by. We decreed ane visitation of the Colledge, by Argyle, Eglintoun, Montrose, Lowdon, Blair, Keir, Provost of Glasgow, Stirling, Irvine, Mr. Ja. Boner, Mr. R. Blair, Mr. David Dick, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Young, myself, and some others, to the which we would have all matters concerning that Universitie reserved : this visitation to be kept at my Lord Argyle's advertisement. This long was a terrible wand above their head, diverse of them feared deposition ; bot the most of us who were on it were their good freinds and had power with the rest : We had no other intention bot to admonish and request them to doe dutie ; albeit we had power to goe far farder ; and withall, by their own consent, to have established a Professour of Divinitie among them, for now they had meanes enough for one ; Rutherford was named ; bot they and we both intended Mr. D. Dickson : yet other great affaires hes taken all their tyme, and thir thoughts are cast by till our estate be settled. There was a list taken up of ministers deposed for conformitie, and expectants holden out for that cause, that of these regard might be had in the first place ; also a roll was made of all able expectants, that we might know who were to be had for the multitude of places that shortlie were like to vaike.

Tuesday the 18th of December, the places was appointed for receiving Bishops who should be penitent. There was much advysment about order taking with Papists excommunicat ; yet apprehension of them for prison, as law provided, was at this tyme not thought expedient, lest it should give occasion to their desperat banding. Other printed overtures were agreed on. That frequent grievance of Edinburgh and Glasgow's mercatt on Mononday, to the unavoydable profanation of the Sabbath, was drawne near a good poynt ; for, as I thought, Edinburgh com-

missioner said, that they obtained the King's leave to change that mercat-day, which shortly they were minded to doe: yet it is not done. Doctor Guild was commended for his paynes in helping much to putt down the Sundayes fishing in the north; yet the Moderator was scrupulous to make a new act for the simple discharge of it: bot when Mr. John Robertson, who among us all was more skilled in our Affembly acts, had found out ane old act of the Affembly at Halyrudhouse, 1602, for abolishing simple of all fishing and milling on the Sunday, he applauded gladlie to the renewing of it. Mr. James Affleck, after all the dealing of Rutherford and others with him, for his full purgation of Arminianisme, gave us in his minde in written Theses, which made him more suspicious then ever: When we posed him, if he would subscribe the acts of the Synod of Dort, he said he had never seen them: We referred him to the committee of Dundee, ordaining him to subscribe the Synod of Dort's acts in these questions, or to be deposed; yet he offered willinglie to subscribe our Covenant, with the Affembly's declaration. The Marqueis declaration having come some dayes before to the Affembly's hand, there was a committee appointed for consideration of it, which presented this day their labours to us, shewing the impossibilitie to agree the Affembly's declaration with the Commissioners's; for indeed they stood in terms extreamelie opposite; the one declaring, that by the Covenant Episcopacie and Perth articles were sworn to be defended, the other, that by that Covenant both were abjured: the paper ye have at (I).

25. Wednesday, the 19th of December, was our penult session. In it a number of supplications for ministers to transport, and of people to have ministers transported to them; bot not one of these who required transportation. Mr. Andrew Cant was too easilie (we thought) induced to be transported from Pitligo to Newbottle, as also Mr. James Sharpe and Mr. John Hamilton to shew their obedience, at the parochiners desyre to the Affembly, to be sett in Pasley, after Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. James Hamilton, and I, peremptorie had refused. I forgate my cousin the minister of Pasley's proesse: he was the first minister we deposed: a number of uglye doctrines laid to his charge. I held off his sentence for some dayes; for I fand him, after his return from the Court of England, a much dejected man, and willing to clear himself of manie things laid to his charge; to confesse his errors, and be directed by the Affembly for all tyme to come, on condition he might brook his place; bot when no assurance could

be made of his continuance in Pasley, in regard of the parochiners great, and univerfall, and moſt juſt diſlike, he did not compeir at all : ſo ſentence went againſt him in all was alleadged. Since, he hes lurked, and carried himſelf farr more cannilie then any of that fyde ; yet without any remorse for any error, as if in any doctrine he had truelie finned. There fell, in this day, a moſt pitifull conteſt : the toun of St. Andrewes ſupplikat for Mr. Robert Blair to be their miniſter ; the toun of Aire, with tears, deprecated that oppreſſion : Mr. Robert himſelf moſt earneſtly oppoſed it ; for beſide the great burden would fall on him in that toun, and the fatall unhappineſs of that miniſtrie, he was as farr engaged in affection with Aire, by the ſucceſs of his miniſtrie, and the largeneſs of their charities, as any miniſter could be : yet St. Andrewes earneſtneſs, and the noblemen of Fyfe their importunitie, the publick good in provyding that ſeminarie toun with a good man, militated much againſt the proveſt John Stewart's teares, and Mr. Robert's prayers : It was referred to a committee that night in my chamber, Caffills, Lindeſay, the Moderator, and a number of other noblemen and miniſters. However, my heart pitied much the caſe, (and if it went through, it was a moſt dangerous preparative to rent any man from the flock his ſoul was bound to, and others to him, to be faſtened to the unhappie people of our great tounes,) yet I could not bot teſtifie my old experience of Mr. Blair's great dexteritie ; yea greater than any man I know living, to inſinuate the fear of God in the hearts of young ſchollars. This my teſtimonie, out of experience, furthered much, both that night in the committee, and the morne in the Aſſembly, the man's tranſportation. It went hardlie ; for the pitifull complaints of John Stewart, craving at leiſt a delay till Aire might be acquainted with this motion, and prepared to give in their reaſons againſt it, did move manie, yet not the half ; ſo the ſame Aſſembly pleaſed and greived exceedingly that toun by taking from them at once two miniſters : yet they have kepted ſtill Mr. Blair, almoſt by force ; elſe, how unwilling ſoever, he had gone away, for he makes conſcience to obey the Aſſembly in all their commandements.

That day, after ſome reaſoning, ane act was made, which ye ſee in print, againſt the civill power of churchmen, and of their incapacitie of any place in Parliament ; to which I heartily, without any ſcruple, did condeſcend : yet we appointed a number of miniſters and young noblemen and barrons, not commiſſioners for Parliament, to wait on the next Parliament, as the Aſſem-

blie's agents, to petition in the name of the Church, a number of things, wherein I wish them good speed. A draught of a supplication from the Assemblée to the King, was presented and approved, and to-morrow an act made for the perfection, and presenting of it. The thing that among others did offend the King, as was said, in that excellentie well-penned supplication, was the subscribing of it by the hand of none of our Nobles, but onlie the Moderator and the Clerk: yet this was but like all the rest, a meer mistaking in our Prince; for our Assemblée acts are subscribed by no more hands: and these two alone are better than a thousand others; for all others are but for themselves, but yond two represents all in law and reason.

26. This was our last day, Thursday, 20th of December; a blyth day to all, onlie to me in one thing sorrowfull. Having foreseen yesterday that this day the naill would be called to the head, a ground would be laid of great dispuitt and needles trouble by an ordinance to subscribe needleslie the one part of our long disputts; to witt, that all Episcopacie and the Articles of Perth were abjured in our Confession of Faith the [15]80 year of God, I would have gladlie, without dinn, have had these evils preveened, which then I thought I foresaw. The night before the Committee mett in my chamber, I could that night get none studied; to-morrow, at seven hours, I had a meeting with Argyle and Eglinton, for a business of a dear friend; onlie after in the morning, I drew up, by way of letter to the Clerk, my mynde, to be communicat with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon, as ye may see at (K.): This they could not have tyme to consider; onlie, I think, for my motion's cause, my Lord Lowdon, in the act of subscribing the Covenant with the Assemblée's declaration, caused put in expreslie, that these onlie should be required to subscribe of new, who had not before subscribed: yet this was to me but a cold comfort, to goe free myself, and others to be oppressed who were in my minde. In voyceing of this act, whereunto all did yeild, I was readie to have dissented; which, for my good allanerlie, lest I alone should so oft be found contradicting the synod, my Lord Lowdon preveened, by moveing the Clerk passe by my name in calling the catalogue. This passage, some parts of it, came to Balquanquall's eares, by some of his buslie fleas, who were still creeping among us; which presentlie he related to the King, disguised

(1) The letter addressed to Johnstone of Wariston, which is here referred to, is printed immediately after this, at page 177.

with a number of untruths: yea that unhappie man, to prove thankfull to his late patron, my Lord of Canterburie, for his last great benefice, hes made the King believe, upon his trust, and putt in print in his own name, in a large book in folio of 430 pages,⁽²⁾ a number of fillie fables, invented for our disgrace; which, I think, long ere now his Majestie knows to be much otherwayes, and will see to his honour, in taking order with these men's infinite and continued ingratitude, who will never cease to lay on the innocent back of our Prince, the burthen of all their cymes.

Diverse other acts passed that day; the chief whereof ye have in print. Our meaning in the act of printing is, to give to our Clerk the inspection alone of such treatises as concerns the church registers: howsoever, some words of the act sounds farder; yet I thinke the youth understands no more; and if he did take ane universall superintendencie of our pressles, it would foone be remedied. We choose our Clerk to be Advocat for the Church, and Mr. William Doglishe [Dalglish] to be our Agent. We appointed our nixt Assemblie to be at Edinburgh. In the end, the Moderator acknowledged the great goodnes of God and of the King; thanked much the town of Glasgow, and gave them a fair commendation for care and paynes to give the Assemblie all contentment; also my Lord of Argyle, for the comfort of his assistance from the beginning to the end. Mr. John Row took up the 133d Psalm, and the blessing being said, we all departed with great comfort; with humble joy casting ourself and our poor church in the arms of our good God.

Thir things I have drawn up for your use and contentment, at my leifure, coming from Dunce-hill⁽³⁾: so I hope I have defrayed that debt long agoe contracted by promise, if so be thir papers come to your hands. Dispenfe with the evill wryte; readilie ye may like better my own evill hand than the better hand of another. Thir are for yourself alone; for the putting of them abroad might work me prejudice; but I doubt nought of your discretion, else I would be loath so oft to trust yow with my greatest secreits.

Yours,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

⁽²⁾ The King's "Large Declaration," &c. *Vide* page 140, note 3.

⁽³⁾ From this it appears that Baillie's account of the Assembly at Glasgow was written in June 1639.

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS ASSURED FREIND, MR. ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, CLERK TO THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE. ⁽⁴⁾

DEARE AND LOVING BROTHER, [December 20th, 1638].

Old acquaintance maks me bold to impart to yow my meditation this morning. Ye, among many, have been witnefs of my heartie affent to all the determinations of this fynod, from the beginning to this last day, save onlie to a pairt of two, concerning Episcopacie, and the Articles of Perth: that all thir ought to be removed out of our Church for ever, as things which, by lamentable experience, we have found so hurtfull thir years bygone, and so apparentlie dangerous for tyme to come, I did never question; onlie my fear was, that the Acts of their removeall should be conceived in fuch terms, and grounded on fuch reafons, which could not be subfcrived by manie, who were in thefe things of that judgement. Ye know thir my feares, oft I did communicat to fundrie whose hand seemed to be among the chief in the fynod, bot I was ever by all made secure that no fuch thing should be, that no fuch thing was ever intended: yet now it is otherwayes fallen forth; the lawfulness of Episcopacie, and of thefe unhappie Articles, were, in the voteing of thefe acts, exprefslie denyed to be called in question; for all that, the voyces of the houle did inferre that conclufion, and, as I thought, fomewhat more, the Abjuration of all thefe by our Church, and that of old by the verie Confession of Faith. I thought enough for me, in my publick voyceing, to declare my minde; to make any long reafoning it was not expedient: I was alone in this oppofition; my reafons were not prepared, for I did not expect the agitation of thefe questions; I was put in hope, that in the framing of the Acts, ere they were booked, a temper might be ufed for the fatisfaction of thefe scrupulous mindes, as mine was; and, however, while the common enemy was greedilie gapeing for all occafions of difcord among us, I refolved, for my part, to contend for nothing, bot in all modeftie to tell my minde where I differed, without difputation; efpeciallie being put in full hope, that thir fynodick conclufions should never be preffed on our confciences; that our fubfcription to them, under the great paines of depofition and excommunication, should never be required. Bot now,

⁽⁴⁾ This letter is referred to by Baillie, at page 175, in his account of the Assembly at Glasgow.

while the Confession of Faith is to be given out with an explanation, containing the Abjuration, as it is conceived in our synodick Act, what either to say or to do I cannot tell! Who ever in any tyme hereafter will refuse to subscribe the Confession of Faith, as it is now sett down, will be lyable to the hiest paines the Church can inflict. No man can subscribe a write simply without limitation, as every Confession must be subscribed, wherein there is any the least clause which crosses his minde. While ye put in the Confession of Faith that our Church did abjure all other Episcopacie but that of Saint Paul's, and all the five Articles of Perth, what shall become of us who are persuaded in our mindes, for all that we have yet heard, that some Episcopacie diverse from that of St. Paul's, to witt, that of the constant Moderator in the Ancient, and of the Superintendents in the Reformed church, was never abjured by our Church; that, however in 1580 year Episcopacie, as it was commonly used and taken, be condemned, as having no warrant in the word of God, and Episcopacie, as this day used and taken in the Church of Scotland and England, and defended in our Prelates late declination, yea, in the Commissioner his Grace's declaration, be to be condemned as popish, and contrary to God's word, and directly repugnant to our Confession; yet all other Episcopacie than St. Paul's, as our Act speaks, seemes to us not onlie not unlawfull, but also never condemned by any church, albeit rejected by diverse churches, and ours among the rest, as a policie inexpedient for them. It is one thing to passe by a policie as inexpedient, and another to abjure it as contrary to some article of the Confession of Faith. This same we think of Perth Articles: the reasons of our judgement ye have no tyme to take now, nor we to give them. Onlie I humbly supplicate yow, in the name of God, that ye would consider advisedly with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon at leist, Whether it be expedient at this tyme to conclude a subscription of the Confession of Faith with the abjuration of Episcopacie and Perth Articles, as is expressed in the synodick Act? If ye make such a conclusion, in my poore judgement, ye lay a ground to keep these unhappie disputations on foot in our Church for ever, which we hoped might have for ever hereafter been buried; ye lay on yourself a necessity of persecuting manie a good man, whose minde will not be able to agree to that conclusion, at this time verie needleslie; ye will make a division for the strengthening of the common enemy, who is watching for all our distractions. In this my feares, God

grant I may be found idle and foolish : however, I give yow a tymous warning, with assurance to carrie myself, doe what ye will, so quietlie as ye can wishe any man in the world of my judgement. I rest your Brother.

TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

21st of July, 1639.

I doe not keep this dayes tryft;⁽⁵⁾ thinking that my Lord Boyd will be east, as I see the letter to the Noblemen presses all to be, if he be there, I wish ye confirme him in the great equitie of paying all his teyndes there to the publick, without seeking any tack : his teinds, and almost the rest, is undervalued the full half ; the viccarage, which might well pay a thousand pound, is putt to nothing : if he require two or three chalders in tack, and the rest doe so proportionallie, there will be no good gotten there ; if he will for God's cause let that small commoditie fall, the rest will doe the like, all would be well. If Rowalland would take back his money, with the annualrent, we might soon perswade Mr. Michael to give it : two year, or three years rent at most, which are all now bygone, would pay him to the full, so all would goe well ; for Kilmarnock, might be established ten chalders victuall, for his helper fyve, for his schoolmaster one, for the new kirk seven, for the schooll of it one, for the hospitall the four hundereth merks of viccarage. If ye would move young Rowalland to make his father agree to take his own, ye might make my Lord Boyd, I doubt not, doe a noble turn for that poor people, and his own honour, without great losse. My Lord Montgomerie tells me, that Glasgow was earnest with his father and him for your removeall ; after I proponed to him some considerations, I made him half to consent off hand : I think there will be few rubbs on that hand.

I find my putting off the Commiffion⁽⁶⁾ somewhat disgracefull in many mouths ; bot I hope to learn to take in good part disgraces, when I am acquainted with them. I foresaw it, and laid it out before God before the election, and resolved, that the burden of

(5) This evidently alludes to a meeting of Presbytery, or of some Committee to settle the stipend of the newly erected parish of Fenwick or New-Kilmarnock. Of the persons mentioned, ' Rowalland ' means Sir William Mure of Rowallane, ' young Rowalland,' his son, Sir William Mure younger, and ' Mr. Michael,' Michael Wallace, minister of Kilmarnock.

(6) As a Member of the General Assembly to be held at Edinburgh, in August 1639.

it would be lesse to my minde, than to have been on the commission against that privie article, which, I conceive, was framed for me alone; for no other of all the old commissioners needed to be changed for no subscribing of the Assemblies declaration, bot I only. I know I have furthered in the last Assembly, and evir before, since my entrie in the ministrie to this day, the good of our Church to my power: I am conscious of my constant affection to our cause, to the losse of my life, without any hinke: I am willing in God's sight, with a quiet minde, to be removed at this [time] from any publick employment, since your Instructions did so command, and ye were so willing, and the voyces of our meeting did so think meet: only I beseech yow be constant in your promise, which ye have repeited to me oft in the name of God, (not for respect to me, or any other, bot for the justice ye profess ye fand in my proposition,) the serious agenting in the next Generall Assembly of two Acts; One of oblivion of all hes past in our controversies of discipline to this day; so that all honest brethren, who are most willing in practise to live according to the present discipline, without any endeavour so long as they live to make the leist change therein, may incurre no trouble for their thoughts and tenets of the lawfullness of some Episcopacie and the Articles of Perth, which they are perswaded not to be unlawfull, not to be against God's word, or abjured by our church, or any church; Nixt, an act, that intrants in their oath, or rather an advertance that in the oath of intrants, (if the Assembly make any,) there be no clagg to trouble their conscience about their judgement in these controversies of discipline. If God blese yow in these endeavours, I will take yow for a blessed and happie instrument to our Church. If for any new emergent, ye be diverted from this labour, or if Satan or imprudent men doe crosse your paines, when they are employed to the full, I will be a man full of sorrow and discouragement; still expecting that these who gives now commandments to hold off the Assembly those who will not subscribe the late Assembly's declaration, and commands to putt all to this subscription, will not fail to put me one day, and some hundreds with me, who I know are never like from their heart to subscribe it, to some trouble, and readilie, which is farr worse, our Church to needles disquiet; which easilie may be avoyded, if ye sett your heart quicklie, as ye promised, to obtain in your nixt Assembly, these your happie Overtures. This much, by purpose, hes dropped from my pen, for the ease of my somewhat perplexed minde. I am more afraid for our inward division, from the seed cast in that Declaration, than for the King's sword, and the utter-

most of our inraged Prelats malice. The Lord be with yow. Son-day, at night, 21st July 1639.

Your Brother,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

It wes written in answer to this Letter as followes :

As for these Overtures, whereof yow and I have been speaking, it is in my heart to indeavour them to the uttermost of my power ; and I hope in God to see them effectuate. This is from your loveing Brother,

[DAVID DICKSON.]

[TO THE EARL OF LOWDOWN.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

[July 1639.]

I would have been loath to have impeshed your Lordship with any of my motions at this tyme, of strait and full of great affaires, had not your Lordship's more nor ordinar facilitie in hearing me, at all tymes, invited, and the perplexitie of my burthened minde forced me, to speak out my present griefs to your Lordship ; whom God must either move to help them, or else they must lie on still, for any relief I expect to them, in haste, from any other instrument. My knowledge of the deep foresight, of the great equitie, and, where need is, compassionateness of your Lordship's minde ; also of that well deserved authoritie which your Lordship hes this day in our kirk, and singular dexteritie, by wisdom and diligence, to obtaine in our Assemblie all your just defyres, though never so great difficulties should cast themselves at the beginning in the way ; my full understanding of thir your Lordship's endowments, puts me in hopes to get my griefs eased, my feares removed, my perplexitie remedied, by your Lordship's endeavours. If herein I be disappointed, the rest of my confidence is alone in the God of truth and justice, who useth to hear the sighs of those who are causleslie oppressed, that he, in due tyme, will not fail to remeid those evils, which, it feares me, too soone the unjust rigour of some, and careles inadvertance of manie others, will bring on our poore Church.

Your Lordship cannot forget, at the first forming of our late Covenant, your happie care at my motion to cause help and change these clausies in it that seemes to import the absolute condemnation of Perth Articles, and the office it self of Bishops. All then required was, the reference of these things to a free generall Assemblie ; any designe or hope to have gotten down Bishops altogether did appear

in no man, to my knowledge, at that tyme ; these few who then harboured such intentions in their breast did dispaire, in haste, to obtain the consent of the most part to any such proposition ; yea, it was thought unseasonable, to sett on foot then the removeall of any thing establisht by law, while we did pursue our partie, the Bishops, mainelie for their inroaching upon us against the standing lawes of the kingdome. Your Lordship was well content with my subscription of the Covenant, with my open profession of the lawfullness of Perth Articles and of some Episcopacie ; yea, the meeting of the brethren did authorize me to publish, in wryte, the compatibilitie of the Covenant as then it stood, with the grounds of these who were, as they wont to speak, conforme in judgement ; and this my declaration, so authorized, was not unprofitable for the gaining to our syde manie of the brethren, who otherwife were verie like to have started farr away.

Notwithstanding, when it came to the Assemblie, it was not onlie concluded of Episcopacie as used and taken in the Kirk of Scotland, bot absolutelie of all Episcopacie whatsoever, different from the pastor of one onlie congregation, and of all the fyve Articles of Perth, that all thir were not onlie to be removed out of our kirk, bot had been trulie abjured by our kirk in the Confession of Faith the year [15]80 and [15]90 ; yea it was ordained, that all subscription to the Covenant in tyme comeing should be in this sence ; and that, expresse declared in formall words. And howsoever your Lordship was so good as to cause put in a clause in that Act which did save me from danger, and all others who before had subscribed ; nevertheless against that expresse exception, directions hes been latelie given, and punctuallie observed in Lothian, Perth, Fyffe, Galloway, and manie other shires, for requireing a new subscription, with that full declaration ; so that manie who before did subscribe were forced to it againe, and some for the refusall of that declaration alone hes been deposed from their ministrie, and yet stands so, as I am informed : So that no man now remaines secure, bot that against both the words and the minde of that Assemblie act he may, when his neighbours will, be put to a new subscription, and that, as it seemes with verie good and inevitable reason : for if that declaration be trulie such a materiall part of the Covenant that none can be admitted hereafter to subscribe the one without the other, what can we say for our refusall of it, which, in equitie, may not be rejected with disdain ? how can we require of others that which our self, without trouble of minde, cannot gett performed ?

Here then, it is, where we find ourselves pitifullie ensnared, and

wishes that our snare were broken by some happie hand. We will not disputt the truth of the Assemblie's conclusion; albeit we must profess, that we have seen to this day no reason inclyning our mind to think that our Kirk in the 1580 yeir did abjure the Articles of Perth, and all kinde of Episcopacie, even that of the ancient kirk, and of our own superintendents, as contrare to any article of her Confession of Faith: bot this now being concluded, we desyre not againe it should be called in question; onlie suppose us here to err, yet it would be considered if this our error be truelie before God of such a weight, that for it alone, and for no other challenge at all, a number of pure ministers, who, to their knowledge, hes served God faithfullie in their calling, deserves to be cast out of their places; yea that fundrie, perhaps, of the nobilitie and gentry, let be burgeses and commons, who, without dissimulation, in the fear of God, may be forced to speak out their minde one day, somewhat contrare to that declaration; that even these, for this onlie cause, ought to be cast out of the Kirk, and excommunicat as enemies, not onlie to some acts of our Assemblie, bot unto the verie Confession of Faith, and Covenant of our kirk with God.

This rigorous severitie is fallen out farr by the expectation of my weak and blind minde; I did never fear, when I had concurred to the uttermost of my power, to the down-putting of all Episcopacie in our kirk, and the utter abolition of Perth Articles, when I had ventured in this cause my soul, my life, my meane estate, as farr as any; yet because I did differ from my brether in one onlie argument which infers our conclusion, agreeing fullie with them in the conclusion itself; for I remove as firmlie as any, and that upon arguments anew, all these things out of our Church for ever, albeit I be not yet satisfied of our Church's old abjuration; I did never expect, that for this sole and onlie cause, ane Act should be sett above my head, or the head of any other, importing no lesse than the merit of deposition and excommunication. I wish then it were yet thought upon, if it be just and reasonable, that numbers of us onlie, because we cannot believe that Perth Articles, and all kinde of Episcopacie, was abjured by our kirk at the first forming of her short Confession of Faith, bot are most willing to binde ourselves by any oath, or any other band that can be invented to oppose, to our dying day, the bringing back in our kirk any of Perth Articles, or any imaginable kinde of Episcopacie; consider, I say, if above the heads of men so disposed, there ought to stand Acts which makes us censurable, when any of our evill-willers pleases, by

all the paines whereunto anti-covenanters are now lyable, or may hereafter be made subject.

By what way any securitie can be made for our securitie, so long as the fore-named Act of the late Assemblie stands in force, I doe not see. Notwithstanding, the shortnes of my sight lets me not tyne hope; bot that your Lordship's pierceing eye may at once fall upon some expedient, for the invention whereof manie of us shall blefs your Lordship, as the most happie instrument of the quietnes both of our mindes and estates: yet, if it fall out so, that no reall means can be found out to put us in safetie, we resolve to rest in the Providence of God: If hereafter, manie a faithfull minister, with his wife and children, be undone; if questions which now might well have been gotten buried for ever, shall be racked up againe out of their grave, for the renting of our kirk; let these whose untymous rigour hes at leist some part of the wyte answer it in the day of doome.

By this piece of paper, I have been bold to hold your Lordship in minde of my humble and verie earnest desyre, that ye would be pleased to think on the finding out of some Overture for putting manie of our mindes to rest: readilie the act I have here subjoyned, or one like it in substance and purpose, might help all; bot this I remitt to your Lordship's wisdome, and, however it goe, finds myself much oblidged to remaine, for manie former favours, a supplicant to God my master for your Lordship's well[fare.]

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COOSIN,

[September 28th, 1639.]

Ye have here the rest of my papers concerning the Assemblie of Glasgow: also ye will find about yow ane letter of mine of the 12th of Februar, giving yow ane account of our affaires till that tyme. The accidents of our land, thir seven moneths bygone, hes been verie manie, and verie strange: I doubt if the providence of God sheltering a poor Church from imminent ruine, with a power, wisdome, goodnes, clearlie divine, hes ever in any land shyned so brightlie as in ours these dayes: the hand of our God hes now well near led us all down from the stage of extreame danger, that we may all go about, in our old securitie, everie one his own neglected affaires, with a mutuall amitie, and a most universall joy. Our Prince is brought off so well as may be, and much more ho-

nourable than any could have dreamed, from the pursuing the revenge of enraged churchmen, who would neither endure to amend their crimes, nor suffer the censure of their obstinacie. Our State is secured from the wrath of our misinformed Prince, from the armes of our neighbour kingdomes, and a strong faction among ourselfe. Our Church has gotten a full purgation, and hes cast forth freele all the corruptions that did infect either doctrine or discipline. We are put in possession of Generall Assemblies and Parliaments according to our minde; the soveraigne medicines against the sudden return of such mortall diseases amongst us. The Canterburian faction in our land, which, with full sailes, was haying us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantinople for our policie; who was not carefull much to cover their intention to have our Church presentlie popish, and our State slavish, alone that they themselves might have their desired honour, wealth, pleasure, whatever displeasure thereby could come to God, or disgrace to their prince, or ruine to their countrey; that faction is now broken, lying in the pitt of shame and povertie in a strange land, pitied by none, helped by verie few, and that bot in such a measure, as to their proud and prodigall stomachs, brings rather an increase of byting and tormenting disdain, than any sweetness of a present relief, or ground to expect a redress to their miseries in any following tyme. We, by the favour of our God, and grace of our King, are put in such a condition, that these of our neighbours who in all Europe were beholding the theatre of our ills thir bygone years, with the eye of compassionat pitie, and an heart afraid, not with the farr prognostications, bot the imminent appearances of our woefull calamities, or else, according to their contrare interesse, were gazeing with an eye kindled with an overjoying hope to see the long-envyed prosperitie of our happie Islands change to these confusions that might open a fair port to carry in the chariot of their great goddesse on earth, the Pope, and catholick King, to reign in our Church and State, and, by this new accresse of impire, be much furthered in erecting that fifth Monarchie, which the Jesuits hes been long hatching for their darling the Spanish King, had not the puritanick Calvinists, especiallie in Britain, laid hitherto some straes in their way; these our neighbours, I say, will now reap the fruit of their former affections, either, by their sweet congratulations, to partake in our present rejoycing in our God, and humble thanksgivings to our King, or else, by turning their back and hydeing their face, being confounded at the breakneck of their expectations, bitterlie to regrave the return of our peace,

their antient eye-fore, and maine ground of desperation ever to gett the armes of their impyre ane inch enlarged ; yea, to be amazed with feares, leift the evanifhing of their beft devyfed plotts here into wind and reik, be a divine preface of the downfall of all their cunning contrivements over fea, and of the redemption of the churches abroad from that oppreffion wherewith their tyrannous feet has long trode them down.

The feveral pieces of this heavenlie work, which God hes begun and perfected by the noble fpirits of manie brave men among us, fitted excellentlie with gifts correfpondent to the extraordinarie exigents of the tymes, I wifh ye had them well defcryved : they could ferve our friend for verie good purpofe, to be materialls for his Latine ftorie,⁽⁷⁾ wherein I hope he will go on ; not onlie becaufe that Declaration will be a full apologie to ftop the mouth of all his calumniators, and a certain meane to procure to him the readie patrocinie of the beft in this land, to anfwer ever for him, and that hotelie, againft all who would hereafter, for any bygone miftakes, move their tongue againft his fame ; bot fpeciallie, becaufe the continuance of that difcourfe would be a good office towards his native cuntry, to which he is tyed, both becaufe he hes begun, and is well approven for his labour, and is tollerablie well furnifhed with all parts needfull for that tafke. I fhall be glad for my part to fend to yow, for his ufe, all the Information comes to my hands.

The fecret wheels whereupon this work hes runn, are all within the curtain where the like of me winns not. I hear that thefe who hes been prime workers hes lykewife been diligent wrytters of all the proceedings : their Commentars, when they come to the publick view, I perfuade my felf, will give great contentment to all minds who are inclined towards a laudable curiofitie to underftand and behold all the ftrings of that muntoure ; that feeing the motion go on by the counter-paffing of fo manie fmall wheels, everie one running on their own axle, he may be ravifhed with the ftrength of the firft mover, and delighted with the fight of the fkill of the great engyner, whose hand hes framed the firft great wheell, and hes fett all together with fuch a mutuall dependance, that the whole multitude of all their counter-motions works together for no other end than to bring the palme about to thefe precise lynes

(7) Notwithstanding the mode in which Baillie fpeaks of “ our friend,” he evidently refers to Spang himfelf ; and his “ Latine Storie,” might be the work entitled “ *Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiæ gearum Historia*,” &c. Dantisci, 1641, 12mo. This work, which is usually attributed to Spang, was founded at leaft upon Baillie’s communications to his Cousin.

which the artificers wills at such tymes to be pointed at : Bot, in the meantyme, the world of common witts, who are contented to behold the outside, without deeper inquirie, careing for no more than in their way to look up to the hand upon the houre, being impatient to interrupt their private adoes by any laborious searh into the causes of the motion, and wayes how publick affaires hes been carryed through ; the most of the world consistig of such simple and blunt spirits, must not be difappointed. Bot while our noble agents gett leasure from the importunitie of their laborious actions, which yet is not ended, to give a sight of their wryttings⁽⁸⁾, wherein to such noble mindes as their own, they may be pleased to give a view of all the convoy of this great affair ; I wish our friend were going on in his plain, short and simple way, to let strangers over sea, behold that face of matters, which the blindest among us hes seen this while bygone, and much admired. For his service and better furtherance, I shall goe on where I left with these passages, which now comes to my minde. Ye shall have them in that shape that they were presented to the eye of us, the common people, and in that order wherein they stand in a very weak memorie, some moneths after their passing by.

The Supplication which we decreed in the Assemblie of Glasgow to be sent to the King, could hardlie be gotten presented. Howsoever, manie would have ventured to have gone with it, though their head should have gone therefore ; yet, understanding the increase of the King's wrath, and the danger there was, even in peaceable tymes, for any subject to play the ambassador or capitulator with the Prince, when he did not call for, or his Councill did not send up, which, by law, and his declared will, is appoynted to be his onlie informer in high poynts of state ; also hearing oft words from court of great spyte against the very lyves of most of our nobles, gentrie, ministrie, who were able to agent our businefs ; it was resolved, that none of note or parts, should go up, without greater assurance for their returne, than could for that tyme be

(8) One of the " noble agents," and " prime workers," alluded to in this passage, was no doubt John Earl of Rothes, who appears to have contemplated writing a detailed narrative of public affairs at this period. We know, at least, that along with materials apparently collected for the purpose of continuing the work, his Lordship left behind him " A true Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland," extending from August 1637 to July 1638. This Historical Relation was published for the first time, (as a contribution from James Nairne, Esq. to the Members of the Bannatyne Club,) at Edinburgh, in 1830. 4to.

expected ; and withall a gentleman of the Marqueis of Hamilton's acquaintance, Mr. George Winrhame, undertook, on all hazards, to deliver to the Marqueis the supplication ; and upon his refuseal, to give it to the King himself. He was no worse than his word ; as, indeed, some of our fair-undertaking statesmen thereafter did prove. He went to Court, shew to the Marqueis his eirand ; his Grace acquainted the King ; who was pleased that the supplication should be received ; so his Grace took it, and on his knee did read it to his Majestie in the Councill. The best answer then it got was, the Scottish proverb, " When they have broken my head, they will put on my coule." However, the gentleman stayed many weeks for an answer, bot received none. He did us good offices there ; though his letters, which were like to be fought, were full of great feares and English braggs, yet diverse of his more secret ones shew, so long as he remained there, the true estate of the Court, which was not very terrible.

We in the meane tyme went on with our affaires, held the committees appointed by the Affemblie : many ministers, who remained obstinate in scandalls, were depofed at Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irwine, and elfewhere ; how justlie, the reports of these Committees diligence to the late Generall Affemblie at Edinburgh, did declare ; where, before the King's commissioner, all the depofed ministers who pleased were heard to plead, and all of them who kythed penitent for their misdemeavour were received.

The Councill of England, after long advyement, permitted the King, I would have said, consented to the King's desyre, to enter in a course of warr against us. The first assurance we had of this conclusion, was the oath exacted of our nation at Court, of renunceing the Affemblie and our band, promifeing also the King their full assistance, when ever he required it, against us ; the next was the King's letter, published for all the shires the 26th of Januar,(A.) commanding all the nobles and gentrie of England to attend his royall standard at York against the first of Apryle, where he was to goe to the border to oppose the Scotts there, who were to invade England ; and the third was the commission, which the Marqueis of Hamilton's man caryed to the north, for the Marqueis of Huntley to be lieutenant to the King in these parts, with great authoritie.

Thir alarmes put us out of all doubt of our enemies intention quicklie to sett upon us. Our first care, was to send in a true Information to England of all our purposes : we had some moneths before given to that nation account in print of all our former pro-

ceedings, to their good lykeing; we then, in a printed sheet or two, laboured to clear ourselves of all slanders, especially of that vile calumnie of our intention to invade England, or to cast off our dutifull obedience to our Prince. This piece, as was thought old Durie's hand chiefly, did us good service; for it satisfied so fullie the hearts of that nation, that our adversaries, being extreamely galled with our successe, moved the King to make that pitifull Declaration (B.) of the 27th of Februar; where we are, contrare to all reason and law, declared, in all the churches of England, the foulest traitors and rebels that ever breathed. Bot at once we lost nought by that most injurious dealing; for our innocencie was so well remonstrat in print, by these three or four most daintie sheets of Mr. Henderfon's, that we, over all England, began to be much more pitied then before, and our enraged partie, the bishops, to be the more detested.

Our next care was, to have all our mindes cleared of the lawfullness of our defence. No man doubted more of this than my self; yea, at my subscribing of the Covenant, I did not dissemble my contrare resolution; for I had drunken in, without examination, from my master Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet, that all resistance to the Supreme Magistrate, in anie case, was simply unlawfull: bot setting my self to diligent reading, and prayer for light in that question, which the tymes required peremptorie to be determined, without delay, I fand many doubts loosed, especially by Bilson, Grotius, Rivett, and the Doctors of Aberdeen, who were alleadged to be most opposed to that tenet. Being fullie cleared in my own minde, as my fashion is, I held not long in my resolution. At our meeting in Edinburgh, being so defyled, I gave out that sheet or two, which I gave yow, for which I got manie thanks, of the lawfullness of our Defence by armes. My Lord of Cassilis, who had drunken of the same fountain with me, by his obstinat refuseall to joyn in anie course tending to a forcible resistance, did give great offence to verie manie: nothing was more hinderfull to us, than that gracious man's example, withdrawing from the rest on mere conscience. When he was given over of all as desperate, I took him in hand, and left him not till at last, by God's grace, he became as franche in the defence of his countrey, as any of his neighbours. Diverse papers went then abroad upon this question, some whereof was not voyd of scandall; especially one of a prettie schollar, Mr. Gillespie, bot too rash a youth in his determinations, if I conceive him right, in manie things. To helpe this inconvenient it was laid on Mr. Henderfon,

our best penman, to draw up somewhat for the common view. He did it somewhat against the hair, and more quicklie than his custome is ; so it was not so satisfactorie as his other wryts : for this cause, though read out of many pulpits, yet he would not let it go to the presse : bot one of our deposed ministers would ease him of that expense. Mr. Corbett, to whom I had obtained favour in our committee at Irwine, and had moved him, under his hand, to passe from his declinature of the Generall Assemblée and joyne in our Covenant in all things so far as I went myself ; yet, upon some spleene, as it seemes, or rather rashness in some of his brethren of the Presbytrie of Dumbrittane, he is put to the subscribing of the Assemblée's declaration, farr beynde our minde ; which not being willing to doe, he flies away to Ireland ; and there, to shew his repentance of what I had moved him to wryte, he will put himself in print, in the Deputie's ⁽⁹⁾ hand, in a refutation of Mr. Henderson his instructions, with so little matter, and so much spytefull venome, as no man would ever have conceived to have been lurking in his heart against all our proceedings. We have thought him unworthie of a replie, and are content with our advantage, that my Lord Deputie permitts to go out under his patronage that desperat doctrine of absolute submission to princes ; that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppose the prince's deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the poorest slave at Constantinople may resist the tyrannie of the Great Turk. We are confident, that our sweet Prince will not fail to doe justice upon all who countenances such tenets, that strykes at the root of his just and lawfull soveraigntie, if the tymes were so peaceable that Parliaments could get, in a deduced processe, represented to his eye the state-undermyning plott of that faction.

When we had done diligence to informe our neighbours of England, and make sure the courages of all our friends at home, in the third place, we took course for a reall opposition to our enemies. It was debated, If any help should be sought from strangers ? The fardest that was resolved, was to send over one Colvine, ⁽¹⁾ a gentleman of Fyfe, who should go by the States and Prince of

(9) Wentworth, Earl of Strafforde, Deputy and Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland.

(1) William Colvine or Colville. Lord Hailes published a letter from Colville to Lord Balmerinoch, disapproving of the draught of the letter from the Scottish nobles to the King of France, and suggesting some alteration in his Instructions for this proposed mission. It is dated from " Cromy, the 30th of April 1639."

Orange to the Court of France, as our agent, for informing, and requiring, at most, the French King and States of Holland to intercede, by way of intreatie, with our King, that he might be pleased to hear our supplications ; and one other, readilie Meldrum, to the Queen of Swaine [Sweden], by the King of Denmark, for this same end. Bot all this was neglected ; not so much as a manifesto was ever divulged to strangers by us ; wherein wee were great fools, for it was much to our prejudice. Our partie failed not in all languages to poynt us out as desperat rebels ; and so farr, by their calumnies, prepossessed the minds of forraigne princes, that the King of Denmark seased on our armes, and thought meet to break off with us the lawes of nations, at leist of friendship ; whereof he much repented, when he heard the true state of our affaires by Cochrane ; but avowed we had justlie provoked him by our misregard to give him information as a neighbour prince in so publick ane exigent.

We were hopefull of powerfull assistance from abroad if we should have required it. France would not have failed to have embraced our protection. Holland and we were bot one in our cause : They had been much irritate latelie by the King's assistance of the Spaniard. Denmark was not satisfied with manie of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the Crown of Brittain, since his warr with the Emperor. Swaine was fullie ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germanie. Bot we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad, till our case were more desperat than yet we took it. We still hoped to bring of our Prince by fair meanes, which had not been so easie if we had brought once forraigne forces within the Isle. We were hopefull, by the assistance of God, to make our partie good by our self alone. The assistance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this tyme, was, to our divines, a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt ; besyde our povertie to give pay to a few number of strangers, and our old doolefull experience of their intollerable insolencies where they came on their own charges to fight. Above all, a league with forraigners had made England of necessitie our partie ; the evill in the world we most declyned, and our adverfaries did most ayme at.

The lesse our designe was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our meanes at home. There was established by common consent, to reside at Edinburgh constantly, a generall Committee of some noblemen, barons, and burgeses ; also in everie shyre, and whyles in everie presbytrie, a particular committee for the bounds, to give order for all militarie af-

fares, the raising of men, provision of armes, getting of monie with all diligence. To show the wifdome and dexteritie of this new foot, ⁽²⁾ fee two of their first orders, (C.) wherein they take so good courfe for our whole land, as then was possible. Much help we gott from good Generall Leslie, who satt daylie with our general committees: his advife in giving of orders was much followed: we intended to give unto him, when the tyme of need came, as we did, the charge of our Generallissimo, with the style of His Excellence; bot for the present he was diligent, without any charge, to call home officers of his regiments, to fend for powlder, muskett, picks, canons; wherein, from Holland, Swaine, Germanie, we were prettie well answered.

It was in that meeting of March much agitat, If it were expedient to seafe on the places and persons of our countrie, wherein the great confidence of our enemies wes placed, to work by them chieffie our ruine? It was not doubted but such prevention was most expedient for our safetie; bot much question there was about the lawfullness of beginning the courfe of violence on our part. It was concluded to attempt nothing till yet our affaires were more desperate; onlie order was given to levie with diligence two thousand foot in the shires besouth Tay, under Crouner Monroe's command, and for their pay to take up from William Dick on the noblemen's bond two hundreth thousand merks, who should be diligentlie trained, that they might be a seminarie of sojourns for the trayning of the countreys, whence they were lifted, and lie on the fouth border, to join with the countrey there, against any incurfion from England; bot above all, that we might have men on foot to hinder the gathering to ane head of any partie for the King in these Southland quarters. Also, a meeting was appointed by my Lord Argyle, first in Perth, with the noblemen and gentlemen of the North, for advysement anent the securing of all these countreys, as farr as Sutherland, from any commotion among themselves, or invasion of other; thereafter in Lorne, with the Islesmen, to gett securitie of their loyaltie to our countrie at thir so dangerous tymes.

That man has proven, from the beginning to this day, a notable instrument for the manageing of our high and difficult affaires. What his part was in the Assemblée, I shew yow in the discourse thereof; since that tyme he has labored what lay in his witt for keeping our countrie in peace, both at home and abroad, being provoked to it by that sharpe man the Deputie of Ireland. He,

(2) *Foot*? In one of the MSS. the word is changed to Committee.

in some two or three well penned letters, justified our cause against that man's acute and subtil challenges : by his letters to the King and some of the prime courtiers, he gave a bold and a true account of our Assemblée's proceedings. When he was half called up to Court by the King's letters, he excused his voyage through the necessity of his Father's funerals. His faithfulness for his country, and his resolution to joyne in the maintenance of it, was such, that at last his servant in England was searched for his letters, and himself discharged to keep his intended meeting at Perth ; yea, commanded either to come to Court, to answer for his mis-carriages, or to goe to ward to some of his own houses in Argyle. The extreme danger, not onlie of our country, bot of the King's affaires and persone, furthered, of necessity, by his removeall from the top of business, forced him to excuse his disobedience to both thir verie unreasonable commands. To the meeting at Perth he invited his good brother Huntley, as being mainlie intended for securing the peace of the North, wherein he had great interest, from the robberies of John du Gare, and James of Grant,⁽³⁾ and other such outlaws : bot the Marquis excused his absence by manie shifts. That man has never been to this day fast or honest in anie purpose, neither in France, nor England, nor Scotland. At the beginning of our proceedings he spake us fair ; bot long before that tyme the Bishops had ingadged him for their service against us. Alwayes such course was taken at Perth with the Northland gentry, that we were not meikle sollicit for the Marquis feed, and all [who] would take his part. In Lorne, Argyle took so good order with the Isles-men as might be ; his danger here was greatest. Sir Donald Gorrum, the Clan Ronald, and manie others, were hatching a mischief, to joyne with the Earle of Antrim, the chief of the Clاندonald, who was, with the King's money and authoritie, to come with forces from Ireland to Kintyre. Diverse of these unhappie clannes had no good-will to the name of Campbell, but tooke them for intruders upon their old possessions, and was glad to see the day, when, with the King's good-will, they might recover their ancestors patrimonie from them ; yea, Argyle's own brother at Court was thought to be on this counsell : bot God disappointed all their malicious designs. Matters then were growing very hot ; the clouds was thickened on all quarters ; our merchants and travellers everywhere in England and Ireland were handled as re-

(3) John Dugar or Macgregor, whom Spalding emphatically calls "ane Hieland rogue," and James Grant, uncle of John Grant of Carron. (Hist. of the Troubles, vol. i. pp. 8, 121, 222, &c.)

bells, their goods feasted on, themselves made sure. The English bands were gathering fast at York; hudge foudmes, by way of voluntar contribution, was lifted in all the paroches of England; the subsidie of the bishops and clergie was verie great; our Scottishmen were dismissed from Court to come home, both to strengthen the King's partie among us, and by their removeall to hinder our intelligence, which, from some in their companie, was alwayes coming to us, and to further the King's information of all we did. Huntley and Aberdeen had gotten their ship with munition from Holland; their fleets were chainzeid, their cannon readie; our friends in that countrey were much threatened; shippes from England, with munition, also were come; and some royall shippes, with Scottish experienced commanders, and more munition, was dailie expected. The Papists in the south, were lifting up their head; Niddisdail and Harris, with some English forces from Carlisle, were feared to have joyned with the Marqueis of Dowglafs, who might have reached out their hand to the Marqueis of Hamilton's followers. The toun of Glasgow was, through the perverseness of some few men, much doubted. Galloway, Drumfreis, and Queenfberrie, the Thesaurer, and Dalzell, all which were men of fair lands, were suspected of too much willingness to joyne. Antrim's boats were making readie on the Irish shoare; Gorrum, and others of the Clandonalds, were gotten away to Ireland. The Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh was sworn of new to the King, and the Marqueis of Hamilton. Captaine Stewart was come from Court to receive the Castle of Dumbartane, when the King's shippes were expected, to lay up munition, and bring in a garrison, which easilie might have infest all that countrey. The King and his forces were on their way to York; the Marqueis was left at London to hasten the navie for the coasts of Louthiane and Fyfe: In a word, all was so prepared, on every quarter, for our overthrow, that our Bishops assured our King, and this was given out confidentlie over all England, that he should need little forraigne forces for to master us; only let him bot shew himself on our Borders, we should of our own accord run to confusion, or intestine force should crush his opposits with a small help, and it were bot of his royall countenance afarr off. Certainlie our dangers were greater than we might let our people conceive; bot the truth is, we lived by faith in God. We knew the goodness of our cause; we were resolved to stand be it upon all hazards whatsoever: we knew the worst, a glorious death for the cause of God and our dear countrey.

Alwayes we resolved no longer to be idle. In all the land we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders ; divided so manie as had been officers abroad among the shires ; put all our men who could bear armes to frequent drillings ; had frequent, both publick and privat, humiliations before our God, in whom was our onlie trust ; every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours : we took notice at Edinburgh of the names, disposition, forces, of all who joyned not with us in covenant ; appointed that in one day the Castle of Edinburgh, Dumbartane, and all the cheiffe adversars, should be essayed ; that, with diligence, Montrose, with the forces of Fyfe, Angus, Perth, Mearnes, with the advyse of Leslie, and fundrie of his officers, should go and take order with Huntley and Aberdeen ; that Argyle should sett strong guards on his coasts ; that Leith should be fortified. It pleased God, in all this to give us extraordinarie successe : Leslie, in ane afternoon, went up quietlie with the noblemen to the Castle-gate of Edinburgh, caused the town companies to follow them in armes under the walls, parlyed a little with the Constable ; who being much more unwilling to render than was expected, yea, peremptor not to render ; at once, after a dry farewell and plaine upgiving, every one returning to his own companie, a pittard is sett to the outter gate, and is blown up ; axes and hammers and ramming-leddirs are applyed to the inner gate ; the walls are scaled with so much the greater courage, that amazement had so feafed on all the sojourns within, that none of them durst so much as drawe a sword : so in halfe ane hour, that strong place is wonn without a stroke. So farr were the keepers free of all treason or collusion, that the Constable's first retreat was to the King, where yet we have not heard of any punishment inflicted upon him. That night the noblemen supped in the house. Thereafter great care was had by the Generall and Crouner Hamilton to better much the old fortifications, and putt to manie new ones, at ane hudge expence of monies. We thought it a great mercie of God, that a place of such importance was carried without any harme, either gotten or given, and took it for a happie preface of the whole affair.

Dumbartane was a strength that no force ever had winne, and what stratagem to use we knew not, the captaine being so vigilant a gentleman, and having provided it so well with men, munition, and victualls : yet God put it in our hands most easilie. The captaine, and most of his sojourns, being come to the church of Dumbartane, with his wife and family, on a fasting Sunday, the provest John Sempill, and Ardincaple, after the service, caused

lay hands on them all. The rest who were remaining in the house were but few ; who knowing of no rescue, after a night's siege, rendered, and the house was put in Argyle's hand ; who had a present care of victualling and manning it sufficiently. Stirling was in our sure friend the Earle of Mar's hand, so we touched it not. Dalkeith, in the Thesaurer's sight, was ladderit ; the munition, that so much dinn was off, seized on ; the crowne, scepter, and sword, which (I know not how) had been transported there, were, with all reverence, brought back by our Nobles to their proper place in the Castle of Edinburgh.

The noblemen and gentry in the west, Montgomerie, Lowdown, Fleming, Boyd, (Lindesay also was with them,) Cunninghamehead, Blair, and a great number, so quietly as they could, made to Hamilton ; took in the Castle of Straven ; took security of all the gentlemen of Cliddisdail whom they suspected ; went up to the Castle of Douglas, where they expected nothing but blows and a shameful retreat from a rash enterprise, for the house was strong, and they had no cannon ; yet the Marquis's courage failed him, and he fled ; so without dinn, the house was rendered, and manned by us. Johnstone, in the South, had not the like success ; Carlarock was strong and well manned, the enemy there was the greatest part : so Johnstone either durst not, or had not the opportunity of executing his promised exploits : but lest this fail should encourage our foes, our noblemen and gentlemen went avowedly, in great numbers, to Drumfries, and seized on all the houses of our unfriends ; so that all of them either joined with us in covenant, or fled to England. Carlarock we did misken : it could not be taken without cannon, which, without time and great charges, could not have been transported from the Castle of Edinburgh ; it might have been within a few hours rescued from Carlisle, and our people had no commission to enterprise any thing which might engage us with the English, or carry the hazard of any feck of blood.

Argyle set on foot some eight or nine hundred well armed and able men ; put some four or five hundred on Kintyre shore, to watch on Antrim's designs ; the rest on the head of Lorne, to hold the islanders and these tod's-birds of Lochaber, in some awe ; went over himself to Arran with some field-pieces, and took in, without strokes, the Castle of Brodick.

So soon as Montrose did arme, sundrie of Angus and the Carle gentlemen did joine with us, who before had been very neutral. All these countreys rose with him : he came at once, to seven or

eight thousand men; the most were brave, resolute, and well-armed gentlemen. Aberdeen at once trembles: Huntley, in a cowardish feare, leaves them; their bishoppe, doctors, and most malicious of their burgessees, shippes for England; the rest sends to parlie, bot are refused: so in great fray are forced to render without condition. The discretion of that generous and noble youth was bot too great. A great summe was named as a fyne to that unnaturall city; bot all was forgiven. Our host did march on towards the Marqueis house: neither was his witt to flee, nor courage to fight. While we were midway, he sent to parley; but we had no leasure for speeches. He then came out himself; and did under his hand sign all we required; onlie he desyred to be superceidet the subscryving of our formall Covenant; bot did the equivalent, did acknowledge the Assëmblie at Glasgowe, and all the constitutions of it: undertook to joyne with us for defence with armes, against all whosoever. Bot, some dayes thereafter, when his son Boyn [Aboyne] was a-missing, and he found unwilling to give sufficient securitie for performing his promises, no man trusting much either his words or write, he is made to convoy Montrose and Leslie south to the Castle of Edinburgh, where, for some moneths, he was left close prisoner.

Before the return of our armie, the houses of Drum and some other of our unfriends who had fled to England, were diffurnished of armes and victualls by some of our captaines. This was much cry'd out upon by our enemies as cruell and barbarous plunderings, but a little tyme did try that we had been too great fooles not to disfarm that countrey altogether, and use some severitie for example among them. At that tyme they had no reason of complaining, bot greatlie to commend (as they did in words) our leaders courtesie. Leith fortifications went on speedilie; above a thousand hands daylie employed platt up towards the sea fundrie perfect and strong bastions, well garnished with a number of double cannon, that we feared not much any landing of shippes on that quarter. The towns of Fife all along the shore, made up such sconces and fuffies, and planted such a number of shipp-cannon upon batteries, that they were all in the case of a tollerable defence.

Thus, in a short tyme, by God's extraordinary help, we cutt the maine sinewes of our adverfar's hopes; all the strenghts of our land came in our hands; no man among us, but these that swore they were stout friends; all otherwayes disposed, both nobles, gentry, ministers, were gotten away to our professed enemies, and the whole countrey put in such an order and magnanimitie, that we

and sensible the hand of God in everie thing goeing before us ; so all feare of human force was cleane banished away, and a pregnant hope raised in the hearts of all the faithfull of a happie conclusion of this divine work. This marvellous success detracted nothing of our great desyre to give, in all humilitie, full satisfaction to all the reasonable commandements of our gracious Prince. The counsellors that remained, offered to come up all of them to his Majestie, for to give him much more true information of our proceedings than yet he had received. While that motion was but closelie entertained, they laid it upon one of their number, my Lord Orbistoun,⁽¹⁾ to goe from them to represent, on all hazards, the justice and necessitie of our actions. This man undertook much to speak verie freele, as he had done before in the countrie's quarrell : but when he came to Yorke, he got no hearing, so farr as we could learn. For all this, another was sent, my Lord Carmichaell ; whose audience in that cause was no greater. The King's honour was now ingadged ; his rage was increased by his disappointment in all his designs among us ; he was on his way ; there was nothing now able to divert him from pursuing of us with fyre and sword but the God of heaven : of this celestiall diversion, we did never despaire, hoping still that the goodness of God would never permitt so gracious a Prince to defile his hands in the blood of so loving subjects, for no cause at all but their opposition to that corruption and tyrannie they were bringing, under the colour of his name, both into Church and State.

His Majestie, finding himself miscounted of the hopes he was made to conceive of a strong partie among us, would not for all this give over his enterprize ; but intended, by the increase of his forces from England and Ireland, to supplie the want of the Scotts. It was thought by manie, that these five or six thousand Wallons and Irishes, which the Admirall of Holland had beaten back to Dunkirk, were intended against us : manie probabilities makes for this conjecture ; however it be, diverse among us did praise God for the wracking of that fleet, as of ane armie of old beaten sojourns coming upon us for our ruineing. From Ireland a prettie armie was expected ; but all these hopes proved but toome wind. The Deputie we knew, a man evill enough disposed towards our nation, also a zealous Canterburian, most willing to advance all the designs of that faction ; but such was the case of that miserable countrie, that it might spare no number of sojourns. The malecontentments there, for the ordinar oppressions, has ever been great

(¹) Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, Lord Justice-Clerk.

and dangerous ; bot this man, by his cruell exactions of the last parliament, and the ejection of numbers out of their old possessions in the King's counties, besyde by the bringing the verie Spanish inquisition on our whole Scottish nation there, had so much increased the grievances of that most miserable province, that there could be no hope of men from it ; neither was the meanes of intertainment for them, though [had there been] they durst not have ventured their uplifting : The verie blood was drunken out of the heart-veines of that people in their late subsidies, and these fumes had already, for the most been sent over to England, where long agoe they had gotten away to the ocean. So it was proven that in the King's greatest need, all that Ireland could send him, and that too late also, was bot a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians.

As for the forces of England, they fayled like the summer brookes ; the countrey was filled with their own grievances ; a Parliament for manie years was absolutelie denied to their passionat desires and evident necessities ; they were now sufficientlie informed, that the Scotts quarrell and their own was bot one ; their domineering bishop, by his emissaries, as farre beginning these pranks on us, which at once they expected he would play on their backs if the Scotts did succumbe. The hearts of all might be seen averse from this unjust warre. The very pages of Court could not be made to hold in their daillie gybings of our fugitives in their faces, as of traytors to their countrey, and the onlie causers of all this trouble whereto they and their King was put, fore against their desire. The trained bands gave it out peremptorlie, that they were not obliged to follow the King without the countrey ; and that they were resolved not to passe beyond the bounds of their obligation. His Majestie thought not meet to compell, or much to boast them, bot rather shifted their employment. The papists did not much flurre : at the beginning their offers were great ; bot finding that no open libertie of conscience was to be granted to them, they held in their hand, and that by the Pope's direction, as Monsignor Cone's instructions (D.) shewes. Their employment, indeed, had been verie unseasonable ; it had been ane evidence of all our alleadgences, that the Canterburian way was the plaine path to Rome ; it had indangered the King to have been sett about with the armes of all the protestants in England, for their own safetie against the armed papists. The courtiers, indeed, did arme themselves gallantlie for the King's pleasure ; bot their former life in pleasure gave them little feast of this northern voyage. The

countrie noblemen murmured openlie at the expedition. My Lords Seyes and Brookes did speak plaine language, that they could not be answerable to the Parliament for countenanceing ane expedition of forraigne warr, undertaken without the Parliament's advyse; and therefore they were resolved not to concurr, leif they should fall under the danger of law: so at Yorke, for their noble freedome, [they were] committed. At this the people of the South began to flurre, at leif so to grumble, that at once these two brave patriots were sett free, and sent home.

Thir were the perplexities wherewith a good prince was inthorned at Yorke, by the unhappie vollies of ane angrie bot verie imprudent clergie. We knew not then the estate of the English affaires; there was no intercourse betuixt us; our intelligence had much failed us: We heard of nought bot of all England's arming, at least of the readyness of fix or seven thousand great horse, and thirty thousand brave foot; however, we were nought afrayed, after our experience of God's assistance, and full persuasion of the justice of our cause, though all Europe had been on our Border.

This was about the tyme appointed for our Parliament, in the midst of May: we did little expect the holding of it in so drumblie a season; yet leif the fail should have been on our side, our commissioners made themselves readie to keepe the day. There was a little before ane English preacher, Dr. Moysey, come down in his habite publicklye, as he said out of the zeall of his own minde, to assay, if, on the acquaintance he had with my Lord Argyle, he could move us to continue the former way of our supplications, hoping that thereby the King yet might be brought off. The man I conferred with him at length: he seemed to me good and simple; assured me of the truth of all my thoughts of Canterburie and his followers, and the great greives of the English nation, who were lovers of the Protestant Church or State of England, or the King's person and house. He had come down by the King and the Bishops knowledge and tolleration: commission he alleadged none. He was, for all that, courteously received of us all; he professed full contentment in all our proceedings, and promised to give the King better information of us than ever yet he had gotten. Bot, behold, when we are in this parley, and some hopes of peace, the Marqueis appears in our Firth with a strong navie, and, as we were informed, a good armie of land sojourns: This putt us all agast; from all quarters we rann in haste; we in the West had first sent out ane double companie, with their officers, under Captain Montgomerie, who, not onlie for his birth, bot service abroad, was

made to Monroe the first captain; yea, of all his companies, that of Montgomerie from the sheriffdom of Ayr was most commended, even publickly from the pulpits, for example in pious, obsequious, and stout carriage.

Thereafter, when all was ordained to send out the fourth man, we, according to the common undervaluing which was in the country, send out twelve hundred foot and horse, under my Lord Lowdown's conduct as croner, and Mr. David Dickson as minister. Baranthrow [Renfrew] had chosen my Lord Montgomerie for their croner. Cliddesdaill was somewhat suspected in their affection to the cause, especially the Marquis of Hamilton and Dowglafs appearing against us, wherefore the Tables there East thought meet they should not conjoyne, but divided them in foure: the highest paroches about Lanrick to follow my Lord Fleming for their croner; the next about Lismahagow and Evendaill, my Lord Lowdown; these about Hamilton and Munkland, my Lord Boyd; the laigest with the town of Glasgow, my Lord Montgomerie. This accrese to Baranthrow, with diverse lands of Cunninghame, made my Lord Montgomerie's regiment among the strongest; but the pietie and militar discipline of his people was commended above all the rest; yea, none did doubt but in all our camp these of the West were most praise-worthie. They came out most readie, and in the greatest numbers; they made most conscience of the cause and their behaviour; the feare of them made others stand in awe, who else were near whyles to mutinous insolencies.

At the appearing of the shippes, we received order to come furth almost all who had armes. At this charge, my Lord Eglington, who had been appointed with Cassilis to wait at home to attend any invasion might be from Ireland, came away with the whole country at his back, and I as their preacher: but when we came to Edinburgh, finding Leith to be in no hazard, and the coasts of Louthian and Fife to be watched night and day, with strong guards of these countreys; also little appearance of any present invasion, for neither was the King's armie be land come to these numbers yet, or resolution as presentlie to fight, and all the Marquis had within the shippes were but a five thousand land-fojours, taken up in a violent presse; finding this, we gott order to goe back with the most of our people, to attend to the tymes of greater necessitie.

About this tyme Sir James Carmichaell had returned, carrying with him, in stead of an answer to our supplication, a most injuri-

ous proclamation, (E.) printed and published over all England in Apryle, pardoning us for bygones, offering still the conditions proponed in the Assemblée of Glasgow, bot making all to be traitors who rested not with these content; and disposed their lands and goods to their masters or tenants. This wyse plott proved as pedantick a policie as all the former had done: not a man regarded the favour; all were more intraged with that lawless condemning and alienating of lands. The Marqueis, when he came, send out to the Proveft of Edinburgh a trumpet, requiring the Castle of Edinburgh and the fortifications of Leith to be put in his hand, and the proclamation to be published at the Crosse; which being done, he would come out, and as the King's Commiffioner keep the Parliament: if they were refused, he was to execute his master's other commandments. The answer he received from the Toune was a dilator, till the State, which within few dayes was to meet, did confider of his demands. When they came, our nobles and commiffioners of Parliament wrote to him, as ye fee, (Fi.) Reasons why they could not suffer fuch ane illegall and tempting proclamation be read, and withall, supplicating his Grace to mediat with the King ane hearing of our Supplications. There went manie messages between from tyme to tyme. The opinion that men had of the Marqueis was diverse: the farr most part took him for a bitter and malicious enemie, coming to revenge the injuries he apprehended he had gotten at Glasgow; others, amongst which few I was one, thought him yet a lover of his countrey, that the employment was thrust upon him, that he had accepted it, with a resolution to manadge it for our greatest advantage that loyalty to his prince would permitt him. It was evident, he eschewed all occasion of yocking or beginning the warr: he did not trouble a man on the shoare with a shott; what fishers or merchands he boarded were courteouslie used, nothing taken from them bot for present money, at a high rate. What sojourns, indeed, or munition, he could intercept, was sent over to the King's camp: and this was our greatest hurt; for albeit we had gotten these two years a great store of armes, and manie officers home, yet we were so displenished before, and so farr out of use, that we had need of much more: and order indeed was taken for abundance, had not the Marqueis fear stayed the trade; yet some was still coming to us. His straits were greater than ours, when he came, as it were, to besiege; he was daylie at ane hudge expence, as the King professed, above thirty thousand pound sterling in the moneth. The English bodies could not endure to be prifoned in shippis; the want of aire and

fresh meats gave manie the pocks ; nothing so much as water could be gotten off our coasts, so strait was the watche. Had we in tyme foreseen to have fortified Inchkeith and Inchcombe, as we did thereafter Inchgarvie, they could not have lyen in our Firth for one moneth ; yet, notwithstanding of all the comfort the air and water of these Isles could furnish them, manie of them died ; and when they went home, the most part of all who remained traicked pitifullie.

Our evill wishers gave it out, that we would not fail to keep a parliament without the King, wherein we would erect a new kinde of government ; bot tyme did refute that, with all the rest of our malicious partie's fumnises. I have heard some few, by way of reasoning, speak of holding parliaments, in tymes of extreame danger, without the King ; bot the most that ever I was acquaint with had never any ayme for such a practice, as then it well appeared ; for when the King had sent in to prorogate the Parliament, after some little reasoning about the way of prorogation, all agreed, that the court being fenced at the day first appointed, it should be prorogated to any day the King did name, and that without any protestation ; wherein also we made our enemies false prophets. Onlie, at that tyme, the members of the Parliament, in my hearing, did give order for ane verie ample commission to Generall Leslie,⁽⁵⁾ of soveraigne commandement over all our forces by sea and land, on horse or foot, of all our strengths, munitions, and all without any proviso bot one, that he should be subject to answer to the Courts ecclesiastick and civill, according to the settled laws of the kingdome ; also because [Colonel Lindeisay of] Belstane, who had the charge as Captaine in the Castle of Edinburgh, was compleaned on by the Provost of Edinburgh, as a man of no such authoritie as that place in these tymes did require, election was made of my Lord Balmerinoch for that charge, and his oath of fidelitie taken, to the King's speciall offence, who, by our bishops instigation, had a particular spleen at the man ; also these articles which ye see in print out of the Swedish Discipline, for the most part, were then given out.

Some of Kirkaldie skippers, Crouner Hamilton also, would have been at the trying of their fyre-works on the King's shippes ; bot the poore hopes yet we had of peace would not let us begin any

(5) Field-Marshal Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony, who so distinguished himself by his military services abroad, and was promoted by Gustavus Adolphus, to be his Lieutenant-General. He returned to Scotland in 1633, and was created Earl of Leven in 1641.

act of warre; be the contrare, in all our preparations for defence, our open supplications was still displayed in our right hand. When the Earle of Effex, a little before, had come down to Berwick, with the charge of some thousand foot, we sent to him an earnest letter, that he would mediate with the King to hear our supplication, and be loath himself, who was so wyfe and religious a gentleman, to begin a warre for the unjust ambition of bishops, which, for the undoing of both the nations, might continue to flame in the dayes of many generations. Such is the obsequiousness and almost superstitious devotion of that nation towards their Prince, that Effex durst not so much as open that letter, but sent it closed to the King; yet assured [us] of ane short answer, if it were the King's will to send it back to him. Alwayes we shew him in private the copie, wherewith he was not evill pleased. The man was thought a good patriot, not much the factious way, or farr adverse to our cause; however, he was at once removed from our Border, readilie for fear of infection; neither did I hear since, either of the man or of our letter to him.

With Dr. Moysey, according to his desyre, we resolved likewise to send up a supplication, (F 2.) conceived by Mr. Henderfon, in termes so submiss, that some were not pleased with the straine, fearing lest the baseness of it should be imputed to our quaking for the approaching of the King's armes; yet little in it was altered; only Argyle was desyred to wryte with him, in a flouter style, a common letter to Pembroke and Holland, (G.) and would have done the like to Arundail and Vaine; but some excepted at giving so much honour to these who were reputed our malicious enemies. Diverse reported better of both, yet it was carryed to hold on a generall clause, that the first two should communicat their letter to whom of the Councill of England they thought meet. The supplication and letter yow have here doubled; of these we gott no answer: we heard the man was honest, that he reported favourable of all he had seen and heard among us; and therefore was committed, lest his reports going too farr abroad, should have endeared our cause the more to that nation.

Now it was when the North, to our great danger, began to break out. My Lord Boyne, a verie fyne sparke, kindled by a rash and profane man, Bamfe Ogilbie, both malecontented at the beginning, for the Marqueis cowardice, resolves yet to trie their strength. When they began to gather, the Master of Forbes and my Lord Frazer, with a good number of gentlemen, meets to oppose them: but the diligence of the enemy was such, that they came on our

partie, and that with field-pieces, before they were aware; this made us to flee, and them to triumph. We were much grieved for the reported captivitie of that unhappie, bot yet both good and stout youth, the Master of Forbes: bot though that proved false, and our skaith was found to be bot little, yet we took our flight in this cause to be prodigious; so much the more, as Bamfe did make haste to take all advantages of his scarce hoped-for victorie. He rann over the countrie, repossessed Aberdeen, which was not unwilling to be brought back to their old friends; advertised the King of his successe, and prayed for supplie. The matter was of consequence; Ogilbie and the Marque's letters were intercepted; wherein we saw the appearance of some more trouble from the North. All Huntley's friends were malecontent of their chieff's captivitie; Ogilbie and Finlature were great men; Scaforth and Raes were both suspected; Murray also was not our friend. Our friends lay either farder North than to make us any speedie help, or else were scattered and frayed by Forbes's defeat; we could hardlie gather such ane armie as we had at first, the King on our borders calling for all could be spared; the Marqueis holding Louthian and Fyfe in a continuall alarme, and promifeing to fend to the coast of Angus and Mearnes some shippes to doe some harme. It was thought, that the most, if not all the land-sojourns which the Marqueis had, was intended at first for Huntley's service; bot God disappointed that very dangerous intention, by keeping the navie some weeks longer on the English coast than was expected, even till Huntley was in hands, and all his designs broken. Yet if at this same tyme a considerable supplie had been sent to Bamfe, he had wrought us much woe; bot Montrose, at once, with Marischall, who before this were avowedlie joyned to our fyde, as also Dumfermling, for our dangers joyned more to our partie, and put none away; these two valiant noble youthes made haste with all the friends they could gather: the toun of Dundie, and my Lord Kinghorne, both by his own following, and speciallie by my Lord Arroll's vassalls, to whom he was tutor, being his sisters sone, thir did us much help in all our northern expeditions. So soone as our armie appeared, Bamfe dissolved his forces, Aberdeen randered, at once all was carried before us. Bot ere it was long, our forces lykewise disbanded, it was thought, on some malecontentment, either at Montrose's too great lenitie in spareing the enemies houses, or somewhat else. While our noblemen are besieging some of the enemies castles, they see themselves scenderlie backed; they hear of the King's shippes at Aberdeen; for

then the Marques had sent some shippes wherein the citizens, who before had fled from Aberdeen, returned, and some noblemen with them, as Glencairne, (who unhappilie all this tyme, otherwayes than his forbears, to the losseing of the heart of all his friends, for the Marques's pleasure had deserted his countrie,) Tillibardine, Lithgow, Kinnoule, and others; we considerit how soone Bamfe might draw together his bands, and compasse us, then being so weake: upon the sight of thir dangers, they resolved in diligence to retire, that they might returne with a stronger convoy.

The wisdom of God, from the first day of this great affaire to this present houre, hes been pleased so to dispenſe his favors, that with the causes of our rejoyceing there was ever at once intermixed some matter of no small difficultie, whereby to sharpen our prayer, and exercise our faith to believe in the strong hand that before had often drawn us over brayes, which we, by our own forces, would never have gotten breasted. At this tyme we find ourselves in greater danger than ever; our enemies in the North master of the fields, readie not only to break in like a spate on the Mearnes and Angus bot to fall on our backs in Louthian and Fyfe, while the King and the Marqueis calls for our face; also the West being in no small frayes for the Irish invasion: for the estate of that countrey we did not then understand; only we heard that Crowner Bruce was sent about with some officers to the Earle of Antrim, who, after long disappoyment, had gotten money to levie sojourns; that he had in readines fundrie flatt-bottomed boats; that fundrie troupes of the trained bands were come down to the shoare; that the noblemen and gentlemen of our nation there had drawn on themselves and poor tennents a pitifull snare, a scandalous oath, wherein not only they swear the renunceing of our Covenant, bot fundrie other things, which stands against the tender conscience of manie of our people: numbers of them, through this oath, are like to be undone. One Trewman ane English[man], being supplanted by a cunning fellow to curry favour with the Bishop of Derrie, was apprehended, and confessed, that he had heard that knave's motion to him, without dissenting, of joyning with the Scots, if a partie should come over to Ireland; bot withall did avow, that he had never any such resolution, let be plott, for accomplishment of any such motion. For this confession he is hanged, and quartered half-quick, after the English fashion, as traitor. The knowledge of thir things put all the people in the West shore in a continuall fray, and made them have little will to let any more men or armes be carried East to the Generall's campe. These also

in the South were put in frayes, to be invaded from Carlile. Yet neither did the King's maine host sturre from about the Border, nor any from the shippes did presse to land. This made us see a dangerous policie, whereof we were more afraid, than of any thing else. It was our great desyre to have at once been at handie-strokes, well understanding that the ferd of our hott spirits could not long byde in edge, also that our povertie could not long permitt us to keep the fields together. If the shippes should keep us besieged be sea, and hold us from all trade ; if on our Border ane armie of strangers should force us to lie in campe long foreanent them, till our countreyemen from the North came on our backs, till the Irish on the West, and English, with ane other part of our fugitives, should come on the South, we saw at once that this would undoe us, without stroke of sword ; wherefore we took us again to fasting and prayer. We commended to Montrose and Marischall the care of the North. We gave out these peremptor orders, which ye have here doubled, wherein all who can beare armes are commanded in haste to come to the Generall's camp, wherever it should be, with such armes as they had, and a month's provision of victuall ; to the end, that either we may [have] granted to us a reasonable peace, or else, before we did perish sitting still, to goe seeke our enemies, the prelats and papists of England, wherever we could find them. This we cleared to be no breach with England, nor ane inche beyond our lawfull defence ; who by sea and land were hemmed in with a warr worse than fyre and sword.

Thir peremptor instructions comeing to the King's campe, made manie a heart there, and in all that land, begin to quake : they knew that our necessities and injurious oppression made us stout as lions ; they heard of the conduct of Leslie and his experienced officers ; they understood their own feebleness, paucitie, unjust cause, and manie misorders ; they heard we were intrinched, drawn towards them as near as Dunglass. At once a proclamation (J.) comes out in farre other straine than the former, shewing, that the King's armes were intended merelie for peace, leaving off the odious charge against us of treason and rebellion, and commanding us to hold off the King's armie be ten miles ; else, if we came nearer his leaguer, he would expone that disobedience for a declaration of our intention to invade the King's person and kingdome of England ; promising withall, upon the demonstration of our civill and temporall obedience, the granting of all our just supplications. This style did please us well. It was the first blew bore

that did appear in our cloudie sky : We took it for a beginning of a reall change of the King's counccills : then indeed having aslaved to the uttermost all their policies and forces, they saw we were not to be boasted ; and that before we would be rosted with a lent-fyre by the hands of churchmen, who kepted themselves farr aback from the flame, we were resolute to make about [a bolt] through the reek to gett a gripp of some of these who had first kindled the fyre, and still laid fewell to it, and try if we could cast them in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own skinner. Finding the approaching of this danger to their own heads, without possibilitie of any farder delay, they were at last content to permitt our gracious Sovereigne to give over, for that tyme, the pursute of their quarrells ; at leift our gracious Sovereigne, seeing the vanitie of all their promises, and finding it not possible for him to gett their wicked designes prosecute, without the hazarding of the blood of manie thousand his best and greatest subjects in all his dominions, of his owne just and meek inclination, and by the wholesome advyse of all the nobilitie, both Scottish and English, that were about him, he inclined to the wayes of peace ; and did repent much of these resolutions, which, by the most rash will, and disgracefull counsell, that ever in any age had been furnished to any prince, he had latelie declared, in his manifesto, to all Europe, bot to us, whom it most concerned. That unexampled manifesto, which, at Canterburie's direction, Balquanquall, and Ross, and St. Andrewes, had penned, was now printed in the King's name,⁽⁶⁾ and sent abroad, not only through all England, bot over sea, as we heard, in diverse languages, heaping up a rabble of the falsest calumnies that ever was put into any one discourse that I had read, to shew that we were the most desperat traitors that yet had lived, and meere hypocrites, who, in matters of religion, had never been wronged, bot had onlie sought pretences of religion to collour our plotts for rebellion. It was good that this book was kepted carefullie from our hands till the Treatie of Peace was near closed ; for, as the Bishops by it had engaged the King so deeplie to persecue us, as there were no appearance of any regrefs for him, without infinit disgrace, (for how could he leave off to wracke, though he should die in the way, these subjects whom they had made himself declare in print, out of his fure

(6) This work has previously been mentioned. *Vide* pages 140 and 175. There is no doubt that Dr. Balcanquhall was the author, although he may have obtained some assistance from Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, as here intimated.

knowledge, to be most wicked enemies to God, to him, and to their neighbours, for their faithfullness onlie to God and himself,) what peace or capitulation could, with any honour, be made with such vile persons? So lykewayes this booke put us to the extreame lyne of desperation: It shew, that with his Majestie's allowance our partie stood to the justification of the imposition of the bookes of Service and Canons, both for matter and manner; that we were condemned for censuring, even in a Generall Assemblie, these who had preached, and still avowed the preaching of all the articles of Arminius; that our loud and continuallie repeated challenges of the Canterburian partie among us, as of papists, who, under the name of protestant doctrine, did preach and avow, and printed, the grossest tenets of poperie, were clean past by; that they, in all their proceedings, even the most tyrannous and unjust that could be gotten done, were defended; and we, for the best and most loyall of our actions, censured for traitors in the highest degree before all legall tryall. This putt us near to our witts end: certainlie it made us weepe for the King's honour, which oft, by that ungrate generation, had been tramped in the dust, bot now was so pitifullie pudled in the myre of disgrace, that all the blood of that faction would never be able to cleange it from the blott of infamie. For, if these crymes, whereof they had made the Prince pronounce us guiltie in print, in the eares of all Europe, were true, what either follie, or injustice, or weakness, behooved it to be, to embrace us, and that without a remission, before that the sword of revenge had made an example of some for disciplining the rest! And if not true, as evidentlie they are now false, what intollerable rashness to make a Prince put them in print under his owne name alone, and that to neighbour princes, even to the world, before once they were put so much as to a tryall! Alwayes the King and we both must put [up] with these extreamelie scandalous injuries of the Prelats, as we have done manie moe, till the tyme of their reckoning come, which we hope approaches, when, before the face, not of England alone, bot of all the rest of Europe, where they have too long abused princes and nations, they shall be made give account of their full administration.

However, that Proclamation was verie sweet to us, for simple necessitie and discretion alone, to get either religion or libertie brooked as law, and all reason did require, had made us sojourns: so we gladlie stood a-back at all the distance the King commanded. This our readie obedience being perceaved, behold, our unhappie

partie makes a new onsett. They perswade the King to proclaime in our Borders, towards the former proclamation of our treason, and the offer of pardon, and their master's lands, to these who would desert us. This was done at Duncce, with a strong convoy of English horse. The lyke was intended at Kelso; bot there Monroe, Fleeming, and Areskine presenting themselves in battle-array, did make Holland, with some thousand foot and horse, with their shew alone, to retire in haste in a shamefull disorder. It is thought Holland's commission was to cut off all he met in opposition to him; bot his sojourns that day was a great deall more nimble in their leggs nor armes, except their cavaliers, whose right armes was no lesse wearie in whipping, than their heeles in jadding their horses. We were informed, that to repaire that disgrace, Holland was commanded to returne with farr more forces, to execute his former commission: whereupon our Generall raises his campe from Dunglefs, advertises his troupes at Kelso to march towards him; both of them that night meets together at Duncce, and there they satt down on the head of that faire Law. We fand that advantage was made of our obedience, and a course yet againe, without respect to promises, to be taken for our wracke: So we returned to our former resolution of present fighting; and sent posts athort all the cuntry, to haste on our friends for that end. Some of the advertisements I have caused double; bot the last (K) was so peremptor, inviteing to come to the buriall of these who were like to be deserted, that the hyperbolies of Meldrum the secretar did offend manie. This our march did much affray the English campe; Duncce-Law was in their sight within six or seven myles, for they lay in pavilions some two myles above Berwick, on the other syde of Tweed, in a fair plaine along the river. The King himself beholding us through a prospect, did conjecture us to be sixteen or eighteen thousand men; we were indeed above twelve thousand; bot at once we were above twentie [thousand men]. We might have doubled that number, bot we had none there from the one full half of Scotland; not a man beyond Tay; few from Louthian, Fyfe, Edinburghe, Mairche, for they were waiting on the shippes, or employed in carriages; the South behooved to observe the border about Carlisle; and the West the Irish shoare: albeit that was needless, for all that were either in the shippes, or on the South border, or might be spared from Ireland, were called quicklie to the royall standard; and when all were together, their number was thought did not exceed in horse and foot, English, Scotts,

Irish, sixteen thousand men, and these not of the stoutest; for it was constantly reported, that one night a false alarm being in our camp, when our drummes began to beat, and our matches on the hill to flyne through the darkness, there arose such a fray in the English camp, that verie manie did betake them[selves] to their heeles, expecting from us a present invasion; yea, had not our wyfe and valorous Prince, with his Generall Arundail, done diligence to encourage, and to find out the groundless vanitie of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have been gotten stayed.

It would have done yow good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy, for I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carryed my self, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; bot I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrey men, which I did to my power most cheerfullie. Our Hill was garnished on the toppe, towards the south and east, with our mounted canon, well near to the number of fortie, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sydes of the Hill, almost round about: the place was not a myle in circle, a prettie round ryng in a declivitie, without steepness, to the height of a bowshott; on the toppe somewhat playne; about a quarter of myle in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for fortie thousand men. The crowners lay in kennous [cavasses] lodges, high and wyde; their captaines about them in lesser ones; the sojourns about all in hutts of timber, covered with divott or straw. Our crowners for the most part were noblemen: Rothies, Lindefay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at leist from Fyfe; Balcarras, a horse troupe; Lowdown, Montgomerie, Areskine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcudbright, Yester, Dalhousie, Eglintoun, Cassillis, and others, either with whole or half regiments. Montrose's regiment was above fifteen hundred men in the Castle of Edinburgh: himself was expected; bot what detained him ye shall hear at once. Argyll was sent for to the treatie of peace; for without him none would mint to treat: he came, and sett up his tent in the Hill; bot few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his should lie about Stirling, in the heart of the

countrie, to be alwayes readie in subsidies for unexpected accidents ; to be a terror to our newtralists, or bot masked friends ; to make all, without dinn, march forward, leift his unkannie trewesmen should light on to call them up in their rear ; alwayes to have ane eye what either the north, or the shippis, or the west, or our stail hoist should mifter of help. It was thought the countrie of England was more afraid for the barbarietie of his Highlanders than of any other terror : these of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these souple fellows, with their playds, targes, and dirlachs. There was some companies of them under Captaine Buchanan, and others in Areskine's regiment. Our captaines, for the most part, barrons or gentlemen of good note ; our lieutenants almost all sojourners who had served over sea in good charges ; everie companie had, flying at the Captaine's tent-doore, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish Armes, and this ditton, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. Our Generall had a brave royall tent ; bot it was not sett up ; his constant guard was some hundreds of our lawiers, musqueteers, under Durie and Hope's (7) command, all the way standing in good armes, with cocked matches, before his gate, well apparelled. He lay at the foot of the hill in the Castle, with Baylie his serjeant-major, or lieutenant-generall. That place was destinate for Almond, (8) in whose wisdom and valour we had bot too much confidence ; yet in the tyme of our most need, the grievousness of his gravell, or the pretence of it, made him goe to France to be cutted : alwayes when he came there, it was found he needed not incision, so he past to his charge in Holland, where to us he was as dead in all our dangers.

The counsellis of warre were kepted dailie in the Castle ; the ecclesiastick meetings in Rothes's large tent. The Generall, with Baylie, came nightly for the setting of the [watch] on their horses. Our sojourners were all lustie and full of courage ; the most of them stout young plewmen ; great cheerfulness in the face of all : the onlie difficultie was, to gett them dollors or two the man, for their voyage from home, and the tyme they entered in pay ; for among our yeomen, money at any tyme, let be then, uses to be verie scarce ; bot once having entered on the common pay, their sixpence

(7) Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, and Sir Thomas Hope, two distinguished lawyers.

(8) Sir James Livingston, second son of Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, was created Lord Livingston of Almond in 1633, and Earl of Calendar in 1641.

a-day, they were galliard. None of our gentlemen was any thing worfe of lying some weekes together in their cloake and boots on the ground, or standing all night in armes in the greatest storme. Whyles, through storme of weather, and neglect of the commiffaries, our bread would be too long in coming, which made some of the Eastland sojourns half-mutinie; bot at once order being taken for our victualls from Edinburgh, East-Louthian, and the countrey about us, we were answered better than we could have been at home. Our meanest sojourns was alwayes served in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-legge, which was a daintie world to the most of them. There had been ane extraordinarie crope in that countrey the former year, besyde abundance which still was stollen away to the English campe for great pryces; we would have feared no inlake for little money in some moneths to come. Marche and Tevidaille are the best mixt and most plentifull shyres both for grasse and corn, for fleshes and bread, in all our land. We were much obliged to the Toun of Edinburgh for moneyes: Harie Rollock, by his sermons, moved them to shake out their purses; the garners of non-covenanters, especially of James Maxwell and my Lord Wintoun, gave us plentie of wheat. One of our ordinances was to lease on the rents of non-covenanters; for we thought it bot reasonable, frae they fyded with these who put our lives and our lands for ever to feile, for the defence of our church and countrey, to employ for that cause (wherein their entresse was as great as ours, if they would be Scottish-men) a part of their rent for one year: bot for all that, few of them did incurr any losse by that our decreit, for the peace prevented the execution.

Our sojourns grew in experience of armes, in courage, in favour dailie; everie one encouraged another; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors dailie raised their hearts; the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells; the remonstrances verie frequent of the goodnes of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearlie divine; also Leslie his skill and fortoun made them all so resolute for battell as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; bot such was the wisdom and authoritie of that old, little, crooked souldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Soly-

man. Certainlie the obedience of our Nobles to that man's advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their King's commands: yet that was the man's understanding of our Scotts humours, that gave out, not onlie to the nobles, bot to verie mean gentlemen, his directions in a verie homelie and simple forme, as if they had been bot the advyces of their neighbour and companion; for, as he rightlie observed, a difference would be used in commanding sojourns of fortune, and of sojourns voluntars, of which kinde the most part of our camp did stand. He kept dailie in the Castle of Dunce ane honourable table for the nobles and strangers with himself, for gentlemen waiters thereafter, at a long fyde table. I had the honour, by accident, one day to be his chaplaine at table, on his left hand; the fare was as became a Generall in tyme of warre: not so curious be farr as Arundail's to our nobles; bot ye know that the English sumptuositie, both in warr and peace, is despised by all their neighbours. It seemes our Generall's table was on his own charge; for, so farr as yet I know, neither he, nor any noble or gentleman of considerable rent, got anything for their charge. Well I know that Eglington, our crowner, intertained all the gentlemen of note that were with him at his own table, all the tyme of our abode; and his sonne, Montgomerie, kept with him verie oft the chief officers of his regiments: for this was a voyage wherein we were glad to bestow our lyves let be our estates.

Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the found of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed: true, there was swearing, and curseing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; bot we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all of any fashion did regraitt, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For my self, I never fand my minde in better temper than it was all that tyme frae I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without returne. I fand the favour of God thynneing upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along; bot I was no sooner in my way westward, after the conclusion of peace, than my old securitie returned.

It was not our Generall's intention to sitt long at Dunce; onlie till our armie had grown to a considerable number: he thought

meet to lie on that strength, which was in the midst betwixt the two wayes to Edinburgh, that if the English had moved either towards Haddington or Soutray, he might have been on their backs ; for we knew not then well either of the estate or designs of the enemy : bot after we were above twenty thousand men, he gave out not obscurelie his purpose to approach the English camp. Their feare of this made them cast up some trenches on our syde of Tweed, and work at them both on Sunday and Saturday: they had no will we should have come so near them, therefore occasion was fought with all diligence of the Treatie. The way of the procedure was this : Robin Leslie, one of the old pages, being come over to Dunce Castle, made, as it were of his own head, an overture, that we would be pleased yet to supplicate, or else the English forces did so daillie multiplie, that at once we would be overflowed with them. Our feare daillie diminished of their violence ; we knew at once the great advantages we had of the King : yet such was our tendernefs to his honour, that with our hearts we were ever willing to supplicat his off-coming ; yea, had we been ten times victorious in sett battells, it was our conclusion to have layd down our armes at his feet, and on our knees presented nought bot our first supplications. We had no other end of our warres ; we fought no crownes ; we aimed not at lands and honours as our partie ; we defyred bot to keep our own in the service of our prince, as our ancestors had done ; we loved no new masters. Had our throne beene voyd, and our voyces fought for the filling of Fergus's chaire, we would have died ere any other had sitten down on that fatall marble bot Charles alone. At that so light a motion, we ventured, without any assurance bot the King's own equitie, to send over the Earle of Dumfermling, with a short Supplication (L.) to hear our just demands, with a letter of our Nobles to the Councell of England, for a verie speedie answer. The youth was accepted with greater favour than was expected. For answer, Sir Edmund Vername [Verney], marshall of the King's house, a gentleman who was known to be a lover of our nation, came over, requiring us to read the evill proclamation in the head of our troups, before our demand of communing of our controversie before some fixe of the English could be heard. We shew him manie grave Reasons, (M.) which at his own desyre were put in write the 7th of June, I think, to be delivered to the King, why we could not read it as was requyred ; bot, with much reverence, we read it at the Generall's table, and shew what we mislyked therein. This reading the gentleman took,

and so reported it to the King, as a satisfaction to his demand; whereupon, to Dumfermling, who returned with him, with his former supplication, the King, on the Saturday at night, granted, that forasmuch as we had read the proclamation, he was pleased that, as we required, any sixe of our number should come to his Generall Arundaill's tent, to conferre with sixe of the English of credit and trust. Much debate there was about a safe conduct for the return of ours: yet the stoutness of our men, the trust we put in the King's simple word, the hope we had by the ladds on the Hill to have fetched them in haste, or as good for them, made us leave off that question.

On Monday, Rothes, Lowdown, Sheriff of Tevidail, ⁽⁹⁾ and who other I forget, went over: Henderfone and Johnstone went not till the next meeting: we had not will to hazard all at once. Our comuners went over with a fair convoy, which left them at the water fyde: they went, as they were appointed, to the Generall's tent. We had required, in our supplication, expreslie to confer with men of reformed religion: we took Arundaill, and all the world with us, for a known papist, and the head of the Spanishe and Popishe faction in England; so our letters were commonlie directed to Holland, generall of the cavallerie; and alwayes we eschewed dealing with Arundaill: yet frae the King was pleased to employ him as Generall, frae he avowed the King's religion, and countenanced sermons and communions with us, and, above all, seemed treulie to be as desyreous of our peace as any, we made no scruple to goe to his tent: Where they were not weill entered till the King came in; at whose unexpected presence we were somewhat moved, bot yet verie glad. His Majestie said, he came there to shew his willingness to hear all they had to say, otherwayes than he was slandered. Many speeches past, which, I think, the comuners at their return putt in write, and in due tyme shall see the light in their own royall and noble phraze. The King was verie sober, meek, and patient, to hear all: our spokesmen were verie earnest to speak much, to make large and plausible narrations, as well they could, of all our proceedings from the beginning: that day there was a sweet and loving conclusion. The next meeting appointed on the Wednesday, for one day was hipped for advyement on all hands on what was past, and what to be proponed. The King missed Henderfone and Johnstone, so at the next meet-

⁽⁹⁾ Sir William Douglas of Cavers, was Sheriff of Teviotdale. The Communer, whose name had escaped Baillie's recollection, was the Earl of Dunfermline.

ing they ventured to goe. On the Wednesday or Thursday, the King was much delighted with Henderfon's discourse; but not so with Johnstone's. Much and most free communing there was of the hiest matters of state: it is likelie his Majestie's eares had never been tickled with such discourses; yet he was most patient of all, and loving of clear reason. I think it was that day when he gave two three lynes of a good general answer, (N.) That he would grant us all our desyres, if it were bot law, and the custome of our church and kingdom we were seeking.

Saturday was the third day of meeting, where the most free communing went on. His Majestie was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they ever had seen; and he likewise was the more enamoured with us, especiallie with Henderfon and Lowdown. Thir conferences purchased to us a great deale of reputation, for wisdom, eloquence, gravitie, loyaltie, and all other good parts, with the English councellers, who all the tyme did speak little, but suffered the speech to passe betwixt us and the King. In the closure of that day's reasoning, our folks waxing bolder, on their knee begged the abolition of Episcopacie. His Majestie had scarce a face to deny them any thing; yet he would give them no answer to that demand, with an expresse desyre that they should not take his delay for a denyall, inviteing them to a new meeting on Monday: he promised to keep dyett, and thereupon offered his hand; which all, on their knees, did humblie kysse, and so departed full of joy and hope. All thir dayes they were by Arundail royallie and verie chearfullie feasted, and much quick speech, especiallie from Rothes's mouth, past at the table: nothing what England, Spaine, France, Holland, could afford, was there laicking on their fields.

On Sondag, to-morrow, some of our Scottishe Bishops, readilie Rossie and Aberdeen, with their sweet and peaceable discourses, did alter somewhat the King's minde; so the nixt day's conference was somewhat more tart than any of the former, and closed with thir Demands in write, (O.) of the King's power to call and discharge Assemblies, and voyceing negativelie into them. Against the next meeting, we had prepared wise and discreet answers to them, all in write, as we were commanded, tending to a negative, that the King had neither a power to dissolve, nor a negative voyce in Assemblie, according to the word of God, or our Church constitutions, or our Acts of Assemblie, or any good reason. All our

consultations were in so publick a way, that nothing we spake or did, bot at once it was at the King: our wayes were so full of honestie, that we did not regard [though] all our thoughts, let be words, had been proclaimed in a theatre of the whole universe; yet we were nothing content of the light, if not treacherous wydness of mouth in some of our friends. We were nothing pleased with that day's discourse, and least of all, with the Demands. They made us suspect, that nought was fought of us bot to gaine tyme for the comeing in of more English and Irish forces to the King's camp, and spending of our moneyes and victualls, that so we might be forced to retire: we therefore resolved to dallie no longer, bot either that day to come nearer to reall conditions of peace, or else to break up our Camp and off our Treatie, and for the first journey, to lay down our leaguer within shott of cannon to the King's trenches.

This our peremptoriness being well known on the other fyde of the water, made, in the nixt conference, the demands to be quyte miskennit, and at last the King's will, in write, (P.) to be given well near to our mind. This was brought back by our comuners, without much dispuitt about fundrie clauses they thought of necessitie behooved, for our satisfiacion, to be altered in the wryte; desyring, that the jurie, if there was any of that change, should not be their's alone, bot should fall on the whole bodie, to whom they were bot serving commiffioners. At our Tables manie things were noted, which did much offend. Alwayes in the next conference, some of these clauses his Majestie deleted: others, which for his honour, he desyred might stand, were so benignly commented, that for all the harshness of the text, yet the King's own exposition, declared to us by all the comuners, and taken first at their mouth by many extemporary penms, and then sett down by themselves to be communicat to all, gave tollerable satisfiacion: Thir were the Articles of our Pacification, proclaimed the 18th of June in our campe.

Many, whereof I was one, was glad at their heart of this divine conclusion, and blessed God then, and ever since, for so rich a mercy to the Prince and whole Isle. Many secret motives there was on all hands that spurred on to this quick peace. What to have done when we came to Tweedside we were very uncertaine: the King might have beene so wilfull, as rather to have hazarded his person than to have raised his camp. Had he incurred any skaith, or been disgraced with a shamefull flight, our hearts had been

broken for it ; and likelie all England behooved to have risen in revenge. Diverse of all ranks, of the best note in our campe, were beginning to be scrupulous in conscience to goe in to England : though thir scruples had been exeemed, yet no ordinar way for our safetie did appear. Had we beene bot some dayes journey in that land, the bordering shyres were so barren, and so exhaust with the King's leaguer, that few night's meat could have been gotten for us into them ; from our own countrie we could neither have carriage, hordes, nor strong enough convoyes for it: The hope of England's conjunction was bot small ; for all the good words we heard long agoe from our friends, yet all this tyme, when their occasion was great to have kythed their affection both to us and their own libertie, there was nought among them bot a deepe either sleep or silence: we heard not the cause of our Northern army ; our eares were beaten with daily frayes from Ireland on our West coast ; much grumbling among too manie, especiallie of the Merse ; Hume, and diverse of the gentry there, were beginning to be suspected. However, these who understood best our affaires, thought that God had sent us a tollerable peace in a very fitt tyme ; yet others did grudge at the haste of it ; they thought it was concluded by a few, who took too much upon them : true, all were admitted to every consultation thereanent ; yet the absence from the weightiest consultations of prime noblemen and barrons, and all ministers bot two, was not much remarked, nor their presence sought, if their negligence or adoes or discontent did avocke them. Many thought, that two or three dayes longer delay might have purchased to us better and more cleare conditions. The rendering of the Castell of Edinburgh, with all the munition, and putting the fortifications of Leith into the King's hand without any condition, did much affray, especiallie when we saw the Castle delyvered to Generall Ruthven's custodie : alwayes it was not now tyme to complaine. Our companies were disbanded, our hutts burnt : we looked not in haste to gett such an army on foot ; and without the like, our conditions might well be worse, bettered they could not be. We expected the King in our camp before it brake up, for so he promised ; bot he was made to alter that promise, as too rashlie given out, not being his honour to countenance these armes which were lifted by his subjects against his desyre, and laid down not absolutelie at his command, bot on conditions, and these so disadvantageous to the intentions once he had avowed. At the declaration of the King's will, we would not protest ; yet lest it should be conceived, that in

our capitulation we had past from our Assemblée or Covenant, we thought meet to cause Caffilis read ane short Information of that our mind, and take instruments thereupon, (R.) This much offended Mortoun, who came to see the King's declaration published : much bitter and evill speech he cast out on Argyle, alleadging that our wryte to have been against expresse communing. This we denied ; bot in so modest words, as we had no will to provoke neither him nor the King.

Some jealousies did yet remaine, as driffling after a great shower. The King, as we expected and the English nobilitie our best friends did desyre, minted not to sturre from our borders ; manie of his troupes were bot billeted in the countrie. Argyle, and some few other of our nobles, who went over to the camp to kisse the King's hand, were bot coldlie welcomed. When we sent over Lowdown to have some of the articles cleared, and the performance of promises, the answers were not pleasant. The Bishops were ordained to be proclaimed in the indiction of the Assemblée as members of the meeting. When Lowdown shew the clear necessitie of our protesting against this, the Marqueis advyfed, against the King's minde, to let that protestation goe with the rest. The indiction also of the Assemblée by the councill was not kept at the promised tyme : the clergie and non-covenanting Lords had all the King's eare as before. The Marqueis and Mortoun had bitter contests with our nobles before the King : the Marqueis's wayes was yet so ambiguous, that no man understood him, onlie his absolute power with the King was oft there clearlie seen. The people of Edinburgh being fore grieved for the Castle's so sudden randering to the hand of their great enemy Ruthven, and provoked by the insolent and triumphing behaviour of that unhappie spark Boyne, who, yet reicking from our blood in the North, would rattle in his open coach through their calsie, made ane onfett upon him, and well near had done him violence. The Theasurer also got a chafe in his coach ; which in the 'persute brake, and he in the outcoming received some knocks, as they said, with some women's neives : of this he was most glad ; for they indeared him to the King, at a tyme when his credit was verie near cracking. The Justice-Generall was also somewhat shoired, and the Register searched in his house. The King had written for fourteen of the chief of our land to come to his campe, to give him some satisfaction in some demands. Rothes, Lowdown, Montrose, Louthian, Archibald Johnestoun who had gone before, were not lyke to be dismissed. This put us all in agast more

nor ever, that we had been drawn in a hofe nett; yet our noblemen were difmiffed: the fourteen were ftayed from going. The courage of the anti-covenanters, who after the peace began fo to crowe, fell at once. Lowdown, in wreitt, gave to the King reafonable fatiffaction in all the questions he had to propone (S.) The Affembly was by the counfell indicted, albeit fome fix dayes after the tyme appointed (T.); our proteftation (W) was digefted; the plott of the Seflion's downfitting for the Prefident and Register's refitution, and other ends, was croffed.

The King, after much tyneing of tyme about Berwick for the clergie's pleasure, went his way, little to their joy: for a while, they were made all fo fure of refitution, that all places of England was exprefflie denyed them; yet in the Articles nothing could be attained for them, for we would consent to no deed on our part that might ineroach on the Affembly of Glasgou. The King was weary of them; the whole court did hate them; the pages publickly gyred at them. Judge ye if their comfort was great, when all that could be gotten to them at the King's farewell was ten pound a-peice, and fifteen for the like of Mr. William Annan. My heart was only fore for good Dr. Barron: after he had been at London printing a treatise for the King's authoritie in church affaires, I fufpect too much to his countrey's prejudice, he returned heavilie difeased of his gravell; he lay not long at Berwick till he died. Some convulfions he had, wherein the violent opening of his mouth with his own hand or teeth, his tongue was fomewhat hurt: of this symptome, very cafeable, more dinn was made by our people than I could have wifhed of fo meeke and learned a perfone. He had fallen, very unhappilie, on Dr. Forbes's company; the faction had much laboured to gaine him to their fyde, and yet never done him good. I had great hopes, if he had lived a little, he fhould have quitted them, and been glad to have embraced the Covenant of his mother-church, as his learned brother now hes done. Many other paffages there was about that tyme, which I have now forgott; take only one, and I clofe.

So foone as Montrose had turned homeward to the Mernes, at once Boyne and Bamfe, with Crowner Gunn, and other officers, gathered great forces: Aberdeen joyned heartilie to the partie. They fpoyled Marifchell's land, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundie, and all Angus in the throat of their hope: bot at once Montrose and Marifchell, moft valorous and happie gentlemen, gave them fome other matter to doe; though much inferiour in

number, they came to seek them. Some great ordinance we had, which moved our partie to hold off when they were coming on, hoping to have cleane defeate us ; for their Heiland men avowed they could not abyde the musquet's mother, and so fled in troupes at the first volley. Seaforth had promised to bring his forces for our help to the bridge of Die ; bot we were much behind with that, as it seemes, very false man in ane exceeding dangerous tyme. Bamf, frae he was once in armes, hindered the gathering of our friends in the large shyre of Aberdeen, and thereabout, being simplie master of the fields. Seaforth, and Raes, his generall, had gathered well near five thousand men, bot did not sturre out of their place. The gentlemen of Murray and Rossie did gather ; bot so long as Seaforth stood still, they durst not leave their houses ; so not a man beyond Die did come to our camp, except Forbes, with their pages and some verie few gentlemen. Montrose and Marischell, knowing the danger, not onlie to their countrie, bot the whole cause, if they should either retire or stand, resolved to goe on and fight. The enimie had fortified the bridge of Die, and lay on the other shoare under sconces, with their musquets and horsemen : we resolved to have the bridge on all hazards. It was a desperate peice of service ; none more stout, and full of good directions at it, than Jesuit Abernethie, by the playing of the great ordinance on the bridge ; and much adoe ; for the perverse citizens of Aberdeen did fight verie manfullie that day. At last, with some slaughter on both fydes, we wanne the bridge, we putt our enimie to routt, goes forward that same night to Aberdeen, lodges without in the fields, being resolved to-morrow to have sacked it orderlie, that hereafter that Town should have done our nation no more cumber. Bot as it pleased God to keep us from all marcks of the leift alleadged crueltie from the first taking up of our armes, so there the preventing mercies of God did kyth in a speciall manner ; for that same night, by sea, the King's letters of pacification at Duncie were brought to the toun ; which to-morrow earlie being presented to our Nobles, made them glad they had gotten that blessed coard whereby to binde up their sojourns hands from doing of mischief, whereto that wicked Town's just deservings had made them verie bent. For all our spareing, yet that countrey's malicious disloyaltie seemes not to be remeided. In the militarie buriall of Balmaine's brother, some traitor with a musquett of moe bullets than one, did kill outright a gentleman being verie near Montrose and Marischell ; as at the first expedition, a knave was taken in that town, who was mightilie suspected to have had ane designe to

have killed Leslie: yea, for all our pacification, the Marquis's stout and honest sojourns, Grant and Dugair, continued, and yet are doing still their robberies in Marischell's and all our friends lands, wherewith our Parliament is much presently fastened; for it is like that much of their knavish oppressions shall be fastened on good Huntley's back, as the chief author. Always for that tyme Montrose and Marischell did post to Dunce to have their part of the joy, as weell they did deserve, in the common peace; where they were made most welcome, both to their comrades and their King.

I wish this might be the comedick catastrophe of our verie fearful-like Episcopall tragedie. Bot yet we have not received directions to make our publick and solemn thanksgivings; yea, some clouds still sticks in our ayre; so that we have kepted with us at home, till our Parliament close, all our countrey-men-sojourns, to whose kindness our nation is exceedingly obliged; for, to help their boasted mother-church and countrey, they have deserted their charges abroad, to their great losse, which they knew she was never able to make up: they have here, on verie easie and small conditions, attended her service: for fear of their valour, our peace has been both the quicker and the better; the renowne of their kindness, and conscience of their desert at the hand of their mother, for ever will be their greatest and most glorious recompence. Before the sitting down of our Assemblée, in the midst, and about the end, we had still new matter of fear. Athort all our Parliament some thing of moment was ever like to goe cross; yet all goes well at last: That present difficultie, about the articles and fourteen votes to the King, whereat there is much sticking, I hope that huge armie of Spainards now landed in England, shall make it get halfe to be swallowed down with the rest. Bot of our Assemblée and Parliament at more length with the next. For recompence of my labour send without fail to me the Currents and to the Colledge, because of their expences, the Mercurie, both Belgicus and François: this François I shall take if they refuse. My service to your Wyffe. I rest your Coosin.

September 28th 1639.

A POSTSCRIPT, October 12th 1639.

I THANK you for all your three letters I received before your [our?] departure from Edinburgh. For them, receive here inclosed three packets: in the first, the rest of my papers anent the Assem-

blie of Glasgou; in the second, a narration, in four sheets, of our proceedings to the 12th of August, the sitting downe of our Assemblie at Edinburgh; the third hes the pieces answerable to the letters of the second: I hope in the nixt to give yow account of our Assemblie and Parliament, which I will not promise in haste. The affaires of our Parliament goes yet but thus and fway; if we look to men, our estate is bot yet wavering up and down in the scales of a very dubious event: our maine acts are bot scarce past the Articles. The Commiffioner threatens either to ryse, or to protest in the day of the ryding, or to make declarations equivalent to protestations, or to deny the scepter to our most substantiall desyres. To preveene this, we have been content to sitt still, half ydle, thryce so long tyme as ever anie Parliament in anie land did continue, waiting till posts upon posts, runne up and down, for carrying to us the King's pleasure. It seemes our enemies credit is not yet extinguished at Court. The Castle of Edinburgh is dailie made stronger. From London, the other week, arryved to Dumbartan a great shipp, with canon and other munition, with an English capitaine and diverse English sojourns. Division is much laboured for in all our estate; they speak of too great prevailing with our nobles: Hoome evidentlie fallen off; Montrose not unlyke to be ensnared with the false promises of advancement; Marischell, and Sutherland, and others somewhat doubted; Sherrieff of Tevidall, and some of the Barrons, inclyning the Court way; divisions betwixt the merchands and crafts of Edinburgh; and so, by consequent, of all the Burrows in Scotland, carefullie fostered by our Commiffioner: our prime clergie like to fall foule upon the question of our new privat meetings. Yet when we look to God, who, in great pitie, hes ever helped us through all difficulties, we hope yet that all shall close well: We trust the new bone which God hes casten in our courtiers' mouth, of the Spanish navie, inclosed on our shore by all the sea-forces that France and Holland can make, will not give them leasure to make use of our present infirmities; so much the more as the English are in frayes, and, as they say, fundrie of their south-west shyres in armes, in a greater number than the King does require for the guard of his coasts; also that the Palatine at Court is solliciting for ayde. In so faire an occasion, when Banier is almost triumphing in Boheme, to the terror of Vienne itself; when Mentz and Culen are both like to be taken by the Swedes; when Alsatia is mastered; when neither Saxe nor Westphalia are so near to accept the neutralitie; when Newburge

is fallen off the Emperor; at this tyme, if the Palatine be deserted, he and his friends will be singular in their unfortunatnefs.

I wish ye would move your Printer at Amsterdam to sett out his Current, as the French and London one is, in a sheet which may fold in two leaves, that we might get his Currents bound up in a book, which now is not possible: Also, ye would assay to persuade some there who has good types and paper, to print, for their own great profit and scholars great use, an Hebrew Bible, and Syriack New Testament, in one volume, both with the poynts, in quantitie of our English pouth Bibles: a million of thir would sell in two years; this kind was never yet printed, and would be much loved by scholars. Also the Targum, and Talmud, with the poynts and Latine exposition, in small volume; likewise the Greeke Septuagint, with the Greeke New Testament, would sell well: a pitié that your Printers were not stirred up to print thir as they have done the Poets and Republicks. Ye forgett continually to send to the Colledge, or [to myself] if they refuse, the last two three years Mercurie François. Your Brownisticks bookes ye shall at once receive back: I wish ye sent me some more of them. Let our friend make haste to put out a second edition of his storie. Your Currantier would be admonished to take some little more paines to informe us of the state of Asia, and the Turkish, Persian, Indian, and African affaires; which were easie for him to doe upon a little diligence, having your shippes so oft coming from all these quarters.

The matter of my transportation ye shall hear when it is at any poynt; my mynde is afraid of all changes, so I have yet opposed it what I can, upon the reasons ye shall see.

MY INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. ALEXANDER CUNIGHAME. ⁽¹⁾

If in your way ye have occasion to divert for three or four dayes to Cambridge, or if at your leisure ye go to it from London, see Dr. Ward: try of him the secret, how Arminianisme has spread so much there; how Shelford's absurdities please him; how they were got printed there, with such approbation of so manie fel-

⁽¹⁾ In a note at page 27, it was suggested, that Alexander Cunningham might have been the same person who was afterwards Minister of Ettrick. It will be seen, however, from a subsequent letter, dated 13th of August 1644, that Baillie mentions him as then deceased.

lowes, and Dr. Beell Vice-chancellor for the tyme; if the book was called in, and any censure inflicted on the approvers. His colleague in the profession, Dr. Colings, is verie courteous: sift him what he avowes of Arminianisme and Canterburian poperie; they say he is farr on, and opposit to Ward. Conferre with that Dr. Beel, and try if ye find him a papist. I think Dr. Coofings be at Oxfoord, bot if he be at Cambridge, conferre much with him; he is thought the maine penner of our Scottish Liturgie: if he will be plaine with yow, ye will see what that faction would be at. Be cannie in your Conferences, leist they take yow for a spye. Visit their fair Bibliotheks and manuscripts. Try who are fervent and able opposits there to Canterburie's way, and let your chief acquaintance be with them: beware of our countrey men Hay and Areskine, for I heare they are corrupt.

At London acquaint yourself with Holdsworth, lecturer at Gresham Inne; [and] with Dr. Featley the author of *Pelagius Redivivus*: try how they can be silent to see Poperie growing. Search for the author of the *Holie Table*, Name and Thing. Try the present estate of Burton, Bastwick, and Prin [Prynne]; also of Lincolne, Bishop Davenant, and Hall: if they be there, conferre much with them; see if they be opposit to all Arminianisme, to bowing to the altar. Try what crucifixes and new images are at Paule's and the Chappell; and if Burton's complaints be reasonable.

The Brownists had a church there; however, there are in the citie aneugh of them: conferre with some of their preachers, or discreet people. See if they at Amsterdame, and these of New England, and these who yet are at home, be of one minde, that will not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Synods. Try if there be a considerable partie opposit to bishops besydes thir; if there be any hope of getting the Episcopall state and their ceremonies removed; at leist, if the Arminian faction, with Canterburie's overthrow, can be gotten crushed. Conferre with Bishop Montague; see how farr he is Popish, if he hes written any thing thir four years, or hes any thing for the presse. If Bishop Wren be affable, conferre with him; Dr. Potter also, and Helen [Heylin]; and if any more ye find of that faction learned. Wale your privat tymes that ye be not marked⁽²⁾. Try of some discreet Alderman the grounds

(2) Such an admonition does not appear to have been superfluous; for many of Baillie's inquiries might easily have subjected his young friend to the imputation of being a spy.

why London did not joyne againſt the Scotts ; what hopes there is of a Parliament, and taking order with the Canterburians for their Arminianifme and Poperie ; if there be any correſpondence betuixt Con and Canterburie, betuixt him and Rome, and what evidences of it ; what is the charge of Sir William Hamilton, the Queen's agent at Rome ; if the Prince's letter to the Pope from Spain be difavowed : There are ane hundred ſuch things as thir, whereof ye will have occaſion, if ye be diligent, to find the ground, and the very root. Search who is about the Prince, if they be orthodoxe, and if any of the chaplains be honeſt ; if Dr. Lawrence's ſermon be yet approven ; if Stafford's Female Glorie⁽³⁾ was never burnt ; if the good miniſters of London be ſilent at the faction's progreſſe ; if all zeale there be dead ; if publick avowing of the truth, in preaching and print, be baniſhed cloſe out of England, with Baſt-wick, Burton, and Prin. Take a ſtart to Oxford, acquaint your ſelf throughlie with Prideaux ; it is mervellous that he is ſilent : We thought that zealous men had not ſo feared priſons nor fyres. Bodleye's Librarie view it well. Try if all there be the Canterburian way ; if any able oppoſits to it, and how they kythe their op- poſition. Let me hear the progreſſe of your Deputie's affairs at Court.

My catalogue of Browniſt's books ſearch at London, where they may be found, at what pryce, and what more of that kind, that I may know what of them to ſend for. Try the eſtate of private meetings at London, how they are taken by the zealous miniſters who are not Browniſts ; if there be any thing written for that poynt *pro* or *contra*.

Send me a catalogue of all that is printed againſt our late proceedings ; why ſo few of the Engliſh divines hes medled to write againſt us ; how our proceedings are thought of now there. Send me the pryses, when ye have tryed in two or three diſverſe ſhoppes, of Auguſtine, Jerome, Bernard, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, both Savill and Frontoduce⁽⁴⁾, Gregorie the Great, in the beſt edition ; Bibliotheca Patrum in eight tomes, ſix great volumes, not the laſt rable of fyfteen tomes ; Baronius, ſix volumes, alſo the laſt edition ten volumes ; Thuan's Storie, the laſt edition, four or fyve volumes : Try if any

(3) "The Femall Glory ; or the Life and Death of our Blessed Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary, &c. By Anthony Stafford." Lond. 1635, sm. 8vo. See an account of this work in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss, vol. iii, p. 33.

(4) That is the two editions of Chrysostom's Works, published by Sir Henry Savile, and by Fronton le Duc (in Latin Frontonus Ducaeus.)

Univerfall lyke Thuan⁽⁵⁾ be coming furth. Your letters to me fend, if ye cannot better, to William Cuninghame in the Custome booth at Edinburgh. Give me account of all this memorandum first or laft.

Try the estate of the Churches of New England. Some merchands in the Exchange can informe you truelie, if ye be curious, of the present estate of all the Earth, for they have dailie intercoure with their factors at Mosco, Venice, Lisbon, Constantinople, Alexandria, Aleppo, Persia, India, China, Brasilia, let be in nearer kingdoms. Try for young Dr. Burgeffe; it were good his father or he did answer Dr. Ames's fresh sute. Conferre with Bishop Mortoune, and Dr. Primerose; try of him the state of the French Church, and of their controverfie moved be [Amyraud?]. See at the Minister of the Italian church, if there be any hopes of getting Italie reformed.

Ye will have occasion of letters to Edinburgh weeklie: if ye write not to me once in the three weeks, I will count yow forgetfull.

FOR HIS BROTHER, HENRY GLEN.⁽⁶⁾

As for my comeing to your Town, I will tell you plainelie my minde. I thinke myself truely oblidge to your people for honouring me with their nomination; bot withall, ye will help me to make them take in good part the necessitie of my refuseall. I am settled, by God's clear calling, in a place eminent enough for any gifts I have; God hes blessed my labours here evidentlie; I have full contentment in all things; a most loving and obedient people, who at the motion of my removeall are much commoved; plentie of means, eight chalders of bear and meal, payed by my Lord Montgomerie onlie, a good gleib, a monie-dutie payed me for my manse; I have all my heart could wishe, and my minde cleaves to my people, as theirs does to me: whom God hes conjoyned, why should any mint to put afunder, against both their heart; and though I were never so willing to remove, yet how can I thinke of accept-

⁽⁵⁾ In some of the MSS., "Universall like them." Baillie evidently means a Universal History like the great work of the President De Thou, (in Latin Thuanus,) entitled "Historiarum sui Temporis, libri CXXXVIII, ab anno 1543, ad annum 1607."

⁽⁶⁾ Henry Glen was one of the Magistrates of Glasgow, (*Vide supra*, p. 106.) The allusion at the end of this letter to Glen's wife and children, renders it more than probable that he was Baillie's brother-in-law.

ing that place of Mr. John Maxwell's, for other vaikand ye have none: I have no call at all from your people; to this day never man who had their warrand, hes minted to feek my consent; no man hes once motioned this matter to my flock, [or] to my Presbytrie to deal with them for their consent: all is cast over to the Affembly's compulsion: men are not slaves or beasts foe to be dealt with. Your people hes never foe much as concluded among themselves, in anie orderlie way, to call me: When was this matter voyced in your Presbytrie? when in your Session? when in your Counsell? and albeit all this were, ye are not patrons, ye have no right to call any man to that place without the King's presentation. Thir and such other materiall inlaicks of a calling, would scarre any man from imbraceing your violent and tumultuarie invitation, let be me, who am resolved, by God's help, and that upon manie reasons, to sticke by my flocke to my dying day. I pray God send yow manie good pastors, for ye had much need of them; bot as for me, let me not be further pressed at your fynod: for the end of such troubleing of me, will be but your disappointment, and keeping of your Church vaiking longer than need were. This farr, Brother, I thought meet to tell yow plainlie, leif the keeping up of my minde might have hindred your folkes to fute others who will be much more able to doe them good than I am, and more willing than I mind to be.

Ye may communicate my mind with Mr. Harie [Gibson], and some few others of our friends, who may joyne with yow to help me to shift, in the fairest way that can be, your Towne's trouble. God knowes what good I could doe there among strangers, when all that I am able to doe this twyfe seven years, hes not moved yow, my onlie Brother, to amend bot one fault. The Lord be with yow: my service to Christen and the bairnes.

Your Brother,

Kilwinning this Thurfday.

R. BAYLIE.

TO THAIR LOVING AND ASSURED FREIND MR. ROBERT BAYLIE,
MINISTER AT KILWINING FOR THE PRESENT.

SIR,

Please yow we have direct thir our two neighbours, John Barnes and William Neilfone, to yow, to defyre yow most earnestlie to transport yourselfe hither conforme to the ordinance of the Affem-

blie. We have communicate our mindes thereanent to the bearers; yet we doe hereby most instantlie intreat yow, that setting all excuses asyde, ye would pitie our desolate estate at this tyme, who hes no minister to discharge any kind of ministeriall duetie among us, and to transport your self the sooner for that cause, as our trust is in yow : and so rests

Your assured and loving freinds to power,

Glasgow this 23d day
of November 1639.

COLINE CAMPBELL.
NINIANE GILHAGIE.
MATTHEW HAMILTOUN.
WILLIAM HOWIE.
PETER JOHNESTOUNE.
WILLIAM COTIS.
JOHNE KIRKWOOD.
WALTER DOUGLAS.
JOHNE ANDERSON.

GA. CUNYNGHAME.⁽⁷⁾
JO. ANDERSOUN.
RICHARD ALLAN.
WALTER STIRLING.
JAMES STEWART.
COLINE CAMPBELL.
JAMES HAMILTON.
JAMES BELL.
THOMAS GLEN.
THOMAS SCOTT.
P[ETER] C[UMMIN].

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS MUCH HONOURED FREINDS,
THE PROVOST, BAYLIFFES, AND COUNCELL OF GLASGOW.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND VERIE ASSURED FREINDS,—

I doe humblie acknowledge my unworthinefs of all that respect ye have showed towards me, and paines ye have put yourself, both in the Generall and Provinciaall synod, to have me one of your Ministers ; as also of this last honour in sending such ane considerable commission of two, my verie worthie freinds, with your kind and respectfull letters. I remember weell my manifold obligations to your Citie, and my bands with many of yow in particular : your present great need of ministers my heart does pitie ; bot concerning my Transportation I am no wayes able to satisfie your desyre. Conscience obliges me to stay with my flock to the uttermost of my power : the great love and respect which my Noble Patrons hes ever showed me, makes me think it were dishonest ingratitude for me to mint to leave them so long as they are content of my ministrie. In any other thing which strykes not on my conscience

(7) Gabriel Cunningham was Provost of Glasgow, and the other persons who sign this letter were Magistrates or Councillors at this time.

and honestie, I hope I shall be as willing to kythe myself a servant to yow all, and to every one of my friends there, as any child that ever was borne among yow, to my poor power. I could gladlie wishe that in this particular I were not ane occasion of your hurt and displeasure. It is verie likelie, if ye continue to perfew that act of the late Provinciaill [synod,] that your place vaike long, and in end be altogether frustrate of me ; for both my Noble Patron and my people, and myself, are confident that our protestation in Aberdeen will be discussed in our favors. My humble and earnest desyre to yow, therefore, is, that ye would be pleased to cast me by. I am ashamed that so much adoe has been alreadie made about the lykes of poor me, and shall be sorrie to see myselfe the subject of your discontentment, which, I fear, in the end shall be unavoydable ; for when your long and troublesome sute of me keepes your place voyd in thir tymes when it had leift need, and miscarries also in the end, ye will readilie then be displeased with me, and yet without my deserving ; for I did ever plainlie shew to all that ever spake to me, my firme resolution, so farr as lay in my power, never to transport from my present charge. Wishing therefore from my heart that your Wifdomes would, for your own good and ease, and for my great joy, give over to put your selfe to needles fetherie in perseuing any more my impossible transportation ; I rest, as well it becomes, to yow all and every one of yow,

A verie loving freind and servant,

R. BAYLIE.

Kilwining, November 27th, 1639.

[TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, MINISTER OF KILWINNING.]

SIR,

My duetie in the Lord remembered. Please yow remember what I spake to yow at our last meeting. Ye and all men may see the pitifull estate of God's poore flock within this Burgh at this tyme, and how that God hes visited our whole pastors at one tyme, whilk I pray God, may be in mercie, and not in wrath. Our estat and condition thereintill now deserves pitie and commiseration of all who are able to help us ; bot especiallie of yow, whom God hes so lawfullie called thereto, be lawfull patrons, voyce and ordinance of ane lawfull Provinciaill assemblie, ane hungrie and willing flock, to accept : If thir be not sufficient reasons for your transportation,

I understand none. It is true ye may pretend, and hes left nothing unalleadged ye can say, be worldlie reason in the contrare; bot I hope now ye will sett all these things asyde, and preferr such ane lawfull calling, and indigence of so desolate ane flock, before any worldlie respect whatsomever, and so pitie the desolate estate of this your own mother citie, who loves and favours yow so dearlie, hoping to get good of yow and your ministrie; and so transport yourself the sooner. I need not to tell yow the estate of the sicke within this burgh, our want of our communion therein at this tyme, and others, ye may think upon yourself; and so expecting ane favourable answer frae thir bearers, I rest,

Your loving Condisciple and assured

Freind to command,

W. ZAIRE.

Glasgow, this 26th of November, 1639.

[TO MR. WILLIAM YAIR. (8)]

VERIE LOVING CONDISCIPLE,

Your affection towards me of old and late, be assured, is mett with mutuall respect. I have showne my verie worthie freinds your Commiſſioners, as also I have written to your Towne Councell and Mr. John Bell, that which I forewarned yow at meeting, and all my freinds there, both in private and publick, that conscience and honestie would force me to flicke by my flock to the uttermost of my power; and so long as both my noble patrons and my most loving flock joynes with me in full confidence to gett their protestation approven, a thought of transportation cannot enter in my minde: And I trust this my love, which God and reason, and manie duties, oblidges me to carrie towards my espoused people, will be taken both by yow and by your Towne in good part; for I professe, were it in any other matter, where my conscience and honestie were not touched, I could be as forward, according to my bound dutie, to serve that good Towne, as any child that ever was born into it. The Lord be with yow.

This is your loving and affectionat old Freind,

R. BAYLIE, Minister, I trust not onlie for

the present, bot all my lifetyme, at Kilwinning.

(8) William Yair, in the years 1645-1650, held the office of Town-Clerk of Glasgow. He was probably at this time also connected with the Town-Council.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND, AND THEIR LOVING FREIND, MR.
ROBERT BAYLIE, MINISTER OF GOD'S WORD.

REVEREND,

Yours frae these who were directed be us to yow, to intreat yow to confider the lawfulness of your calling to the Ministrie at this place, and that ye would not delay to transport yourself here in respect of our great exigence, we received; bot finds the same no wayes answerable to your calling, or our expectation. Ye write, that conscience obliſhes yow to remaine with your flock, and honestie and thankfulness not to leave your noble patrons. We desyre yow to confider, with what conscience ye may stay, when ye have sic ane calling from God, and in not yielding yourself obedient to it, that ye be not found unthankfull unto him. We are persuaded that the Generall Assemblie will never regard that protestation whilk ye confide so much in; for howbeit the Provinciall assemblie had not the power to transport ministers frae one place to another within their own province, as none doubts bot they have, yet they exercising that power, not onlie as of themselves, bot lyke wayes having commiſſion for that effect from the Generall Assemblie, will be ane dangerous precedent to recall the same. Wherefore, Sir, we againe and againe request yow that ye would lay the conscience of your calling here to heart, and the great necessitie this place for the present is in, and not postpone your transportation with unneccessare delayes; for we will plainlie and truelie assure yow, that we will neglect no good and lawfull way that may effectuate the same, howbeit that place should remain unplanted untill the Assemblie of Aberdeen; for what is impossible to men, is possible to God. So assuredlie expecting your obedience to the calling of God, and us, the representative part of the parochiners, instant suitors for the same, wee remaine,

Your affectionat to our power,

THE PROVEST, BAYLZIES, AND COUNCELL
OF GLASGOW.

Glasgow, this 7th day of
December 1639.

JAMES STEWART.
GAVIN NEISBITT.
JAMES TRAN.

GA. CUNNYNGHAME.
JOHN ANDERSONE.
G. PORTERFIELD.
RICHARD ALLANE.

THOMAS MORSON.
 JOHN ANDERSON.
 THOMAS SCOTT.
 PATRICK BELL.
 COLINE CAMPBELL.
 JAMES HAMILTON.
 WILLIAM HOWIE.
 WALTER DOUGLAS.
 HENRIE GLEN.

WILLIAM STEWART.
 WALTER STIRLING.
 JAMES BELL.
 COLINE CAMPBELL.
 JOHN BAIRD.
 MATTHEW HAMILTON.
 JOHN ANDERSON.
 NINIAN GILHAGIE.
 PETER JOHNSTOUN.

[TO THE PROVOST, BAILLIES, AND COUNCIL OF GLASGOW.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND MY MUCH HONOURED FREINDS,

I did hope that my answers to your letters, both by my wryte, and by word at more length to your commissioners, should have given satisfaction at least thus farre, that no more travell should be taken for me till the Generall Assemblée; bot since it hes beene your pleasure to putt yourselfe to this new trouble of wryting to me again so preffing a letter, I can say no more than before. Your present necessitie of ministers, all christian hearts does pitie; your carefull diligence, in calling men whom ye esteem fitt, all will lyke-ways praise; bot for my comeing to yow, I doe not think it warrantable. I doubt not much of the Generall Assemblée's power of transporting any of us where they please; bot where a Provinciall, or any Committee from the Generall [Assemblée] does proceed against reason, I thinke ane appeal to the nixt Generall [Assemblée] verie reasonable, and according to the lawes and practises of our Church. My people having used a protestation, which I in conscience think reasonable for the matter and ground, I find myself tyed before God to stay where I am, and not to count my calling to yow sufficient by that late act. If herein I sinne, either against God or yow, I pray God to pardon; bot truelie in this I am sensible of no fault: yea, if I tooke any other course, my conscience would finyte me; I could not lift up my face before my good people and noble patrons; I could have no courage to serve yow. Bot if the Generall Assemblée ordaine me to transport from my station, as I am hopefull they shall never assay to make so violent a divorce, then indeed, if I did not serve the place of my birth, of my meanes, of my gifts, of my grace, more willinglie than any other else, I might take upon

me the mark of great and unnaturall ingratitude. Always remaining yet, so farr as I [am] still bound fast to my dear flock, and wishing to abyde so to my dying day, I must continue still your supplicant to give over to put both yourfelfe and me to trouble, by casting in that fute; which, through the present long delay, cannot bot doe yow harme, and, by the finall miscarriage, work yow more displeasure; whereof I should be forrie to be reputed the least occasion. This earnestlie desyreing ye would be pleased to grant, I do rest, as I am by manie obligations tyed,

Your verie loving freind, in any other thing
to serve yow all,

R. BAYLIE.

December 11th, 1639.

[To⁽⁹⁾]

GOOD WILLIAM,

It were good that men were free altogether of passions; bot since this cannot be in this life, the nixt best is to let them vent onlie to our freinds: that which ye read in my face, behold it now in my letter. I am deeplie grieved with My Lord's unexpected unreasonableness: the less the matter is, it shoves the more clearlie what I have to look for at his Lordship's hands, if the matter were greater. Wherein I had to doe, to this day, I have never mellit with any thing concerning his Lordship's goods to the value of a groat. His Lordship's countenance and favour I have fought, I have gotten, more mind I never to be burdensome. I pray God neither I nor any of mine have any need to doe it, for it is like small favour in that kinde could be expected. When this whyle bygone, I have been dealing in the fairest wayes I could, by prayers and supplications, that a poor and scurvie thing, whilk all law and conscience and reason obliſhes his Lordship's lands to pay for our schooll and reader, this is peremptorie refused. All other men's lands must pay to the Church their personage, their vicarage, a duetie besyde to the schooll; bot My Lord's lands most passe free of all, albeit his Lordship's hand be at the band for the schooll: the reason, because My Lord's countenance to

⁽⁹⁾ There is no name or date affixed to this letter. In the MS. it follows the letter to Glen, (p. 229.) The person, however, to whom it was addressed, was evidently an agent or factor to the Earl of Eglintoun.

move the rest to pay, should make his twentie pund land goe free : also becaufe the vicarage, which hes taken three hundreth merks out of our poor's boxe, is given to my Lord Montgomerie, to whom it does belong by as good right as the personage. For such reasons as thir, my Lord will have our poor young man disappointed of his threescore pounds for thir last three yeares : for me to request more that my Lord would doe the poor man such reason, as his Lordship confesses all other in the parochine should doe him, I will never mint ; for I see well that all my most earnest and reasonable requests, when the matter is about the scurviest soume of money, are misregarded ; onlie I cannot hinder the young man to charge be law for that which wryte conditions to him. If my Lord will oppose, and by so doing hinder the keeping of a schooll at his onlie parochie church, his Lordship may doe it, and by so doing gaine bot small honour. I have no more to say for my part, bot that I must be greived that his Lordship, who albeit he had not in his house all the superplus of our church rent, and although his Lordship's place and meanes did not oblishe his Lordship in conscience, both by countenance and personall contribution, to further, as he did ever before my comeing, that good and necessar work of our schoolmaster ; yet all thir respects being away, I did believe that his Lordship's favour and good words to myself would have given me full assurance to have obtained a more matter by my earnest request. Alwayes I have been long in ane error, and I now at last doe learn it : I now see how much I may expect from My Lord's favour, when it goes to any matter beyond words : I am not minded herein againe to be deceived.

Good William, ye will pardone the expressions of my greived minde ; I have send them to yow as a token of my old and constant affection. God help yow and all men whose livings depends on noblemen's pleasure ; for myself, I am resolved to goe on to my death as I have done, to love, honour, serve to my power, My Lord and all his house, get what meeting I will : to strangers I shall make it ever good enough ; bot God forbid ere my estate and being depended on their benevolence. This is

Your assured Freind,

R. BAYLIE.

When I have given it over, if ye can move My Lord [to] doe us reason, and that which law and conscience binds to, albeit his

Lordship had not subferyved, I fhall be obliged to yow ; for myfelf I have no refpect when it goes beyond words and lookes.

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, HIS ASSURIT FREIND, MR. ARCH.
JHONSTOUN, ADVOCAT FOR THE CHURCH.⁽¹⁾

ARCHBALD,

The tyme was when I wont to have the contentment of your frequent and long lettres ; but fince you ar become great, a prim member of our Church and Stat alfo, I muft reft fatisfied with fome blenks of your ey in the ftreits onc a yeir ; if fome feu ftrekes of your pen come to my landward cottage onc a thre or four yeir for remembranch that fome tyme we wer acquaint, it is all that my poor meannes can expect from your neu light of eftimation and much plintie of imployments. I would have been loth to have impeachit you even in this tyme of all other lawers to much lafur and longfom vacation, had not ane onexpectit accident of a verie deir freind forcit me to crave of you, by the right of all my old defervings, a refolution in a neu cais of our Church Disciplin. I hope you ar not ethir by privat or publiet affaires put fo farr out of remimberance ethir of me or of your chriſtian deutie to any, or of your magnifik office of clerkſhip and advocation to all miniſters ; but I mey furlie expect your ryp, and advyfit, and full aunfuer, when I onc at moſt in the yeir propone my quaefion.

This is the matter. Eftir we had deposite D. Hamiltoun in the Affembly of Glaſgou, ſome of the pariſhioners of Glaſfuirde came to Mr. Patrik Sherp, ther nibour, intreating him to wiſh them to a good miniſtere. Being urgit, he recommends to them ane old ſcoller of myn, Mr. Jo. Bell, a ſone of my neereſt nibour and moſt deir freind, the miniſter of Stevintoun. Upon this recommendation, thes of the pariſhioners defirs to heer the young man preach in Mr. Patrik's church, the Sunday folowing, promiſing to be his

⁽¹⁾ This letter, on the ſubject of Patronage and Popular Election, is not contained in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters. The original, entirely in Baillie's own hand, is in poſſeſſion of the Editor, along with Johnſtone of Warriſton's Answer ; (*Vide* the Appendix to the preſent Volume.) Baillie's very ſingular orthography has been retained, although the addition of a final *e* might have been made with ſome propriety to ſuch words as *mad*, *ſinc*, *on*, *onc*, *violenc*, &c. intended for *made*, *ſince*, *one*, *once*, *violence*, &c.

heirers with others the most judicious of the parishion. That Sunday the Doctor intendit by violenc, as they herd, in dyspyt of our Assemblée, to occupie his oun pulpit; so they behovit to brek ther tryft for to oppose the Doctor, but withall desirs Mr. Patrik to move the yong man to deill with my Lord Semple, the laik patron and landsford of all the parishion for a presentation. The yong man came to me for my counsell and assistance: knouing him to be one of the most able youthes I kneu vakand, for lerning, wisdom, utteranc, and all ministeriall qualities, I movit my L. Argyle and my L. Egglintoun to writt lettres to my L. Semple in his favours. My L. Semple promise a presentation, having tryit from sunry hands that all I had mad the noblemen writt of the youth, and mor was treu, yit for feir of the King's offence did delay to præsent till the Assemblée of Edinburgh. In the mean tyme, some of the parishioners falles in conceit first with on and then with ane other yonge man: thir my L. Semple refuses to præsent, being ingagit to Mr. Jo. Bell, not only for the recommendation of his noble freinds, but beliving him, as the Presbitery both then and yit does, and many mo with them, to be the meeter man for the people than any other was proponit to him. Vpon this crofe thes of the parishion who had delt for others, began to maligne Mr. Jo.; yet he being confident to give them full contentment, did go on by the advyce and incoragment of sunry the cheif ministers of the Presbitery of Hamiltoun and many of the parishioners to receve the præsentation. He was made weelcome in the Presbitery, his tryells præscrivit, both exercise, contraverfie in Latin, popular sermon: in all he gets ane singular applaus, divers of thes who had opposed took him by the hand, and all wer quiett. You must knou, by the way, that the Doctor's violenc in the episcopall courses had made manie of that people fall to the other extremitie of some extravagant conceits, and brunistik-lyk folies, much increasit among them by the heidines of their Reider, who for faultes in that kynd was divers tymes in the Presbitery and Assemblée callit to ane acount, and even yit is onder proçesse: the main thing that ever they prætendit for ther dyslyk of Mr. Jo. was, that he had sutit a præsentation befor he was electit by the congregation. In our late Sinodall Assemblée in the Presbiterie of Hamiltoun's censur, that same particular being examinitt, and this relation which I have writtten being publictly made, the whole Assemblée pronuncit as the act beires, that the yong man had done no fault, and

ordainit the Presbiterie to proceed with him. All his tryells being past, the Presbiterie with one mynd, comandis his edict to be servit, that with diligence he might be admittit to that long vacant church : the Reider, in the mean tyme, deiles with him for his favour to get his place keepit, but finding the youthe's aunfwer not so direct and full of assurance as he wisht, he goes præsently, so farr as we can judge, out of meer malice, and steires a numer of the people neer to a mutinous sedition : In the church, from his place, takes on him, as his custome is, to exhort all to stand by the Covenant ; from many scriptures presses this, onder all the pains of hell ; that by Covenant they ar tyed to the disciplin of our church ; that one part therof is the minister's election by the people, that now they ar to receive one from the Presbiterie and patrone which they did not elect ; as the virgin forcit in the feild, if she cryd was fre of guilt, by the lau of God, if silent, was punisheable for villanie ; so they, if nou they did not crie against this violenc, wer by God to be plaguit. By such sueite doctrin, he so inflamit the poor people, that a numer of them came to the Presbiterie with ther fuordes, on the day of ther edict, and he, as ther captain, with a protestation against the admissiõ, and ane apeill to the nixt Generall Assemblie, upon no rafun at all, so farr as I can heer, (for ther writ I have not yit seen ; but if I can have a double of it in time, I shall send it to you,) onlie I am certainly informit that ther only alegation is, they would be Covenant brekers, and perfydious, and so lyable to all the curses of God, if they did not oppose that man who comes to them against the acts of the church disciplin ; a numer wherof they cite. The Presbiterie strived to give them contentment in this scruple, but in vaen ; wherfor they ordained to go on with the admissiõ on the first, I think, of the nixt moneth, finding no objection at all movit against the persone ether for lyfe or doctrin, only a wilfull opposition on the prætenc of a scruple which the provinciall Sinod hes pronuncit null. The people who opposes for the most part ar fillie cotters, being animat by ther Reider ; they threatenit in the face of the presbiterie nothing bot fyr and fuord, that the pudder and leid they wer to spend for ther Covenant at Dunce wes to the for, to be imployit at ther church whensoever the presbiterie would come ther to oppugne that same Covenant. We have acquaintit Mr. David Dikfone with this story at lenth, who is much grivit with that people's unrafonable, ontymous, and verie dangerous folies ; who hes ondertaken to do what lyes in him to remeed it. I sheu him I

would writ to you for your advyee, and he was weell pleasit with the motion.

I muft therfor earnestly intreat you, that with fo grit diligenc as you can use, you will have a letter reddie for this beirer to me, who will wait on fuch tymes as you will apoint.

The knot is worthy your paines : at one it may be a commun and pernicious caes for yoaking of patrons, presbyteries, and people, all by the caes in the whole countrie, if a feu præparatives paffe. With the particular, which for your information I have wriitten, mell as litle as you please ; but let your studie and write run mainly on the generall, wither by our Covenant ar we obliſhit to ſtand punctually, without diſpenſation, by theſe paſſages of our Diſciplin which really puttēs down the right, or fruſtrats the uſe of patronages ; namly that paſſage in the 4th heid of our Firſt Book of Diſciplin “ It apertaines to the people, and everie ſeverall congregation to elect ther miniſter.” Does not that chapter at lenth give the right of election to the people alone, to the patron not at all, to church-men only in the caes of a people’s neglect, and that for full 40 dayes ? Alſo in our Second Book of Diſciplin, cap. 3, the firſt part of the calling is election, and this is “ the choiſing of the perſon by the judgment of the elderſhip and conſent of the congregation.” Heer election is mad the proper act of the ſeſſion, at leiſt preſbitery, and of the people, to whom at leiſt a conſent is attribut, ſo that ther diſſent, whouſoever on reaſon or without reaſon, wil caſt and hinder the election. Thridly, a paſſage in the ſam Second book, cap. 12 : Such “ an election, and aſſent of the people ” is requirit, which does directlie diſtroy all patronages, without excepcion of the prince’s, and all benefices, as popiſh corruptions againſt the word of God. This Book of Diſciplin is ordainit by a numer of our beſt and moſt lafull Affemblies to be ſuorne and ſubſerivit at leiſt by all miniſters. Laſtly, ar we not all ſuorne to maintein the Acts of the Affemblie of Glaſgou, and ſo that tweintie article of the tweintie-thrid ſeſſion, wher not only all that ſeek præſentationes without the advyſe of the preſbitery, ar ordainit to be repellit as *rei ambitus*, but alſo all who directly or ondirectly does uſe any moyen for ane entre, ar ordainit to be rejectit : ſo then is no this the cleir method which Glaſgou Affemblie commands, that theſe who deſires that worthie work of the miniſtery muſt firſt ſeek the conſent of the congregation, and then go ſeek the preſbyteries good will, whil they ar ſitting in judgment, to get ther warrant

to be presentit by patrons. All this seems directly to flow from the 4 alleagit texts of our Disciplin. All this the people of Glasfurd taks themself bound to stand to by ther blood: whou they can be loufit, I pray you earnestly sheu me your mind and your cleir rafuns; for thir folks cairs for no man's opinion, without his clear grounds. If you think them right the inconvenients will be many. 1. By our oth and covenant everie on of the people shall be oblisht to stand by everie Act of all our aproven Affsemblies. 2. We must bring in a neu forme of entre, which to this day might weel have been wisht, but was never practisfit, at lest never urgit in our Church. 3. We must preach down, and people by ther fuords must cut down, all patronages: This, in the Affsembly of Edinburgh, oft to the Commiffioner you protestit was never your emme [aime]: for to shoot at the patronages, and calling in of all the church rents, to mainteen therby even our elders and deacons, as that sam chapter of the 2d Book of Disciplin does import, wer a project which everie on will not in haest think them fuorne to maintein by ther Covenant: yea, in our Parliament, the Presbyteries did crave some patronages to themself as due in lau and rafun. Lastly, ther will be grit danger in urging the people's election from scriptur: the men that preffis it ar too neer to the main fundation of Brunifme; the divin right of the Church, that is the parish, to elect, admite, depose, excommunicat ther minister and elders, of which right nethir Prince nor Presbitery nor Affsembly can deprive them. The matter to me seems weghtie, and of grit consequent for the publict; you shall do weel to tak some of Mr. Alexrs.⁽²⁾ advyce. Whouever I hope I mey expect on of your old long through letters, in a matter of fuch weght, and wher I have so grit entereffe: if your diligenc be aunfuerable to my desir, expect writen thankes; if not, I shall in quiett filenc regrait your onkyndnes. The Lord be with you. My service to your kynd Wyf.

Kilwinnin, Dec. 16, 1639.

Your old frend,

R. BAYLIE.

Use diligenc, for belyve, you knou, that you and I both mey be hangit if Rosse⁽³⁾ and the Divell gett ther will.

(²) Mr. Alexander Henderson.

(³) Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.

MY LETTER TO MR. JHONSTOUN ANENT MY BOOK.⁽¹⁾

ARCHBALD,

Your frequent and very preffing letters, together with the approaching of the English Parliament, hes made me use all the speed I was able, in the midft of my very frequent and necessar distractions. I have sent yow all to the last chapter, which I hope shall be readie before yow have perused the rest. Yow see my ordour is plaine and simple; my text short enough; my length is onlie in my marginall probations, which any common or hastie reader may passe at his pleasure. The titles of my chapters, my notts on the margine, will lead, in a blenk, any who defyres to their particular tenets at some figure in the text; which, at their pleasure, they may see provin at the letter in the margine. I doe verily think that a treatise of this kinde were verie needfull at this tyme to be published, both to shew to the Churches abroad the true state of our controversies, and to waken up the spirits of our own countrymen, by demonstrating to their eye, in a short table, the incredible designs of our partie: also for the rousing up of our slippry neighbours of England, who readilie, if God have not given them over for their own destruction to a spirit of sopour, cannot faill at this tyme to presse more earnestlie the King than ever for justice on those our oppressors; who, before all the world, are taken ridd-hand with the vylest errors, which no longer can be suffered, let be to be patronised by their armes, who cannot bot hate them. However, doe God with us all what he hes decreed, yet it were good to give a testimonie to the undermyndit and oppressed trueth; that the posteritie, seeing the true ground of our sufferings, may judge the more charitablie of all our proceedings hygane and to come in this great and deep actioun. Bot although I think it most necessar, that, without delay, a treatise of this nature should be sent abroad, yit I should be loath that my poor pamphlet should be any occasion to marr the coming out of such a piece from your hands there, whom God hes enabled in all this cause to doe great things. I think not good, that the lykes of me should proclaim our weaknes in print: only at your desyre, have I undergone this

(1) The treatise, entitled "*Ladensium Αυτοαπαγγελσις*, The Canterburian's Self-Conviction, &c. Written in March, and printed in Aprile, 1640." 4to. It was published anonymously.

labour; make what use of it ye thinke good. Mr. William Spang hes a storie in Latine, a part whereof is in Mr. Henrie Rollock's hand, which truelie, and for our advantage, fetts doun our proceedings to the pacification at Dunce. In my mind, yow would doe weell to caufe Mr. H. Rollock, at leift thank the young man for his paines, and encourage him to put it to the presse: it will doe us good over sea. All the pieces yow have sent me, I shall at once return them most faithfullie to yow. For Lifimachus Nicanor, good Lesly of Doun and Conner, ⁽⁵⁾ as I take it the author also of Corbett's piece, the place of answering him would be my last chapter: bot I am not disposed to medle with him; my book is too long already; he is a madde scenick railer: The things materiall to be answered are historick passages of our meetings, Assemblies, and Parliament, wherewith I am not so weell acquaint as his answerer must be; also, the question of the King's authoritie, which he most mells with, I am not so seene into it as I durst ventour to wryte of that subject, more than I mind to sett doun in my last chapter. Yow shall doe weell to haste a storie of our proceedings, which will be a reall answer to the manifesto, and him, and others. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

March 30th, [1640.]

FOR MR. D. DIKSOUN, PROFESSOR IN GLASGOW.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I long much to understand how all things frames with yow in your new charge⁽⁶⁾; there is no reason, that at first everie thing should be according to the mind of your friends. If that Towne and Colledge were so disposed already, as to give the lyke of yow so heartie and kind welcome as they aught, what should you have done there? Was it not your onlie errand to be God's instrument among them, by your labours, to gett that disposition of theirs amended, which this long whyle hes been to the land so offensive; to gett the grace of God, and heartie love to those who mindit pietie, planted in their heart? shall we be so unreasonable as to look

⁽⁵⁾ Baillie was mistaken in attributing "The Epistle of Lysimachus Nicanor," to Bishop Lesley. The author was John Corbet. *Vide supra*, p. 162.

⁽⁶⁾ Mr. David Dickson was translated from the parish of Irvine to the Professorship of Divinity, in the University of Glasgow, early in 1640.

for those things in them at the first moment, without any of your labour, which we wish may be wrought in them, by all the paines yow can take in your whole life?

My wryte I have sent east to Mr. Archbald [Johnstone]: yow may take a blenk of it, and of his letter here inclosed; close it with your owne stamp. I have sent to yow the first copie, which is not weell written, but it is all I have: read it over so weell as yow may, and within eight dayes, send your advyse thereof, both to Mr. Archbald and to myfelfe. I have taken paines to doe what I conceived might further the glorie of God, and good of our cause. It were a pitie for my reward, that good and wyse men should putt me in print for my shame or hurt, or wronging either the honour of the trueth, or of our present cause, which to me is much deirer than any thing I have. If it goe abroad, it shall lye on Mr. Archbald [Johnstone,] Mr. Alexander [Henderfon,] and yow, to whose judgement I doe simplie submitt it to be used, as yow three shall agree.

That which ye wryte to our Presbytrie of our correspondence, though the multitude of our Presbyteriall actions that day permitted us not to answer, yet it was taken in verie good part: if yow please to speak of it at the Synod with our brethren, yow will easilie obtain it, for both your good and ours. Yow would doe weell to prevent the evils which manie ways may infew upon the humor of some few there to change their Crouner: Be free at leift with George Porterfield⁽⁷⁾; your reservedness here may be the neglect of a good office, and furthering of much displeasure, which may befall both to him, and to the Towne, and to my Lord Montgomerie; and yow are much obliged to all those three. What yow wryte to me about Dunlop,⁽⁸⁾ I was carefull to follow your directions: I think I would have moved Mr. Hew⁽⁹⁾ to doe all yow required, bot the gentlemen were peremptor all of them; they would contribute nought at all; they would have assurance for Mr. Hew his part to be given not onlie to his sone, bot at his removeall to anie other: finding them thus resolved, I gave over to medle. So I know no other bot Mr. Hew to be censured for his miscarriages, which, in my mind, may not be near to depofition: God forbid or ever my hand be with gentlemen for the unreasonable oppressing of poor ministers. I am grieved with Mr.

⁽⁷⁾ One of the Baillies of Glasgow in the year 1639, and Provost at a later period.

^(8 & 9) The Parish of Dunlop, of which Mr. Hugh Eglinton was Minister.

William Livingston's ufage, if it be as we hear, of Lismahagoe⁽¹⁾ and Mr. John Lindfay:⁽²⁾ fuch staffage crueltie God will not approve, and men muft deteft: by anie meanes further that poor man of Campfey⁽³⁾ to his place; your depofeing of him was much againft my mind. If when the whole Prefbytrie and parochie, and the world which knows him, are for his reftitution, and yow onlie hold him out, it will not be weell. Mr. James Fullartoun is with God. Mr. Thomas Craig is like to prove fuch a villaine, that he is worthie of more punifhment then depofition. Likelie, Mr. Alexander Dunlop will not be gotten long kept: we have no able expectants almoft to fupplie roumes; the Lord help us. My people hes difcharged me to keep the Synod, and my neceffar diligence in clofing my piece will not fuffer me to come abroad; fo, when I will fee yow I know not. If your Towne folist not diligentie, they will tyne Mr. Robert Ramfay. The Commiffioners of Air Prefbytrie had weell near gotten a promife of our Prefbytrie's concurring with theirs for keeping him; bot I did publicklye marr that propofition. I long to fee Margaret and the bairns; yow fee I cannot end; the Lord be with yow.

March 30th [1640].

MY LATTER WILL

WHEN I WENT TO THE ARMY, THE 4TH OF MAY 1639:

[REVISED THE 20TH OF JULY 1640.]

IF it be the will of my God in this Voyage that I doe not returne, I am weell pleafed to offer up my life for the honour of my God, and the defence of my Countrie, which I apprehend to be in great hazard both of religion and liberties. I trust to die in the faith of Chrif, and heartie love of King Charles. As for my outward eftate, thus I conceive it to be, and this I declare for my Latter Will.

Aughtand to me by Cunynghamehead, according to his band, two thoufand five hundred merk. Item, by the brethern of Dunlop, by their band, two thoufand merk. Item, ane annualrent from the lands of Golden-hoove according to my infeftments, now

(1) Robert Hamilton, Minister of Lismahago.

(2) Lindsay was Minister of Carstairs.

(3) Alexander Forbes, Minister of Campsey, who had been deposed by the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1st of May 1639.

possessed by James Roe merchant in Edinburgh, which I estimate to five hundred merks if a reversion cannot be produced, or if it can, only to three.

My Bookes hes not been coft for three thousand merk. I think if they be weell fold, by some freind, with the things up and down the house, which may be spared, as my horse, my armour, the two silver tassies, a dozen of silver spoons, the great coffer, &c. may come to two thousand merk.

Of my Stipend, the year 1637 received onlie three hundred merks, there will be remaining, I think, about twelve hundred merk : my stipend the two next years, 1638 and 1639, readilie may be near to two thousand four hundred merk.

I hope, if God blefs my Wyfe's vertuous living, that thir things may come to weell near ten thousand merk ; whereof I wish my Wyfe to be content, notwithstanding of her contract, with annual-rent of seven, and to employ the annuelrent of the other three to the education of my three children. After her, I wish that Robert, quyting his heirship, might have five thousand merk, and Henry two thousand five hundred, and Lillias als much ; and if the sommes diminish to much less, that whatever is be divided to them by this proportion. I make my Wyfe sole executrix. I wish my Lord Montgomerie, my brother Henry Glen, the Principall Dr. Strang, Mr. Hary Gibsone, Robert Livingstone, Mr. John Bell, James Mitchell, Mr. Claud Hamiltoun, to give her their best advyces : if all be lost, God, in whose cause I die, will be a husband to my most vertuous Wyfe, and father to my little Children.

The 3d of June [1639,] in my march to the Camp [at Dunfermline,] I did revise this wrytt, and approve it.

The 20th July 1640, going to Aberdeen, I revised this wrytt and approved it ; only with this farther explanation. Cunyng-hamehead, at the next terme of Martinmas, will be auchtand me, besyde his father's band, four hundred merk of borrowed money, two hundred sixteen of annuellrent, of which he must retaine, for my tenth penny of annuellrent 1639, as I count, 20 merk. Dunlop, at Mertimes, aught score merk, whereof he retains sixteen ; James Roe twentie pound ; Alexander Armour thirtie pound, for three termes. Of my stipend, three full years, 1638, 39, and 40 ; also large three hundred merk of 1637 year, according to Robert Livingstoun's subscryved count.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG, AFTER ABERDEEN ASSEMBLIE.

[September 1640.]

REVEREND AND WELL BELOVED,

I wryt not to yow since Aprile; when from Edinburgh there was sent to yow a number of my pamphlets. I inclosed in my letter a number of our parliamentarie proceedings, as I could get them. I sent you also instructions to send some of my books to Rivett, to Tifius [Thyfius], to Voetius, to Paris, to Geneva, to Somer, to Tigur; for it concernes us much that in all these places the mysteries of our tyrannous faction should be manifest. Yow did well to put out the word of hangman, albeit we were truelie a while informed that the Court of Parliament of Paris had pronounced an cruell sentence against that harmles Prince. Let me know the judgement of others there about my pamphlet: by missing of the Currants betuixt the 16th and 22d of June I have missed at leist one of your letters.

We have been long a moving, partlie of necessitie, and more by resolution. We were, in February, declared traytors and rebels, upon no new reasons; our Assemblie's conclusion, anent our Covenant and Episcopacie, assented to and subscribed by the King's Commissioner and Councill, are declared to be most traitorous; a commission given to Northumberland to cutt us off by sea and land before the coming up of our Commissioners. When they came up, they were bot mocked, (the two Bishops at the table head, at the King's two hands,) the Deputie, and Marqueis, and Windibanks oft scoffingly interrupting them. We had no will to sturr till the Parliament concludit; and gave ane commission to our Generall. The Castle of Edinburgh was long waited on; bot when our mindes [mines] failled, and the assault seemed dangerous, we thought meet to give over the interprise. Our men were long a-gathering: albeit the West sea-bank was first at the randevouze, before the horsemen and baggage could be gotten put out it was the first of August. Monro fand no opposition in the North. Argyle his traversing the heads of Atholl, Marr, Badenoch, Lochaber, with a prettie camp and cannon, never before assayed, held all that countrey in order. Montrose became somewhat capricious for his own fancies, and made Drummond, his neighbour, somewhat linger; bot Argyle makes all men draw.

Our Assemblie at Aberdeen was keipit with great peace⁽¹⁾. We fand great averfenefs in the hearts of manie from our course, albeit little in countenance. Dr. Sibbet [Sibbald,] Forbes, and Scroggie, were resolved to suffer martyrdom before they subscriyved any thing concerning Episcopacie and Perth Articles; bot we resolved to speak nothing to them of these matters, bot of farr other purposes. We fand them irrefolut about the Canons of Dort, as things they had never seen, or at least considered. They could say nothing against any clause of the book, of Canons, Liturgie, Ordination, High Communion; yea, Dr. Forbes's treatises, full of a number of popish tenets, and intending directlie reconciliation with Rome, farther than either Montague, or Spalato, or any I ever saw, was among their hands, and the hands of their young students; together with a treatise of B[ishop] Wedderburn, and ane English priest, Barneſius, all for reconciliation. Dr. Sibbald in manie points of doctrine was found verie corrupt; for the which we deposit him, and ordained him, without quick satisfaction, to be proceſſed. The man was there of great fame: it was laid on poor me to be all their examiner, and moderator to their proceſſe. Dr. Scroggie, ane old man, not verie corrupt, yet perverse in the Covenant and service book; Dr. Forbes's ingenuitie pleased us so well, that we have given him yet tyme for advyſement; poor Baroun, otherwayes ane ornament of our nation, we found hes been much *in multis* the Canterburian way: great knaverie and direct intercourse with his Grace we fand among them, and yet all was hid from us that they could. I got my cause delayed till the next Generall Assemblie; yit Mr. Robert Ramſay was ordained to transport to Glasgou, and Mr. Andrew Cant to Aberdeen, fore against his heart: his patron Louthian will vehementlie oppose it. Thir violent transportations will at once offend manie. I am lyk to be more than boſted with a divinitie profeſſion in Aberdeen: the world is so farr mistaken; better for me to be dumb or dead than so miserable. Much of our ten dayes ⁽⁵⁾ ſitting ſpent in cauſes of transportations, and plantation of churches, where patrons, preſbyteries, and people had their conteſts. All which came before us were at laſt peaceable ſettled: manie good overtures were made, which you will ſee at once in print.

That which troubled us moſt was a paſſage of Mr. Harie Gut-

⁽¹⁾ The General Assembly at Aberdeen met on the 28th of July 1640,—Mr. Andrew Ramsay, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Moderator.

⁽⁵⁾ The Assembly continued its meetings till the 5th of August.

trie's, ⁽⁶⁾ which, becaufe it may be the occaſion of farther dinne, I will relate to you particularlie, ſo farre as I underſtand. Our countrey-men in Ireland, being preſſed there by the Biſhops to countenance the Liturgie and all their ceremonies, did abſteene much from the publick worſhip ; and in privatt, among themſelves, their miniſters being all baniſhed, did in that place and tyme of perfecution, comfort themſelves with prayer and reading, and uther exerciſes of religion, whiles in the night, whiles in the day, as they had occaſion. Sundrie of them intending ane voyage to New England, inclined towards the diſcipline of theſe churches ; yea, ſome Brunifts, inſinuating themſelves among them whileas their miniſters were away, did move diverſe towards their conceits. The moſt of thir good people flying over to us, were heartilie embraced of us all ; their privat meetings were overſeen ; ſome of their conceits, though they were ſpreading, yet for cauſes we let alone till the Laird of Leckie, ⁽⁷⁾ one who had ſuffered much by the Biſhops, was marked, uſeing his Iriſh forme of privie exerciſes in Stirling, and in his prayers ſome expreſſions which were prejudiciall to Mr. Harie [Guthrie,] miniſter of the ſaid toun, and uther miniſters of the land, who did not affect their wayes. At once Mr. Harie, with the brethren of that preſbytrie, and magiſtrats of that toun, did begin with vehemencie and ſome violence, to ſuppreſſe theſe privie meetings, and to paint out in verie black letters all the ſingularities they knew or heard of in Leckie, or theſe who affected their wayes. They, on the other ſide, failed not to rander to Mr. Harie, and the brethren, the like. The laſt Affembly of Edinburgh was perplexed with this matter. Mr. Harie made verie loud complaints of their novations, both in word and wryte. Sundrie being conſcious what in diverſe parts of the countrie was broaching, was in ſome fear. Diverſe of our chief miniſters tendering verie much the credit of theſe verie pious people, were loath that any thing concerning them ſhould come in publick. We had fundrie privat meetings with the chief that was thought to incline that way. Mr. Henderſoun vented himſelf, at manie occaſions, paſſionatelie, oppoſit to all theſe conceits. We fand among ourſelves great harmonie of judgment ; yea,

⁽⁶⁾ Mr. Henry Guthrie, at this time Miniſter of Stirling, was depoſed 14th of Nov. 1648, for malignancy. After the Reſtoration, (about 1665,) he was conſecrated Biſhop of Dunkeld.

⁽⁷⁾ In the MS. 'Leccie.' The perſon mentioned appears to have been Alexander Leckie of Leckie. "Joannes Leckie de eodem," was ſerved heir of his father "Alexander Leckie de eodem," Jan. 17, 1648.

Leckie, declareing his mind in a wryte, was found to differ from us in nothing considerable. Once we agreed for the framing of ane act for the preveening of such questions. Both sides laid it on me to forme it. All was pleased with the draught, onlie one, not lyking my conclusion of precise discharging of all novations till in a Generall Assemblie they were allowed, perswaded to leave off making of ane act, lest our adversaries should triumph in our so hastie disputations, if not divisions; and did assure, by quiet dealing, to fopite smother all farder reasoning of such purposes; onlie we concluded, for satisfaction of all, that Mr. Harie should preach for advancement of religious exercises in everie familie, and Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. John Makclessan, Mr. John Levistoun, against night-meetings, and other abuses quhilk were complained of. Mr. Blair, in his sermon, did not so much cry downe these meetings as was expected; wherefore Mr. Guttrie refused to preach at all. Some citizens of Edinburgh declared themselves not well satisfied with Mr. Henderfoun's zeall against their practise. One Livingstone, a traffiquer with the English who wer affected to our reformation, bot withall to the discipline of New England, in his letter to his friends abroad, did wryte verie dyspytefullie of Mr. Henderfoun; thir being intercepted, did greive not onlie the man himself, bot us all, of all ranks, who had found him the powerfull instrument of God, fitted expressly much above all other to be a blessing to our Church, in this most dangerous season. For preveening of farder inconvenience, it was thought meet to presse, in all the kingdome, religious exercises in families, according to a draught which Mr. Henderfoun, with the unanimous consent of all, gave out in print. This familie worship was expected ane sufficient remedie against the feared evils of uther privie meetings; bot when it was not found so, these that would have kept on foot amongst us some of the Irish novations, foreseeing their severe condemnation by the insewing Generall Assemblie, thought good to eishu [eschew] that discreditable stroke, and drew together in Edinburgh, in tyme of the Parliament, to a privie conference; on the one syde, Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Eliæzar Borthwick; on the other, Mr. Blair and Mr. Dickfoun: these four agreed on a paper of caveats, limiting these privie meetings; which being opened to the rest of the brethren there convened, did please all. The report of this gladed all the land, hoping that these disputations had then been at a point.

I heard no more of them till the Synod, at the beginning whereof, as the custome is, a list being given up for preaching in the towne,

Mr. Guttrie was one. He finding himself, as he avowed, indisposed in bodie, and unable without more books and leasure than there he could have, and unwilling, fra the Provost of the towne required he should be heard, having, as he heard, a mind to get him transported to that towne, refused peremptorie to preach there at all, and that with some words of headiness, more than it became to us, in the face of ane Assemblée. These who boore him at small good will, finding him in this snare, whether to punish him for bygone business, or to dashe him for attempting in that Assemblée any farder matter about Leckie his meetings, which they suspected was his maine eirand to that place, urged straitlie the publick censure of his presumption. When he was removed, all these who had relation to the Irish business, lighted so sharplie upon him, that manie did thinke that their censure was not so much for his present misbehaviour, as for some bygone quarrels. He took the Moderator's reproof submissivelie enough; bot whether on that irritation, or preceeding resolution, he sett himself with all earnestness to have these matters concluded in Assemblée, which some of us were afrayed so much as publickly to name. Privatly he had sollicit the whole northern ministrie and elders, putting them in a great vehemence against all these things he complained of. It was one of my overtures for the ordering of the house at the beginning of the Assemblée, that no motion should come in publick till first it were considered in privat by the Committee appointed for things of that nature whereof it wes, unless the Committee did refuse to receive it. Whereby Mr. Harie his first motion in publick, though he alleadged it had been proponed be him to the committee and not received, was rejected again to the Committee: by this meanes he was holden of some dayes; bot by no meanes could be gotten diverted from proponing these questions, which we were afraid should trouble us all. Account was taken of all the Commissioners of the kingdome, in the face of the Assemblée, of settling of familie exercise in ilk house of their Presbytrie; it was avowed to be everie where prettie well advanced; bot this was no water for the fire in hand. It was the advyce of the committee, to propone Mr. Henderfoun's paper before Mr. Harie was heard. This advyce, in my minde, was healthsome; for lykly all would have applauded to that paper, and no more needed for the settling of these questions; bot some, whether because they were loath, though privatly they assented to that paper, that yet it should goe in a publick act, or being carryed with a clean contrare spate, were

willfull to have Mr. Harie to vent himself in publick, to the uttermost of his passions, would not let the committee determine any thing in that affair. Mr. Harie being permitted at last to speak in the Assemblée, in a long discourse, proclaimed what he was able to say of Leckie and these meetings: truelie he uttered manie things verie odious, if trew. Mr. James Simpstone of Bathgate shew also manie scandalous things of that sort of people. A Commissioner from Galloway declared a number of uncouth passages, reflecting on Mr. Samuel Ruthersford, Mr. John Livingstone, and Mr. Mackellan. Presentlie all went to a heat and confused dinn; the whole north, especiallie the Earle of Seafort, a well spoken man, bot whose honestie in our cause ever has been much suspected, passionatelie syding with Mr. Harie; some others fretting to hear pious people so shamefullie, as they thought, cullumniat. In the midst of the clamour, I took leave sharplie to regrave that we did rush in a greater evill than any was complained of: the confused misorder of a Generall Assemblée was the spoiling of the onlie remedie of that and all other diseases: Bot no possibilitie of order and silence; the Moderator had neither weight in his discourse, nor dexteritie in guiding: we missed much Mr. Henderfoun, or some of our respected nobles. At last the confusion ended in a committee for the preparing of overtures to remedie these evils: the committee was for the most part of men at Mr. Harie's devotion. After much jangleing and repetition, with manie eikes of odious (whether true or fabulous) narrations, fundrie of us inclyned to have that fore-named paper past in ane act. Bot my Lord Seafort, and Mr. Harie, by no means could hear of that motion; they told over, that caveats had brought in the bishops; that this paper, though never so full of limitations, would be introductive at last of the thing limited. Mr. Ruthersford all the while was dumb; onlie in the midst of the jangleing he cast in a syllogisme, and required them all to answer it: "What Scripture does warrant, ane Assemblée may not discharge; bot privie meetings for exercises of religion, Scripture warrants." Heb. xii. [Jam. v. 16.] "Confess your sinnes one to another, pray one for another;" Mal. [iii. 16.] "Then did the godlie oft speak together, and God hearkened," etc. Thir things could not be done in publick meetings. A number greedilie hanshit at the argument, Mr. A. Ramsay, Mr. J. Adamsoun, and others; bot came not near the matter, let be to answer formallie. My Lord Seafort would not have Mr. Samuel to trouble us with his logick syllogismes; the trueth

is, as I conceive, Mr. Harie intended to have all meetings private *simpliciter* abolished; also Mr. Rutherford I know, had, in a treatise, defended the lawfulness of these meetings in greater numbers, and for more purposes than yet we have heard practised; also Mr. Dickson had written, and practised, and countenanced some things in these meetings, that now, both of them finding the inconveniencies, and seeing the great opposition they got by many good men, and especially by Mr. Henderson, were content to pass from, at least to be silent of. We closed that night with this overture, That five of our number should draw up every one of us our conception, by way of act, to present to-morrow to the committee, Mr. David, Mr. Harie, Mr. D. Lindsay, Mr. Alexander Petrie, and I. In my act, I strave so cunningly as I could, to converse Henderson's paper shortly, with some of my own conceptions. I communicated it with the chief opposers of Mr. Harie, Mr. D. D., Mr. Sa. R., Will. Rigg, and others, got them at last to acquiesce. When we came to the committee, all five acts was read: the question came betwixt mine and Mr. Harie's; mine was lykit by all, onlie Mr. Harie mislyked it, and conceived, that under every word a dangerous serpent did lie; there was no remead: his contentment was the contentment of the bodie of the Assemblée. Frae he mislyked my draught, I sett myself to perswade that his draught might be accepted, for truely it had nothing that was contraverted: It consisted of three articles;—the Second, "That read prayer was not unlawfull," Mr. D. Dick did enlarge, That it should be lawfull to read prayers, both in private and publick;—the Third, "That it should not be permitted to any to expone Scripture to people, bot onlie ministers, and expectants approvin by Presbyteries," no man did contradict; the First, "That familie worship should be declared to be of persons of one familie, not of diverse;" here was all the question. I did declare publickly, oft without contradiction, that the meetings whereof he complained were not familie meetings, bot ane other kinde specificallie differing from the other; so that his article of familie meetings would never touch any abuse of these meetings, were they never so many or foule. Yet because this was Mr. Harie's own draught, and he alleaged, that the people with whom he had to doe did take their conventicles onlie for familie exercises, he required no more than the declaration of the Assemblée, that familie meetings extended no farder than to persons of the same families. This, though no man could refuse, yet these that lyked nothing that came from him,

did question much more than they needed, and verie violentlie urged to have, in that article, limitations, which, in my judgement, were verie needles, and did further Mr. Harie's designe more nor his own words. Alwayes Mr. Harie was made content to admitt of ane exception, which was, the practife of people flocking to their minister's familie exercife; bot of any moe exceptiones he would not hear; and more they pressed to have, upon ane argument that did much amaze my minde, that except they got ane other conceit, they had a written protestation readie against that act of the Synod; the thing that the devill was seeking, and would have been sweet pastyme to that town of Aberdeen, and our small favourers in the North, who was greedilie gazeing on the event of that broyle. Alwayes at last the prayers of the land for God's blessing to that Assemblie prevailed, and in a moment God made the minds of these who differed to agree, to the great joy of all when they heard it. There was bot fyve of us then in privat, Mr. Harie and Mr. David as parties; Belhelvie for Mr. Harie, the Moderator and I betuixt them. Mr. David at last acquiesced to my request to let Mr. Harie's article passe as it stood, and Mr. Harie, after once and againe I had inculcate to him, that all his act was bot a blephum if yow putt not in that clause yow see it hes against novations, was at last content to putt it in; so with great difficultie, the act being agreed upon in privat, and in the committee, when it came to be voted in the Assemblie, it had no contrare voyce.

All of us did think that then the storme was clofe over and gone; yet behold, when leift we expectit, it does blow up againe as boyfteroullie as ever: some that was grieved and freted that their opposite should have gotten so much way, desyreing to have some order of him, did give in a wryte, requireing, since so manie wyle [vile] abuses were in the Assemblie alleadged to have been committed by Leckie, and others, in diverse parts of the kingdome, it were expedient that a committee were ordained for the tryall and severe punishment of all these misorders; and that this committee should sitt in Edinburgh, and consist of these whom the Assemblie had appointed Commissioners for the Parliament, with so manie other as the Assemblie thought meet to joyne with them. This bill was read near the end of the Synod be Mr. James Boner, moderator of the bills, as newlie given to him, by whom he knew not. Upon the hearing of it, at once there rose such a heat and universall clamour, that it was marvellous. Mr. John Makclessan was found the in-

giver of it ; while he began to be hiffed at, Mr. A. Cant and Mr. D. D. did fpeak for the reafonablenefs of it, and fome few other minifters and gentlemen who had been on the counsell of it ; bot they were fo overwhelmed with the multitude of cryers, Away with it ! Away with it ! that they were forced to be filent, and let it goe. I much grieved to fee the tumultuous diforder of our Affembly ; and had I been on Mr. David's counsell, I would have difuaded him to my power from fuch a motion, which, if it had been affented to, was like to have fyred our Church, more than any other brand that Satan at this tyme, in all his witt, could have invented : fo, by God's goodnefs, water was caft on that fyre for the tyme. The amirs [embers] yet feems to fmoke ; bot we hope God will fee to the peace of our Church, which is bot a brand newlie taken out of the fyre, or rather yet in the midft of the flame of warr and great danger.

When I returned to Edinburgh, I fand there Rothes, Lowdown, Mr. Archbald Johnftoun, fent by the armie to intreat that the Town of Edinburgh would be pleafed, on all securitie they could invent, to lend what readie monie they could spare, for the fupplie of our fouldiers, who were in ftrait for want of monie ; alfo, becaufe it would be troublefome to thefe of England, who were much delighted with their planting, if our armie fhould cutt down timber for bigging of our huttes, they prayed, that the honeft women might be tryed what webb's of hardin or fheets they might spare, that everie four fouldiers might be accommodat in a tent of eight ell. H. Rollock had fo sweetlie fpoken to the people's mindes on the Sondag, that the women afternoon and to-morrow gave freele great ftore of that ftuffe, almoft fufficient to cover all our armie ; and, which was more, I faw on the Monday the neighbours being conveened, offer in pre-fent monies, to be lent in common securitie, verie fair fumes of monie ; fo that, farr above all expectation, to our great encouragement, our meffengers on Tuesday got with them a large hundred thoufand pound, and hope almoft of as much fhortlie to follow. Oft tymes hes that worthie Towne been a good instrument in our caufe, bot never more feafonable than at this dangerous exigent. The maintainance of our armie was founded on the tenth pennie of our eftates, and hopes from England : the firft came bot flowlie in ; the valuation of men's eftates drew to great length, let be the payment : from England there was no expectation of monies till we went to fetch them : we called in the plait, and put it to the queinze-houfe ; we craved voluntarie offerings ; whereby fome

prettie founes also wes gotten. Bot what was all this to twenty thousand merks a-day, which our armie required, being then about twenty-two thousand foot and three thousand horse, besydes two or three thousand carriadge horses with fwords and hagbutts. We lay at the Border a large ten or twelve dayes after our appointment to march. Durie, the Generall Commisr, for all his extraordinarie diligence, could not gett a fourteen dayes provision to the fore, and horses to carrie it, which we resolved to have with us. Alwayes at last at Caldstream we passed Tweed the 20th August, with great courage, our horse troupes standing in the water, our foot all wadeing in order about their middle. The lott gave the van that day to Montrose; to whom I thinke it was very well-come. He went on foot himself first through, and returned to encourage his men; yet one of his sojourns, and he onlie of all the armie, did drowne. All our foot crowners went through on foot, except one or two, being employed to brek the watter on horse. We marched at leasure through Northumberland; the scarcitie of that countrey and feare of the people made us divide our companies in three; Lieutenant-Generall Almond led one part, Generall-Major Baylie, ane other, the Generall the rest. The regiments kepted their order of van and rear dailie by lott: all was within eight or twelve myles call. The troupers of the garisoun of Berwick made their incursions on our scattered single men, bot to little purpose.

On the 28th we mett all, according to appointment, in Newcastle Moore a little before night. We lay near the river, some fyve miles above the towne, at Newburne; the passage was well fortified; ten thousand foot lying, with their cannon, under the trenshes; twenty-fye hundred horsemen, well mounted, with head-peace, corslet, carabins, pistoles. To-morrow their canon and musket plaid among us; bot it pleased God wonderfullie to assist us. Our cannon, at the second volee, played so well upon their trenches, that their foot, in great numbers, fled from their colours. About four afternoon, Coronall Blair, with a thousand musketeers, and some two troupes of horse, Coronall Lesly, and Sir Thomas Hope, were commanded to goe through the water. Twelve of the English troupes came to meet them, whereupon they began to retire. The van of the foot that day did fall to Loudoun, who, with Lindefay and Queensberrie, had a brigad of eighteen hundred men; Montgomerie had a brigad as strong: these two being directed to second the horse, came running to the

river with great courage, and all the armie began to march ; which the English perceiving, did soon retire, the foot to a wood, the horse to a hill. Here two of our horse-troupes were commanded to charge them ; which they did so ventoriously, that they were like to be beaten, had not our Generall come up with six troupes for their secourse : At once the English fled. We lost within a dozen ; the most regrated was a brave gentleman, Sir Patrick Magie of Large his onlie sone ; who having gotten the English generall's colours, and flourishing with them, by mistake was slain⁽⁸⁾ by some of our owne. There was killed to the English, as some say, sixtie, some a hundred, some fyve hundred. The Generall-Major, my Lord Wilmot's sone, and Generall-Commiffar Digbie, and Coronell O'Neell, and manie more gentlemen, were taken. The night and the near wood, and most of all, our good-will to the English nation, hindered our pursuit of the victorie : that night we stood in our armes. To-morrow Newcastle was rendered to us : the fouldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great haste. In the King's magazine we found good store of biskett and cheefe, and five thousand armes, muskets, and pikes, and other provision. Mefs. Henderfoun and Cant preached to a great confluence of people on the Sunday. My Lord Louthian with his regiment was placed to govern the towne ; our campe lay without. The report of this in all our pulpits did make our people found humble and heartie thanks to the name of our God, in the confidence of whose help this work was begun, and on whose strength it does yet rely : Not weell knowing what to doe nixt : yet this is no new thing to us ; for manie a tyme from the beginning we have been at a non-plus ; bot God helped us ever. Our armie is already diminished ; the straits of victualls, and discipline, has made manie to runn away, on whom the trouperes of Berwick has lighted fikerlie. Money of our own we cannot have ; of our English friends, either their money or men, as was long agoe expected, we cannot hear. If we trouble in the least fort the countrey of England, we are feared for their ryfing against us. Where the King is, and what forces he can make, we cannot certainlie know : There was ten thousand Irishes thir two moneth lying on the coast of Ireland fore-anence our countrey, keeping these in the West, under Argyle and Eglintoun, in suspense. Thir are thought now to be transported to England ; so it is expected we shall yet have a battell. Our armie minds

(8) On the Margin of the MS. Baillie has added, " This holds not."

to refresh themselves at Newcastle. They have written to the Committee of Estates for a recrew: of brave men anew in armes, there is no doubt, if our harvest were ended, and monies were had. If the English will now be beasts, and dastardlie cowards, they must lie without any man's pitie under their slavish servitude for ever: We put little doubt bot we shall get for our selves fair enough conditions; bot it will be to our great regrate, if we gett not all the King's dominions to our happinesse.

The 28th of August, the day of our solemne humiliation in burgh and land through all the kingdome, according to the Generall Assemblies appointment, was a happie day to us, not onlie for our glorious victorie in England, bot also two other of God's benefits. The Castle of Dumbarton, questionless the strongest place in Brittain, did capitulat to render to-morrow, and did so: meall, flesh, fish, fresh water, money, amunition of all kind, they had in store; bot God had sent the scurvie among them, whereof manie was dead, and moe verie sick, and few men for service left. We gave them baggage and armes, and courteous convoy to Borrowstounness, where they shipped for Berwick. Also, as I think, that same day the garrison of Berwick thought to have surprisid our garrison and cannon at Dunse; bot being discovered they were bravelie repulsed; and in the cairts that they brought for our cannon, they returned nought bot their own dead bodies. It is the good pleasure of God to mix the wyne of his owne with some water or milk, that it runn not into their weak heads. To-morrow, on Sunday the 30th, ane Inglysh villaine, having, as we are informed, been suborned by the garrison of Berwick, put fire in the powder which lay at Dungaess, and tumbled over the house on that brave and noble gentleman the Earle of Haddingtoun, whose page he was, to whom the charge of all the East countrey was committed: manie gentlemen and others were smoored with the Earle, and manie dangerouslie hurt. God brought us some good out of that evill, that is thought was prepared for our Generall and all our nobles, who oft a little before mett for counsell in that house; albeit the knave, blowing up himself with the rest, cannot be had to tell us the certaintie: I say, some good we got be it; the people about the house being amazed, put on beacons for gathering of the countrey, and by their example all Louthian and Fyfe set up their fyres; whereupon the Castle of Edinburgh, apprehending the King's navie for their reliefe, does carouse so joviallie that night, that they put off more provision than they had done for some weeks before. This, with

the example of Dumbarton, and report of Newcastle, is hoped will haſte at once the rendering of that houſe. Generall Ruthven on Sunday laſt craved a parlie; we expect ſhortlie the good iſſue of it. The Earle of Argyll receaved a commiſſion to levie ten thouſand men for a voyage to Ireland; however, for the preſent, it may be but a boalt to hold the Iriſh army at home; yet, as manie of our boalts hes proven in the end reall ſtroakes, this readilie may doe ſo; for it is thought we have manie thouſands in Ireland, not onlie Scotts, bot Iriſh, who are longing for our coming over.

Since, we have ſeen in manie letters from the beſt hands in our camp, fundry diverſe relations, of manie circumſtances of our conflict at Newburne-ford; bot the moſt agrees to what I have written; however, read your ſelf (CC.) the Information ſent by the Committee to our table at Edinburgh; even of it I have ſeen ane other copie ſomewhat differing. Our Generall, thinking our enemies had not been out of that field, made our armie that night ſtand in their armes, about the place of the faught. We gott the Royall ſtandard, Charles Porter the carrier being killed. My Lord Conway, their generall, was near taken. They report he took ane oath of all the troupers to die in the place, neither to take nor give quarters; yet when they ſtood a while till their foot was out of danger, they themſelves, with little adoe, forgot their oath and ſaved their lyves for a better tyme. The King was coming on to them as farr as Allartoun; bot hearing of the defeat, returned to Yorke. For all our victorie, we were in great ſtraits; all our victualls were ſpent; all the countrey had fled, with all they could carry: If Newcastle had bot cloſed their ports, we had been in great hazard of preſent diſbanding; bot all the garrifon and principall citizens flying away that ſame night in a panick-terror, made them to-morrow offer us all they had. Their facilitie made us at once to try Durham, who willinglie receaved Dumfermling to lie there, with a brigade of foot, and ſome horſe. Tynemouth, Shields under Newcastle, rendered thereafter; which putt in our hand the harberie and ſhipping there: we welcomed among others two of the King's [ſhips] who brought to us out of the King's garrifon in the toun good ſtore of victualls. Finding plentie about Newcastle, we ſent back ſome of our greateſt ordnance, moſt cumbersome to carry.

When we had drawn a little our breath, I think on Friday the 4th of September, we ſent Mr. Hew Cathcart with a humble ſupplication to his Majeſtie, he would be pleaſed to hear our grievan-

ces, and provide for them ; yow may read the tennor of it (D.). At the same tyme some forty nobles convened at London, did send my Lord Mandaweell and Hawart to petition for a Parliament, to settle this warre without farther blood, and to take order with manifold grievances, as yow may see them expressed in the wryte itself (E.) The King's answer to both was mild and short, as yow may read (F.). Ours indeed held on generalls, being most part excusatorie for what was past, and preparation for a parlie about particulars ; so the King, by his secretarie my Lord Lanerick, desired us to propon our speciall desires ; which at once we did, in eight articles, with Will. Fleeming, as here yow may read (G.) : what the event will be, God knows. Proclamations (H.) are over all England, to call all to the Royall standard at Yorke, against the 24th of this instant. It were easie for us to hinder that meeting, and surpise that randevouze ; yet we resolve to goe no farther in till we see what our friends intends. We are fortifying our winter quarters at Newcastle : the Generall does call to the Committee for a recrew of five or six thousand men with diligence ; also he has wryten to Argyle and Eglintoun to be in readines, with all that countrey, when he calls for them. We will goe with the better will since that most troublesome thorne of the Castle of Edinburgh is now out of our foot. On Tuesday, the 15th of this instant, for all their late thundering, they closed their capitulation with my Lord Argyle ; and on Fryday, with displayed colours, armes, baggage, and two peice of cannon, were conveyed to Leith for Berwick. The committee at Newcastle was much displeased with this capitulation : in their letter to the Committee of Edinburgh, they complained of it as disgracefull and disadvantageous that traitors to their countrey, when, after all the worst they could doe, were brought to extremities, even then with such honour to be disinissed. Bot the truth is, the good Toune of Edinburgh did suffer daylie so much at these knaves hands, as by any meanes they were most glad to be rid of them ; also our Registers, and Jewels of the Croun, with much munition, was in their hands ; which, [had they] been put to desperation, they might, and were like to have been willing to destroy it all. A little after, Nidfsdail rendered his houses of Carlaverock, and Threiff, which had kepted all year Cochran's regiment at the feidge. So now, by God's mercie, there is not a place nor person in Scotland who makes them to oppose us ; also these men which the North, Edinburgh, and Nidfsdail, had hitherto withdrawen, were now readie, with their crowners, Munro, Lindefay, Hume,

to convoy Marischall to Newcastle; who, in hail about three or four thousand foot, were welcome to supplie the absence of our fugitives; who weell near in alfe great, or a greater number, was returned home without a passe; for as yet our people not seeing any numbers of runn-awayes hanged, according as oft they had heard it threatened, was not verie conformable to the stricknefs of military discipline.

Long before this, after our first going over Tweed, about the 20th of August, we were of new proclaimed rebels at London (I.); bot the prentises, or some others of our good friends, in papers publickly affixed, with the proclamations, declared us honest men (K.). We went on notwithstanding, as we might, with our affaires in England. The toun of Newcastle was putt to the contribution of two hundred pound Sterling a day, the countie of Northumberland to three, the Bishoprick to three hundred and fifty. Commissions were given to lift the rents of Prelats and Papists, who had fled, and avowed themselves our enemies. Thus for some dayes we lived at ease and peace, waiting, with some fear, what the 24th day might bring forth. At that tyme the most of the land did keep the King's appointment, and manie of our friends, the Noblemen supplicants, were there, contrare to our expectation. The King's speech yow may read (L.). Traquair thereafter was brought in to repeat that lesson he had said before the Privie Councill, whereupon in February they had decreed warr against us; yet the supplications received from all the nuiks of the countrey, subscryved with manie thousands the most considerable hands in England, did not only force the present indiction of the Parliament to the 3d of November, bot also that same night drew out my Lord of Lanerick's letter (M.) to our Committee for a parlie, the Thursday after following, the 1st of October. For their safe conduct, there passed some letters betuixt us and the Secretarie (N.); it was sent us in so ample a forme as we could have wished. (O.) The Peers excused their not subscryveing together with their Prince, bot witnessed his subscription in a letter of their owne apart, with many hands; to which we acquiesced. We thought it strange to see the King, by his Secretar, petition us in so equall termes for our passe for these he sent to Berwick, and for dismissing the officers we had taken at Newburne. We yielded to the releising of all prisoners, so much with the better will, that Sir Archibald Dowglass, going out of Durham with a troupe of horse to view the fields, had, contrare to his commission, foolishlie

passed the Tyfe, and swaggering in the night in a villadge without a centinell, was surprisid by the King's horfe, with all his troupers. For all this, we get but little incouragement from our friends in the South: they sent us indeed this paper of intelligence (P.), bot no money. We could gett bot little benefit of Newcastle coal; the King's ships hindered the traffick; the ouners and workmen were verie thrwart to doe any service either for themselves or us; yea, we found much coofining and knaverie among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, did fail of their affiureances: we were forced to send out for their cattle to caufe them be true: these who had the collection of the money did exact double to that they gave to us; the heavieft burden was laid by them, (abusid our ignorance,) on the back of Protestants our friends.

Some of the English, under our blew capes, became robbers every where: The most of the churchmen having removed all that they had confiderable, left their houses, with some trash open, which their servants and neighbours spoiled; at once libells full of outrages, done or feigned by the English themselves, are presented to the King against us. The Mayor and aldermen of Newcastle pretends unabilitie to pay their two hundred pound a day: we were forced to put a guard about their town-house, till we gott new affiureances from them. According to our declarations, we took nothing for nought, only we borrowed, on good securitie, so much monie a day as was necessare for our being, to be repayed truelie before our departure. Other inconvenients befell us than these: our fouldiers began to take fluxes through cold and watching: some of our officers became malecontents: we remeided both so weell as might be. At the Generall's desyre, out of the voluntare contribution of parishes, there was with diligence sent to our sojourns, shoes, coats, hose, farks; all was lodged in houses, the most in the suburbs of Newcastle; the fortifications on the south syde being perfyted against a royall seidge. What aillit our officers is not yet weell known; only Montrose, whose pryde was long agoe intollerable, and meaning verie doubtfull, was found to have intercourse of letters with the King, for which he was accused publickly by the Generall, in the face of the committee. His bed-fellow Drummond, his coofine Fleiming, his allye Boyd, and too manie other, were thought too much to be of his humour. The cold[ness] of the good old Generall, and diligence of the preachers, did shortlie cast water on this spunk, beginning most untymoufly to reek.

On Thursday the 1st of October, our eight comuners did come to Rippon, some fourteen myles from York. The English Lords were there a little before them; to-morrow they begun their conference. My Lord Bristoll, their speaker, did give us at the table their commiffion (Q.). They receaved likewayes ours, according to the instructions from our committee. After our demands were given in, as the English requyred, in wryte, some questions were moved about the ground of the Treatie: they would have builded upon the Pacification of Dunce; we, on our petitions and answers from the King: Since they required a cessation from armes during the treatie, we demanded the payments promised to our armie, for the tyme bygone, where they had been withholden, and forty thousand pound Sterling a moneth till we in their Parliament had gotten securitie of our peace. The King sent down to assist his comuners, by way of advyce, Traquair, Mortoun, Lanerik, Sir Lues Stewart, Sir Harie Vane. The Thesaurer we allutterlie declyned, as one of whom we were chieflie to complaine; Sir Lues we thought for his vocation unmeet for a treatie; the rest we except against as not being exprest in the commiffion. They gave us, indorsit by Sir John Bonar, clerk to the Councell, some complaints of the Bishop of Durham, Toun of Newcastle, and some moe, of our injuries done to them. They retired from the table to a private room for advysement, and we had also another room prepared for our consultations. That night we closed, they craving leave to expect the King's answer to our propositions against the morning, and we sending the libells of complaint to our committee for their answer, which quickly returned. We are somewhat jelous of the English policie in this treatie. If it take not speedie successe, our Generall mynds to lift speedilie from Newcastle, and draw nearer to Yorke. Argyle, with a brave band of gentlemen volunteers on horse, are making in: The rest of the countrey are commanded to be readie on a call: We hope that God will make the fear of our armes to further the Treatie.

[TO LORD MONTGOMERY. (9)]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

Scarce had I closed my last to your Lordship, on the 24th of

(9) This Letter, addressed to Lord Montgomery when at Newcastle with the army, (*vide* p. 269,) occurs in the MS., after various others dated in May and

this instant, till I did receave your Lordship's kinde remembrance, written the 16th. Your prosperitie there is our greatest joy here, and among our first wishes under the heaven. Your Lordship does exceeding weell to wryte to us at all occasions of leasure : we doe pant greedilie for your letters till they come ; and when we get them, we are much refreshed thereby. We pray for yow all dailie, not only as our most dear and worthie friends, bot as for our verie selves ; for we acknowledge yow are there in our place ; that yow watch, endure paine, undergo dangers, that we may sleep, and be at ease, in all safetie ; we take yow for that bulwark, which God on earth hes opposed to a spait of mischiefs, which at once are readie, upon your breach, to overflow not onlie our bodies and estates, bot our verie foules, and of all our posteritie. If, in your defending of your self and dear countrey, God may be pleased to honour yow with a farder successe, in helping the multitude of oppressed saints in England and Ireland ; in dividing betwixt our gracious Sovereigne and a handfull of wicked counsellors, that hes divided this sixteen yeir and more that good Prince from all his best minding subjects, from all his friends, and allies abroad ; and yet are so mad, that before they should come to any legall tryall of their deeds, they are resolute, after they have beheld the church of France undone through their default ; the churches of Germanie suchlyke ; the house of Palatine in banishment these twentie yeares, and that of Denmark latelie, for all the help we minted to give them, bot one inch from utter ruine : after the miseries abroad, they bot jest and sport to see all the King's dominions flame in warre, flow in blood, and, which should be most to them, their gracious benefactor King Charles, the creator of their fortune, the onlie advancer of them from that base naughtines wherein they all were borne, to that too greatnes wherewith long they have [domineered,] even they are content to behold King Charles's ruine, [to the losse even] of his life, of his estate, before they will humble themselves to the tryall of the Supreme Judicatories of their countrey : If it may be our happines to be the honourable instruments of God to force that handfull of miscreants to receave from the ordinarie judges a part of their deservings, to the end that with them may be banished out of this land all jealousies and feares, all publick idolatrie, error,

June 1642. It has been transposed, as the notice it gives of the contributions raised for the soldiers from the parish of Kilwinning, shews that it must have been written in (September) 1640 ; and it may be added that Robert Livingston, who is mentioned at the close of the letter, died before March 1642.

superstition, tyrannie; that the King and all his subjects, when these wicked humors are spewed out, may harmoniously hereafter goe on together in one heart, to beautifie the house, both of our church and estate at home, and recover abroad, specially in poor Germanie, not these seas of blood which cannot againe be taken up, but some part of that honour and reputation, which in hudge quantity that evill faction has made us to losse, onlie that their wicked hands may keep our sweet Sovereigne in the prison of melancholie and malecontentment, wherein they have inclosed him up since the first day that they ravished him away from the hearts of his subjects at home, and all his blood and allies abroad; if this be the tyme, and yow the men, who may deliver our Prince from that most pitifull prison, and restore him againe to the hearts, hands, and meanes of all Brittain, thryce happy shall we be in this your most gracious employment: Bot if, for the great sinnes of these dominions, yow be hindered in this magnifick interpretation; if these in England, whom it concerns, will make yow no assistance; if papists and epicures be permitted of God to keep these wicked men to be still cruell jaylors, holding the King in his most fearfull miscontentments; whatever become of yow, yet after ages shall not fail to kisse and adore your magnanimous assay to deliver our Kirk and Countrey from pestilentious humours, which threatened both with a hastie destruction; but damned in all after tymes shall the fottish cowardise of these men be, who being so near to ane great good, durst doe no more for the apprehending of it, than with fillie women breath out their sighs for it, and send out their prayers: certainlie the willfull miseries of that people, which by ane little standing on their feet might be eschewed, when it falls on heavie and fore, shall never be pitied by any.

Bot of this more than I purposed. I have seen more affection in my people to yow there than I could have expected: having intimate a voluntarie contribution for the supply of the souldiers, with ane incredible cheerfulness, all, lasse and lad, most affectionately with their teares and blessings, came and offered verie liberally. In the first two dyetts I have gotten, which is much in our so deep poverty, above nyne hundred merks; in the dyetts following, I expect much more. Of the first we intend to send shooes, cloath for coats, hose, and shirts, to fiftie sojourns of our paroch. We expect that Argyle shall be followed with a brave companie, even the most part of the considerable gentlemen in our land. If yow had adoe with foot, now after the harvest, and could find a meanes

to get food for them, I perswade my self, as manie thousands would runne as yow could require.

My verie good Lord, cause R. Livingstoune to wryte offer, and at more length. The Lord preserve yow all, and your Lordship among the rest. At last I kisse your Lordship's hands.

Your Servant,

R. BAILLIE.

Killwinning, September 30th [1640.]

[TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, MINISTER OF KILWINNING.]

REVEREND FRIEND,

We must intreat yow to come hither with alse great expedition as yow can conveniently, and to bring with yow a number of your Canterburian's Self-Convictions, together with the warrands thereof, and all such papers and prooffes which may serve for that purpose. Your being here within a few dayes, is defyred and wished be all your friends here, and may prove usefull for the publick. Hoping ye will sett all excuses aside, and prefer this great busines to all others, we rest,

Your affectionat Friends,

ROTHES.

MONTROSE.

CASSILLS.

NAPIER.

KEIR.

RICCARTON.

W. HAMILTON.

RUTHERFOORD. (1)

Newcastle, 15th of October, 1640.

[TO THE SAME.]

MOST AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

I wish I had insifted in my defyre to urge your outcoming, when I spoke it to yow at Glasgow; bot my respect, as ye know, to my Lord Eglintoun, made me forbear at that tyme. Always now that

(1) Some of the signatures to this letter are not very distinct in the MS. Along with the Earls of Rothés, Cassilis, and Montrose, Lord Napier and Lord Rutherford, the other persons were probably Sir George Stirling of Keir, William Drummond of Riccarton, and William Hamilton, bailie of Linlithgow.

yow are called by this inclosed from our Committee at the camp, I hope neither will yow make difficultie to come, nor will my Lord Eglintoun hinder yow : for truelie, as I hear, our Ministers works more upon the sojourns nor all other discipline could, and your gift at this tyme, (I will say no more of it lest ye think I flatter yow,) may conduce much to the great work in hand. Therefore, I intreat yow, be not difficile ; and if yow be here any tyme before Saturday at night, I hope to enjoy your companie, which is the earnest desire of

Your loving Friend to my power,

ARGYLL.

Edinburgh, 17th of October 1640.

[THE LATTER WILL OF MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, MINISTER OF
KILWINNING, 22d OF OCTOBER 1640. (²)]

BEING on my way for Ingland, the 22d of October 1640, upon the verie pressing letters of the Committee, this I doe conceive to be my worldlie estate, and hereanent I declare my Latter Will :—

Aughtand to me by Cunninghamehead, according to his father and his own band, three thousand merk ; at Martimes following, a hundred merk of annuell rent.

By the Breither of Dunlop, two thousand merk ; at Martimes of annuell rent, seven score of merks.

By James Roe, merchand of Edinburgh, at Martimes, twenty pound, and ane yearly annuell rent out of his lands of Goldinhoof, according to my infestment, of twenty pound ; which, if he cannot produce ane reversion, I esteem worth four or five hundred merk, if he can, it will be redeemed for three [hundred merks] when he please.

Aughtand to me be Alexander Armour, two years mail, forty-two pound.

My Stipends the years [16]38, 39, 40, and so much of the 41 as may fall to me, all aughtand ; also of the 37 when I compted last with Robert Livingstone, as his papers subscryved with my hand the 27th of May will testifie, about a 191 pound, 10 sh. 6d. that is three hundred merk, lakeing about fourteen. In this sounge, let it be compted what I have received this day of the teind, as follows,

(²) *Vide supra* p. 245, for a previous Testament written in May 1639, and revised in July 1640, which is expressed in nearly the same terms.

according to my tickett given to the persons following. So I think there will be aughtin me of my stipend, large four thousand merk which my Lord Montgomerie is obleidged to pay, according to my decreet of augmentation, registrat either in the Commiffion or Session bookes, as Robert Livingstone can tell.

My Bookes and Moveables, which may be spared, may come near two thousand merks.

It will be my earnest desyre to my Wife to be content with the annuell rent of seven thousand merk of the first and readiest of all, and to quatt judicallie, so soon as may be, what farder she can crave by her verie subdolus contract; for if she would stand to that contract, my children might goe a-begging: were her minde never so good, the keeping of that in her own hand, will draw her to tentationes which I wish in tyme were avoided. What is more, let it be employed for her children's education and profit. I would give to Robert five thousand merk, if he quatt his heirship; the rest to be equallie divided betwixt Harrie and Lillie. Three hundreth merks to be distribute presentlie among the poor of the parochie of Killwinning, at the sight of the Session.

If thir founmes be diminished, I would have my children's portions diminished proportionallie. I leave my Wife sole executrix, tutrix and all. I will hope that my Lord Montgomerie, my Brother, the Principall, Mr. Harie Gibsone, Mr. John Bell, James Mitchell, Robert Livingstone, Mr. Claud [Hamilton,] will be faithfull friends and overseers.

Wryten and subscryvit by my hand, October 22d 1640,

R. BAYLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

I wrote to thee from Edinburgh, also from Kelso to Mr. Claud [Hamilton,] suspecting thy absence: I wrote to thee likewise from Newcastle on Saturday last. Since, I thank God, I have been verie weell, as thy heart could wish, and all my companie: Yesterday the Committee sent for me, and told me of their desyre I should goe to London with the Commiffioners. I made fundrie difficulties, which partlie they answered, and partlie took to their consideration till this day. At our Presbytrie, after sermon, both

our noblemen and ministers in one voyce thought meet, that not onlie Mr. A. Henderfoun, bot also Mr. R. Blair, Mr. George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for diverse ends, goe to London : Mr. Robert Blair, to satisfie the myndes of manie in England, who loves the way of New England better than that of Presbyteries used in our Church ; I, for the convinceing of that prævalent faction, against which I have wryten ; Mr. Gillespie, for the crying doune of the English Ceremonies, for which he hes wryten ; and all foure to preach by turnes to our Commissioners in their houses, which is the custome of diverse noblemen at Court, and wes our practife all the tyme of the conference at Rippon. We mynd to Durham, God willing, to-morrow, and other twelve myles on Saturday to Darntoun, there to stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we crosse the Tyne on Mononday, how things are like to frame in the English Parliament. We have the King's hand for our safe conduct ; we have sent for the Great Seale of England thereto also, which we expect ere we leave Darntoun. Six of us, Mefs. Johnstoun, Henderfoun, Smith, Wedderburn, Blair, and I, goe journie everie one of us with ane attender on horse. I think the Sheriff of Teviotdale shall goe with us : Rothies and Dumfermling, Riccartoun and Hugh Kennedy of Aire, takes post on Saturday. This day Waughton is away post before us, to advertise us in our journey how all goes. Lowdown is fashed with a defluxion ; he will stay till Mononday, and come on as health serves, journie or post. Our sojourns here are weell : they gett bot ill fare ; yet God helps them strangle ; none in so good case as our brigade : my Lord Montgomerie hes won to himself more honour than any one man here. They speak here of the prentises pulling down of the High-Commission house at London ; of Generall King's landing with six or seven thousand Danes in the mouth of Tames, near London : we wish it were so ; bot we take it, and many things moe yow will hear, for clatters.

My Heart, draw near to God, neglect not thy prayers, morning and evening with thy servants, as God will help thee : read and pray besyde that in privat. Put Rob to the school ; teach him and Harie both some little beginnings of God's feare ; have a care of my little Lillie. I pray thee wryte to me how thow and they are. My Ladie [Montgomery,] to whom I present my heartie affections, will inclose thy letters with her owne to My Lord, who will daylie [have] occasion with the post of the Committee at Newcastle, to send them to me. Remember what I desyred thee to doe at part-

ing before Munkirdin [Monkriding]. Send me word in thy first letter that it is done ; it will somewhat ease my mind.

Thy awne,

R. BAYLIE.

Newcastle, November 5th, 1640.

[TO THE SAME.] \

MY HEART,

Thow sees I slip no occasion. I wrote to thee yesternight from Newcastle ; this night I am in Durham, verie weell, rejoycing in God's good providence. After I closed my letters, my boy Jamie was earnest to goe with me ; so, notwithstanding of my former resolution to fend him home, I was content to take him with me ; I spake the Generall, and put in his name, as my man, in the safe conduct : bot when I was to loup on he failed me, and would goe no farder ; I could not there stryve ; I gave him his leave, and a dollor to carrie him home : his follie did me a great wrong ; for if I should have gone back to speak ane other, I would have losed my companie ; so, without troubling my self, I went forward with my companie manless. Bot behold the gracious providence of my God, as I enter in Durham, one of my old schollars, a preacher to Colonell Ramfay's regiment of horse, meets with me before I light, will have me to his chamber, gives me his chamber, stable servant, a cup of sack, and all courtesie, gets me a religious youth, a trouper, readie with a good horse to goe with me to-morrow to London. Generall-Major Baylie makes me, and all the Commissioners that were there, sup with him, and gives the youth his passe to goe with me. Mr. Archbald Johnstoun assures me for his charges as weell as my owne ; so my man James's foolish unthankfullness is turned about for my ten tymes better provision ; I take this for a preface and ane erles of God's goodness towards me all this voyage.

I wrote in one of my letters, of my Lord Saye's death, for so Durie assured the committee of Edinburgh ; bot thanks to God, he is recovering weell, and now in reasonable health. Northumberland is not dead bot ficklie. The Archbishop of York, Dr. Neill, a great enemie to us, was buried, as they say, the last week. Some thinks all was said of the Danish armies landing was bot mistakes.

We hope that Lowdown's defluxion shall not hinder him to take journey on Tuesday. The morrow we minde bot one other post to Darntoun, and there stay till the Great Seall come to us. The Lord be with thee, and my babies, and all my flock and friends. Thy awne,

R. BAYLIE.

Durham, 6th November [1640.] Fryday.

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

I KNOW thow does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days from Durham. That day we went to Darntoun, where Mr. Alexander Henderfon and Mr. Robert Blair did preach to us on Sunday. At supper, on Sunday, the post with the Great Seall of England for our safe conduct, came to us, with the Earle Bristol's letter to Lowdown, intreating us to make haste. On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroubrig, twentie-fyve myles. On Tuesday we rode three short posts, Ferribrig, Toxford, and Duncafter. There I was content to buy a bobin ⁽³⁾ waistcoat. On Wednesday we came ane other good journey to Newark on Trent, where we caufed Dr. Moylie sup with us. On Thursday we came to Stamfoord; on Fryday to Huntingtown; on Saturday to Ware, where we rested the Sabbath, and heard the minister, after we were warned of the ending of the service, preach two good sermons. On Monday morning we came that tuentie myle to London before sun-ryfeing; all weell, horse and men, as we could wish; diverse merchands and their servants with us, on little naigs; the way extreamlie foule and deep, the journies long and continued, fundrie of us unaccustomed with travell, we took it for God's singular goodnefs that all of us were so preserved; none in the companie held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Killwinning to London I did not so much as stumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence with my spirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvell they extors their guests: for three

(3) In the transcript *woven*: It was probably a waistcoat ornamented with lace.

mealls, course enough, we would pay, together with our horfes, sixteen or seventeen pound Sterling. Some three diſh of creeviſhes, like little partans, two and fourty ſhillings Sterling. Our lodgings here were taken in the common garden: Rothes, Mr. Archbald Johnſtoun in one; Dumfermling, Mr. Alexander Henderfoun in one; the three Barrouns in one; the three Burgeſſes in one; Lowdoun, whom we expect this night, in a fifth, where Mr. Blair hes a chamber, I another, our men a third: our houſe maills everie week above eleven pound Sterling. The Citie is deſyreous we ſhould lodge with them; ſo, to-morrow I think we muſt flitt.

All things here goes as our heart could wiſh. The Lieutenant of Ireland came bot on Monday to toun late; on Tueſday reſted; on Wedneſday came to Parliament; bot ere night, he was caged. Intollerable pryde and oppreſſion cryes to Heaven for a vengeance. The Lower Houſe cloſed their doores; the Speaker kepted the keyes till his accuſation was concluded. Thereafter, Mr. Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher Houſe, and, in a prettie ſhort ſpeech, did, in name of the Lower Houſe, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuſe Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of high treaſone, and required his perſon to be arreſted till probation might be heard. So Pym and his back were removed; the Lords began to conſult on that ſtrange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haſte to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King: with ſpeed he comes to the Houſe; he calls rudelie at the doore, James Maxwell keeper of the Black-Rod, opens; his Lordſhip, with a proud glouming countenance, makes towards his place at the boord-head: bot at once manie bids him void the Houſe; ſo he is forced in confuſion to goe to doore till he was called. After conſultation, being called in, he ſtands, bot is commanded to kneell, and, on his knees, to hear the ſentence. Being on his knees, he is delyvered to the keeper of the Black-Rod, to be priſoner till he was cleared of theſe crymes the Houſe of Commons did charge him with. He offered to ſpeak, bot was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer roome James Maxwell required him, as priſoner, to deliver his ſword; when he had gotten it, he cryes, with a loud voyce, for his man to carrie my Lord Lieutenant's ſword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coatch, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greateſt of England would have ſtood diſcovered: all crying, What is the matter? He ſaid, A ſmall matter I warrand yow!

They replied, Yes indeed, high treason is a small matter ! Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there ; so he behoved to returne that same way through a world of gazeing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, Your Lordship is my prisoner, and must goe in my coach ; so he behoved to doe. For some dayes too manie went to visit him, bot since, the Parliament hes commanded his keeping to be straiter. Pursevants were dispatched to Ireland, to open all the ports, and to proclaime that all who had grievances might come over ; also to fetch over Sir George Ratcliffe, who will be caused to depone manie things. The chief is, his intention with the Irish armie, and so manie as the King could make, to fall on the English lords, who are the countrie way ; his cruell monopolies, whereby he sucked up, for his own use, the whole substance of Ireland. My Lord Montnoris, Sir John Clatworthie, the Chancellor, hes been chief informers. The King was much commoved ; the Marqueis, by the deliverie of Pym his speech, did somewhat calme him. The Parliament of Ireland is sitting : a remonstrance from them, without anie knowledge of things done here, came this day to the King, which, they say, hes calmed him much, and turned his minde somewhat from the Deputie.

We were extreamlie welcome here. The Parliament hes granted ane hundred thousand pound Sterling, whereof we shall have near fourtie in present money, to pay our armie six weekes, without prejudice to exact what, according to our bargain, is more due to us from the four shires. Burton, I hear, is come to toun ; Baftwick and Prin are coming, as they were sent for ; Lightoun hes been twyce heard, and on Fryday, is hoped, shall be absolved. Lincolne, on Saturday, did sitt in Parliament ; and his petition, to have his cause discussed in Parliament, received. The King, in his first speech, did call us rebels ; bot much murmuring being at that style, he thought good, two dayes thereafter, to make a speech to excuse that phrase, and to acknowledge us his subjects, to whom he had sent his Great Seall, and with whom he was in treatie, to fettle a perfect agreement, with their consent and approbation.

On Tuseday last was here a fast : Mr. Blair and I preached to our commissioners at home ; for we had no cloathes for outgoing. Manie ministers used greater freedome than ever here was heard of. Episcopacie it self beginning to be cryed down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgie to be scorned. The Toun of London, and a world of men, minds to present a petition, which I have seen, for

the abolition of Bishops, Deanes, and all their aperteanances. It is thought good to delay it till the Parliament have pulled down Canterburie and some prime Bishops, which they minde to doe so soon as the King hes a little digested the bitternefs of his Lieutenant's censure. Hudge things are here in working: The mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyfull harvest of the teares that thir manie yeares hes been savin in thir kingdomes. All here are wearie of Bishops. This day a committee of ten noblemen, and three of the most innocent Bishops, Carlile, Salisburie, Winchester, are appointed to cognosce by what meanes our pacification was broken, and who advysed the King, when he had no money, to enter in warre without consent of his State. We hope all shall goe weell above our hopes. I hope they will not neglect me; prayer is our best help: for albeit all things goes on here above our expectation; yet how soone, if God would but wink, might the devill, and his manifold instruments here watching, turn our hopes in fear! When we are most humble, and dependant on God, whose hand alone hes brought this great work to the present passe, we are then most safe. This day I have heard that Canterburie hes ane Apologie at the presse; if it be so, at once I will have more to doe.

R. BAYLIE.

London, November 18th [1640.]

[TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

The last post went from us the 23d of November. I wryt to you at length of all our bygone proceedings; since that time, till now, none hes gone from us. The first night we came, Warwick and other Lords came and told us, that money for our armie was agreed upon by Parliament, and with all diligence would be sent. Our Commissioners knowing the strait of our armie, used their best meanes to have it hasted; yet it is not gone, and before it were in the way, we had no will to wryte anie thing. One Lower House man, of mean qualitie, Harifoun, a farmer of customes, and not esteemed wealthie, one day the last week, seeing the payment of the promised sowmes draw long, offered publictly in the House to provyde for his part fifty thousand pound, which is the one-half of the sowme; and so we hear he hes done. They say at last twentie-

five thousand pound is put in coffers, to goe away to-morrow for our armie; that the other twentie-five thousand shall, within two or three dayes, follow. All things here goes weell, blessed be God. The petition against Episcopacie, subscribed with some thousands of hands, as manie sayes, had been given in, and pressed hard before now, had not friends in both the Houses, as more than the two part are, advysed to spare the pressing of that conclusion till first they had put the whole Bishops and their Convocation in a præmonire, for their last illegall Canons, which now they are about; also till they had brought down some of the prime Bishops for private faults, which they had not will to assay till they had closed the proceſſe of the Lieutenant, about which they have been thir manie dayes. They have past ane Act of great consequence in him, to be a leading caſe to Canterburie and others, but with great dispute, that all the Peers and everie Privie Counſeller shall be obliged to witneſs, on their oath, of all the evill counſells they have heard given to the King, even in Counſell. It is expected daylie when Canterburie shall be brought in. Thir two dayes they have been prepareing matter for Windibanks proceſſe; yet he is not accused. The courage of this people grows daylie, and the number, not onlie of people, but preachers, who are rooting out of Episcopacie: all are for bringing them verie low; bot who will not root them clean away, are not reſpected. Not one I hear of, either in the Univerſities or in dignities, does ſpeak as yet. Holſworth, Ward, Feitly, Brommerik, Prideaux, or any famous for learning, nothing is expected from them; bot there is great appearance that God will doe his own work, without theſe Rabbies help. That which is much feared, is like to doe no ſkaith. Sey and Brook in the Higher Houſe, and theſe alone, and some leading men in the Lower, were ſuſpected, by their inclination to the Separatiſts, would divide from the Preſbyterians, and ſo weaken the partie oppoſed to biſhops; bot ſo farr as yet can be perceived, that partie inclineable to ſeparation will not be conſiderable; and whatever it be, theſe and the reſt who are for the Scotts Diſcipline, do amicable conſpyre in one, to overthrow the Biſhops and Ceremonies, hoping when theſe *rudera* are put away, that they shall weell agree to build a new houſe, when the ground is weell ſweept. Nothing frays all here ſo much as our quick agreeing with the King, and the diſbanding of our armie thereupon. Under God, they all every where profeſſe that they are aughtin to that armie their religion, liberties, parliaments, and all they have; that if we take

conditions for our selves, they say they are undone. Much fair speech they give us, bot for their deeds we yet see nought : yet there is good hope of moneyes for our armie, so long as the treatie may continue, and with the better will the longer it continue ; good hopes also of repairing our losses with a large sounge. In our treatie, we prefaced with a declaration in wryte, that our trysting there was no submission to the English Parliament, nor any farder acknowledgement of any priviledge they could have above us, than we could claime over them, if so be the commissioners of their Parliament would come to Edinburgh, the King being resident there, to treat with our commissioners in tyme of our Parliament : this was accepted. Against our First demand, the publishing of our Acts of Parliament, some objections were made against two or three acts ; which we answered to the King's contentment : bot thereafter, as we were informed, Register, President, Secretar, Galloway, Airly, etc. put the King, with their despytefull words, in ane evill mood : so on the last Thursday, a paper is given, of these incendiaries dyting, by the King to the English Lords, and by them to us, for this [is] the fashion, continowing objections against a number of the Acts of Parliament. The way of proceeding was fashious both to ours and the English Commissioners ; so the next day, Friday, ours gave in a large and sharp answer to everie objection. This satisfied the English so fullie, that they went to the King, told him the sense of disgrace if so frivolous objections were dyted by such men to be proponed by them to the Scots ; they made the King shortlie content to promise, that to-morrow, at nyne of [the] clock, he would call for us, and grant us our whole First demand simplie, and would crave back the paper of his objections, and delyver our answers, that both might be destroyed. This was done on Saturday accordingly, to our great joy ; for the First demand is of farr greatest difficultie, the rest are bot corolaries and appendices to it. The word went through the City that our treatie was near ended, and we making home. On Mononday our Commissioners did kisse the Queen's hand, bot without any word of discourse. There was there who could have spoken ; bot they were informed, it was not the fashion to speak at these occasions ; yet all repented they did not use some complement, in the afternoone. We thought good to gett wryte of the King's agreement to our First demand ; so we received it, subscribed with the clerk's hand. When the King granted the matter of our demands, he referred the manner of publishing these Acts to us, to be done so much for his honour, and say-

ing of his prerogative, as might be. We gave in our draught for this end, which did please all the English verie weell : bot when it was brought to the King, and our good patriots, (we hear not bot the Marqueis and Traquair both doe us all the good they can, and would amend bygones by fair play now, to eschew the storme of incendiaries, if it were possible,) it mightilie displeased them ; so on Tueday the King gives in a wryte, wherein he would have, under the manner of publishing our Acts in ane honourable way, understood the real destroying of the first, second, third, and some more of the most materiall of our Acts. [By] this he displeased both ours and the English Commissioners ; so this day we have given a quick answer to that paper, shewing, that we have neither power nor commission to passe from any Act of Parliament, especiallie having the King's grant of them all, both by word and wryte. So all things here are changeable : our treatie which all did believe, was farr advanced some dayes ago, is now, by a contrare tyde of evill information, just where it was at first ; bot we doubt not bot at once we shall have all our demands ; for the God of Heaven is clearlie with us, incouradges daylie our friends, amazes our enemies, and confounds them. I have sent yow some few parliament speeches, and two Gazets for foraign news.

Dear Britherin, have a care of my flock ; be assured, albeit I live here, and all our company every way as we could wish, yet my heart is there among yow ; and so soon as I can purchase leave, I will haste home : bot for the present I have both my armes full of my old friend, his little Grace⁽⁵⁾ as they stile him : if his proceffe were once closed, which yet is not begun, the most of my eirand here were at a poynt. Yow see I wearie not to wryte, though it be near twelve at night, and this be the first of all my letters. The Lord be with yow, blefs yow all, and God's work in your hands. Stirr up your selves and your flocks now to pray for this mighty work in hand. On Saturday Burton and Prin came through the most of the citie triumphantlie : never here such a like shew ; about a thousand horse, and as some of good note sayes, above four thousand ; above a hundred coaches, and, as manie sayes, above two hundred ; with a world of foott, every one with their rosemary branch. Bastwick is not yet come from Sillie [Scilly.] This galled the Bishops exceedingly.

London, December 2d [1640.]

R. BAILLIE.

(5) Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

All of us are very weell. Our treatie goes weell on ; we hope to bring with us a happie and solid peace. The Parliament of England goes on very graciouſlie ; none ſad here bot the faction that long made manie grieved : truelie it is now verie buſſie. It is laid upon me to give his little Grace the laſt ſtroak, to make, as we hope, his funerall, our remonſtrance againſt him as the pryme incendiarie : Windiebanks is fled. Our treatie is prolonged to the 16th of January ; our firſt three demands are ſatiſſied ; to-morrow we craved the play, for we are not ready for the firſt article of the Incendiaries till Mononday. I muſt break off.

R. BAILLIE.

London, December 4th [1640.]

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

I am, praized be God, in the old faſhion, as weell in health as any in the company ; aſſiſted by God in all that I have to doe ; everie way weell as thy heart could wiſh. I pray daylie to God it may ſo be with thee and my little ones. Hudge manie, and great things here in hand ; we truſt this is the acceptable tyme when we ſhall reap the labours of manie Saints, who before us of old here, and latelie alſo, hes been ſowen in manie teares ; good hopes to get Biſhops, Ceremonies, and all away, and that conformitie which the King hes ever been vexing himſelf and us to obtain betuixt his dominions, to obtain it now, and by it a moſt heartie nation of the Kingdomes. Negleſt not reading and prayer in the houſe, and to be teaching, as thow can inſtruſt and they can learne, both Robert and Harie and Lillie, in ſome beginning of reverence and love to God. If God be pleaſed to beſtow his grace on thee and thyne, it is the higheſt wiſh I have for you.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

London, December 12th [1640.]

[TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

On Fryday was eight dayes I wryt to yow fullie all that I remembered had past : since, all hes gone on, praied be God, weell. Our First demand of publishing in the King's name all our Acts of Parliament, without exception or limitation, together with these which in the next Session of this current Parliament shall be concluded, we received with thanks. Our Second demand, about the Castells, was declared to be granted in the first. Our Third also was given us on Mononday in wryte. The oathes whereby our countriemen in England and Ireland hes been pressed against our Covenant, are declared illegall, and persons imprifoned therefore to be releafed ; affurance made, that no illegall oath hereafter shall be urged, and oathes approvin by Parliament to be urged only on these our countriemen who shall be ordinar residents in England or Ireland. About the Fourth, of the Incendiaries, the last four dayes hes been spent ; our method in it was fyllogistick : We proponed first a major, " Whoever shall be found incendiaries, that they may be proceeded against by the two Parliaments *respectivé* : " When this was made fast we were readie to assume, " But so it is, we instruct, by such and such reasons, that the Archbishop of Canterburie and the Lieutenant, that the Thesaurer, Register, President, Balcanquall, are such." The conclusion of sentence we were to leave to the two Parliaments : As yet we have not gone beyond the major. Befyde all privie dealing, the King one day sent for our Noblemen, another, for all our Commissioners together, the third, for Rothies alone, wherein he dealt so effectuellie as might be, to passe over this article, or to referr it to himself ; bot when their instructions, and a thousand reasones, did permitt them here to grant nothing, the King in his paper gave answer to the demand, that he would not hinder his Parliaments to doe justice against any subject who should be found guiltie ; but withall gave in a paper, wherein he required, that Traquair, being his Commissioner, might have his cause discussed before himself. We gave in our reasons in wryte, why with this we could not be satisfied. The King's reply will be given this afternoon. We doubt not, whatever fatheries Traquair putts us to, bot to obtain all at once. If the major were made once sure, then our Scottish incendiaries would quicklie be sent home to our Parliament.

Balcanquall gave in a supplication to the King and the Lords, requesting he might be heard before them to produce his commands from the King and Counsell for the wryting of that book, and the particular warrands he had for the passages questioned therein : bot our Commissioners would look neither on the paper nor man. Our pieces against Canterburie and the Lieutenant are now ready. The first moulding of both was laid on me ; when all had perused my two draughts, and our friends in the Lower House considered them, the one was given to Mr. Alexander [Henderfon,] the other to Lowdoun and Mr. Archbald [Johnstone,] to abridge and polish. Both we and the English are panting for these two processes. The Parliament hold off to meddle with these two men till we be readie till joyn. It was resolved, that the petition against Episcopacie, root and branches, should be delayed till first we had gotten Canterburie downe, and the Parliament had removed all the rest out of the House by a præmonire for their Canons ; yet we are so long dwanged, by Traquair's fenceing for his own head, ere we can come to the minor, where Canterburie stands to be concluded, as we hope in a deep bocardo, that the people's patience could no longer [keep] in ; so yesterday a world of honest citizens, in their best apparell, in a very modest way, went to the House of Commons, sent in two aldermen with their petition, subscribed as we hear, by 15,000 hands, for removing Episcopacie, the Service-Book, and other such scandalls, out of their Church. It was weell received : they were desired to goe in peace, and to send some three or four of their number on Thursday next, to attend some answer. Against that tyme, we, God willing, will be in hands with his little Grace ; and fundrie petitions of severall shires, to everie one whereof some thousands of hands are put, will be given in against Episcopacie : God speed all weell. Never such a Parliament in England : all is to be rectified ; for all is much out of right. The affaires of Scotland, these of Ireland, all their Courts at home, the Convocation, the High Commission, the Starr Chamber, the King's Bench, the Universities, besyde a hudge number of particular affaires, it is no marvell they proceed slowlie. For our affaires they have granted two subsidies, about 200,000 pound Sterling for the present, mainelie for the maintainance of our army. We are offended, that the monie decreed, and daylie pressed by us, and as oft promised by them, is yet gone away bot in so small a proportion. They confesse that army is their own, and a most happie meane for all their desires ; that the dissolving of it were their ruine ; that for the keeping of it on foot

and all our bygone losses, what would they not doe ! Yet we tell them all is but fair words : they, by their wayes, hes oft put us near extreame necessitie, either to disband or plunder : yet, if it may please God to give our poor sojourns a little patience, we hope all shall goe well.

For the Irish affaires, ten of their Commissioners are come. Sir James Montgomerie and the other two of the thirteen, are left a little behind for the gleanings of grievances. In June, the second session of their Parliament, an petition was granted, that the collecting of the six subsidies, which the first session had granted for the Scottish warre, should be gathered after the old fashion ; not that a certaine rate should be put on every committee, as the Lieutenant had done in the former Parliament, and, at the Councell-table, after the ryeing of the first session, had decreed should now be : The cancelling of that Councell act did passe, and was registred in the Parliament-books of that second session. The Lieutenant, 9th of November, two dayes before his deliverye to the Black-Rod, moved the King to wryte over to the Parliament of Ireland, then in their third session, that their zeale to his service, which they kythed in the beginning, was now decreasing ; that he ordered ⁽¹⁾ the Deputie Wentford (advanced from a mean man by the Lieutenant to that degree,) to teare out of the Parliament-book that act for gathering of the subsidies made in their second session, and to revive that cancelled act of Councell, and prorogate their farther sitting till Easter, when the Lieutenant should come over for righting all was wrong. Before the coming of this letter, Deputie Wentford had adjourned the Parliament. Yet the House of Commons held fast their doores, and would hear of no advertisement of prorogation, till their remonstrance was drawn up, and eight Commissioners appointed for presenting of it : thereafter they were contentit to dissolve. The Deputie, before some of both Houses, as the King commanded, tare out the act before named ; discharged upon their alleadgeance any commissioners to goe to England : Bot, behold, so soon as he heard of the Lieutenant's committment to the Black-Rod, he fell seek ; and when Mr. Scinder came to bring over Ratcliffe and King ; for

(1) Baillie's amanuensis has written *Viet*, evidently mistaking this for some word signifying ordered or authorised ; and Lord-Deputy Wandesforde he calls Wentford. When Wentworth Earl of Strafforde was advanced to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his successor, as Lord-Deputy, was Christopher Wandesforde, Master of the Rolls, who died 3d of December 1640.

King is the reporter that Ratcliffe vented the Lieutenant's intention, by his Irish and English armie, to reforme the government of England, and put all simplie under the King's free will; so foone as the Deputie saw the articles of the Lower House, and heard of the Lieutenant's taking to the barre, he founded, and tomorrow died. The Lieutenant had obtained from the King his houses and royall stufte in the Tower; all came to him who pleased, bot after Windibanks escape, our good kinde countrieman, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, was sent for by the Lower House, and enjoined to keep his prisoner straiter: so he hes now bot the libertie of three roomes, in the outmost whereof there is a guard: no man at all comes to him bot by the Lieutenant's speciall permission. Since he heard of Ratcliffe prisoned, and Wentford's death, his two stoups, his heart is a little fallen: The next week he may be proceffed. The Convocation meets twyce a-week, bot doe nothing at all; for as yet they have gotten no commiffion from the King to doe any businesse. We hear there is some thirtie of them, weell minded for removing of Episcopacie, and monie moe for pairing of Bishops nailles, and armes too. Montague and Mannering does not compear; bot will be sent for: Never a word of corrupted doctrine in the Convocation; the lesse good they intend the better; the more easilie they will be gotten overthrown; for both the Convocation, and High Commiffion, and Starre Chamber, and officiall courts, are hoped to be gotten abolished. Sundrie countrie ministers, who meets with us, are on a remonstrance, to the which the Self-Conviction, as they confesse, gives them much help, which, in name of the Church, shall shortly be presented against the Bishops.

The Separatists are like to be some help to hold up the Bishops through their impertinencie; but we trust, by God's blessing on our labour, to preveene that evill. This week they have been most in hand with the Judges and Lord Keeper: they have found their sentence for ship-money to the King illegall; they have past ane act of the propertie of goods, so that no imposition shall be laid on them bot by Act of Parliament; a favour that, as I heard [from] a nobleman who understood weell, they should have coft with ane hundred thousand pound Sterling a-year, for tuentie year to come; yea, the King, to passe them the ship-money alone, required in the late Parliament, as the least he could moderate, twelve hundred thousand pound Sterling. This much they are in our debt in this one particular: in their printed ballads they con-

feels no less; for their binding word is ever, "Gramercies, good Scott." There is a Committee for processing the Judges and my Lord Keeper Finch for their unjust decret. That night, when the Keeper was most pressed, he came to the King, and on his knees requested, as the greatest favour, that his Majestie would never take notice of his trouble, bot permitt him and the Parliament to deall it betuixt them, that he might stand and fall as his innocencie should be. This noble courage was thought a better policie to ingadge the King, and obtain favour from the Parliament, than all the prayers which Canterburie, Traquair, and the rest, makes night and day to the King for their protection. The Committee for the Universities has sent some with a warrand, both to Cambridge and Oxford, to receive most particular informations of all their new doctrines and superstitions there: the charge is given to men who will not slight it. Bastwick came into the City this day eight days; tuentie-seven coaches, a thousand horse for his convoy, trumpetts sounding from diverse windows, numbers of torches about him, and a world of people on all the way. Canterburie will stand his alone in the Privie Chamber; and, when no man will draw near him, goe his way alone. The bishops will goe through Westminster Hall, as they say, and no man cape to them. God is makeing here a new world; no fear yet of raising the Parliament, so long as the lads about Newcastle sits still. God is wonderfullie gracious; he would be earnestlie fought to; all this happinefs may soone evanish; a gloom of the King's brow would disperse this feeble people for any thing yet we see, if the terror of God and us afrayed not their enemies, if help from God and us did not continue their courage.

I trust, Dear Britherin, ye will pray for me, and for the cause, and our poor armie, and this Parliament; and will not be negligent to provide for my sweet people. The Lord be with them and yow,

Your Brother,

London, December 12th [1640.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

I AM loath to let any occasion slip of wryting to yow, whatever else I may have to doe. I long much to hear from some of yow,

both of your owne and the countrie's estates, and especiallie of the provision of my church ; my ignorance hereof, for from none of yow have I heard since my departure, made me plead to be dismissed here, that I might wait on my flock, which I knew not how it was provyded. Mr. Blair did plead for the same to himself, bot neither of us for some tyme can obtaine our desyres ; bot be assured, so soone as, with the Commisioner's good leave, I can obtaine a dimission, ye shall not be burdened, by God's grace, with my charge. In the meane tyme, I humbly intreat your diligent care for that congregation for which now I can doe nothing bot praise to God, and supplicate yow for supplie. My book here is weell lyked, and much seached for ; all our copies are spent ; ane new edition from Amsterdam by my knowledge is come over : I am on a Supplement. I hear no appearance of any reply.

For our publick affaires I can wryte little more than in my last the 19th of December. We stick yet on the Fourth demand, of Incendiaries : all the papers that past on that article I have sent to my Lady Montgomerie. Yow will see in the generall answers, our replies, and their duplies, that faine they would shift and elude us with generalities. We did much suspect Traquair as the author of these editions ; bot on Wednesday, before the English Lords, on his knees, he craved of the King to be sent down to Scotland, and permitted to abide the sentence of the Parliament, whatsoever it might be, and with it rather to fall into any inconvenience, than to be reputed ane author of division betuixt his Majestie and his people. It seems, that the Lieutenant's letters from the Tower procures the length of this article ; for his head, and the rest of the English incendiaries, depends upon it. If the King declare to us what we urge, that these whom our Parliament shall sentence, he shall not protect, maintaine, nor countenance, a clear preparative passes for their undoing ; albeit it is said the English resolves, and hes told the King as much, as, upon the neck of their Parliament's sentence, they mind not to delay execution. On Thursday the 24th, the King sent, for ane finall answer, a paper shewing that he was confident the Parliament should not proceed with these who were called Incendiaries ; that he and they should fullie agree ; and that before it were no reason to presse him to any prelimitation of his justice and mercie. This did not please us ; so in word we (that is, our Commisioners ; ye know I am none, bot it is my ordinar still [style] for shortness, so to wryte) did shew the English, that their commission was from the King and the Parliament, and

we did treat with them in that qualitie ; therefore we required them to communicat with the Parliament that long debaited difference, being hopefull, that that wyfe counsell would advyse his Majestie to grant us our demand, as carrying evident reason. This was our last and sure refuge.

On Fryday, Saturday, Sunday, being the great joy-dayes, was a vacation both to Parliament and treatie. Monday at two hours was appoynted for our treaters to meet, and to-morrow the Parliament to sit down againe. For all that, this day we had no meeting. The reason, I hear, was, that the King, seeing the difference would goe to the Parliament of England, was drawn a step farder, and had prepared for answer a promise in this article to follow the Parliament of Scotland's advice ; but the English Lords, being wearie with this longsome debate, told his Majestie, that we would not be content with that fair generall ; and if the question went to the Houses of Parliament, doubtless all there would be for the Scotts demand. The King therefore took it to his advice till to-morrow what to say farder. If this were closed, the Fifth demand, upon the restitution of the ships and goods, it is hoped there will not be any stay ; but on the Sixth, for our charges, much debate is feared before the Parliament be brought to the generall grant ; then the particular souldiers, then the persons payable, then the securitie. The reasons of the demand, drawn first by Mr. Archibald [Johnstone,] then by Rothes, and lastly perfected by Mr. A.⁽⁵⁾, in a verie prettie paper I hope to send with the next. They are now in the hands of the English, our friends, to be helped, as they shall think fitt. The Seventh demand, about the dismantling of Berwick and Carlisle, diffurnishing them of sojourns, will not be long (as it is hoped) stuck upon. But the last, about a solid peace and union of the nations, so far as can be, will not fail to draw long ; for here will fall in a number of articles of most weightie consideration. The English, of purpose, would be glad to draw all out to the full ; for they have much to doe : the displanting the Court, the overthrow of Episcopacie, the planting of the Court, the settling of a new government in the Church, the putting downe a world of grievances publick, the satisfying of infinite private complaints ; for the doing of these things, and manie more, long tyme is requyrit. So long as our armie staves, it seems they will sit still on all hazards ; yet their great charges, fiftie thousand pound

(5) " Mr. A."—Mr. Alexander Henderson.

in the moneth for the armies, will force them to clofe one Sefſion, and end the moſt of their greateſt affaires, that both armies may be diſmiſſed: bot this cannot be in haſte. The Lieutenant is not yet heard; his witneſſes manie are examined; his proceſſe is daylie going on. Matter is making readie for Canterburie's challenge, that one of thir dayes he may be delyvered by James Maxwell to Sir William Balfour. What we have libelled againſt both, my Lady Montgomrie will ſhew it. We are not yet called to give in our proofs; bot are readie. Cottingtoun is expected will be challenged next; if he follow not the Keeper and Secretar to France, he may bear the Lieutenant company on the Tower Hill: So there will few of that faction remaine. Vaine is bot new come on, and not much complained of; Wren, Couſins, and Helen [Heylin], are under baile; Pierce Biſhop of Bath is fled; B[iſhop] Montague and B[iſhop] Manering are ſent for; as alſo Potter, and moe of their Docters. The City's petition for the rooting out of Epiſcopacie, at which are above fifteen thouſand hands, my Lady Montgomerie will ſhow it yow, it will be anſwered in tyme. Dr. Douning, my familiar freind's verie quick diſcourſe, my Lord Eglington will communicat. Yow ſee what libertie is here, when ſuch bookes dare bear the names of the author, printer, and feller. The Convocation houſe of biſhops and clerks meets once a-week, bot never ſayes or does any thing: they have not yet any commiſſion, either from God or the King, to doe any good, and Satan his hands are bound in this ſeaſon of the Lord's favour from doing any evill. The Lower Houſe has condemned all their canons, both old and new, and ſo hes cutt the cords of their Egyptian yoke. The Epiſcopall Clergie are made vile in the eyes of all: manifold moſt ſhamefull practiſes of harlotrie, drunkenneſs, and all prophaneneſs, is found in their hand; they are like to contribute as much to their own ruine as the abbots and friers did of old to theirs. Balcanquall is thought a vile man. A ſhort petition is formed by all the weell affected clergie for the overthrow of Epiſcopacie; readilie with the next yow ſhall have it: it is in my Lady Montgomerie's papers. It is now poſting through the land for hands to make it ſtark; againſt it can come back it will be a fourtnight, at which tyme a large remonſtrance, by ſome dozen of hands choſen out of the whole number, will be readie, againſt the Biſhops corruptions in doctrine, diſcipline, life, and all: to theſe they confeſſe the Self-Conviction gives them good help. At that tyme the root of Epiſcopacie will be

assaulted with the strangest blast it ever felt in England. Let your heartie prayers be joyned with mine, and of manie millions, that the breath of the Lord's nostrills may joyne with the endeavours of weak men to blow up that old gourd wicked oak. The Primate of Ireland, and a great faction with him, will be for a limited good and James Mitchell's calked Episcopacie; but since, to this day, not one of these men hes had so much grace as to open their mouth against any of the Canterburian abominations, which all the world here cryes out upon, I trust they cannot thryve in any of their designs. There was some fear for these of the new way, who are for the Independent congregations; bot after much conference, thanks be to God, we hope they will joyne to overthrow Episcopacie, erect Presbyterian government and Assemblies, and, in any difference they have, to be silent, upon hope either of satisfaction when we gett more leasure, or of toleration, on their good and peaceable behaviour. The farr greatest part are for our discipline; for all the considerable parts of it, they will draw up a modell of their own, with our advyce, to be considered upon by Commissioners of the Church, and others appoynted by Parliament, and, if God shall blefs this land, by these Commissioners to be settled in everie congregation at this extraordinarie tyme, till afterward, the Church being constitute, a Generall Assemblie may be called to perfyte it. At this tyme a Generall Assemblie would spoyle all, the farr most of their clergie being verie corrupt. If all this were done, we might be gone; for the rest, the Parliament might be doing in other Sessions as their latters: If the Court and Church were reformed, they are not much feared for breaking up of the Parliament: The King's necessities are verie great; all the monopolies and shipmoneys are evanished, or going fast in smoak; besyde his Court, and that of his Queen and her mother, and the Prince, and the rest of his children and sifter, his debts are hudge, they speak of thirtie or fortie hunder-thousand pound Sterling: all this must be defrayed; and the Parliament gives fair words to finde wayes for all. Like lie the bishopricks must make some help; for here the most of the wonted money is away; little had this three year; the fear of the warrs made all the bankers transport to Holland what they were able. The four subsidies already granted will be little enough for the armies ere they dissolve. I hope gratitude will see them make for other six for our charges. I know not if any Parliament before hes gone beyond ten subsidies; whence then shall

the other thirtie come for the King's debt?—It is two a'clock ; my candle is also failling.

For forraigne news, no Gazets are printed this week. The Earle of Brederod, and other two ambassadours, are come over from the States, to fute the King's third daughter for the young Prince of Orinzes. The seconf was buried since we came. The rebellion of Catalonia goes on. John of Braganza is crowned King of Portugal. Banier and the most of the Sueddish armie is making fast to their winter quarters in Bohem. France is taking hudge fumes from all his subjects, for the warrs in the spring. The Lord be with yow all, Dear Britherin : much need had yow to stirr up your selves and your congregations both to praise and pray.

This day Alderman Penningtoun, with a number of his brether came, with some also of the toun-captains, and some from the Inns of Court, to our lodgeing for complementing our Commiissioners : He told them roundlie, that they were aughten us the redemption of their liberties, estates, religion and lyves. One Ward, in a Latine lecture in Sion Colledge, at our first comeing, had railed at us as rebels ; upon our complaint he was suspended, and yesterday made his publick recantation in the Church. The Bishops of Glasgou, Brechin, and Aberdeen, are here in great povertie and miserie, with their families. Our fugitive Clergie are in verie evill case ; these few who hes gotten places hes bot poor things ; and these with hatred of all : the most can get nought. Mr. Patrick Maxwell, for all the mountaines of gold he hoped for, is yet waiting on for a fellowship in Cambridge, which when gotten, is no great matter. The great Lord, in his own tyme, clofe this his own work of hudge mercie, according to the fair appearances and great hopes of all his saints here. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,
R. BAILLIE.

London, December 28th [1640.]

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

The reason why this three weeks I have wryten none to you, was my expectation partlie of some matter of weight to wryte, and partlie of letters from some [of] yow, bearing your receipt and ac-

ceptance of these I had formerlie written. And now, by my Lord Eglintoun's and Mr. John Bell's, the hinder-end of December, understanding your care for my flock, I will delay no longer, bot in testimonie of my thankfull[ness], which is all now I can render for your loving respect and care of my charge, yow shall have ane accompt of our affaires since my last with my Lord Montgomerie, so far as my knowledge and memorie will furnish.

Our first Fyve Demands being obtained, our great fear, and our enemies equall hope, was upon the Sixth, of our charges since the late Pacification. Great care was usit to set it down in so smooth, and yet so effective termes as was possible. Johnstone, Rothés, Henderfone, our chief friends of the English of both Houses in Parliament, did rypelie advyse on all the words and syllabs, till at last Mr. Alexander put it in that forme I have sent yow : it was so composed of reason, that the King, when he saw it, had no farder hopes that the English and we should discord upon that demand. The particular compt was given with the demand : a scrole of two hundred and fiftie thousand pound Sterling, which we putt out of compt five hundred and fourteen thousand pound [Scots,] whereof we offered to bear ourself such a proportion as the Parliament should find reasonable, or us able. The particular compt was delivered by us to none, for causes, bot these whom it concerned. The reasons of the demand were put in so manie hands as we were able to provide with copies. When it was given to the Peers, Bristoll, their speaker, gave in a verie capitious question in wryte, Whether our demand was positive ; or we intended, by our compt, to obtain some kinde supply from the Parliament ? Our Commissioners, after a little advysement in their retireing chamber, gave so wise ane ansuer in wryte, that Bristoll gladlie would have taken back his proposition ; bot this we refused : so both the question and ansuer was subscribed by the clerks. Sundrie dayes thereafter were spent, Bristoll preffing oft with more vehemence than we thought was needfull, the casting of the Sixth demand to the last place ; bot this in discreet yet peremptor expressions, we refused it at last. Bristoll sett down his proposition in wryte, backed with the subscriptions of the English peers, of their desyre to us, to go on in the mean tyme to the article of the peace, while the Parliament might have time to consult how to satisfie our Sixth demand. With great care ane ansuer was penned by Mr. A. [Henderfon] to that verie dangerous proposition : yow have it in the inclosed paper : All was delyvered to the Parliament. Both

the Houses being called together, Bristoll made a verie pertinent and favourable report of all had past, and by this good office did put away that suspicion which we began to conceive of his too hot reasoning against us in the treatie. Mandaveele read, with the best toone he could, the reasons of our demand : Paget and Whartoun, our good friends, read our two answers to Bristoll's two propositions : All was received in silence, with some favour by the farre most part. The greatness of the matter itself, and manie other weightie affaires, hindered the Parliament to make any conclusion therein ; so our treaters had a vacation : yet were they not idle, bot verie diligent in solistig and informing the members of the Houses. Our enemies were not idle here ; diverse in both Houses were not a little averse from this demand, and burst out into words, in severall places, of dislyke ; yet God kepted us in this difficultie. The matter coming to the Lower House on Thursday the 21st [of January,] it was much debated *pro* and *contra*, and referred to the next day. At which tyme, after some hot reasoning by our sure friends, it was voyced first, that our demand should be voyced ; then that it should be voyced instantly ; and, thirdly, by the most part it was carryed, that ane supply, and sustenance for our losses and charges, should be granted to us, reserving the measure to their farder consideration. Of this we are verie glad, and blesses God for his favour ; for this all men took for the greatest difficultie we had : so our treatie will goe on. Our Commissioners and the Peers must conferre on the quantitie, and way of payment, and securitie of what cannot presentlie be given, which the Parliament thereafter will cognosce upon. Ane unhappie overture of Traquair, our constant good friend, that in Scotland, from the King and the Bishops rents, he could shortlie make up ane hundred thousand pound Sterling, will doe us no good. We fear three hundred thousand shall be the most we will obtain. We hope, that in this moneth of the treatie we might have clost ; bot now it seemes not possible. Both the English and we had a great minde to have done so, we being wearied with stay, they with the charges of the armie ; bot such a world of great affairs being yet in their hands, and the speciall articles of our treatie falling in the last head, it seemes impossible, before the 15th of February, to get the half discussed, yea the third.

The Parliament being sensible of their spending of tyme, without great dispatch, made ane ordinance, that no private affair should be taken in till the more publick were brought to a con-

clusion. These publick they expressed in some twelve or fifteen heads: The Lieutenant and the Irish affaires, Canterburie and the Canons, the Keeper and the Judges, Windibanks and the Papists, Goring and the Monopolies, etc. When these were closed, they intended to close a Session, and dismiss the armies. Sundrie of the great affaires are closed, and the rest are coming on thick. For the secret reason why the cause of the Lieutenant and Canterburie is so long delayed, some guesse one and some another; the most thinks, that more by witness long agoe is deponed than might take manie heads; yet they desyre more, frae more daylie be coming in. Some thinks, their death would facilitat the overthrow of Episcopacie, and the thorough reformation of Church and State. Others feares, that diverse grit men, if these two were execute, would be freed of their feare, and become hopefull of their place, and desireous more to pacifie the irritat Prince, and to comply with his desyre in keeping up Bishops and other things: so that the House, of purpose, keeps these men alive, to make their feare, so long as they live, a band to knitt all together for the common good: However, verie shortlie the Lieutenant is expected on the stage, and the Bishop at his back. The other day it past the Lower House unanimeslie, that they should have annuall Parliaments, or at leist trienniall; and if the King did not call them, the Sheriffs should give out letters for choosing Commissioners in the shires against such a day. If the Sheriff did not summond, if the persons chosen did not compear at the tyme and place named, it should be felonie, losse of life and lands; that for fiftie dayes, upon no discharge, they should rise: A terrible act! nothing yet done in Scotland that seemes to strike so much at royall prerogative. It is thought it will passe the Higher House also, albeit with some more difficultie. A number of pamphlets comes out dailie about Episcopacie, some to hold it up, some to ding it downe: how this matter will goe, the Lord knowes; great hopes, great feares on all fydes. The godlie here, in great numbers, meets oft in private houses, for in publick they dare not, fasts and prayes, and hears gracious sermons, for whole dayes, fundrie tymes in the week: truelie these heartie and humble prayers are our greatest confidence; in the adverse partie we hear of little devotion in the best of them.

Saturday the 23d [of January.] This day fundrie things considerable past. The ministers petition, which I sent yow before, subseriyed with above eight hundred ministers hands, was given in

to the Lower House, by sixteen of the eldest and gravest of the number, together with their remonstrance of all the corruptions of that Church, in doctrine, discipline, life, and all, in twentie sheets of paper. The petition was read, and weell taken; the remonstrance is appointed to be read on Mononday, a day of fasting in private, over all the Citie and manie moe places; for that day is appointed to consider the hard question of Episcopacie. This day the new Keeper, Littleton, raide in state, as the fashion is of their installment, to Westminster: he was before Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Banks, the King's Attorney, hes gotten his place; Herbert, the Queen's Solicitor, has succeeded to Banks; Gardner, the Recorder of London, to Herbert. Few are pleased with thir promotions: the men are none of them beloved; the Queen is said to be the cause of their advancement. It is expected the King, by the Marqueis advyse, shall make a better choyse of his other officers; that Bedford shall be Thesaurer, etc. The King this day called both the Houses to the Banqueting-roome at Whythall: he had a speech, which shortlie I hope to gett, encouraging them to goe on to help the abuses that were both in Church and State; referred to their consideration the providing for of the ships, the walls of the kingdome; the hastening the close of the treatie, that armies might not lie in the bosome of the land: their bill anent Parliaments he lyked in substance, bot not in some circumstances; he could not endure that his prerogative in calling of Parliaments should be put in the hand of sheriffs, constables, and he knew not whom: bot by a messege on Mononday he hoped herein to give them all contentment. Also about the motion of removeing Bishops, he told them expresselie, he would never permitt that State to be putt down, or removed from the Parliament; abuses, in their government, he would be content were rectified and reduced to the order in use in Queen Elizabeth's dayes; bot discharged them to make any farder motion. To this part of the speech was no hum, no applause as to the rest. This declaration will doe no evill; manie who inclyned to keep Bishops being put off state, and brought low, while they see they must continue Lords of Parliament, will joyn themselves more heartilie to these who will assay to draw up their roots. At the desyre of the English ministers, Mr. Alexander [Henderfon] hes wryten some verie good reasons for their removeall out of the Church: they are printed this day; readilie yow may get them with this post. I minde to give in my myte also, in my Supplement of the Self-Conviction, which at once yow possiblie

may see. Ane old Jesuit,⁽⁴⁾ who was manie yeares agoe condemned for seduceing of people here, was sent away, with certification, if he returned, he should be execute, was latelie taken, and for new crimes condemned. Yesterday he should have been hanged for example; the King reprieved him; the Citie does grudge, that in the face of Parliament justice against Jesuites should be stopped. They had promised to give this day sixtie thousand pound for the armies provision, bot now they refuse. The Houses took it to their consideration, informed the King: it is hoped he will deliver the Jesuite over to justice.

In diverse churches, the people raised Psalmes to sing out the service, and in some they pulled down the railles before the altars. Some of the Separation being found at their conventicles, did speak disgracefullie of the King, Parliament, and lawes: of these things the Bishop of London, the last Saturday, the 16th, did make a greivous complaint in the Higher House. Bishop Hall could not remember his shamefull putting to the barre for the louseness of his tongue upon my Lord Sey the last Parliament, bot behooved againe to assay [assert?]⁽⁵⁾ the refusing of his advyce the other day, by the meanes of some Lords there, was the cause of that misorder. They pressed the Bishop to name the man: he named Mandaveell. Presentlie he was put to the barre; and his brother Lincolne behooved to put a jest on him heavier than his censure, That his acknowledgement of his fault behooved to be formed to him in wryte, lest his rhetorick in his confession should aggravat his fault, as it had done before. All this cannot make that man quiet; this week he hes put out a remonstrance to the Parliament for keeping up of Bishops and Liturgies, without a word of any connection. The King lykes it weele, bot all else pities it as a most poore piece. The Higher House alwayes made ane order, which is read in the churches, that none presume, at their own hand to alter any customes established by law: this procured ordinance does not discourage any man.

Cousins, yesterday, for all his devotions, was pronounced in-

(4) John Goodman, Priest and Jesuit: see the Journals of the House of Lords, and Commons; but in the latter, he is at first erroneously called *Thomas Goodman*.

(5) The meaning of this passage, relating to Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, is not very intelligible, and possibly some words have been omitted. It evidently, however, refers to what occurred in the House of Lords, 16th of January 1641, when "A Bishop speaking injuriously of a Temporal Lord, confesses his fault, and is reconciled." (See Journals, vol. IV, p. 134.)

capable of any office in England, and charge appointed to be made against his life for his contumelious speeches of the King's authoritie. Twentie-four thousand pound sterling was decerned to be payed by him and the High Commissioners of York to Smart ⁽⁶⁾ for his losses and charges in the prison. There is a bitter book come yesterday from Ireland to our hands against the Assemblée of Glasgow; it is thought by Bishop Maxwell: it may cost him and some other dear: if we had leasure, it would quicklie be answered. The Ambassadors of Holland, Brederode Earl of Wian, Aerfen ⁽⁷⁾ the Secretary of the State, and Somerdyk one of the Lords, with the ordinarie Ambassador, were receaved in the Banquetting House by the King, Queen, Prince, Duke of York, two daughters, and hudge number of noblemen and gentlemen. Aerfen made a long and eloquent harrangue in French: though I was verie near, yet I did not hear distinctlie. They have fundrie audiences before the Counsell of England. It is the King's eldest daughter which the States suites for the young Prince of Orange: it is thought he may get her. They speak of thirtie thousand pound of joynture; whileas the Palatine gave to Princeesse Elizabeth bot ten. The young Prince is expected shortlie: Durham House is preparing for him.

For forraigne news, I have sent yow the English Gazets for the last seven weeks. The states of Brabant hes given in a remonstrance to the Cardinal Infant to procure a peace with France and Holland, or else they will be forced to see to their own safetie. The French are fore beaten in Catilognia; bot the people are nothing the more discouraged. The King of Portugal increases in strength: numbers from Castile joynes with him. There is a revolt feared in France, so great and excessive are the taxes there on all the people. They speak of Banier's besiedging of Amberdge, in the Upper Palatinate. Great things every where in hand. We had much need to deal with the Lord, that the end of all may be the prosperitie of the Gospell. Manie here are verie gracious people; they farr goe beyond us in private fastings. This Monday is almost a solemn day for private humiliation, over all the Citie and their land, for rooting out of Episcopacie. We trust a gracious answer shall now shortlie come from heaven. It becomes all of yow there, who thinks to partake of Sion's joy, to joyne

⁽⁶⁾ Peter Smart, one of the Prebends of Durham.

⁽⁷⁾ Van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyke, in Holland.

yourfelves with her mourning fupplicants ; if they fall not, the moft here yet expects no good dayes to either of the nations. The people throngs to our fermon, as ever yow faw any to Irwin communion ; their crowd daylie increafes. Six of us, Mr. Blair, Mr. Henderfon, Mr. Borthick, Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Smith, and I, preaches our tour about on Sondag and Thurfday. In my laft tour, on the 3d verfe of the 126th Pfalm, “ The Lord hes done great things for us,” I fpent much of ane hour in ane historik narration, the beft I could penn, of all that God had done for us, fra the maids commotion in the Cathedrall of Edinburgh to that prefent day : manie teares of compaffion and joy did fall from the eyes of the Englifh.

Our poft has ftayed fome dayes longer than we expected. We had no meeting in our treatie thir two or three dayes, for we preffed hard not to proceed till the quantitie was once named. This at laft, in both Houfes of Parliament, is yielded unto ; we expect, within a day or two, the Houfes determination of a particular fomme which may doe us all good. The matter of the Jefuite draws deeper than any man expected ; the man is ane apoftate, he had been ane preacher at London ; he was banifhed before ; the King’s repyryveing of him, being condemned in the tyme of Parliament, was taken by all to have been done of purpofe, for a preparative to fave the life of the Lieutenant and Canterburie ; therefore, albeit there did never anie Jefuite die before in England for religion alone, yet both the Houfes hes moft unanimouſlie confented to petition the King this day, that he may be execute ; alfo that fevere order may be taken with all the Papiſts in the land, of whom the Parliament before did not take much notice. Yeſterday, they called before them four of the moft noted papiſts here, Sir Killum [Kenelm] Digbie, Sir Thomas Winter the Queen’s Secretar, the ſonnes of Digbie and Winter the powder plotters, Walter Montacu Mandaveell’s brother, Sir Baſill Brook. They have confeſſed their collecting of contribution from the Papiſts of England to the King, againſt us : this day they are to appear again ; it is thought it will lie heavie on them all. The Queen is ſpeaking of her goeing to France, to the bains of Lorrain, for her health, and for the reconciling of her Mother with her Brother. However, the Parliament’s actions puts no ſmall difcontent and fear to her ſtomach. Queen Mother hes gotten little thir three moneth : her plate and jewells are ſelling ; no marvell ſhe ſhould wryte, as they fay, humble letters of ſubmiſſion to her

son to live in France where and how he pleases. Yesterday Mr. Pym gave in to the Higher House, in 20 sheet of paper or thereabout, the charge of the Lieutenant: a world of foule poynts are proven. Before it can be wryten over in parchment, as the fashion is, it will be Tuesday; then it is like he shall be called, get two or three dayes to answer, and then be execute. While his head goe, the Bishop is lyke to dwell still with Mr. Maxwell, under his Black-Rod, bot no longer. The King's heart is no whit changed from these men; but we trust tyme will let him see the truth: we pray God, in the mean tyme, save him from courses that he and we all may repent. The ministers petition and remonstrance is remitted till Monday: I think it must be delayed longer. There was a contrare petition drawn up for Episcopacie, which I have also sent yow, and the King's Speech: hands in the citie were getting to it, as they say, chieflie by Pembroke the Chamberlaine's meanes: bot it is thought they have let it fall, in despaire of succeffe. There is a petition to the Lower House, without the knowledge, so farr as I hear, of anie of us, albeit all of us be weell pleased therewith, that none of our fugitives brook benefite in England till first they have satisfied our Church: this bill it is no doubt will passe. No more for the present comes in my minde. The Lord be with yow all. Dear Brethren, yow will have a care of my desolate flock; and as thir tymes requyre, if ever anie, yow will be diligent to stirr up your selves and your flockes to wrestling with God for a happie end of all our hopes, feares, cares, and travells.

Your Brother and Servant,

London, January 29th [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

THE last week I wryt to thee and all friends at length: at this tyme I write to thee alone, that thou may know I am verie weell as thou could wish. I had never, (praised be God,) since I saw thee, the leif trouble, either of bodie or minde, or in any affair concerned me, so good hes the Lord been to me. Onlie in my long absence from my flock, house, and friends there, does whyles annoy mee, bot necessitie makes me quiet, and my conscience of doing some good in the public affaires, that concernes the glory of God,

and the weell of the whole Isle and posteritie, does comfort me in that perplexitie. It is like I shall not win home till we come altogether, which will be, I hope, sometyme in March.

This day, [the 6th of February,] the treatie is prolonged ane other moneth from the midft of February to the midft of March. We hope ere that be ended, that all our affaires shall be clofed, and the greateft adoes of the English Parliament also, to our great joy and of the English also. The other day, our soume was determined: all that past in that difficult demand, I sent it inclosed in my last letters; with the nixt, I shall send the same to my Lord in print; for our charge against Canterburie and the Lieutenant, with our Sixth demand, is cast in print; bot this carrier is not for it. Thow hes here inclofit the happie closure, which is not printed. Our Commiffioners did stronglie solist all their friends in both Houses: we had fundrie opposites; yet when it came to voyceing, not manie kythed. Three hundred thousand pound Sterling, four and fifty hundred thousand merks Scotts,⁽⁸⁾ is a prettie soume in our land, beyde the eighteen hundred thousand merks for our armie, these last four months, and tuentie-fyve thousand pound Sterling for the fifth month comeing. Yet the heartie giving of it to us, as to their brethren, did refresh us as much as the money itself. Thou may read the act of the Lower House, and the paper of our thanksgiving. Our Seventh article, for the recalling of all the King's proclamations and declarations against us, will be past without difficultie in a day or two; so we come to the last, anent a solid peace betwixt the nations: This we will make long or short, according as the necessities of our good friends in England does require; for they are still in that fray, that if we and our armie were gone, they yet were undone.

The Lieutenant the last Saturday [30th of January] was sent for; he came from the Tower by water, with a guard of musqueteers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and curseing him to his face. Coming in to the Higher House, his long charge, in manie sheets of paper, was read to him: for a while, he satt on his knees before the barr; thereafter, they caused him sitt down at the barr; for it was eight a'clock before all was read. He craved a moneth to answer; they ordained him to return on Monday with the reason of that his demand. On Monday he sent his petition in wryte, alleadging the

(8) A merk was equal to 13½d. Sterling; and thus one pound Sterling contained 18 merks Scottish money.

gutt for his absence. Wednesfday come a fourtnight was appointed him to say, by word or wryte, for himself what he is able: what the event will be we will then know; while he be at a poynt, Canterburie will rest under the Black-Rod. On Wednesfday [3d of February] both the Houses were called to receave the King's answer anent the Jesuite; the copie of the speech we have not yet gotten: it hes given verie great satisfiſſation to all; with much humming was it receaved. He told, that the reason of his re pryv- ing of that Jesuite was not for affronting justice, or staying the execution of any law, bot because in his Father's and Queen Elizabeth's reigne, no person had ever been execute for their conscience alone: however, he did remitt the man simplie to their discretion, being confident they were wise to consider what might be the consequences of his execution in forraign parts, where these of our religion were under the power of Popish princes. He protested his own sincere affection towards the true religion; promised by present proclamation to banish all priests out of the land within a moneth, under the pain of death to all that shall remaine or ever returne. He gave assurance that none at all should be permitted to come to the Queens their chappells, bot alone their domestick servants. The Pope's agent with his Queen, he assured, should quicklie be dismissed, and none again be receaved. On Thursfday [she] sent a gracious message to the Lower House, that was also verie well taken, excuseing herself, that through ignorance of their law, she had moved these of her religion to contribute some moneys for the King's affaires; assuring she would doe so no more; also that she conceived, that the libertie of her religion contracted to her, permitted her to keep open intelligence with the Pope, and to admitt to her chappell these of her own profession: bot since she found them herewith offended, promised it should be so no more. Her voyadge to France for ten moneth, to preveen a consumption already begun, and the marriage of Lady Mary with the Prince of Orange shortly, is more and more spoken of; and manie begins to think, that possible both their intentions are reall.

All here, praised be God, goes according to our prayers, if we could be quyte of Bishops; about them we are all in perplexitie: we trust God will putt them down, bot the difficultie to gett all the tapouns of their roots pulled up are yet insuperable by the arme of man. The deans and prebends, and other not-preaching ministers rents, will be taken away; for otherwise the country will never

be able to supplie the King's necessitie, and bear their other burdens ; bot these superfluous rents will doe all abundantlie. Yesterday ane order was given out to putt all churchmen out of the commission to the justices of peace. The Ministers remonstrance these dayes bygone have been read in the House by parts ; for it is long : They desyre not ane answer in haste ; for they fear their friends in the House be not strong enough to pull up that old oak ; bot manie teares here are weeklie sowne for that end ; we hope a harvest of fruits are comeing. We pray, preach, and print against them what we are able most freele : manie a fore thrift getts both men and women thronging in to our sermons. This day Mr. Henderfone had a verie sweet conference with the King their alone, for the helping of our Universities from the Bishops rents. I hope it shall be obtained. A pitie bot that sweet Prince had good company about him. We hear no farder news than I wryt to my Lord from abroad ; onlie it is said, that Baneer is besiedgeing the Emperor in Ratibon, with a mightier armie than the enemie is like in haste to oppose.

R. BAILLIE.

London February 6th [1641].

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

I AM everie way so weell as thou could wish, and none in the companie better ; yea, I know none bot hes had some fashries bot myself. God continews his indulgence towards me. If there be any continuance beyond the midst of March, Mr. Blair and I resolves to presse a dimission. God's hand is clear leading on, peice and peice, men against their purposes, towards his ends. No book here cryed up so much by the adverse partie, their Bishops and Doctors, as "The Canterburian's Self-Conviction" : it is now at the presse againe with a large Supplement. I have fundrie other things readie for the pres. Have a care of thy familie exercise ; cast all thy cair on God ; learne to speak to him, and to rejoyce in his countenance. I love him, blessed be his name better than ever, and committs all that concernes me to his good hand. Thou and I may daylie meet in him.

R. BAILLIE.

February 22d [1641.]

[TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

THOUGH yow before this should be wearie of provyding my place, I confesse it is no marvell ; yet I must intreat yow earnestlie not to give over that labour. I should long ere now have returned to that charge myself, if these here, who have power to command, would have permitted ; however, I hope now a little tyme shall fend us all home in peace and joy.

The clofure of the Sixth demand, and things that past that week, I sent home in a letter to my wife ; with the which you are before this, I hope, acquaint. A stationer hes made bold, as all things now are printed, [to print] these our charges against Canterburie and the Lieutenant, with all that past on our Sixth demand, which here I fend to you with two of the last Gazets for forraigne occurrences. There is a world of pamphlets here besyde, where-with I may not burden the post. Our Seventh demand was past shortlie without much question : we would have had presentlie all the proclamations, declarations, and pamphlets revoked ; bot they would have us delay till the full clofure of the treatie ; to this we acquiesced as reason. They would have it reciprocally : this we thought dangerous ; bot we were content, if they would be pleased to make the Scotts Parliament judge what wrytes of ours should be revoked ; for we knew of none ; and our protestations being alone for our justification behooved to stand : to this they acquiesced. You may see the demand and answer here inclosed.

For the Eighth demand some dayes were spent in preparations. The first article of it, concerning the garisons and fortifications of Carlile and Berwick, though it carried no difficultie, yet the Peers finding, that all the articles of the Eighth demand did concerne the whole nation for all tyme coming, shew they behooved, before any answer, to acquaint both the Houses of Parliament with all we proponed : So they intreated, that we might give in so much as we might together, that the Parliament might not be too oft moved by too manie severall articles, which might be conjoyned. The King and Bristoll also did much presse, that we would give in all at once we did require in our last demand ; bot this being not possible for us, nor conducesfull for the ends of the English, who required no such haste, it was agreed we should give in so manie

of our articles on that demand at once, as might be a fitt subject for the Parliament's consideration and answer: so with the first, we gave in the second. That daintie paper anent the King and Prince's residence with us at some tymes, yow have it here inclosed. The truth is, albeit we had no hope to obtaine much of that reasonable desyre, yet it was thought meet to presse it, to be a ground and means to obtain the rest we were to desyre, as being too little a recompence for want of the King's person. The King was very well pleased with the motion; bot the Parliament appeared as if they had been much displeased: for their satisfaction, we gave in the last, here inclosed, as ane explanation of our intention in this article. As yet the Parliament hes had no leasure to give us any answer; bot we expect it this day. The last Tuesday, as I remember, the King came to the Higher House in his robes: after he had remembered them of their flowness, and how little they yet had done in any thing concerned him, he declared his willingness to satisfie them in their desyre of annuall or trienniall Parliaments. So he desyred the Lord Keeper to signifie his pleasure anent that Act, as it was conceived by both the Houses. The way of conception I wryt in a former letter. The Keeper's speech was not long: *Il Roy le veut*, was all. This did fill the two Houses and City with such joy, that they required permission, and obtained it, to expresse the sense of it, by ringing of all their bells, above a thousand, and setting out their bone-fyres. Bot as no worldlie joy is unmixed, so to-morrow there fell some discontentment betuixt the two Houses. On the Mononday, the Earle of Strafford had sent his petition to the Higher House for some longer tyme. My Lord Sey spake somewhat for the petition; bot Effex against it. On Tuesday, the Lower House sent up a message by Mr. Pym, requireing, that no more tyme might be granted. Notwithstanding, on Wednesday, when Strafford appeared, his gutt and gravell, and pertinent speech, bot most of all his lawyers oath, that they had done all diligence to have their answers perfyte, and that yet it lay not in their power, for some days to come, to have them in any readines; all this obtained him eight dayes more tyme. This granted did so extreamlie grieve the Lower House, that they were near to have broken up, and give over all sitting, at least till Strafford were at ane end. When that motion was laid by, they were near to a protestation against the Higher House, as hurting the priviledges of their House, by granting to any they had charged with high treason any delay of proceffe, any benefite of counsell,

or use of lawyers advice, any permission to answer by wryte : yet they did not protest ; onlie did notifie their grievances with great passion.

The Londoners, who had promised long agoe sixtie thousand pound Sterling, and had it [in] readines, keeps it still in hand. The Jesuite's repyving was the first occasion ; and yet when the King hes given him over to their will, there is no more word of him, and I think they shall dismise him ; and now while they have reason of Strafford, they will give no money : this is their great weapon ; fo both the armies are in their third moneth. The English sojourns, we hear, plunders the countrey without reproof. The favour granted to Strafford is laid most on the back of the good Lord Sey : he did indeed most speak for it ; but no doubt these who were most for granting him bygone courtesies, will be his smallest friends when he comes to judgement. The Higher House, for satisfaction of the Lower, sent to the Tower to advertise Strafford, that he come on Wednesday fullie instructed, for no longer delay will be granted upon any alleadgencie.

The week before there was a great commotion in the Lower House, when the petition of London came to be considered. My Lord Digbie and Viscount Falkland, with a prepared companie about them, laboured, by premeditated speeches, and hott disputes, to have that petition cast out of the House without a hearing, as craving the rooting out of Episcopacie against so manie established lawes. The other partie was not prepared ; yet they contested on together, from eight a'clock till six at night. All that night our partie solisted as hard as they could. To-morrow, some thousands of the citizens, bot in a verie peaceable way, went down to Westminster Hall to countenance their petition. It was voyced, Whether the petition should be committed, or Not ? by thirty-six or seven voyces, our partie carried it, that it should be referred to the Committee of Religion ; to which were some four or six more added, young Sir Harrie Vaine, Mr. Fynes, and some more, our firm friends. This Committee was appointed to consider all the remonstrance, all that was in the London petition, or in any other petition from the countrey, and of all to make their report, without determining of any thing ; also they were discharged to medle as yet with the question of removeing the office. Before this Committee, everie other day, some eight or ten of the Remonstrants appears. Doctor Burgesse commonlie is their mouth ; we did suspect him as too much Episcopall, and wished he had not been of the

number ; bot he hes fuch a hand among the ministrie, and others, that it was not thought meet to decairt him ; yea, he hes caryed himself so bravelie, that we doe repent of our suspicions. The passages of the remonstrance that yet hes been called for, he hes cleared to the full contentment of all the Committee, except Mr. Selden, the avowed proctor for the Bishops. How this matter will goe, the Lord knowes : all [are] for the erecting of a kind of Presbyteries, and for bringing down the Bishops in all things, spirituall and temporall, so low as can be with any subsistence ; bot their utter abolition, which is the onlie aime of the most godlie, is the knott of the question ; wee must have it cutted by the axe of prayer : God, we trust, will doe it. The treatise I sent yow, of the Unlawfullness of Limited Episcopacie, is answered. They have sett me on a reply, which I have now ended : readilie yow may see it in print at once with a new edition of the Canterburians, much augmented. Think not we live any of us here to be idle ; Mr. Henderfone hes readie now a short treatise, much called for, of our Church discipline ; Mr. Gillespie hes the grounds of Presbyteriall government well asserted ; Mr. Blair, a pertinent answer to Hall's remonstrance : all these are readie for the presse. Dr. Twisse, to our great comfort, is here turned a Remonstrant. The convocation-men meet everie Wednesday, and reads their Latine Lettanie, and so departs till the next week ; they have yet gotten no commission from the King to medle with any thing. Their motion to petition the Parliament, that fifteen of them might be heard to debate matters with fifteen of the Remonstrant ministers is evanished ; as also the petition for upholding of the Bishops is stricken in the list ; albeit ane solid and pertinent answer to it be Mr. Barroues [Burroughs] and his colleagues, with Mr. Henderfone's preface, is walking up and down the earth, which here I send to yow. Dr. Twisse, if there be any dispuitt, offers to be one ; he is doubtless the most able disputer in England. We are, in this point, betwixt great hope and great fear ; bot faith helps the one, and diminishes the other. Yow had need there to assist us much by your earnest prayers, and the prayers of all the godlie in your flock. The matter will shortlie come to some conclusion : all parties longs to be at ane end. If Strafford were once away, Canterburie will make no stay. Then things will runn ; bot if all can be done before the fifteenth of March, it is hard to say.

The King hes spoken at length with all our Commissioners apart, verie sweetlie and pleasantlie. Johnstoun and Loudoun used great

freedome, and was weell understood. Rothés, and Loudoun, and Henderfone, seems to have great favour: the Marquefs rules all the roft, and is much commended be all. The last day, seven of the English Lords, all Commonwealth's men, were sworne Privie Counsellors; Effex, Hertfoord, Bedfoord, Bristoll, Sey, Mandaveell, Savill. The Peers required we might send for any of our nation we thought meet to be at the conclusion of the treatie, bot especiallie Argyle: In this, I think, we shall doe their defyre. Some of the Lower House hes been instant with our Commissioners to signifie the truth concerning our fugitive ministers and regents, a roll of whom they sent to us; to whom they pressed us to add so manie more as we knew in the kingdome. Our advyce was, that none should be troubled who would, under their hand, give some toller-able satisfaction to the next Generall Assemblies. It is like there shall be no more rest for these men in England and Ireland than in Scotland. Ane ordinance the other day past both the Houses, for dissolving presentlie the Irish armie; for two more subsidies, besyde the former four for disarming the Papists. The Queen's voyage to France, and the marriage with Holland, yet holds. The combination of the Papists with Strafford's Irish armie, to have landed, not in Scotland, but Wales, where the Earle Worcester, a prime head of the Popish faction, had commission to receive them: these things are more and more spoken of. Duke de Vanden [Vendosme], the Queen's base brother, for fear of the Cardinall, is here at Court.

RO. BAILLIE.

London, February 28th [1641.]

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

These twentie dayes and above my minde did not serve me to write any thing to yow, not so much for the multitude of affaires, whereof, believe me, I have had no scant ever since I came here, as that I expected everie other week to see our maine busines come to some close, that so a man might have pronounced what was likelie to have been the end of all these commotions; bot because that week does not yet appear, lest you be too long waiting for my letters, I doe now force myself to wryte how things

goes for the present. The Marqueis [of Hamilton] being throughlie reconciled to the English, who not long agoe were little better affected towards him than to the Lieutenant and Canterburie, found it meet to bring some of the chief of them upon the Counsell. The first motion of it was bitterlie rejected by the King; yet the Marqueis, by his wisdom, brought him unto it: so, as I wryt before, seven of the most leading of the Lords, who were malcontent for the misgovernment of the Bishops, were sworne Counsellors: Bristoll, Essex, Bedford, Hertford, Mandaveele, Savill, and Sey. This, for two or three dayes, did please all the world; and to whom was England so much obliged as to the Marqueis, who had brought these men so near the King whom the countrey did most affect? but incontinent fra some of these new Counsellors were found to plead publickly for some delay to Strafford's processe, and to look upon the Scottish affaires not altogether so pleasantlie as they wont, all began to turn their note, that it was rash imprudence so soon to put these men in possession of the honours which some of them wer thought alone to seek. Our Commissioners were deeplie censured for advyseing the Marqueis to promote these men untymoufely, (albeit I heard Lowdown deeplie fwear he never knew of any such motion till it was ended:) They were scandered as if they also had been to be admitted Counsellors of England and bedchamber-men, I mean Rothes and Lowdown: a foolish phansie which was never thought of, let be spoken. The Scotts were everie where said, for all their former zeal, to be so farr broken by the King, that they were willing to passe from the persuit of Canterburie, and the Lieutenant, and Episcopacie in England. Some of our countrey, according to their naturall facultie, were thought to be the inventors and chief spreaders of these dangerous lies. The matter went on so farre, that the Londoners, after the money was collected, refused to give one pennie of it for our armie. Affaires thus standing, our Commissioners presentlie, with some peice of passion, caused Mr. Alexander penn that little quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancie of our zeall against Episcopacie, and the two Incendiaries. This we gave in to the Peers, requireing them with diligence to communicat it to the Parliament. A copie of it fell in the stationer Mr. Butter's hand, who put it to the presse, and so through the city. The citizens were infinitlie weell pleased with it; their fainting courage returned. Bot Bristoll, the Speaker for the English Peers of the treatie, was much displeased with our quarrelling of Episcopacie in

England, and pressed us much to passe from this motion. When we persisted, he gave our paper to the King. To-morrow the King was enraged at it : bot after, by reason, he was a little calmed ; the paper in print being put in hand, not by Bristoll, as the word went, bot by Holland, our good friend, mynding, as we know all, no evill to us. The King was so inflamed as he was never before in his tyme for any other busyness ; for the keeping up of Episcopacie in England, which we strove to have down, is the verie apple of his eye. This furie for some dayes did in nothing relent ; the printer was committed ; the paper was called ane hundred tymes seditious. The King told us we had in justice forfeited our privileges ; our old friends, the new counsellors, spake nothing for us ; our old enemies of the Popish and Episcopall faction sett out their faces ; manie of whom, we never doubted, did joyne with them to maligne us : diverse of our true friends did think us too rash, and though they loved not the Bishops, yet, for the honor of their nation, they would keep them up rather than that we strangers should pull them down. That faction grew in a moment so strong, that in the verie Lower House we were made assured by the most intelligent of our fastest friends, they would be the greater partie. This put us all in some peice of perplexitie : our armie could not subsist without moneys ; such a light accident had put all our enemies on their tiptoes, made fundrie of our seeming friends turn their countenance, and too manie of our true friends faint for fear. All this came justlie upon us. What yow dow there, I know not ; bot we here were fallen half asleep in a deep securitie, dreaming of nothing bot a present obtaining of all our desyres without difficultie. The Commissioners had sent for Argyle to be at the end of the treatie. The Marqueis had written for Lindesey. Amont had gotten a warrand to come up ; bot at once, by post upon post, we desyred all to stay till a new advertisement. By this blast God wakened us ; we fled to our wonted refuge, to draw near to God ; the godlie in the city, in diverse private societies, ran to fasting and praying : by these our old and best weapons, we are beginning to prevaille, praise be to his holie name ! By earnest entreatie, the King was moved to hold in his proclamation, wherein he said, he would call in our printed paper as seditious. We gave in a mollifying explanation of our meaning ; which with the printed paper, I sent home in my last letter to my Ladie Montgomerie. Here we were put in a new pickle : the English Peers were minded to have cause printed our explanation ; this doubtles this rash and

ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before ; so the last evils had been worse than the first. Bot in the end of that explanation, we had professed, that we had yet more to say to the Parliament, according to our instructions, against Episcopacie : so before we had said all out, the King thought meet neither to publish his proclamation nor our explanation. Evill will had we to say out all our minde about Episcopacie, till the English were readie to joyne with us in that greatest of questions ; bot there was no remead ; the King urged that paper. Good Mr. Alexander being somewhat grieved with the event of the former wryte, sett himself with the more diligence to the accurat frameing of the nixt ; and, after some dayes delay, gave out that most dilligat expreffion of our desyres of unitie in the ecclesiastick government in all the King's dominions, which here I send yow. Bristoll was not weell pleased with it, and the King worfe : yet the former furie was past ; neither was there here any provocation ; for our desyre is proponed in great modestie of speech, albeit with a mightie strength of unanfwerable reafones. All that they replied, after some nights advysment, yow may read in their short paper, desiring us to desist, and not to move the Parliament in that matter. The reasons why we cannot acquiesce to their desire bot must have the Parliament's answer, are to be presented in the Treatie to-morrow ; so our paper, we hope, shall goe to the Houses one of thir dayes, who then will be in a prettie readines for it.

As for the English affaires, thus they stand. Yow heard [in] my former the great debate in the Lower House about the Ministers remonstrance, and Cities petition. My Lord Digbie, the Viscount of Falkland, Sir Benjamin Ridiers [Rudyard], as yow may read in their speeches here inclosed, one in print two in wryte, did declaime most acutely, as we could have wished, against the corruptions of Bishops ; bot their conclusion was, the keeping in of a limited Episcopacie. Learned Selden, and a great faction in the House, ran all their way ; yet God carried it against them, that not onlie the Remonstrance, bot also the Cities petition, which required the rooting out of all Episcopacie, should be committed. The Committee mett thryfe a-week in the afternoon ; some sixteen of the Remonstrant ministers attended them. They required satisfaction punctuallie in that head which concerned the government : it seems the complaints against the doctrine, the worship, and other things, were so clear, that they needed no farder probation. The

Ministers, by their Speaker, Dr. Burgesse, gave to the Committee full contentment, and so much the greater by my Lord Digbie and Mr. Selden's frequent opposition; the citizens also made good all the parts of their Petition, which the Committee required to be proven. All this, after long tyme, being done, Mr. Crew, who was in the chair of that Committee, made a favourable report to the House, That they had found the Bishops sole ordination and jurisdiction, their intermedling with secular affairs, their too great rents, and manie other things concerning them, to be true grievances. Here it was where the better syde bestirred themselves, and God strangle did assist them: to propone the rooting out of the Bishops had been by pluralitie of voyces to have established them: they therefore resolved to proceed *ordine resolutivo*, to take down the roof first to come to the walls, and, if God would help, not to stay till they raised the foundation: However to goe on so farr as was possible; leaving, without any legall confirmation, what now they cannot winne to till a better tyme. On Tuesday the 9th, as I remember, they gave them their first wound: after a long debate, at last unanimoſlie, not ten contradicting, the Lower House decreed to move the Higher House, by bill to take from them voyce in parliament. The next day they did the same for the Starr-Chamber, High Commiſſion, Counsell, and all other secular courts. One of these dayes they are to cast down their cathedrall-deanries, and prebendries; also to spoyll them of their usurped ordination and jurisdiction, to erect presbyteries in all the land, and distribute, in ane equall proportion, the rents among all the paroches for preaching ministers. These things being concluded below, as it is expected they shall be unanimoſlie, let Selden and some few others gnash their teeth as they will, all will be cast in one bill, and be given in to the Higher House, where it is hoped it will gett a good hearing. When Episcopacie is made a poor plucked crow, whether our paper, and the Citie's, and many other, will at this tyme gett the neck of it clean thravn off, only God does know. We are somewhat hopefull, and would be more, if more earnest prayers were made to God for that effect. The Bishops, to save the life of their office, hes invented a trick which we trust shall irritat the Lower House the more against them: they have moved the Higher House to appoint a committee for religion, to consider both of innovations, and what of the old is meet to be reformed, consisting of eight or ten Earles, as many Lords, and as many Bishops, with power to the Bishop of Lincolne, who shall sitt

in the chyre of that committee, to summond, against Friday, some of these who are reputed the most able and orthodox divines of the land, to witt, The Primate of Armaugh, Prideaux, Ward, Brommerik [Brownrigg?] Holfwoorth, Featly, Haket, and Westfield; and of the Remonstrants, Twisse, Burgesse, Young our learned countreyman, Whyte, Marshall, [and] Hill, to be present and give their advice. It is expected that this will be a spur to the Commons, not by their accustomed slowness to suffer their committees to be prevented, and so frustrate, by this new devised one.

Bot that which is the great *remora* to all matters is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterburie he is so contemptible that all casts him by out of their thoughts, as a pendicle at the Lieutenant's eare. The charge which the House of Commons gave in to the House of Peers against both, yow have here in print. So great dealing in this long delay of tyme hes been used for Strafford, that himself and his friends became insolentlie confident of his escapeing at least with life: yet their courage is somewhat cooled, beholding, on Saturday last, after long, sharp, and dangerous debaites, the Houses weell near fullie agreed, that on his tryall, both the Houses shall sitt together in the large outer-hall of Westminster: that the Lower House shall sitt there, not as a House, with their Speaker, bot as a Committee, without their Speaker, to remove when they will to their own House; that they shall manage the proceffe and witneses as they find meet; that for matter of fact there shall be no counsell; that in matter of right, when his counsell shall interpret a law against their minde, that in that case they will retire to their House; and being undoubtedlie conjunct makers of lawes with the Peers, they will be also conjunct interpreters of everie contraverted law. Mr. Stroud, the other day, fell on a notion, to which the most did greedilie gryp, that is like to end the longsome debates about Strafford's counsell or pleaders. He told the House, that they had charged Strafford of High Treason; that they had found the articles of the charge treasonable; that they had voyced their witneses depositions to be satisfactorie: so it concerned them to charge as conspirators in the same treason, all who had before, or should thereafter, plead in that cause. If this hold, Strafford's counsell will be rare. This day the carpenters are buffie to sett up the seats for both the Houses; when that is done, the Lieutenant must come to his sentence, and then all affaires will runn. When at once the head of Strafford and the root of Episcopacie are strokin

at, there is some blind feares that the King, not being yet able to abide it, may yet hazard the breaking up of the Parliament. The Irish armie is not like to dissolve. Worcester will not come to the Parliament, pretending sickness. Herbert, his sone, is much at Court; the papists in Wales follows him much. The proclamation against papists, as yow may read it in print, is sharp enough, yet it is feared they are bot too strong, and too weell armed. The King's armie in Yorke is thought to be in some better posture than before. Some surmises divisions in Scotland. The noise of the Queen's voyage to France is dilled downe; no moneys for her furniture will be gottin in haste; and the Cardinall hes no will of her Mother. All these things, if we be not mad, will set us on our watch. God, in his meer mercie, must end what he hes begun, or yet all may goe verie quicklie to a horrible confusion: never was tears and prayers more seasonable and more necessar. We were not weell pleased with the manner, albeit exceeding weell with the matter, that the Lower House should have joyned with the King and the Higher House, to have required us to give in all the articles of our last demand together. We would be most gladlie at an end; yet, if we were readie to goe, as we cannot be in haste, they know and proclaime that they were undone; yet the unstabilitie and fearfullness, and cleaving to their moneys of too many of them, will make us trust them lesse, and see the more to our own affaires. The index of our last demand, and all that yet is past upon it, yow have here. When my Lord Eglington hes perused them, I know his Lordship will communicat all, both wryte and print, to yow.

The Marqueis, whatever he hes been, yet now is the best instrument we have to keep the King's minde in some tollerable temper; bot malice and envy will not let him goe on to do in both nations all good service in quiet. The Lieutenant's friends finding it his apparent good to have the Marqueis joyned with him in danger, laboured to have him accused of treason also. The Popish-Episcopal faction seeing him evidentlie unite with the countrey to draw the King from them, did co-operate with all their power; bot the articles were so frivolous which they could invent against him, and his favourers in both Houses so many and mightie, that he was glad and desyreous to have that accusation discussed; bot the intenders of it grew so faint, that their purpose seems now to be evanished. Yet behold he fell in a greater danger: by his friends in the Houses he had obtained, for the King's pleasure, some delay

of tyme for Strafford's answer; by this they made the King believe that his power in both the Houses was so great, as it was easie for him, if he would endeavour it, to gett Strafford's life saved. They wrought it so, that if he denyed to deall for Strafford he should offend the King; if he assayed to deall farder for him, he should lose the Parliament and us all. Yet it is lyke the man, in his great wisdom, will gett both the King and the Parliament kept, and let Strafford goe where he deserves.

All the English ministers of Holland, who are for New-England way, are now here: how strong their party will be here, it is diverselie reported; they are all in good termes with us: Our only considerable difference will be about the jurisdiction of Synods and Presbyteries. As for Brownists, and Separatists of many kynds, here they mislike them weell near as much as we: of these there is no considerable partie. Anent private meetings, we know here no difference we have with anie: Our questions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutuall satisfaction, if we were ridd of Bishops; and till then, we have agreed to speak nothing of any thing wherein we differ. Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Baroues [Burroughs], Mr. Simonds, have all written verie gracious treatises of sanctification, which I minde to bring with me; all of them are learned, discreet, and zealous men, weell seen in cases of conscience. It were all the pities in the world that wee and they should differ in anie thing, especiallie in that one, which albeit verie small in speculation, yet in practise of verie hudge consequence: for, make me everie congregation ane absolute and independent Church, over which Presbyteries and Generall Assemblies have no power of censure, bot onlie of charitable admonition, my witt sees not how incontinent a Nationall Church should not fall into unspeakable confusions, as I am confident the goodness of God will never permit so gracious men to be the occasions of, let be the authors.

How matters goe abroad, you may see in the printed Gazets I send. The Portugall Ambassador here getts no audience; he is labouring privilie for it: if he cannot obtain it, he goes for Holland, whither onlie he gives out he is directed, and comes into England alone by wind and weather. The Hollanders hes a prettie navie, with men and munition, readie for Lisbon. The Duke of Lorrain hes been now some weeks in Paris, fullie reconciled with the French King; for Lorrain, they say, he must be content with Auverne, and some other lands in the heart of France, where he shall not

be able to sturre : bot to make all fure, the King keeps his first wife from him, the heretrix of Lorrain, to whom he mindes to be heir, letting the Duke enjoy his second wife, which he did marrie in the Emperour's service, when the other did stay behind him in France. The King of France, as yow may see in the Gazet, hes gotten a Frenchman governor of Brisack ; by this meane all Bernard of Weymar's conquieses in Alsatia, are joyned with Lorrain to his crown. The fair Spanishe province of Catilonia hes taken him not only for their protector, but for their true King. He is like, by his too great growth, to draw on himself the fear and invy which before was peculiar to Spaine. This is the reason why Holland, jealous of the French greatness, are so earnest for allyance with England. Every other week the young Prince of Orange is here expected with his royall and very pompuous traine. The Palatine was bot very drylie welcomed at his first comeing : the King had written to him not to come so soone, bot the letters misfled him ; yet, now the King begins to speak of his help.

This is all comes in my minde for the present. The Treatie is continued to the midst of Aprill : it seemes ere then all will be closed that concerns us : I will assay to be dismissed before. I trust yow will not fail to continue your care for my flock ; I thank yow all, Dear Brethren, for your bygone assistance. I promise, by God's grace, if I were at home to give to every one of yow the lyke assistance on occasion. The Lord be with yow all. Yow must not fail, as ye love the glory of God, and the weelfare of the Church and State in all the King's dominions, both in your own dayes and for after generations, to stirr up your own soules, and these of your flocks, to earnest supplications ; for all now is in ane apparent way of prospering as we could wish ; and yet there are secret ways in hand, more than we know, and will speak of, to undo all. Bot there is a God who hes done great things for us, and will triumph over the devill, and all the wickedness of men be who they will : Let us only have a conscience that, come what will, may comfort with the sweet remembrance of our endeavours to doe our duty, and to call upon his name for the weelfare of Sion.

Your Brother and servant,

R. BAILLIE.

London, Mononday March 15th [1641.]

Our post hes stayed beyond our expectation. After long delay, all the answer the Peers gave to our long paper of Episcopacie, was a desyre not to give it in to the Parliament: to this their paper you see our replie. At last, after manie passionat words from Bristoll, we were advysed it wes our good to lay by our paper of Episcopacie till Strafford's busines was ended; and so we have done. The seats and lofts, or, as they call them, the scaffolds of Westminster-hall, are now readie. Mononday is the first day of Strafford's cause; some thinks his proceffe will be short: you shall know with the nixt. To mollifie the King, they have given him, the other day, the tunnadge and poundage for the nixt three yeares, and some three subsidies, which, with the former, makes nyne. The stop of trade here, through men's unwillingness to venture these three or four yeares bygone, hes made this people much poorer than ordinaire: they will no wayes be able to beare their burden if the Cathedralls fall not. On the Committee for religion in the Higher House, are all the best Lords: we are made to hope, that against the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good meane of undoeing the Bishops. The Portugall Ambassador is over to Holland; one expresse for England is landed: after long debate at the Councill-table, it is resolved he shall have audience, especiallie since the King of Spaine did receive the Bavarian Ambassadors, as of the Prince Elector Palatine, for all that Bristoll, then in Spain, could say to the contrair, bot most of all because the Portugall offers libertie of religion, and other fair conditions, to the English merchants. They are speaking of Sir Thomas Roe going to Ratisbone yet once from the King. They wryte that Burgundie hes sent to Parise, to treat for their subjection to the Crowne of France.

Fryday, 19th [of March, 1641.]

[LETTER TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE, CONTAINING A JOURNAL
OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD'S TRIAL.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Since, much beyde my expectation, my stay here is continued, my letters to yow would have been more frequent, except I had been waiting to have seen busines come at last towards some finall

conclusion, or at least to such a poynt that a man might have made some certain conjecture when and in what fashion the end was likeliest to be; but this, after so long expectation, not yet being possible, I must leave it to farder tyme, and give yow some accompt of what is past since my last, about the 18th of March.

Yow heard of our ingyving the Index of all the articles of our last demand, and of our earnest desyre to have the Treatie concluded so soon as they could wish. For some dayes there was hot contestes betwixt our Commissioners and my Lord of Bristoll for our paper of Episcopacie; he requiringe we would passe it by, or else draw it short to a simple proposition without reasons, so that it behooved us to have in that paper to the Houses of Parliament, as it stood for our exoneration before God and man, and that we would acquiesce to the Parliament's answer therein, whatever it might be. At last, being advertised that the present giving in of that paper, might move division in both Houses, betwixt these who were diverslie affected towards Episcopacie, and that any division among them, till Strafford's processe were closed, might prove unhappie; we were contented to lay by for a time that article till Strafford's affair were over, and go on in the rest of our articles concerning our last demand: and, to the end we might make good our word of our desire to be at ane end, the Commissioners divided the articles among them, and before the end of March had all reddie. We gave all in before any answer could be gotten to any one of them. I have sent all to yow here in some four or five sheets of paper. Since, we have been pressing them from tyme to tyme to give us answers, who before urged us to give in our propositions; but to this day no answer satisfactorie to one poynt can be obtained. The world now seeth that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constant attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the cause; and truelie it is a great part of the reason why our businesse, and all other else, have been so long suspended. Among manie moe, I have been ane assiduous assistant of that nation, and therefore I will offer to give you some accompt of a part I have heard and seen in that most notable processe.

Westminster Hall is a roome as long as broad if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supponing the pillars wer removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage like to that prepared for the Assemblie of Glasgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole House from wall to wall, and of the length more than a thrid part. At the north end was set a

throne for the King, and a chayre for the Prince ; before it lay a large wooll-feck, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earle of Arundaill ; beneath it lay two other fecks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancerie, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or fyve Clerks of the Parliament in their black gouns ; round about these some fumes covered with green freefe, whereupon the Earles and Lords did sitt in their red robes, of that same fashion, lyned with the same whyte ermin skinnes, as yow see the robes of our Lords when they ryde in Parliament ; the Lords on their right sleeve having two barres of whyte skinnes, the Viscounts two and ane half, the Earles three, the Marquefs of Wincester three and ane half. England hath no more Marqueffes : and he bot one late upstart of creature of Queen Elizabeth's. Hamilton goes here bot among the Earles, and that a late one. Dukes, they have none in Parliament : York, Richmond, and Buckinghame are but boyes ; Lennox goeth among the late Earles. Behinde the formes where the Lords sitt, there is a barr covered with green : at the one end standeth the Committee of eight or ten gentlemen, appoynted by the House of Commons to pursue ; at the midst there is a little dask, where the prisoner Strafford stands and sits as he pleaseth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is a dask, for Strafford's four secretars, who carries his papers and assists him in writing and reading ; at their side is a voyd for witneses to stand ; and behinde them a long dask at the wall of the room for Strafford's counsell-at-law, some five or six able lawers, who were [not] permitted to dispuitt in matter of fact, bot questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the House below on the floore ; the same that is used dailie in the Higher House. Upon the two sides of the House, east and west, there arose a stage of eleven ranks of formes, the highest touching almost the roof ; everie one of these formes went from the one end of the roome to the other, and contained about fortie men ; the two highest were divided from the rest by a rail, and a rail cutted off at everie end some featts. The gentlemen of the Lower House did sitt within the raile, others without. All the doores were kept verie straitlie with guards ; we alwayes behooved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughbie Earle of Lindefay, Lord Chamberland of England, (Pembroke is Chamberland of the Court,) ordered the House, with great difficultie. James Maxwell, Black-Rod, was great usher ;

a number of other fervant gentlemen and knights affifted. By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The Houfe was full dailie before feven ; againft eight the Earle of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied with the Lieutenant and a guard of mufqueteers and halberders. The Lords, in their robes, were fett about eight ; the King was ufualle halfe ane howre before them : he came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action ; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he fpeaks what he will, bot no other fpeaks in his prefence. At the back of the throne, there was two roomes on the two fydes ; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles fitt ; in the other, the King, the Queen, Princeffe Mary, the Prince Elector, and fome Court ladies ; the tirlies, that made them to be fecret, the King brake down with his own hands ; fo they fatt in the eye of all, bot little more regarded than if they had been abfent ; for the Lords fatt all covered ; thefe of the Lower Houfe, and all other except the French noblemen, fatt difcovered when the Lords came, not elfe. A number of ladies wes in boxes, above the railes, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the moft glorious Affembly the Ifle could afford ; yet the gravitie not fuch as I expected ; oft great clamour without about the doores ; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clattered ; the Lower Houfe men too loud clattering ; after ten houres, much publict eating, not onlie of confections, bot of flefh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thicke from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye ; yea, manie but turned their back, and lett water goe through the formes they fatt on : there was no outgoing to returne ; and oft the fitting was till two, or three, or four a'clock.

1. The firft Seffion was on Mononday the 22d of March. All being fett, as I have faid, the Prince in his robes on a little chyre at the fyde of the throne, the Chamberland and Black-Rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford ; he was alwayes in the fame fute of black, as in doole. At the entrie he gave a low courtesie, proceeding a little, he gave a fecond, when he came to his dask a third, then at the barr, the fore-face of his dask, he kneeled : ryfing quicklie, he faluted both fydes of the Houfes, and then fatt down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hatts to him : this was his dailie carriage. My Lord Steward, in a fentence or two, fhew

that the Houfe of Commons had accufed the Earle of Strafford of High Treafon, that he was there to anfuer; that they might manadge their evidence as they thought meet. They defyred one of the clerks to read their impeachment. I fent yow long agoe the printed copie. The firft nine articles, being bot generalities, were paf; the twentie-eight of the farder impeachment wer all read. The clerk's voyce was fmall, and after the midft, being broken, was not heard by manie. My Lord of Strafford was, in his anfwer, verie large, accurat, and eloquent; confifting of a preamble, wherein he fhew, of eight or nine articles, the good fervice he had done to the Crowne and countrey dureing the tyme of his employment, and of particular anfwers to the twentie-eight articles of the charge. The reading of it took up large three houres. His friends was fo wary that they made three clerks read by turnes, that all might hear. I marked that he did ftryve to caft all the blame upon Sir Harie Vaine; alfo that the Irifh armie was to land at the Troon, and to goe firft to Aire; and that they had fpyes in our armie before Newburne, who told them our great ftraits for want of victuall; alfo that he laboured to clear Traquair of the caufe of the laft warre, as if Traquair had onlie made a narration according to a prior difcourfe, which in the Privie Councill was made by a noble and great perfonadge; whether the Marquis, or the Earle Holland, or who elfe, we know not: onlie he diffembled, that that prior difcourfe, made by whomfoever, was taken out of information from Scotland, which are to be feen in tyme and place. After all, Strafford craved leave to fpeak; bot the day being fo far fpent, to two or three a'clock, he was refused, and the Lord Steward⁽⁶⁾ adjourned the Houfe till the morrow at eight of cloak.

2. The fecond Seflion on Tuefday 23d. The King and Queen, and all, being fett as the day before, Mr. Pym had a long and eloquent oration, onlie againft the preamble of his anfwer, wherein he laboured to fhew, that all thefe meritorious acts whereof Strafford did glorie, were nothing but difservices; that no praife of making good lawes in Ireland could be due to him, who made his own will above all law; the Parliaments he had kepted there, though they were more in number than that land had feen in fiftie

(6) In the following Journal of the Earl of Strafford's Trial, it has not been thought neceffary to retain the peculiar orthography of Baillie's amanuensis, in regard to many of the names mentioned; fuch, for instance, as Lord Stewart, Glen, Queim, Lofties, Bramble, &c. for the Lord High Steward, Glyn, Gwyn, Loftus, Bramhall, &c.

years before him, yet they were no benefite, since Parliamencie freedom was suppressed in them. This was proven by a number of witnesses. Sir John Clotworthy, my Lord Ranulagh, and others, being called, came to the barr, kissed the book, presented to them by one of the Clerks of the Parliament; deposed that sundrie who had voyced or reasoned against bills presented by the Deputie in Parliament, were threatened by him, or his inteer friend Sir George Ratcliffe. The first witness, Sir Pierce Crosbie, who, for voycing against the bill of powder, had been by Strafford cast out of the Councill, was excepted against, as one who pretended to be wronged and grieved. The Lords adjourned his deposition till the morrow; at which tyme they decerned, that although Sir Pierce had been degraded, and was prisoned by Strafford, and was lyable to answer for breaking of ward, and fleeing out of the land, yet treason being the King's cause, and he acquireing no benefite to himself by his testimonie, his deposition should be received, bot with consideration. This was a precedent; so that thereafter no exception of wrongs, either received or alleadged, did sett any witness. What he bragged, of advanceing the King's rent, and making it sufficient to defray the King's ordinar expence in Ireland, which before him was not; of his advancing the customes; of benefiteing the Church; all this by witnesses was proven to be naught; that, long before his coming, no monie came out of the English Treasurie for the Irish affaires after the year 1621, except seven thousand pound a-year for maintainance of some shipping on the Irish coast, which yet was defrayed by the Irish rent or contribution the year before his over-coming. No marvell he had payed ane hundred thousand pound that the King was aughtin there, and left in the Treasurie ane other hundred thousand pound; for he had gotten first six subsidies, and then four subsidies, notwithstanding the King in Ireland was for the present in great debt; that he had advanced the customes from two to fifteen thousand pound a-year, bot for more gain to himself than to the King; that he [had] taken out of the Treasurie sundrie great sommes of money for his own use; that he advanced the Church-rents indeed, bot that he did it onlie to please Canterburie; that he did it against law, that rapine of men's estates was no sacrifice pleasant to God; that his care of the Church might be seen in the persons whom he had advanced, Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn, my Lord Cork's under-coatchman; that how weell law and justice was administred by him, the Remonstrance of the Irish Parliament did declare, which they required

to be read as a testimonie of his great injustice. He excepted, that he was not charged with their remonstrance; that it was to prove a charge by a charge; that there was a correspondence and conspiracie betuixt these of Ireland and these of England against him. Maynard pressed, that the Remonstrance might be read, not as a charge, bot as a publick testimonie of his injustice, to contradict what he said in his preamble of his justice in Ireland: He craved justice in name of all the Commons of England, who were sclandred as conspirators by my Lord of Strafford. For this rashness, Strafford on his knees craved pardon, and declared on his oath, though few believed him, that he understood none in the Honourable House of Commons, either English or Irish, bot some of both kingdomes, not members of Parliament. The Lords and the gentlemen of the House of Commons desyre to have that Remonstrance read reasonable. So when one at the barr had kissed the book, which is the order of their oath, and attested the present paper to be a true copie, which was ever done in all the papers that were read, one of the clerks did read it: by hearing of this Remonstrance, Strafford losed much of his reputation.

When Pym had ended, the Earle required tyme, if it were bot to the morrow, to answer so heavie charges, manie whereof was new. After debate *pro* and *contra*, one of the Lords spake of the adjourning their house, and pressed their priviledge, that at the motion of any one Lord the House behooved to be adjourned; so the Lords did all retire to their own House above, and debated among themselves the questioun for a large half-houre. During their absence, though in the eye of the King, all fell in clattering, walking, eating, toying; bot Strafford, in the midst of all the noise, was serious with his Secretars, conferring their notes and wryting. The Lords returned, the Steward pronounced their interloquutor, That the matters spoken being all of fact, and that onlie in answer to his own preamble, he should make ane answer without any delay. So, without signe of repining, the Earle answered something to all had been said; instanced some of his good lawes; made some appologie for Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn; read a list of good divynes which he had sent for from England, and had provided weell; confessed he had taken out of the Treasurie fifteen thousand pound, wherewith he had bought to the King lands of two thousand pound rent; also, that he had borrowed from the Thesaurer twentie-four thousand pound, which was now repayed: bot for that he produced a warrand under the King's hand to take

out of the Treasurie fortie thousand pound for setting up a magazine of tobacco. It was thought that letter was bot latelie purchased. He shew, he had a greater heart than to make my Lord of Canterburie's pleasure the end of his actions; that he took his present afflictions from God for his other sins; that he was confident to take off the evill opinion which the Honourable House of Commons had conceived of him. 'He protested, he was the same man [he was] before when he was one of their number, and well respected among them. Mr. Pym replied shortlie and weell, referring the generalls to be proven by particulars, as they fell in the charge to be handled.'

3. Wednesday 24th. Mr. Maynard handled the first of the twentie-eight articles. By way of preface, he resumed, to make Strafford odious, the chief of the things spoken the former day, pressing the grievousness of his crime, to bring in, by force of armes, in England and Ireland, ane arbitrarie government.' The Lower House had appointed some eight of their number in a Committee to stand at the barr and plead by turne, as they thought meet to divide the articles.' On the first, fundrie sworn witnesses, did depone, his threatening to obtaine ane larger power to punish than was before; also, that in his new commission and instructions were insert clauses of a power of the Chancerie and Starr Chamber, whereby he and his colleagues were enabled to decyde any kinde of causes otherwayes than the law did provyde, which no president of Yorke before had ever attempted. Besyde, that he had obtained ane article in his instructions, to hinder prohibitions or appeals from his Court to any other, and had committed fundrie for bringing of prohibitions, even before these instructions were obtained. In his answer, he required permission, to retire a little to ane other roome, for collecting of himself, and better preparation to answer every article: this was refused. He proved, he was in Ireland, or at least not in York, after the tyme they alleadged these instructions were purchased. It was replied, they pressed, and had proven the matter, whatever became of the precise circumstance of tyme: it was alyke whether he or his deputies did execute ane illegall commission obtained by him. He made ane generall answer, and almost in every article repeated it; though the poynt alleadged were proven, yet it would be bot a misdemeanour; that ane hundred misdemeanours would not make one felonie, and ane hundred felonies not one treason, being a crime of a diverse kinde and nature. It was also often answered, that his treason was the subver-

fion of all the fundamentall lawes, and introducing ane arbitrarie and tyrannick government ; that everie article was bot ane evidence of his words and deeds to evince this his purpose and endeavour. He alleadged, that what was charged in the first article, was bot ane enlargement of his own jurisdiction ; and this in a judge was a very chafte ambition. It were tedious to report all their quick passages.

The third article, That he would make the King's little finger heavier than the loynes of the law, this was proven by fundrie. Among other, Sir David Fowles, whom he had cruſhed, came to depone. He excepted againſt him as one who had a quarrell againſt him. Maynard produced his own decree, ſubſcryved by his own hand, That whereas Sir David had brought before him the ſame exception againſt a witneſs, he had decerned, that a witneſs for the King and Commonwealth behooved to be receaved, notwithstanding any private quarrells. When he ſaw his own hand, he ſaid no more, bot, in a jeſting way, Yow are wyſer, my Lord, than to be ruled by any of my actions as paterns. For the matter, he proteſted, he had ſpoken the clean contrare : that they had found the little finger of the law heavier than the loynes of the King ; ſpeaking to theſe who, by law, and pleading againſt the ſhip-moneys, had ſpent much more than the King had required of them :—for this he produced Sir William Pennyman for a witneſs, who both here, and manie tymes elſe, deponed poynt blank all he requyred. This knight was one of the Lower Houſe. Mr. Maynard deſyred him to be poſed, (for no man there did ſpeak to any other, bot all the ſpeech was directed to my Lord Steward : all the queſtions any requyred to be aſked, were aſked all by him onlie :) Maynard requyred Sir William to be poſed, when, and at what tyme, he was brought to the remembrance of theſe words of my Lord Strafford's ? All of us thought it a verie needleſs motion. Sir William answered, Since the firſt ſpeaking of them they were in his memorie, bot he called them moſt to remembrance ſince my Lord Strafford was charged with them. Maynard preſentlie caught him, That he behoved to be anſwerable to the Houſe for neglect of dutie, not being only ſilent, bot voyceing with the reſt to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free. There aroſe with the word ſo great an hiſſing in the Houſe, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping. Strafford proteſted, he would rather committ himſelf to the mercie of God alone, giving over to uſe anie witneſs in his

defence, before anie, for witneffing the truth in his behalf, should incur anie danger or disgrace.

4. Thursday the 25th of March, the first day of the year in England, Maynard handled the third article, shew, that Ireland by diverse laws had all the priviledges of Magna Charta, and was governed by the common law in England, being for the most part English blood; yet that my Lord Strafford had avowed them to be a conquered nation, whom the King might use as he pleased, and that the chartours of Dubline were annuled; notwithstanding that the Irish Commissioners had obtained, in the year 1621, instructions from King James to Deputie Falkland, bearing the government to be by the common law, and the Deputie or Council should not meddle with anie actions of inheritance, except these that concerned the Church, or the first plantation, or which were recommended from the Council of England. My Lord Cork was first called to depone. Strafford excepted, and required ane information against him to be read: bot being a councillor in Ireland, he was received, and no information against him was heard. He and other three or four deponed clearlie the words of the article; adding, that Strafford had repeated them in the face of both Houses of Parliament; saying farder, that the instructions were drawn from King James by narrow-hearted petitioners who did not understand the rules of government.

My Lord Strafford required farder to answer to things objected the former day; bot was refused. He required permission to retire and advyse about the present objections; bot all which could be obtained was a little tyme's advysemēt in the place he was in. So hereafter it was Strafford's constant custome, after the end of his adversaries speech, to petition for tyme of recollection; and, obtaining it, to sitt down with his back to the Lords, and most diligently to read his notes, and wryte answers, he and his secretars, for ane halfe hour, in the midst of a great noise and confusion, which continowed ever till he arose againe to speak. He prefaced the misfortune of the most of his predecessors the Deputies of Ireland, who, after their best services, have fallen into publick challenges; also the great infirmitie of his body, and greater of his spirit; that he wished earnestlie to see ane end of this cause; that were it not for the cause of his motherless children, he rather would losse his life, than with such a longsome and bitter toyle in his spirit to defend it; that the article, though proven, was not treasonable; that words, according to the statute of Edward the Sixth, not

challenged in 30 dayes after their speaking, were no treason; that the conquest of Ireland, and power to the first conquerors to impose lawes, was not doubtfull; that he had spoken this of King Charles; that he had remembered, in the beginning of the Parliament, this antient condition of that kingdome, to amplify so much the more their present happiness under the legall reign of King Charles that the chartours of Dublin were truelie faultie in manie things, and prejudiciall both to the Crowne, to the Religion, and wealth of the land, and City itself, yet that he had never questioned them. Maynard replied to all *ex tempore* verie weell: I did marvell much at first of their memories, that could answer and reply to so manie large alleadgences, without the missing of anie one poynt; bot I marked, that both the Lieutenant when they spake, and they when he spake, did wryte their notes, and in their speeches did look on these papers; yea, the most of the Lords and Lower House did wryte much dailie, and none more than the King. That is strange in this great judicatorie, that nothing at all is dyted, bot in a continued speech all spoken, and the clerks take what they can; so that in the pronouncing of the sentences, the Judges who wants their own wryte-notes, hath much to doe in their memorie. So long as Maynard was principall speaker, Mr. Glyn lay at the wait, and ufwallie observed some one thing or other, and uttered it so pertinentlie, that six or seven tymes in end he gott great applause by the whole House.

5. Fryday 26th. Mr. Glyn handled the fourth article, of decideing at the Councill-table causes of inheritance, as that of my Lord of Cork's, upon paper petitions, and equalling Acts of Councill to Acts of Parliament. The day before, Mr. Glyn had begun to discourse on the article, and called my Lord Ranulagh, a privie counsellor of Ireland, to depone. Strafford requyred he might be interrogat, Whether or not it was the custome of Deputies before him, to decide such causes at the Councill-table? and whether or not it was not his oune ufwall practice, in Connaught, where he was president, on paper petitions to decide causes? Glyn excepted, that he should not be posed with such questions, being self accusations. When this grew to ane hot contest, and the House was goinge to adjourn, the Lower House wes content to referr all to the morrow. So at the beginning, my Lord Steward shew the Lords opinions, which was allwayes a decree, that my Lord Ranulagh should depone his knowledge of the practice of the Deputie at Councill and superiour judicatories, bot should not be

questioned anent the practise of inferiour judicatories and his oune. My Lord Cork, the richest by farr of the King's subjects, satt among the Lords with his hat on dailie, bot in his black cloak : he spake softlie, bot evill ; bot witnessed fullie and to a word, as Strafford told him after. All this was in the charge : other three also did so.

Strafford, after his half houres delay, came to his answer, regrated (as oft before and after) the want of tyme to bring his papers and witnesses out of Ireland : yet, as Glyn could weell tell, there was few, either men or papers, he could have use of, bot they were alwayes, by one good luck or other, readie at the barr. He requyred a certificat to be redd from the Councill-table of Ireland ; bot was refused, because none could attest on oath the truth of the copie ; bot he obtained the reading of ane order of the Lower House in Ireland, for seasing on his papers, on his tobacco, and the most of the goods he had there, as if he had been already condemned traitor. Of this outrage he complained tragicallie ; bot Glyn shew, that the matter belonged nothing to the purpose in hand, and that there had been no more done, bot some of his goods seased for securitie of great sounes, whereof he and his officers was indebted to the Crowne. He triumphed, that by accident he had gotten a certificat that morning, that Gwyn, the coachman-vicar was Mr. of Arts, and required it to be read ; bot was rejected as impertinent. The Councill-table's order against my Lord Cork was read : It proved no more, bot that the Councill had joyned with him in that, as in manie other illegall actiones. He shew, that the Councill of Ireland had much more power than the Councill of England ; that it was necessarie to be so, for the governing of that barbarous and unquiet people. He fell out here in a daintie discourse of keeping the King's prerogative and priviledges of the people in ane equall ballance ; shew, that however King James's instructions had restricted the power of the Councill of Ireland in manie things, yet that expresse the determination of ecclesiastick possessions, such as these of my Lord of Cork was, remained in their power. For his words magnifying the Councill Acts too much, they were proven, he said, bot by one witness : as for Sir Pierce Crosbie, he valued not his testimonie ; he had never regarded him so much as to speak to him at table so familiarlie : for this he called my Lord Castlehaven, who, at the tyme alleadged, was at the table, to witness. He deponed, that some such thing was spoken at that tyme to Crosbie by Strafford.

He vilified also the testimonie of my Lord Killmallock against him ; because he had sworne that Ratcliffe was his echo, a thing impossible. My Lord Digbie made a grave replie to this, that the oath of a witnes is not to be applyed to every feverall word of his deposition ; that the words challenged might have a good and true sence. Strafford did extenuate his own words ; that he might have said ane Act of Councill was binding, to witt, in cases not provyded for by Parliament, and to the tyme a Parliament should provyde. Glyn and Maynard replied sharplie, that his desigine was weell manifested by these his words, to bring in ane arbitrarie government without law ; and how much he scorned lawes, they called for another witnes to depone. This he vehementlie opposed, that no reserved witnes, after the examination was closed, should be heard. They alleadged the practife in all courts, to call for witnesses, ever while the probation of the charge was closed ; that all the articles were bot ane and the same charge ; besyde, that he, in his answer, had brought new matter, which they behoved to refute by these witnesses. Bristoll required the adjourning the House ; the Lords, after half ane houre's absence in their own House, returned, and found it reasonable that their witness ought and should be heard. He deponed, that when the Lower House of the Irish Parliament had opposed the Deputie's bill concerning the felling of powder, he said, he did not regard it ; for he would make ane Act of Councill thereanent, which should be as binding as ane Act of Parliament. It were tedious to sett down what passed daylie, almost from eight to three ; I onlie poynt at some principall things, which I brought away on my memory, without any wryting.

6. Saturday, the 6th Session, 27th of March, the day of Coronation : We were deived all day with the ringing of bells. The Lords that day waited half ane hour, and the King a whole [hour], before Strafford came : at last he came, and excused his delay with the contrarietie both of wind and tyde. Glyn fell on the fifth article, his practifeing of his arbitrarie government according to his word ; his sentenceing a peer of the land, my Lord Montnorris, to death ; his hanging of a fouldiour in Dubline, by martiall law, in a councill of war. My Lord Montnorris was called to depone : for all Strafford his exception, yet the cause of treason being the King's, and having no gaine by his testimonie, was admitted. He made a long and pitifull narration of Strafford's oppression : That being at table with my Lord Moore and my Lord Loftus, discourse falling

in concerning the Deputie's scutching of a gentleman, with a rod, of his name, and of the gentleman's treading by accident on the Deputie's guttie toes, it was alleadged he had said, that man had a brother in England who would not be content with such a revenge for such an affront; that of these words spoken in Aprile, he heard nought to September, wher one night he receaveth from a messenger a warrand to be at Councill to-morrow in the Castle chamber: when he came there, he inquired of other Councillors the reason of the meeting, bot none could tell him. When the Deputie came, he shew, he had called the Councill of Warre to take order with my Lord Montnorris, one of the crouners of the armie, for his mutinous words against him the Generall; that then he arose, and stood at the table-end; thereafter the King's letter to the Councill, to see the Deputie repaired in the dangerous wrong he heard was done him by my Lord Montnorris, was read; at the reading whereof, he said he fell on his knees much amazed. Being called to answer, he requyred a copie of his charge, some tyme to advyse, and counsell to plead for him. All these was refused, and he instantlie requyred to confesse his words; or, if he denyed them, he had my Lord Moore's and my Lord Loftus's deposition, subscribed, to convince him. He was readie to have sworn that he had not spoken the alleadged words; bot having no tyme granted, he would neither confesse nor deny, and so he was removed. The Deputie required present sentence. Moore and Loftus deponed; he was found to have offended against two articles of discipline, the one importing banishment, the other death. Manie inclyned to make him culpable of the first; bot the Deputie urged both or neither: so he is called in, the sentence of death pronounced against him, the Deputie promyseing nothing shall aile his life; bot in the mean tyme committeth him to close prison, wherewith in a few dayes, with grief and displeasour, he fell in danger of present death. Upon the physitian's oath, he is permitted to goe to his owne house; bot so soon as he recovers, he is committed again; he is divested of four eminent places he possessed in the state; his wife most hardlie could escape to England to compleane to the King: when she had gotten the King's letter for her husband's deliverie, and on her knees in the streets had supplicat the Deputie in that behalfe, nothing could be obtained till he had subscribed the justice of the sentence against him: this for a long tyme refuseing, at last he subscribed the forme was sent him, without reading it, and so came out of prison. The most of all

this was witnessed by my Lord Ranulagh, and my Lord Dillon, privie counsellors.

The other part of the article, his executing one Tho. Denwitt, who after a long want of pay, craving it from his captain, was bidden be gone to the gallows; he went his way, bot was brought back, and said to have stollen ane quarter of beefe: for this he is sentenced to die; and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputie's lady to be earnest for his life, yet, without mercie, he was execute.

In his answer, Strafford alleadged, that martiall law was in use in Ireland, albeit not in England; that his commission carried him to use it; that he had put in no other article for mutineers, than my Lord Wilmott had done before him; that in my Lord Arundall's articles the last year, and in my Lord Northumberland's this year, were the same clauses; that for example it were necessary that fugitives and thieves should die; that in that Council his voice was bot one. As concerning my Lord Montnorris, he alleadged the confession of his fault under his own hand; that his mutinous words were dangerous, the armie being on foot, and in motion: the King's letter for his punishment was read; that his censure concerned not him, he had no voice into it; the Council's letter to the King was read; that no evill was done to him, and nothing intended bot the amendment of his verie loose tongue: if the gentlemen of the Commons House intended no more bot the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartilie give them thanks; that his not denying a share of that sentence, was not ane confession of his voicing in it, or his procureing of it, bot his honour repaired thereby; that my Lady Montnorris courtesie was to him above all measure displeasing; that the King intended him not pardon till he should reallie acknowledge his oversight.

To all this Maynard and Glyn made a satisfactory reply, That martiall law had no more place in Ireland nor in England; that the benefite of Magna Charta, ordaining no man to be sentenced to death bot by a jurie, was common alyke to both. They required my Lord Loftus, late Chancellor, who fourtie yeares together had been a provest-martiall, in what cases he had used martiall-law? Strafford opposed much the hearing of supplementall witnesses: his great friend, Clair, Bristoll, and Savill, did dispute so much for that, that the House was almost adjourned upon it; bot my Lord Steward pressed the other dayes decree, that when the defendant, in his answer, furnished new matter, the accuser should have libertie

upon it to examine new witnesſes. So Loftus teſtified he had never uſed martiall law, bot upon manifeſt rebels ; and that my Lord Falkland's inſtructions carried expreſſie the caſes of warre and rebellions. My Lord Ranulagh witneſſed, that the armie was no more on foot or motion than it wont to be ; that alone four companies of foot, and two troupes of horſes were now and then training at Dublin. They preſſed that no danger ſhould come by words ſix moneths after they were ſpoken ; that the King's letter was procured by Strafford ; that he was the procurer and urger of the ſentence ; that though he voyced not, bot ſatt diſcovered, yet he did not remove with my Lord Montnorris ; that the Councill's letter to the King, makes him the chief author of that judgement ; that the King required onlie reparation ; that the death of a Peer was too much for the ſpeaking of the treading upon his toes ; that ane illegall commiſſion ſhould not be taken from the King. Finding the unexpected length of the proceſſe, they ſhew their purpoſe to omitt ſome articles for giving of tyme. Strafford reſuſed to conſent, unleſs they forewarned him of the article they were to fall upon two nights before. They ſhew it was reaſonable he ſhould be readie always to anſwer on all ; bot however not obliedged they would ever forewarn him a night before, of the articles the day following to be handled.

7. Mononday 29th. Glyn handled the fixth article, the diſpoſſeſſing of my Lord Montnorris of a portion of land, upon Raſton's paper petition. We did all think that half ane hour would eaſilie have diſcuſſed that little article, but it ſpent all that day. Raſton's petition was read, the decreet thereupon ; witneſſes were heard for Montnorris poſſeſſion, and for his diſpoſſeſſion without farder law. They profeſſed they would not examine the equitie nor the inequitie of the matter, bot onlie the forme of proceeding againſt the ſtatute, againſt King James's inſtructions, diſchargeing the Deputie or Councill to meddle with cauſes of inheritance ; they preſſed onlie his ſubjecting the goods of the Peers to his will, without law.

In his anſwer, he cunninglie brake in upon that which they expreſſie declyned, the equitie of the matter. My Lord Montnorris, by clear cooſenage and oppreſſion, having ſpoiled Raſton of theſe lands, he read ſome articles of his commiſſion, which enabled him to doe juſtice upon ſuch petitions by himſelf, either in a Court of Requests or in a Court of Chancerie ; he cauſed read a letter of the King's, revocking theſe inſtructions, which were never kept,

nor could never be kepted ; for such was the povertie and barbarous ignorance of manie there, that to follow the ordinarie longfome courfe of law were their utter undoeing. He produced manie judgements of Deputie Falkland, and the late Lord Juftices, in the lyke cafes ; he would have done the lyke in the precedents and affifes, bot was ftopped ; for the lyke praëtife, in former Deputies, he brought fundrie witneffes ; he required the Primate of Armagh's depofition to be read : Upon this rofe ane long conteft. He had moved, on Saturday, that his witneffes that through ficknefs might not come to the barr, a commiffion might be granted to fome Lord to goe and take their oaths. This was not much oppofed ; fo in the afternoon he obtained ane order in wryte for this end. The Commons was not content with this : He preffed that the order might be obeyed. At laft they urged his tranfgreffion of the order, and of all equitie, it not onlie being obtained without their advertifement, bot alfo ufed without their knowledge ; either the words or mind of the order behoved to be according to the praëtife of all Courts, that the contrare parties fhould be prefent at the examination to give in their croffe interrogatories : by this reafon Armagh's depofition was not read. He alleadged no benefite accreffed to himfelfe by his decree to Ralfton ; and falling again on Montnorris's imprifonment, brought in witneffes to prove, that the caufe of his long imprifonment, was not his contempt of the Councill of Warre, bot debaits in the Starr-Chamber. The order in all the proceffe was, for the Commons to prove their article ; when they brought witneffes, he objected what he pleaſed ; when they had ended, he, after half ane hour's collection, did anfwer, without interruption, fo long as he pleaſed : onlie when he brought his witneffes, bot not on oath, they oppofed what they thought meet : when he did cloſe his anfwer, they made ever the laft replie, for that is their priviledge who pleads for the King, againſt which he might fay nothing, except ſome matter clearlie new were brought, which they did not except he gave occaſion, as here it fell out. He had gloried much in his innocencie of that decreet of Ralfton, that no profite came to him by that judgement.' Glyn ſhew, that daylie there came to their hands ſo much new matter of Strafford's unjuſtice, that if they had their articles to frame againe, they would give in as manie new as old. Strafford ſtormed at that, and proclaimed them ane open defiance. Glyn took him at his word, and offered instantlie to name three and twentie cafes of injuſtice, wherein his own gaine was clear. He began quicklie his catalogue with Parker's paper peti-

tion, whereupon he dispossessed a certain Viscount of a good portion of land, for his own use. Strafford finding himself in an ill taking, did soone repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his libell; onlie he protested, that in that Parker's land, his name was onlie used; that he was onlie intrusted in that bargain for the use of another. They brought diverse negative witnesses to depone, they had never known causes of inheritance discussed by the Deputie or the Council before Strafford. One of his witnesses they proved infamous and perjured, by ane Act of the Council of Ireland; of this he professed his disremembrance. The King's letter, revocking his father's instructions, they said, was procured by his misinformation, and that he did not keep the tenor of it. The statute alledged by him of the King's prerogative, Maynard shew was to be understood, not of anie new judicatorie, bot of the power the King's agents had to plead anie of his causes before what legall Court they pleased, without astriction to anie one. Mr. Stroud was applauded for his quick remark, That Strafford did oppress Montnorris, not onlie in his life, honours, libertie, lands, bot in his verie soull, keeping him prisoner till he forced him to subscribe, against his conscience, the justice of his own condemnation.

Mr. Glyn offered to goe on to another article. My Lord Strafford pleaded his infirmitie. The Steward compleaned of the expence of tyme. The Advocats pressed for the Commons expedition. Strafford, That however his bodilie infirmitie was great, and the charge of treason lay heaveie on his mind, yet that his accusation came from the Honourable House of Commons did most of all pierce through his soull. Maynard told, that by the flow of his eloquence, he spent tyme to gaine affection; as indeed, with the more simple sort, especially the ladies, he gained daylie much. He replied quicklie, that rhetorick was proper to these gentlemen, and learning also; that betwixt these two he was lyke to have a hard bargain. Bristoll was buffie in the mean tyme, goeing up and doune, and whispering in my Lord Steward's eare; whereupon others not content, cryed, To your places, To your places, my Lords. At last the House was adjourned till the next morning.

8. Tuesday the 30th of March. Glyn shew, that however they would not declayne nor mince any part of any their articles, yet for saving the great expence of tyme, they would passe the seventh article, and the first part of the eighth: on the latter part thereof, he insisted, dilaiting my Lady Hibbotts's cause, the [widow] of the

late Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. Her husband had left to her a lease of the most of his lands for 99 years ; the heir, one Thomas Hibbotts, a fillie old fool, is glad to bargain with her, for the hereditabie right of twentie-five hundred pound a year for eighteen thousand pound Sterling. When the wrytes are making in Dublin, one offers him fyve hundred pound more ; of this he shew the Ladie ; she is willing to give him that much : when the wrytes are made, she is informed, that it was necessary for her securitie to have from him a wryte of recoverie : because the wryte required some tyme, and his desyre to be in England was great, he would not wait upon it ; whereupon the Ladie refuseth to pay the money. He petitions the Deputie to cause her keep condition. Sir Robert Meredith presents a petition in the simple man's name, not onlie for his money, bot by his knowledge for breaking the bargain. The Ladie is summoned before the Councill ; the bargain is declared null ; she is ordained to put the old man in present possession of the land, or else goe to prison ; and everie moneth she delayed to fulfill the order, to have her fyne of fyve hundreth pound Sterling doubled. When the old man is put in possession, Meredith, for my Lord Strafford's own use, buyes the land for three thousand pound, and from the Lady's sone receaveth seven thousand pound ; so of this injustice my Lord Strafford receaveth four thousand pound of vantage. All this was clearlie proven by old Hibbotts himself, Mr. Hoy, the lady's sone, who payd the moneys. My Lord Montnorris deponed, that the most of the Councill was for the Ladie. My Lord Dillon deponed, it was so as he heard. My Lord Cork could not speak of the number, bot that the Deputie spake in passion, that if he had thought they would have made a partie against him, he needed not have brought that action there.

In his answer he said for spareing of tyme, he would cloffe to the poynt, and answer to nothing bot to the charge alone : and good reason had he so to doe ; for he had found himself oft caught in extravagancies : he would speak nothing of the justice or injustice of the fact, that being a cause depending in another Court ; that the Deputie had power to determine of petitions, as from his commission, and practise of former Deputies of Ireland, he proved before ; that this order, as all others of Councill, was according to the voyces of the most part ; that his threats to prison and fine the Lady for disobedience to the Councill, was just ; that Meredith's bargain was for his use he denyed ; bot finallie, whatever misdemeanour was in it, there was no treason wherewith he was

charged. Maynard assumed all, applied it vehementlie, that he had subverted law, and brought in ane arbitrarie power on the subject's goods, for his own gaine.

He went to the nixt article, a commission to the Bishop of Doune to imprison all of the meaner sort, who refused to come to compear to his Courts; or when they compeared, to satisfie all his orders. A copie of this commission was desyred to be read; he opposed, that a copie of a warrand could not make faith. They told, if it were so, the principall not being recorded, bot in his power to be called in when he would, it should never be possible to prove any warrand, when the partie had suppressed the principall. Sir James Montgomerie attested the truth of the copie, and his knowledge of the great vexation that came to verie manie by it for three yeares. Mr. Glyn shew, that the Earle Strafford was now better nor his word; he had not only made Acts of State equall to Acts of Parliament, bot also his own Acts above both, in giving power to Bishops against law, to vex and imprison the bodies of the King's subjects. He answered, that his warrand was not produced; that such letters of assistance to Bishops had been given before him: for this end my Lord Primat's deposition was read. He required, that some passages of my Lord Falkland's book should be read; bot that book being bot the private record of ane secretarie, was rejected. His secretarie Little deponed, that he had drawne that order to the Bishop of Doune, according to a prior paterne he had seen. Strafford confessed, on the Bishop's desyre, he had sent him such ane order, bot had done it to no other; and hearing it was not altogether legall, he had recalled it; that the gentleman had made him better and worse than his word, as he conceaved it to make for his purpose. Glyn applied it, shew that the Primate testified onlie that he heard his predecessor the Bishop of Meath say, that at the papists desyre, to save the processe of excommunication, he had gotten letters of assistance which did not square with the case in hand; that his Secretar's testimonie was not to be heeded, he being himself guiltie.

He offered to goe on to the next article; bot Strafford desyred to have that article superceeded till my Lord Cottingtoun (who was sick) his deposition might be had. After some debate, the House was adjourned till the morrow.

9th Session, Wednesday, March 31st. This day I was absent; for being Moderator of our Session, I behoved to call a meeting to advyse anent the order of the Fast, wherein we were advertised

from Newcastle, to joyn with our nation on the 4th and 6th of Aprile: bot, as I heard, the matters that passed that [day] were these. Mr. Maynard handled the tenth article, concerning his extraordinarie gaine in the farming the Customes. It was clearlie proven, that yearlie he would have thirtie thousand pound advantage. His answer was, that the bargain of the Customes was put upon him against his will. My Lord Cottingtoun deponed, that when my Lord Strafford moved some of the Londoners to offer fifteen thousand pound for the customes of Ireland, to my Lord Portland Theasurer, that they quicklie repented, being much more than ever these customes had payed before; that no man would come near that offer, yet at last Sir Arthure Ingram had come and offered ane hundred pound more, if so be my Lord Strafford would be a partner with him; that my Lord, with much dealing both of my Lord Portland and the King, was made to joyne. He said, that the augmenting of the book of rates was against his advyce, and that, before he medled with these customes, while the Lady Dutcheffs of Buckinghame's lease did stand; that if the customes were raised, the traffique could not be diminished; that the making of a good bargain was no treason. Maynard summed up all, That as he found out a strange discipline of the tongue in my Lord Montnorris's case, by a sentence of cutting off the head, so he had made in a few years, by good compt, large three hundred thousand pound Sterling off the King; the rates was heightened before he gott the customes bot onlie one moneth; if he were against it, why was [he] the first and sole exactor of that augmentation? and why did he thrust out Sir Arthur, the first bargainer, so soon as the years of hudge gain did come?

The eleventh article they passed. The twelfth they made it very odious, That tobacco, whereof they proved was sold yearlie in Ireland five hundred tunne, which payed to King James but ten pound custome, and never more then twentie, was raised by my Lord Strafford, to pay to the King five thousand, and then ten thousand pound, bot to himself at leist a hundred pound a year much more than the King's rent. He said much for his defence: that he had oft losse of it; that the regulating that superfluous commoditie was by the King's letter committed to him; that it was bot a monopolie at most; that any pillored or whipped was for perjurie; that there was proclamations in England for landing tobacco no where bot in London; that the orders of the Lower House in Ireland were acts of tyrannick and arbitrarie power, to seaze on

his goods and magazine. In their replie they remembered his flandering of the Parliament in Ireland.

10th Session, Thursday, Aprill 1st. Maynard opened the thirteenth article. The proclamations were read, discharging to sell any yarne but reeled in such a fashion; the warrand of my Lord read, to lease for use all that could be found otherwayes dressed than the proclamation appointed; proven by many witnesses, that the warrand in many places was execute; that publick mercats were deserted; that carts full of spoyle were carried to Dublin, and delivered to my Lord Strafford's servants; that the officers brack up many houses; that they strake poor women, holding their yarne, till some died; that masters were disappointed of their rents; that thousands starved through his oppressions; that Sir John Clotworthie hardlie escaped punishment for wryting to the Deputie of these evils. He answered, That his intention in this matter was certainlie good; he found in Ireland great store of sheep, which, if weell used, might much prejudge the chief trade of England: that to putt down the wooll trade, he sett himself to countenance the trade of flax; that seeing the people, through their barbarous unskillfulness, hurt their own profite, he strove to direct them; that the proclamations were not his, bot the Councill's; that warrands to second proclamations were necessary and ordinarie; that when he found the people's untowardness to learn, he gave over the designe; that after his accompts, he had no profite, bot some one hundred pounds of losse by his trade; that for the misdemeanour of officers he could not answer. Maynard concluded, that intentions cleared not illegall actions; that his giving over before ten thousand was sterved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thousands; that the concurrence of the Councill excuseth not him who led them.

The fourteenth article was past: the fifteenth, as most important, was accuratelie handled. Mr. Palmer, one of the eight on the Committee for the Commons, a materiall man, bot not eloquent, nor quick, nor vehement, opened the article; shew it alone was treason, and more than the proof of the whole charge. He took onlie the mid part of it, concerning Savill's warrand to soldiers; shew that the Statute of Edward the Third and Henry the Sixth made at Dubline, did, in expresse termes, make the leavying of souldiers, and laying of them on the King's subjects, to be treason, violating the King's protection, and so his crown and person; that it was ordinar for my Lord to execute his unlawfull jurisdiction, his

decrees on paper petitions, by this unlawfull power ; giving a warrand dormant to a ferjeant at armes, to lay one officer, and three, five, or ten fouldiers of the nixt garifon on any who difobeyed his orders, to eat up all they had till they had obeyed. A copy of a warrand to Savill was read. Strafford alleadged, a copy could make no faith in fo high a bufinefs ; bot this was rejected. Savill was required to atteft the copie. He fwere it was his fubfcription, and a true copie of his warrand for the fubftance, bot that he had not conferred the wryts. Maynard preffed it was enough, if witnefs did prove the warrand given by my Lord Strafford's authority, whether by a word or wryte. The Houfe adjourned upon this debate. My Lord Steward at returne pleafed both parties ; refused the reading of this copie, as not being fufficientlie attefted, bot permitting them to prove by witnefs, the matter of any warrand. This they did abundantlie ; eſpeciallie in the caſe of one Berne, who, on a paper petition, was charged to appear before my Lord Deputie to pay ane hundred pound debt, which he might have componed for fyve pound, bot refused, not thinking it due. By Strafford's warrand, ten of his troupers at Dubline came upon the man's lands, eat to him the worth of five hundred pound, burned the moſt of his houfe, forced him to leave the countrie, and ferve as a fouldier in Flanders, being unable any more to keep houfe.

My Lord Strafford, feeling the weight of this article, after half ane houre's advifement, and retireing for eaſement, returned as a man loadened in mind. He anfuered ane hundred ſhifts, and ſaid as much as any man could ; bot little, in my judgement, to the poynt. He remembered his impoſſibilitie to bring his proofs from Ireland, his obliedgement to be judged there, and by the Iriſh law ; however, he was willing to ſubmit ane hundred lyves, if he had them, to their Lordſhips equitie : he produced a number of witneſſes to depone, it was ordinarie there for the Deputie to give warrand for preſſing of fouldiers pay, and contribution monie : bot not one of them all deponed the caſe of ordinarie debts, or decreets on paper petitions. He alleadged, that the acts alleadged were old and antiquat ; bot I underſtood not his probation. He ſaid, that in theſe ſtatutes the King was not included, becauſe not expreſſlie mentioned, and ſo the King's Deputie was in the ſame caſe ; alſo that Queen Elizabeth's ſtatute permitted the Deputie to leavie warre ; that it was a poor and unheard of warre which three or five or ten fouldiers could make ; that he laid on no fouldiers,

whatever others did by his pretended warrand ; that no warrand could be shewn ; that he was in Ireland at the tyme of the execution ; and a number of moe subterfugies : after all, he reserved himself to his Councill for his legall case. Palmer replied to all prettie weell, that Ireland was a portion of the English Crowne ; that he did answer there according to the Irish law ; that his taking of regall and soveraigne power and priviledge was the charge ; that the Deputie hath power to levie warre bot upon rebels, not in tyme of peace on the King's peaceable subjects, answerable to legall Courts ; that he declyneth also the question of law to be agitat by ane other in due place. Strafford offered to answer the first part of the article, bot was stopped : he oft triumphed, that they had alleadged crymes against him, which they were not able to make good. He humbly did supplicat the House of Commons to grant him one day of ease : this he obtained ; for all were overweari'd with so constant and long attendance ; so the House was adjourned till Saturday. On Fryday, both the Houses mett in their own places, and advysed about other affaires.

11th Session, Saturday, Aprill 3d. Palmer opened the sixteenth article ; His way to keep himself in possession of that arbitrarie power of his ; his stoeping all to goe to England bot by his license ; his proposition for his power to the Councill-table of England was read ; his proclamation also in Ireland for that end was read ; witness brought to prove : his refusing of licence to sundrie who were going to complaine of his injuries ; and of his fynyng in five hundred pound, and imprisoning of Parrie, for following his master the Chancellour to England. He answered, There was manie statutes for the residence of the subjects in Ireland ; that in England no noblemen went abroad without leave ; that his proposition to the English table is grounded upon clear reason, the stopping of needles clamorous complaints ; that the proclamation was by the whole Councill, and procured by the King's letter ; that thousands went over without challenge ; that if they were not restrained, they would goe to Jesuit's colledges, and keep correspondence with O'Neell and Tirconell.

Palmer replied weell to all ; That the statutes alleadged, none of them did imported a personall restraint of complaints of the Deputie ; that this kept all the Judges in a dependence upon him ; that by his proclamation his Deputie had hindered the Committee of Parliament to come over ; that there is no O'Neell nor Jesuite colledge in England ; that no complainers could

get over, whatever became of others ; he was to be answerable, as he professed in his proposition, for the justice of Ireland ; so the Council's concurrence prejudices them, but excuseth not him ; the Broad Seall excused not the Marqueis, who accepted of *mixtum et merum imperium* from his misinformed King.

It was Mr. Whitlock's turne to speak next : He passed the seven-teenth and eighteenth article, and opened the nineteenth, anent the Scottish Oath ; he shew he had heard how he had used the Irish subjects, and now he would declare his usage towards the Scotts, who were under the same protection with the Irish and English ; that ane new oath cannot be formed without ane Act of Parliament ; that he framed, and put on the Scotts ane new and illegall oath, which they did not defyre, as he saith in his answer. Sir James Montgomerie was called to witness. He made at the barre a verie long narration, That all the Scotts of any note were written for by the Deputie ; that he mett them in my Lord of Airds' lodgeing ; he said, it was expected they should clear their disaffection to the wayes of their countrey men ; that the bishops motioned the expedience of ane oath ; that many of them thought that which he spoke, that to offer ane oath were to make themselves subject to suspicion before they committed any fault ; that Strafford replied, Who would not take an oath should do worse ; that Ratcliffe brought to them to-morrow two draughts, the one mere railing, the other more mild ; this, he said, he might not change, for the Deputie had seen it ; yet they went to the Deputie's lodgeing, and required a copie for advysement ; this was refused ; the Deputie was content to put in the clause of equalitie with the rest of the subjects, but the clause of just and reasonable commands he would not hear ; that he administrat the Oath at the Council-table himself to all the Scotts who were present ; that his commission was to take the oath of all above fixteene yēars ; that the instructions bare women alsē weell as men ; that the refusers were prisoned and fyned ; that manie fled, and left their cornes and cattells ; (this Sir John Clotworthie and others testified ; one Salmon, ane schoolmaster here, and John Loftus, witnessed the sentencing of Henry Stewart, and the rest ;) that the Deputie declared the oath extended to all the ecclesiastick ceremonies present and to come ; that he would prosecute to the blood these that would refuse ; that the Scotts were traitors, rebels, and mad ; that he would pull them up root and branch, if he [re]turned to that kingdome.

He answered, That the tyme of that oath did carrie great appearance of feares from the Scotts; that there was of them in Ireland above ane hundred thousand; that one Trueman was execute for a designe to deliver up the Castle of Knockfergus to a great Lord in Scotland; that the Councill thought it necessarie to secure the countrey from that fear; that they were privie to his letter and the oath; that all the Scotts took it chearfullie, except Sir James Montgomerie; that these who went away for this cause he would never stay; that he knew not ane act of parliament to be necessar for ane oath at such ane necessare occasion; that the same oath was pressed in England; that he had the King's letter, under his own hand, for frameing that oath, which before he never revealed: if this was a treason, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over againe if he had the lyke occasion; the greatnes of Henry Stewart's fyne was for the greatnes of the offence; it was not exacted, and his [fyne] was ever readie to be releaved when obedient; that the Primate will testifie, he declared that no part of it concerned the church affaires; that he was not so farr divested of reason as to speak like a madman of his Master's nation, manie whereof hath done him courtesies, and none anie wrong; that the schoolmaster was not to be valued; he had sworn I spoke these words the tenth of October, wheras I was in England the twentieth of September; in a distance, he hath mistaken faction for nation: I might have spoken of my putting out of Ireland the faction of these who refused to swear alledgeance to the King; that he spoke not of root or branch, or of the nation. He brought fundrie to depone they did not remember of any such words.

Whitlock reponed in reply, That the witness's depositions were contrare to his assertions; that whatever the danger was, he should not use any unlawfull mean to oppose it; that the oath of alledgeance would have satisfied the King's desyre; that his oath was a pattern to England; that his ingratitude was the greater, since the Scotts never wronged him; that his negative witness mistaking a circumstance of tyme did not weaken the substance of his testimonie; Loftus concurring with him in the matter of it. Sir John Clotworthie being put to it, named a number of the Scotts who had fled, and left all; also, to my great contentment, he cleared the foule slander of Trueman, shewing, that one Captain Giles, being sent to trap all he could find inclyned to the Scotts, insinuate with this illie man, and obtained from him a letter of

recommendation to come in Scotland to employ him as a foldier ; this letter being produced, made Giles be believed in all he pleased to alleadge of this simple man, without farder proofs ; that Strafford did conciliat the Primat and Derrie ; the Primate would have the refusing of the first part of the oath to be treason ; the Bishop of Derrie said, the refusing of the second part of ecclesiasticall injunctions was treasonable ; the Deputie would have both treasonable ; that the penaltie of ane Premunire is just ; bot his new oath of not protesting against any of his commands, carrying the King's name, was strange, and the punishment of it also : he usurps a power here more than royall ; for *non est penes principem solum* to frame ane new oath, in all acts of parliament, you, my Lords, and the Commons, have [an] interest. Mr. Stroud took notice of Strafford's profession to do this over againe. He said, he weell believed him ; but that they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gavestone came to react himself.

My Lord Strafford regrated to the Lords the great straits of his estate. If true, it was the remarkable judgment of God. He said, he had nothing there bot as he borrowed ; yet dailie he gave to the guard that convoyed him ten pound : by which he conciliat much favour, for these fellows were dailie changed ; and where they lived, having gotten his money, they commended his liberalitie. He told, his familie were in Ireland two hundred and sixtie persones ; that the House of Commons there had seased all his goods ; he supplicat, that the Lords might take course to louse that arriest from so much of his goods as might sustaine his wife and children in some tolerable way. If this was not false, alone to conciliat consideration, behold the power of God bringing that man, the most statelie house-keeper that ever Ireland did see, to that miserie, in a moment, whereto he brought manie.

Sunday, the 4th of Aprile, was a day of humiliation to us. Mr. Henderfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillespie did preach ; and on Tuesday thereafter I, Mr. Borthwick, and Mr. Smith, to ane fair congregation ; so manie considerable people as our roomes could hold. God helped us all, that we gott ever full libertie to powre out our soule, with our nation, to God : we trust God heard yow and us ; and ever since we are getting our answers. The plotts of our enemies since hath been kything, and God goeing on to confound them in his own way, above man's witt and strength, as it may be you shall hear shortlie.

12th Session. Mononday Aprile 5th. I could not be present ;

denied he remembered such words of my Lord Strafford's. Sir for I was preparing for Tuesday's exercise ; but I heard the matters handled were these. Mr. Whitlock proponed, for the conjunction of the matters, and saving of tyme, to open together the twentieth, twentieth-first, twentieth-second, twentieth-third, and twentieth-fourth articles. Strafford pressed long to handle them severallie one by one, as before it was practised and agreed. Glyn told him roundlie, that it belonged not to a prisoner to prescribe the order of his processes ; they were to manage the proofes as they thought fitt, let him answer in what order he pleased. This they obtained. Whitlock discoursed upon all, first in generall : That as, after the pacification of Berwick, in Stewart's sentence, he had called the Scotts traitors and rebels ; so, at his coming to England, he had incensed the King against them ; and when the Parliament of England refused moneyes, he stirred up the King to invade with his Irish armie these of England, who would not be subject to his will. The first witness is my Lord Traquair. Being posed, What he heard my Lord Strafford say concerning the Scottish warre ? He said, he could not answer to so generall a question. Being posed anent his discourse at the councill-table after his relations at Whitehall and at York, he desired to see his depositions, for the refreshing of his memorie : for all the witnesses had deposed before the Committee of the Lower House long agoe : yea, some of that Committee, Digbie, as it is thought, had given particular information to Strafford of all their depositions. After all these prefaces, all that Traquair deposed was, That at York, his relation being repeated, Strafford said, that the injustice of these demands is a sufficient ground why the King should putt himself in posture of warre ; that at the first relation at Whitehall, he heard him say no more, and that all the number did fullie agree with him in that conclusion ; but he knew not who spoke first. Finding that not so much was deposed now by Traquair, as before by my Lord Digbie, motioned, that they referred themselves to what was deposed in wryte. After serious recollecting, Strafford replied, That this was not the practise of any court where the witness was heard *viva voce*. My Lord Mortoun was sick ; but his deposition was read. It did beare, that after my Lord Traquair's relation, once and againe, and the third tyme, Strafford avowed, that the Scotts demands were a sufficient ground for the King to make warre ; although Mortoun contradicted, shewing, that since the King had permitted the Scotts to petition against all their grievances, their petitioning could be no ground

of warre before the reasons of their petition were heard ; and the King expressely said, Mortoun had reason. Traquair being asked, Harie Vane, Mr. Secretary, deponed, that the 5th of May, after the breaking up of the Parliament, when he proponed a defensive warre, Strafford was for ane offensive. Northumberland was sick ; his deposition did bear, that Strafford perswaded his Majestie to goe vigorously to ane offensive warre. The Lord Thesaurer, Bishop of London, deponed, that Strafford's opinion was for ane offensive warre, and that the Scotts should be reduced by force, after Traquair's narration, and that he marked no difference of judgement in any of that committee.

Concerning his designe in England, Primate Usher deponed, he heard him say, in Dublin, in case of necessitie, the King, by his prerogative, might leavie moneyes as he pleased, having first tried his Parliament, if it supplied him not. My Lord Conway deponed, he said if the Parliament gave not these twelve subsidies, the King was justifiable before God and man to take some other course to supplie himself, though against their will :—Sir Harie Vane, that if the Parliament did not succeed, he would be readie to serve the King any other way :—Sir Robert King, that Sir George Ratcliffe, Strafford's intimate friend, said, the King had thirtie thousand men, and four hundred thousand pound in his purse, and a sword at his syde ; if he should want monie, who should pitie him ? that with the Scotts they might have peace when they pleased :—Sir Thomas Barrington, that he heard Sir George Wentworth, Strafford's brother, say, he conceived the Parliament would give no money ; that the Commonwealth was sick of peace ; it will never be weell till it be conquered againe. Bristoll witnessed, that Strafford said to him, after the dissolving of the Parliament, that he liked not his discourse, of calling another Parliament, the danger admitted not so slow a remedie ; the Parliament had refused to supplie the King ; he behoved to take another course ; that the King was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness and undutifullness of his subjects, or rather the disaffection of some particulars. Newburgh and Holland witnessed the same words. Northumberland and Vane deponed, that in the committee of eight for the Scotts affairs, he said, that his Majestie having tryed all wayes, and being refused ; in this case of necessitie, and in defence of the kingdome, he was absolved before God and man, and all rules of government ; he

had ane armie in Ireland, which he might imploy for reducing this kingdome. The Earle of Clare, and others, debaited with Vane sharplie, what this kingdome did meane? Maynard quicklie silenced him, Doe yow ask, my Lord, if this kingdome be this kingdome, or not?

In his answer, he went through everie article severallie, extenuated most of his words. What he said of the King, he meant ever of his just proceeding; for it was to be presupposed, that he would never doe nor command in any other way; that in Councill he behoved to voyce according to his opinion; that opinions might make ane heretick, if pertinacious, bot never a traitor; that chamber and table discourse, for argument, flum-flams, and fanfares, could not be treasons; that words of such a nature in King Edward the Sixth's days, were decreed otherwyse to be punished. It has been the wisdom of this spirit to secure weell the subjects from treason. We would be loath to let loose that lyon which would devour us and our posteritie, if treason be made as ordinarie as trespasses. Much adoe made for the last words witnessed by Vane. He swore he spake them not; made the Marqueis, the Thesaurer, and Lord Cottingtoun, depone they heard no such thing; and bore him witnesse, that he said, the King behoved to use his prerogative; that he marvelled at the goodness of Mr. Thesaurer's memorie, better than his owne, and all the companie. Whitlock marked the shortness of Cottingtoun's memorie, who said he heard not Strafford speak of extraordinarie wayes, which yet he confessed. He avowed no illegall action, neither from the King nor him; and followed on his counsell, that words of his brother, or Ratcliffe, concerned not him. The designe of the Irish army was for Scotland, as the Marqueis, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Slingbie did depone; that he intended to fortifie Aire, and from thence to make all the countrey till Edinburgh pay contribution. Whitlock replied at length, That the words were to be taken as they were proven, and not as, by his commentaries, they were eluded.

13th Session. Tuesday, there was no sitting. On Wednesday, the 7th Aprile, Maynard did open the twenty-fifth article. The Lord Thesaurer deponed, that Strafford, after the Parliament, advysed to goe on rigorously and effectually with the Ship-moneys. Strafford confessed, he had not learned to be wiser nor his teachers, or to dispuitt what was pronounced by the Judges. Maynard re-

plied, that it was never judged, that for refuse of loan men should be prisoned, fyned, hanged. Wifeman deponed, that Strafford said they would gett no good of the citizens till some of the aldermen were fyned and prisoned. He confessed, according to the Earle of Berkshyre's testimony, that he thought the aldermen's refusing, in so necessary a tyme, to give up the names of these they conceaved able to lend moneys, made them lyable to fyne and ranfome. Garaway, mayor the last year, deponed, that to the best of his remembrance, he said, no good would be gotten till some of the aldermen were hanged. While Strafford took vantage at the words "the best of my remembrance," Garaway stoutlie turned to him, and told out punctuallie, "My Lord, you did say it." He said, he should answer with alse great truth, albeit not with so great confidence as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did not speak so; but if he did, he trusted their goodness would easilie pardon such a rash and foolish word. It was also bot a single testimony; and the law provyds, that on single testimony no man shall be condemned of treason. Glyn remembered them what sentence he had procured on Montnorris for rash words anent his toes. Maynard shew their charge was bot one, that single witness for severall circumstances made manie for the whole.

In the twenty-sixth article, they had no witness to prove his concealing the seasing on the Mint, the imbaseing of the money; but by diverse proved his avowing of the Citie's unthankfullness, and their deserving of much worse for their greater readinesse to help rebells than the King; of his letter from Leicester, that the King of France searched merchants books, and laid horsemen upon them till they payed what portion of their estate he pleased to demand; that if the King would doe soe, he had example of other princes; that this was a poynt worthie my Lord Cottingtoun's consideration. He confessed, the sense of his Master's service made him use expressions of the Citie's unthankfullness; that of all his charge these words of the Citie's helping of the rebells were worst, and since the gentleman deponed them, he would take with them and crave humble pardon; that he spake not to my Lord Cottingtoun; that he said our King was more pious than to use such courses as was mentioned in that foolish letter of my Lord Leicester's secretarie.

The twenty-seventh article, of levying money on Yorkshyre by souldiers, was proved by fundrie. To these he answered, it was

by consent of most of the gentlemen, who delyvered to him, by my Lord Whartoun, a petition to represent their grievances to the King, and croune, and parliament, that so they would contribute for the entertainment of two regiments for one moneth; that he made them delete that clause of a Parliament, knowing the King's resolution to call it of his own goodnesse, without petition from any; that he had the King's consent and direction for levying of that pay, in presence of the peers; some consenting, none contradicting, which he took for their full consent; that his commission carried him to leavie so manie of the trained bands as he thought meet; that these who would not serve in person, were bound, in all reason, to supplie these who did.

Maynard and Glyn replied, that it was a leavying of warre upon the subjects by force of souldiers, to exact moneys by sojourns; that it was not [with] consent of the shyre; manie were gone out of toun, fundrie dissented, diverse were papists; these consented bot for one moneth; his commission gave him power to call persons to serve the King, bot not for service to exact monie: that the peers disclaimed all such warrand.

14th Session. Thursday 8th Aprile, the twenty-eight article they passed. All being sett, and the Deputie brought to the barr on his knees, after the accustomed manner, he was desyred to say for himself what he would, that so the House of Commons may sum up all before the sentence. He said, he was prepared to answer the particular articles omitted, and that they would be pleased to say farder; bot for the summing up of all his answers, he was not prepared to answer, and for that craved humblie tyme till the morrow. They opposed that, shewing he had much more tyme for his defence than ever any, and the cause did allow: yet the Lords, after some debate, did grant it. Alwayes in the afternoons, when there remained any tyme, committees, especiallie for the enormities of churchmen, did meet and sitt some houres.

15th Session. Friday the ninth Aprile. All being mett, and waiting on, about nine Sir George Wentworth came, and declared to the Lords, that all the last night his Brother was so afflicted with the stone, that this morning albeit much better, yet he was allutterlie unable to sturr out of bed. Maynard and Glyn pressed they might goe on; that the excuse was bot fained; and however, being heard on all the articles, his presence was needles. The Lieutenant of the Tower being put to his oath, deponed, that

Strafford said to him, he was unable to come. This so great unwellness was so much the more doubted, as for the witnessing of it, he sent onlie the groom of his chamber, a poor footman within sixteen years; and that to-morrow he was as vigorous as any day before. However, the conclusion was, that to-morrow, whether he was absent or present, they should not fail to go on. *

16th Session. Saturday, 10th Aprile. All being sett, before the Deputie began to speak, Mr. Glyn pressed to hear some witnesses that they had reserved expresse on the twentieth article. Strafford pressed for the lyke favour, that he might, on some preceeding articles, gett leave to examine witnesses; thereupon aryseth a long debate. The Lords adjourneth. When they returned, their decree was, the Commons should call what witnesses they pleased; and Strafford also. This the Commons storned at. After much dangleing, Glyn declared, they were content Strafford should in this [have] equall favour with them; that they fought no more but witnesses to be examined upon ane article, and that these onlie which they had expresse reserved in the tyme: to grant more favour to Strafford than they craved, was manifest unjustice.

The matter was, young Sir Harrie Vane had fallen, by accident, among his Father's papers, on a note wrytten by him as Secretarie, the day of dissolving the last Parliament, wherein was contained the voyces which the Lieutenant, and Canterburie, and Cottingtoun, had given at the councill-board the fifth of May, the day when the Parliament was dissolved, for the Scotts warre, and for the illegall leavying of moneys. Mr. Pym had come in on Sir Harrie Vane in the tyme, and perswaded him to take a double of that note. The principall and all other papers concerning the dissolution of the last Parliament, at the fitting down of this, were burned. The copie by him was produced in the House, and did much confirm the mindes of all Strafford's witnesses; yet for young Sir Harrie's cause, a very gracious youth, they resolved to make no use in publict of his testimonie, except in case of necessitie, which then they conceived was clear. * The Lords adjourned one houre large: at their returne, their decree was against the expectation of all. It kythed Strafford's friends were strongest in the Higher House; yea, to our great admiration, we learned that not a man bot Paget voyced otherways. My Lord Steward read the first part of it, That the Lords conceived, for gaining of tyme, that both the Commons and Strafford should use no farder witnesses.

The Advocats refused to give any answer, till they had the receipt of the decree ; so my Lord Steward went on, and read, Bot if the Commons thought meet to examine further witnesſes, they might doe it in all the articles ; and they, as equall judges to both, conceived that Strafford might doe the same. Att once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him on what articles he would examine witnesſes, as if he had no more witnesſes. Indeed, whatever he professed, he told them fadlie he had, and these he conceived as advantagious to him, as any they had for them ; yet if they would goe on, he would be content to quite that advantage. They did not believe him, but put him to name the articles. He named one, another, a third, a fourth, and not being lyke to make ane end, the Commons, on both the sides of the House, raise in a furie, with a shout of Withdraw ! Withdraw ! Withdraw ! gett all to their feet, on with their hatts, cocked their beavers in the King's sight. We all did fear it should go to a present tumult. They went all away in confusion ; Strafford slipped away to his barge, and to the Tower, glad to be gone lest he should be torn in pieces ; the King went home in silence ; the Lords to their House. .

In the afternoon the Commons mett, presentlie resolved on a Bill of Attainture ; that is, to attaint and condemne Strafford in their owne House as judges, and thereafter require the Lords and King to confirme their sentence ; if they refused, to protest, and declare to all their shyres, that they had deserted the Parliament for denyall of justice. While they were on this advyſement, the Lords sent a message to them for a conference. They shew, they had no leasure to conferr with them : bot after their conclusion, they sent up some to know the Lords minde ; for the matter was nothing concerning Strafford, for the Lords thought meet yet not to touch that wound, bot another matter, more pleasant to them, the entertainment of the Scotts army for another moneth. The other day, the Commons having found that the Lords, longer than ordinary, neglected to agree with the Scotts Commissioners for a further cessation, fell in fear, lest the King and Lords should keep the Scotts no longer, and so they were undone ; therefore the House, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to crave a furdur cessation bot only for a fortnight ; which tyme did much displease us, for we thought it shew their desyre also to be quicklie ridd of us : bot this difference betwixt

the Houses made both at once faine to flatter us, and give us many good words, albeit no silver; yet they say now that money in store is coming.

On Sunday the 11th following, Dr. Bray, in Westminster Church, made his recantation sermon for licenseing Pocklington's "Altare Christianum," and "Sunday no Sabbath." The Lower House ordained the Mayor to see them both burned at Cheapside, and Bray the licenser to read out of a paper, his condemnation of a number of errors, which he had licensed. He did so with a great deall of feigned repentance; for the Lower House this year makes many hypocrites.

On Mononday the 12th, with much adoe, the Houses were gotten to accord, that the Lower House should come as before, by way of Committee, to follow what remained in their proceffe, passing the debate of new witnesses, and keeping their bill of attainure on foot at their pleasure.

17. On Tuesday the 13th, all being sett as before, Strafford made a speech large two hours and ane half; went through all the articles, both these three which imported statute-treason, the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh, and others which was alleadged, as he spake, for constructive and consequential treason: First the articles bearing his words, then these which had his counsell and deeds. To all he repeated not [nought] new, bot the best of his former answers; and, in the end, after some lachnes and fagging, he made such ane pathetick oration, for ane halfe houre, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expreßion was exceeding brave: doubtless, if he had grace or civill goodness, he is a most eloquent man. The speech yow have it here in print. One passage made it most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect of his memorie; others, and the most part, for a notable part of his rhetorick; some, that true grief, and remorse at that remembrance, had stopped his mouth; for they say, that his first Lady, the Earl of Clare's sister, being with child, and finding one of his whore's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he stroke her on the breast, whereof shortly she died.

Mr. Glyn did follow with a speech three houres long; first did keep his method, and answered what he brought to all, prettie well; then after his own premeditate order, he went through all the twenty-eight articles as they lay, applying them well. The great length

of the speech made him fagg in the end. He referred the odioufness of the cryme to the handeling of another. This was Mr. Pym, who truelie, to the confession of all, in halfe ane hour, made one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages of it, and no more bot some, and these defaced, I send yow in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some common hand. To humble the man, God let his memorie faill him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; bot they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to passe them: I believe the King never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolised prerogative. Strafford, after all, craved the benefite of his counsell from the Lords; the Commons said they would advyse.

The dayes following, there was daylie conference betwixt the Lords and the Commons to hear Strafford's counsell; at last, on Friday, the Commons agreed to it; so on Saturday the Houses mett as before. Mr. Lane, the Prince's Attorney, spake for ane half hour of the statutes of treason, shewing all he could, that none of Strafford's alleadged actions did come under them. After him, Mr. Gardner, Recorder of London, offered to handle any law question, when the Lords would propone a particular case; bot till then they would say no more at random. For diverse dayes thereafter the House of Commons went on with their Bill of attainiture. When it was readie and read three diverse dayes, at last it was voyced and carried, only fifty-eight contradicting. For this there was great joy among us all, and praise to God. These friends of Strafford's were much discountenanced by all honest men. Some printed their names, and fixed them on publick wayes. My Lord Digbie, their chief, was very near put in the Tower; bot with many fair words he gott himself off: yet his credite in the House is gone; whereof we are glad, for he is a great patron of Bishops. The Lower House is more united than ever, and they say not far from a Covenant. They went with a bill to the Higher House. It was bot coldlie receaved there. My Lord Savill, one of the stoutest Lords in all England for the countrey and our cause at first, bot since we made him a councillour, clearlie the court-way for Strafford and all the court-designes; he thought the receaving of the bill into the House prejudiciall to the priviledge of the Peers. Essex took him presentlie up, and required him to explaine himself: while he is doeing it, Stamford admonisheth him, he did not explaine the words he spake, bot

others. He replied, that Stamford durst not ſpeak ſo to him in another place. He answered, if both were without the barre, he would ſpeak ſo to him in another place ; and he durst not challenge it. The reſt cryeth on them to withdraw. Stamford readilie removeth, Savill ſat ſtill till Eſſex cryed to him to remove. They packed it up betwixt themſelves thus and ſua. In the mean tyme the Commons was voyceing downe the preſidencie of York, as a needleſs and hurtfull court. This ſtroke Savill to the heart ; for it was his great deſigne to be Preſident in Strafford's ſtead. When the Commons the other day voyced the Convocation-men in a fyne one hundred and ſixty thouſand pound ſterling, Canterburie in twenty thouſand, Yorke's benefice in ten thouſand, Wren in five thouſand, the reſt proportionable, and their benefices to be ſequeſtered till that money be paid to the Lords of the Scotts Treatie : they excepted Savill from the ſahrie of that receipt, being taken up with the affaires of State, and laid that burden on Stamford, though none of the treaters. The Commons moved the Lords to crave the King's long delayed anſwer to their three propoſitions. Yeſterday they gott their anſwer, little to their contentment, (after we had given the Prince of Orange the complement,) we heard, in the Banquetting-houſe, where the King mett both the Houſes. To the firſt, of removeing Papiſts from Court, he ſaid he would doe it ; bot with alſe little ſcandall as can be. To the ſecond, of diſarming the Papiſts, he was content it ſhould be done according to law. To the third, the diſbanding of the Irish army, he ſaid, he had been thinking oft on it, bot there was difficulties in it ; that it was his intention to diſſolve all the armies, and ſettle all his dominions in that peace wherein he receaved them from his Father ; bot for that end two things was neceſſaire, the ſatiſfaction of the Scotts grievances, and money. Of the laſt they were the only maſters ; and the ſooner they provyded for it, it was the better : In the firſt, though he was judge, yet with their advyce, with all diligence he would take a finall courſe.

• This day, Mr. St. John, the King's Solicitor, before both the Houſes, to ſatiſſie the ſcruples which might marre the Lords in paſſing the Commons Bill of attainure, did ſhew, in a ſpeech of three hours, how the facts proven of Strafford were high treason, expreſſlie againſt many ſtatutes, and answered all the lawes ſeeming to import the contrarie : and however no law had made them treason, yet by a number of examples in their law, he ſhew how the Parliament might very legallie condemne his ſingular caſe, of evert-

ing all law, of treason. Upon some feares of escape, the Lords, at the Commons defyre, hath commanded Sir William Balfour to keep him close prisoner. Bot no more now adoe, bot the Lords, one of these dayes, to confirme the bill ; and then the King's confirmation must be had. Unhappie men putts the King daylie in harder straits. Had the Commons gone on in the former way of purfuit, the King might have been a patient, and only beheld the striking off of Strafford's head ; but now they have put them on a bill, which will force the King either to be our agent, and formall voycer to his death, or else doe the world knows not what.

The Prince of Orange's marriage is expected shall be solemnised on Sunday nixt. Whether the Princeffe, of ten years old, shall be sent to Holland presentlie, we know not.

All foreign news yow have in four or five printed gazets. All the papers of our Treatie yow have also. Whether our Parliament keeps the date, and our Treatie ends presentlie, I yet know not. They have now put the King on thoughts of coming to Scotland in June ; Our unfriends are the authors of these counsells ; bot a very few dayes will open many secretts. Pray to God for our cause and Church : God will help us against all, men and devills : No man is to be trusted ; the best is naturallie false.

Dear Brethren, neglect not my place, fain would I be at it to disburden yow of that cure ; you may believe me without oath. The length of this recompenses the delay of it so much the more, as preaching and printing gives me little spare tyme. The Lord be with yow all, and send us a blyth and short meeting.

Your Brother and servant,

R. BAILLIE. ^

Our post hath stayed some dayes longer than we expected ; so know further, that on Saturday, the 1st of May, the King came to the Higher House, called for the Lower House, declared to them, that in his conscience Strafford was free of all treason. The speech yow have here, together with the Citie's last petition for justice. The Commons the day before had sent up to the Lords two bills ; one for the Turkish pirates, which oft taketh slaves from the west part of England ; another for the Romish pirates, to have the Cleargie out of all Civill power, and the Bishops out of the Higher

Houſe. The King in private declared his reſolution never to yield to ſuch a motion. All theſe things coming together on the Commons, put them in a high mood. They thought themſelves ſlighted in all things ; they ſaw, that Strafford's paper informations did yet guide all ; they went down to their Houſe in great malcontentment. Mr. Pym, left they ſhould break out in ſome raſh diſtemper, advyſed to adjourne the houſe till Mononday, without ſpeaking of any purpoſes. His counſell was followed.

On Sunday, in the King's chapell, both the Queens being preſent at ſervice, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York led in Princeſſe Mary to the chapell, convoyed with a number of ladies of her own age, of nine and ten years, all in cloath of ſilver. The Prince of Orange went in before, with the ambaffadors, and his couſins of Tremuill and Naſſaw : the King gave him his bryde ; good Biſhop Wren made the marriage. At night, before all the Court, they went to bed in the Queen's chamber. A little after the King and Queen had bidden the bridegroom good-night, as their ſone, he, as it was appointed, aroſe, and went to his bed in the King's chamber. The precipitation of this marriage is feared by manie.

We have mett at length ſometimes with Dr. Rivett : he is one fullie in our minds, and againſt the Biſhops. On Mononday, ſome thouſands of citizens and prentiffes awaited all day at Weſtminſter, cryed to everie Lord as they went out and in, in a loud and hideous voyce, for juſtice againſt Strafford, and all traitors. In the afternoon, being informed, that the Lieutenant of the Tower had received a warrand to take in, upon his alleadgeance, ane hundred ſouldiers, with a captain, who had been Strafford's page, they gave in a paper of this. The Lords was faine to mitigate them with good words ; alſo to ſend for the guard of the Tower that night, Effex, Brooke, and Newport, with five hundred of the trained band of the Hamlets. All this tyme the Lower Houſe was incloſed from ſeven in the morning to eight at night. After much debate, at laſt, bleſſed be the name of the Lord, they all ſwore and ſubſcryved the wryte which here you have, I hope in ſubſtance our Scottiſh Covenant. God maketh our enemies the instruments of all our good. We ſee now, that it hath been in a happie tyme that ſo much tyme hath been loſed about Strafford's head. Bot to-day, and hereafter, great things are expected, whereof you ſhall be advertiſed.

May 4th, Tueſday 1641.

This day was spent on the subscribing and swearing of the protestation in the Higher House. The Bishops hes put their hand to it, and we lyke it all the worse. We are perplexed onlie for one poynt of it, which was passed partlie through inadvertance, partlie because no more could be obtained. In the doctrine of the church of England, in the articles of their conclusion, both bishops and ceremonies are exprest; for which cause diverse of the best refuse to subscribe in the Citie. Many commentars are fetcht to elude this; bot the most satisfactorie is, that at swearing and subscribing in the Lower House, it was declared expresselie, by the doctrine they meant not the government and ceremonies, and that quicklie they shall declare this, by ingiving of Bills against both. If this be, all is weell; else not. Wednesday a sudden bruit ran through the citie, that the Papists had sett the Lower House on fyre, and had besett it with armes: in a clap all the citie is in alarum; shopes closed; a world of people in armes runnes down to Westminster. When they come, they find the report allutterlie groundless. The matter was, about ten of the clock some coming out of the Lower House, had said there was hott work and a great fire within; which being mistaken, putt the rash and foolish alarum abroad. The hott work was a most weightie matter indeed, the debateing upon a designe, which is alleadged the English armie was sett on, to marche towards London for dissolving the Parliament. If this be true, it will be the most dangerous peice for the Court that yet hes been spoken of. However, all the servants of the King and Queen are commanded to attend, and no where to depart till they be tried in this strange affair. All thir things hold out our affaires as if they were not. This is a feeding storme. At supper this night we hear that the Lower House, in the afternoon, hes voyced, that it is a part of their sworne libertie, that no Parliament shall be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of the Commons House. The Higher House hes, with one consent, voyced Strafford guiltie of the facts charged, especiallie in the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh articles; onlie nineteen, who were either his allies or witnesses, went out before voycing. To-morrow, it is thought, they will find these facts treason, and his head to be forfait. His petition to replie to St. John was rejected. Pembroke, Chamberland of the King's house, Dorsett of the Queen's, Newcastle of the Prince's, came and arrested all the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince, both men and wo-

men, that they sturr not without the King and Parliament's leave ; the fairest way that can be to stay the voyages (which they say, was intended presentlie after the Prince of Orange's dismissal,) of the King's to the armie, of the Prince's to Wales, of the Queen's to Portsmouth, whether long agoe they say her jewels went ; a place, they say, to be fortified for receaving of the French. These things are like to draw deep. The King is now verie sad and pensive ; yet no man hes the least intention against him : if they had, the Scotts, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts blood : bot the farthest is the punishing of false knaves, who hes too long abused the King and us all. The Mayor is commanded to keep a strong watch upon the Tower. Bot I must break off, and leave something till the next.

Dear Brethren, have a care of my flock. I hope now to winn home shortly. My best affections to yow all, both brethren and elders. This letter hes twentie-four pages, the other papers hes fortie-two pages. I have sent to my Lord also the seven last Gazets for forraign newes ; also Strafford's and Pym's speech, with the Covenant in print.

Your servant in the Lord,

May 7th [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY SWEET HEART,

Gravefend, twenty myles from London, is scarce of paper. I am this farr in my way homeward, without any discontentment, by God's gracious assistance, since I left thee, bot in everie thing by all persons mett with as my heart could wish. This day, the wind and tyde are all faire, our companie and ship is good, we have with us the King's wyne and beer ; we are hopefull of a quick passage. I have been much longing to hear of thy estate ; and behold yesterday, while I am readie to depart from London, I receive my good Lady's⁽¹⁾ letter telling me that, on the twentieth of May, thou was, at four afternoon, delivered safe of a daughter ; wherein I much rejoyce and blesses my good God for this favour joynd to all the rest. My voyage will be much the lighter of this good

(¹) Lady Mary Leslie, second daughter of John Earl of Rothes, was married to Hugh Lord Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton.

news. For recompense, shew to my Lady, and to her onlie, that my Lord, her Father, is lyke to change all the Court; that the King and Queen both begin much to affect him; and if they goe on, he is lyke to be the greatest courteour either of Scotts or English. Lykelie he will take a place in the Bed-chamber, and be little more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclynes, he may have my Lady Devonshyre, ⁽²⁾ a verie wife lady with four thousand pound Sterling a-year. The wind now blows faire in his top-faile: I wish it may long continue; bot all things here are verie changeable.

My Sweit Heart have a care of thy health. It will be my great joy to finde at my comeing that thow and all my foure children, (the Lord bleffe them,) have been in good case in my absence. The Lord be with thee, my Sweit Heart: I hope to preveene this letter.

Thy owne,

Gravefend, June 2d, [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

Tuesday nine a'clock in the morning.

[TO LORD MONTGOMERY.]

MY LORD,

Gravefend is scant of paper. I am now going to ship. No more news than before. For the present, your Good-father is a good courteour: if it hold, he is lyke to be first both with King and Queen; but fundrie thinks it is so fudden and so great a change that it cannot hold. The King seems yet resolut to goe to Scotland, albeit the difficulties of the journey be great, and daylie on all hands increafes. It is like this week two hundred thousand pound Sterling shall be delyvered for disbanding of the most of your armie, and good securitie given for the rest. They speak of keeping still in Newcastle the halfe of yow; bot I believe the Bill of abolishing bishops, to be agitat on Thursday, may work a great alteration in manie things; and to the end of this week nothing certain can be pronounced of any thing. I have taken course to be informed by letters how all goes. I have directed to send all my

(2) Lord Rothes at this time was a widower, his wife, Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of John Earl of Marr, having died 2d of May 1640. But he himself died in little more than two months after the date of this letter.

letters to yow. Your Lordship, for your better information in my absence, may break all up that is directed to me, and close all in a paper, to be sent to your Ladie with the first occasion. It seems verie unexpedient yow should, on any occasion, leave the armie for a tuentie dayes; for in that time it is lyke manie things, now uncertain, shall be determined. Your letters from the Generall, from Balmerinock, from the Committee, wryting for Mr. Robert Blair and me by name, made us to goe before it was meet. When we heard that Mr. Harie Rollock, Mr. James Bonner, Mr. James Bruce, and others, were come up, all here, commissioners and others, thought our comeing to Newcastle needles; which your Lordship will declare, if any inquyre why we came not. They would gladlie have had us staving when we were readie to goe; bot being so fairlie disinified once, we would not ingadge againe, being so long absent from our charges. My man, James Laurie, give my letters with him to the Generall-Major Baillie, to Meldrum and Durie; prevade not to obtaine him his pay; your Lordship must affist him with the Generall to obtaine my most reasonable desire. The master is calling us a shipboard: I must break off. The Lord be with your Lordship.

Your Lordship's fervant,

Gravefend, June the 2d, [1641.]
 Tuesday morning, ten a'clock.

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSINE,

Your letter with Robert Gray, and your book, I received, for which accept manie thanks. For some part of recompence, receive, herein inclosed, a compt of the most part of my voyage, in the autographes of these my letters, which I caused keep for this verie end, that yow might understand all that I had written, or the most part of it. My long letter anent the Lieutenant yow received before; some of my letters are away, bot yow have here enough. Upon the sea we were fra Wednesday morning till Mononday. God was verie gracious to us in this most dangerous sea; we were once teddered on a sand-bed, had the wind been as it was the day before, or all the day after, our vesshell had been dung in shards; as it was, we spake to two catches [ketches] to ryde one on everie

fyde of us : it pleased God the day fell calme, and when we had been prifoners fra fix houres in the morning, the evening tyde lifted us up and put us to the fea. After that, we had fome ftorme for fixteene houres, our fhip fell leek, it was verie evill ballaft, and heiled much; bot our chief danger was about the Holy Ifland: the wind ferved us not to go about the blind rocks, where there are frequent fhipwracks, we behoved to go through them, we fell in a calme, fo at verie midnight we fell among them; great was the fear of the whole companie, yet God brought us through that death, bleffed be his name! I refolve, if I may goe be land, never more to faile that coaft.

When we come to Edinburgh, we fand ane verie evill fpirit had been ftrring, and much prevailing both in Church and State, a wicked plott, desperate, devilifh, and new, to have accused in the prefence of the King and Parliament, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Rothes, of words at leaft of higheft treason, and to have proven them by fuborned witneffes. The ground of this is not yet found out, you fhall hear more of it at once; bot had it fucceeded, we had all fallen in a woefull miferie and ane bloodie butcherie; bot God ftrangelie discovering it, hes made it evanifh and turne much to our good. The fame evill fpirit was ftrring in our Church; great heat betuixt fundrie minifters and fundrie people; great murmurings and fear as if divifions for Browniftick questions had been apparent. I wondered to fee fo much dinn on no ground to compt of; I dealt earneftlie with Argyle to draw together fome of the wyfeft humors of both, and draw them to fome agreeance before the Affembly. This I hope, before now, will be done, fo, in defpyte of the devill, we fhall have no trouble from thefe toyes. How all will goe expect to hear after the Affembly. Argyle hes made Mr. Johnftoune to wryte to me to make hafte to come to Edinburgh for the fettleing of thefe things: I mynd to ryde to-morrow. This day our Parliament fitts down. The queftion of Epifcopacie letts not the King yet winn home; the Lower Houfe hes paffed the Bill for taking away root and branch, for which immortall glory be given to the name of the great God, who can doe all he pleafes, in his tyme, by meanes unexpected. The Higher Houfe is expected will let that fame Bill paffe; and that the King, who yet remains moft averfe from fwallowing down that moft bitter pill, will be at laft brought to it. In the mean tyme, the event of that Bill and tryall of the plotts there to have violented the Parliament and City of London, holds all things fra conclufion. Traquair and Balcanquall

they say are fled. Our Parliament is defyed by the King to goe on, for by no meanes we would hear of farder procrastination, with affurance of his coming down in the beginning of the nixt moneth. Our Assemblie sitts down at St. Andrewes on Tuesday nixt. Glasgow is to presse my transportation, I and all my friends are shortlie to oppose : the event is the Lord's.

I have read bot parcellis of your book ; all that I hear speaks weell of it : I wish fundrie words and phrascs were examined by some there who hes skill, if they be *satis Latina* : I doubt of fundrie, bot truelie my skill in that facultie now is so small that I dare say nothing ; however, polish you still, so much as you may, that you may perfyte that work, which in my judgement will both bring profite to our cause, honour to our countrey, and deserved commendation to you for ever ; you shall not want the best information I, or any I can move, is able to furnish. By all meanes presse Paget by printing his book, also Rivett as he promised, and what you can with Voetius, and Cloppenburgh. If my Paralell, my Antidote, my Questione of Episcopacie, my Replie to the Modest Advertiser, be not yet come to your hands, you must write to London to Robert Inglish, or some other, to call for them at the shop of Mr. Gillibrand in Paul's Churchyard, at the Brafsen Serpent ; they will be about ane sixpence the piece : the two last were not printed out when I come away, bot now I hope they are. Continue to write at length your forrane occurrents. I was ever feared for a revolt in France, so greivous hes that government been these manie years. If Castilion be routed, and Lorrain played the false pultron, it is lyke France will be forced to let Spain draw breath, which were a great pitie. No appearance for help to the poor Palatine yet here ; yet at last it is lyke, when a new heart is put in our Court, as the face of it is much changed already, there will be great and powerfull assistance given to him from this. If the Swedds and confederats can keep the fields till the nixt Spring, it is lyke the British Army may appear in Germany for some better purpose than hitherto.

I wish how you could finde a way to get your great men sett on a profitable studie : a pitie that Salmasius, Vossius, and Heinsius should so trifle their dayes about toyes ; I think Dr. Rivett, if he laid it to heart, could move the Prince and State, or else the *Curatores Academicæ*, or the provincially Synods, or all of them, to interceed, so farr as their pressing request or authoritie or rewards could goe, to have these great spirits sett on work on these

things which are most profitable for the Reformed Churches, especially to vindicate antiquitie from the hands of Baronius and other Papists; bot not in such a longfome, fruitless, humanistick way as Casaubon and Montague hes begun; for this way is infinite, and one Centurie by all three shall not be past through till they die. A pitie of pities that there should be so little witt, zeale, or authoritie in all these lands as to gett use made of all these treasures God hes given them. Sett your minde to see what ye can doe to help it. I wish Salmasius be no worse employed than on the Pope against Petavius: Yet it were better to contemne opposites, and sett himself to delyver his own minde. Yow know that by setting Stapleton, Durie, and others on Whittaker,⁽³⁾ they diverted that man from farr better work; but I must end. The Lord be with yow and your wife.

Kilwinning, 15th July [1641.]
Thurfday.

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSIN,

Since your last, the first of August, you have, I think, received two of mine, and this is a third (if vertue were in length) worth any six of yours. That fellow of Ranthrow [Renfrew] yow wryte of, I tryed of the brethren of Dumbarton and Paisley to be ane flight man, without letters or good manners. All he faves of his Irish persecutiones and testimonies from us, seem to be allutterlie false.

The carriage of our Assemblie was thus. Since the Assemblie of Aberdeen [1640] there was a continuall heart-burning betwixt the favourers of Mr. Harie Guthrie and Leckie; as in my discourse of that Assemblie yow may see, I foretold. As I came from London through Edinburgh, I fand the misunderstanding so great, that I advysed Argyle to take notice of it in tyme; and when Mr. Archibald Johnstone came home, I wryt to him to draw some of the parties together for advysement how to preveene discord. For all that both could doe, at my coming to Edinburgh, on Saturday the 17th of July, I fand Leckie, and many that favoured him,

(3) William Whitaker, D.D. an eminent English Divine, who distinguished himself by his Controversial Writings. He died in 1595.

peremptor, not only to accuse Mr. Harie Guthrie, bot to have the Aëts of Aberdeen about meetings and read prayers cancelled. They were much galled with the flanders went upon them for the abusers of privie meetings, and other things falselie fathered on them. On the other part, Mr. Harie, and many with him, were no lessè resolute to defend all that passèd in Aberdeen, and to have sharp censurs concluded in the nixt Assèmblie against all that were for novations, not approven by our Church. With those mindes went too many to St. Andrewes, as it had been a place of combate. Our only remedie against such scandalous debates were our prayers to God, which carefullie were offered, the Sabbath before we came from home, in a solemn humiliation for a blessing to the ensueing Assèmblie. This labour we found was not for nought; for at once we fand the good hand of God with us above expectation.

The King had sent his warrand to my Lord Weems to sitt, with as ample a Commission as either Hamilton or Traquair. His Majestie intended this service for Southesk, by Traquair's advyce, who yet had too great hand in affaires; bot Mr. Henderfone diverted the King from that man, towards whom the countrey had so evill ane eye. For what speciall respects Weems fell to be nixt, I doe not know; however the modestie and simplicitie of the man made him displeasing to none.

When we came to St. Andrewes, our first perplexitie was about a Moderator. Mr. Henderfon was passionatelie desired in so hard a tyme; bot there was [no] certaintie of his presence. Mr. Harrie Rollock, on whom the voyces would have fallen nixt, had of purpose absented himself. The rest who were mett were esteemed so far ingaged to the question to be debaited: judge what strait then of men was there, when the lyke of me, who to this day had declyned to moderate a Presbyterie, was shored to be leeted for to moderate a Generall Assèmblie. Yet, after much secret advysement with his Grace the Commissioner, on Mononday, with much adoe, that difficultie was overcome.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the first day of the Assèmblie, the last moderator, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, preached the 122d Psalme. According to his way, he went over it all. His much kything of lecture was not to all favourie; bot his falling flatt on all the particular questions in hand, eagerlie enough, as if our Kirk were presentlie burning with schisme, did favour to none of so much prudence as the tyme did require. The matter was nothing helped

in the afternoon ; Mr. David Dickfone, antecedent moderator, as appeared to many, too passionatelie vindicating the credit of religious people from unjust slanders, and urging the repentance of such Ministers, who, with their conformitie, had brought latelie our Church to the brink of ruine, did highlie offend very many who were not farr from challenging him publickly, as contradictorious to Mr. Andrew [Ramsay.] The first day of our Assemblie is appointed for fasting and humiliation. Of this disposition there was not so much this day among us as needed. After sermons we mett in the hall of the Old Colledge. Mr. Andrew did pray ; the commissions received by Mr. Archibald [Johnstoune] ; many of the commissioners were members of parliament ; diverse others also, upon the certain expectation of the Assemblie's translation to Edinburgh, had not come over. His Grace's commission in Latine was read ; one clause thereof importing the Assemblie's translation, at the Commissioner's advyce, was demurred on by the Clerk, as intrinsing on the Assemblie's liberties ; yet it was not publickly questioned. A letter from his Majestie to the Assemblie, so full of grace and favour as we could have wished, was read : the copie you have at (A). The answering of it was laid on Mr. David Lindesay of Belhelvie. His draught in the end of Edinburgh Assemblie was read ; bot it was so long and luxuriant, that our Mr. Henderson was caused to make that short, decised, and nervous answer you have at (B).

The Parliament had sent over a Commissioner to us, one from ilk Estate, Cassills, Auldbar, Provost of Dyfart, intreating, without any prescription, that, in regard many of them were members of the Assemblie, [but] could not, without detriment to the publick, attend at St. Andrewes, we would be pleased to translate the Assemblie to Edinburgh ; also that we would be pleased to enter in no weightie action, especiallie in choosing a Moderator, wherein they desired to have voyce, before we returned to Edinburgh. In the translation there was no difficultie, bot in the delay to choose a Moderator the difficultie was hudge. The most thought the Assemblie could not be constitute, and was so incapable to perform any act, let be so great a one as to move a translation, before a Moderator was chosen. Some leading men, who would have had the moderation to themselves, or to these who did favour their intentions, did urge a present election. The matter was remitted to the next session ; wherein, to our great comfort, it was determined with farr greater ease than any expected. Many of us thinking the delay impos-

fible to be obtained, had concluded to voyce to [for] Mr. James Boner; yet to-morrow, the earnestness of the Commissioners from the Parliament, the Clerk finding in the Register some such old practick, the certain hopes of Mr. Henderfone's near return, his Grace permitting the matter to our own option, (whileas before some about him had made him declare oft, that that delay would legallie evacuate his commiſſion,) Mr. David Dagleiſh overcoming in boldneſs his good friend Mr. Harie Guthrie, and ſtoutlie reaſoning the ſufficient formalitie of continewing, by voyces, the old Moderator, *ad hunc actum*, to tranſſerre, and to choiſe a new Moderator in the beginning of the tranſlated Aſſembly, by pluralitie of voyces it was clearlie caried. We took that for a certain preſage of God's aſſiſtance in all ſubſequent purpoſes.

The next Seſſion was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 27th. No more bot a ſupplication of D. Houy ⁽⁴⁾ read, wherein he compleaned, that after his long ſervice in the Kirk and Divinitie-ſchools, he had been made to demitt his place, by threats, in his extreame old age and extreame povertie. The caſe was very invidious, and reflected much on his colleagues in the Town and New Colledge. The matter, I heard, was, that he, as Principall, had given warrand for lifting of the New Colledge rent, whiles to a wicked knave his ſon, whiles to Dr. Panter, and to others; ſo that no compt could be made by him of much money. Mr. Samuel Rutherford, I think, cauſed complean of this to the Committee of Eſtates when we were at London. They ſent over Newton and William Ridg ⁽⁵⁾ with a commiſſion, rigorous enough, either to gett a compt of him, or to lay him in ward. Upon the fear of this evill, he offered to demitt his place; and his dimiſſion was taken, reſerving fyve hundreth merks a year to him for his intertainment. When his ſupplication came to be conſidered in Edinburgh, his good friend Mr. Henderfone guided it ſo, that, with ane great deall of commendation to the old man, large as great, I am ſure, as he ever deſerved, it was voyced, that his dimiſſion ſhould be rendered to him; that, according to the acts of our old Aſſemblies anent failed miniſters or profeſſors, he ſhould all his life tyme enjoy his full rent and honour, without any diminution.

(4) Dr. Robert Howie. He was brought from Dundee, in July 1607, to ſucceed Andrew Melville as Profeſſor of Divinity, and Provost of St. Mary's or the New College, St. Andrews.

(5) Sir John Leslie of Newton and William Rigg of Athernie.

When we came back to Edinburgh, to our great joy we found Mr. Henderfone and Mr. Gillespie come home. That week was spent in privie consultations for accommodating the feared differences. Argyle and Cassills drew together in Loudoun's chamber the Ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Cant, me, and some others. All the Ministers of Edinburgh were chaffed at their people's carriage toward them : they would have been at the simple discharge of all privie meetings, bot those of a familie ; and for this the Act of Aberdeen was alleadged by them and many moe : for this the other partie would have had that Act recalled or exponed. I marvell much of both their forgetting the meaning and occasion of that Act, sett down at length to you in my letters. Then it was at last agreed, that Aberdeen Acts should be altogether miskend ; that a draught should be made for ordering these meetings now in question. The paper drawne up by Mr. Henderfone the 10th of June, which pleased all weell that I had conferred with, bot mislyked [by] the Ministrie of Edinburgh, and above all Mr. David Calderwood could not abyd it : the clause into it of the number, which I lyked best, did most mislyke them ; they alleadged the permitting of any to meet, in the smallest number, was ane establisshing by ane act the thing itself. Many meetings there was for little purpose. It was appointed, that Mr. Dickfone and Mr. Blair should meet with Mr. Henderfone and Mr. William Colvin, and sett down their mindes. Their draught was long, and too generall. It was laid again on Mr. David Dickfone, with whom he pleased, to wryte down his minde That forme also did not please. At last Mr. Henderfone assayed it. His modell lyked us best ; yet Mr. David Calderwood started mightilie at it. We desyred Mr. David to dyte what he pleased : notwithstanding we were all refreshed with a certaine hope of a solid agreement ; for Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, and the rest who were suspected of innovating, did purge themselves fullie of all such intentions, and were readie to receive any of the modells any had proponed. And being posed, what was their minde anent all the novations ? Mr. Andrew Ramfay could enumerate such as, omitting Glory to the Father, Kneeling in the pulpit, discountenancing read prayers, and the rest. They gave answer to satisfaction, that betwixt us and them there was no discrepantie at all. At last Mr. Henderfone fell on that modell, which thereafter was voyced and printed. This happie concord, whereof Argyle and Mr. Henderfone were the happie

instruments, will, we truſt, have a great bleſſing to this whole land, which every where began to be faſhed with idle toyes and ſcruples.

On Tueſday, the 27th of July, we mett before noon in the Grayfriars. After prayer, Mr. Andrew Fairfoull required that his commiſſion might be given to Mr. Henderſone, in regard that the Preſbytrie had choſen Mr. Andrew Ramſay, Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Alexander Henderſone if he ſhould be preſent, and him only in caſe of Mr. Henderſone's abſence ; ſo, albeit Mr. John Adamſone had, at his own hand, put in his own name in the commiſſion, at the firſt meeting in St. Andrewes, and he had voyced there as commiſſioner, yet Mr. Henderſone being now preſent, he required to be free of the burden, which he had undertaken only in caſe of his abſence. While the matter is going to voyceing, Mr. David Calderwood, albeit no commiſſioner, did reaſon very paſſionatelie, that Mr. Henderſone was incapable of a commiſſion ; in this Mr. Henderſone did ſecond him : alwayes, when it came to voyceing, Mr. Henderſone's commiſſion was unanimouſlie received. The nixt queſtion was, about the lite for a new Moderator. The old faſhion was, that the former Moderator lited whom he would, and the Aſſembly added whom they pleaſed : Ane overture had paſt att Aberdeen, that every Provinciall Synod ſhould have one of their number to be on the lites for Moderator, one to be on the committee of Bills, one for the Reports, and one for the Overtures. The Northlandmen preſſed much to have it ſo ; bot it was found unreaſonable ; and that overture, not being an act, and not being booked, was rejected. Yet they got Belhelvie eiked to the lite which Mr. Andrew [Ramſay] gave in. Mr. Henderſone declined earneſtly the burden of Moderation : alwayes the moſt of the votes fell on him. The noblemen were for Mr. Harie Rollock, ſome for Bonner, ſome for Belhelvie, none at all for Adamſone, Daglieſh, Somervell, Mr. A. Blackhall. No more was done in that ſeſſion ; only Argyle told us, that the Parliament was content to have bot one ſeſſion in the day, and that in the afternoone, hoping the Aſſembly would be pleaſed to make bot one ſeſſion alſo, and that in the forenoon, that ſo the Commiſſioners might gett both Aſſembly and Parliament attended. This was agreed to.

Wedneſday 28th. The Moderator read the overtures which I had drawn up, and were enacted at Aberdeen, for ordering of the

Houfe. He did preffe them all; yet, through negligence to exact them thereafter, we fell at once into our old miforders. Alwayes we expect that the exact order the Parliament hes now taken for ruleing of their houfe, will make us, ere long, follow their good example. He read also a list of names for the committees of Bills and Reports. Now for the Overtures: till those of Aberdeen were considered, verie hardlie would he permitt any to be added to those of his own number: for assessor to himself, he shew, he would advertise privlie those whom most he needed. Four were named to appoint preachers for all the Churches, of which Mr. James Bonner, my good friend, being chief, by his favour I gott my self shifted of that burden, as in all this Assemblie I did what I could to hold my self quiet, and weell near mute. Mr. David Calderwood fell on again impertinentlie, and verie peevishlie, as if it had been almost a null, an evill constitute meeting, for being translated without a Moderator permanent, and choosung of him for Moderator who had no commiffion. Mr. Henderfone dealt verie patientlie, and respectfullie with him: at last his Grace commanded him to silence.

The Moderator did caufe read some letters, which was given him in England for the Assemblie. The first was from a number of our gracious brethren of the ministrie at London and about it, congratulating our happie proceeding, shewing their hopes to gett our discipline establisht there, telling that some of their brethren, who were for Independencie of congregations, were great hinderance to that designe; also that they did give out that some of the most eminent men in the ministrie with us, inclined their way. The men they meant be (Mr. Henderfone told us) were Mr. David Dickfone, and Mr. Andrew Cant; bot none in all the Assemblie were more against Independencie than these two. The matters, after some dayes, were voyced; all in one voice rejected that conclusion,⁽⁶⁾ as contrare directlie to our Covenant; and appointed Mr. Henderfone to wryte a courteous answer to our English brethren; which he did verie accuratelie: if I can, yow shall have the copie thereof. The nixt was from one Mr. Durie, for assistance to his Negociation of peace among Protestants. Whill some were beginning to say somewhat to the man's prejudice, I excused all, so

⁽⁶⁾ As to Independancy. In the MS., it is "Rejected that confusion." The Letter there referred to "from some Ministers in England," dated 12th of July, and the Assembly's Answer, 9th of August, are printed in the Acts of the General Assembly 1641.

that his motion was received; and it was laid on Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillespie, and me, to frame an answer. We left the labour to Mr. Blair, who did it weell enough, in a fair gentile generall, appointing him, when he pleased, to keep correspondence with the ministers of Edinburgh. A third was from Dr. Sibbald of Aberdeen, supplicating for his books, which at the prior Assembly were taken from him. It was granted he should have all except some of his sermons, whereon a part of his process was grounded. A fourth was from Mr. John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, supplicating that his place, for a little tyme more, might be kept for him. It was rejected as unreasonable, and his Presbytrie ordained to plant his place; yea, order was given, that none who had delayed so long to come in the Covenant should be received, without a singular measure of satisfaction and tryall, to be approved by the Generall Assembly. The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechisme, a Directorie for all the parts of the publick worship, and a Platforme of Government, wherein possible England and we might agree. All did approve the motion; and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with libertie to vake from preaching whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did decline to undertake it, yet it will lie on him; and readily in this he may doe some good.

Thursday 29th. The Moderators of the Committees had no matter prepared for the Assembly; so we putt off that session with generall discourses, especially upon the matter of translation, which had most troubled us in bygone Synods, and was lyke to doe so in this also. Ane Committee was appointed to find out overtures for that difficult matter. Least I should be prejudged, I got on it my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay. Glasgow also, by their importunitie, gott on Dr. Strang and Mr. David Dickson. The Presbyterie of Glasgow, it were long to tell yow the way how they shifted both Mr. David Dickson and Mr. Robert Ramfay from being commissioners. This was verie evill taken by the whole countrey, and turned over to Glasgow's prejudice: yet Mr. David was used no other wayes by the Assembly, nor if he had been a prime commissioner. This Committee did nothing for a day or two, and that, it was publickly compleaned, because Dr. Strang and Mr. David, for their own interest, did marr the rest; so they, and with them my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay, were

removed from that Committee. Thereafter they blocked a number of tolerable overtures; the conclusion whereof was remitted to the next Generall Affemblie. The Moderator advyfed the Towne of Edinburgh, and other prime Burrowes, to intertain abroad some good fpirits, who might be their owne, if they proved apt for their fervice. Alfo he fhew the expedience of calling home one Mr. Thomas Young⁽⁷⁾ from England, the author of *Dies Dominica*, and of the *Synctymnias* [*Smectymnuus*] for the moft part; and of Mr. Colvin from Sedan, to whose commendation he fpake much: If he hath done any thing in print, let us have it, and wryte what yow know of his abilities. There was a Committee appointed to confider the ftate of our farre remote Churches of the Ifles, of Lochquaber, of Orknay, and Shetland. Some prefent courfe was taken for Lochquaber, and it was laid on Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. Andrew Affleit [Affleck], to goe in the fpring and vifit Arran and fome near Ifles. There was a Committee appointed to confider the advancement of the weell of Colledges and Schools. All their confultations we hope in tyme will produce good effects.

Fryday 30th, came in a number of particular bills: yea, fome dayes thereafter, there came more than two hundred, for augmentation of ftipends, for dividing or changeing of churches; all which, without reading, were referred to the Parliament: regraits for the increafe of enormous finnes in the land, the removeing of monuments of fuperftition, from diverfe parts of the countrie, yet remaining, was recommended to the Presbytries. Mr. John Guthrie, Bifhop of Murray, fent out of the tolbooth, to the Affemblie, a fupplication to conferre with the Moderator, and fome others. All the fubject of his difcourfe with them, as alfo of diverfe conferences he had before with the Minifters of Edinburgh, was onlie a ftiff wrangling about the formalitie of the proceffe of his excommunication. He fent in another fupplication thereafter for the fame end, bot was neglected; for he and others of thofe men, feems to be obdured in perversnefs: yet it is lyke, that if the King

(7) This learned Divine probably never received fuch a call to settle in his native country. He was afterwards a Member of the Affembly of Divines at Westminster, and for fome years Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He died at Stow-market in 1655. But what in our day may be regarded as his chiefest diftinction, he was private preceptor to Milton; and of his pupil's affection for his early tutor, his Fourth Elegy "Ad THOMAM JUNIUM præceptorem suum," &c. and two Latin Epistles, are public testimonies.—(Todd's Edition of Milton, vol. i. p. 5; vol. vi. p. 197. Lond. 1826.)

and we had fettled fure in Parliament, there is few of them, if any, bot will fpplicat to be permitted to doe all that fhall be preferyved.

Saturday 31st, onlie particular bufinefs was handled, not worth the wryting. Aberdeen, in their commiffion from the Generall Affembly, had mett and decerned Mr. George Gillespie, then at London, for their towne-minifter, and Mr. Edward Wright for their divinitie-profeflor, in Marifhall Colledge. Mr. George's caufe came then to be handled. His Grace⁽⁸⁾ did plead, that thofe fifty years he and his people had been vexed with a moft weak minifter; that he had gotten Mr. George admitted the firft in Scotland without the Bifhops confent. Mr. George fpake weell for himfelf; that he nor his people were never advertifed till the decret was paff, and diverfe other things. The difpute was long and hott: it was remitted to the nixt feflion. Argyle fpake of the regrate manie minifters made [refpecting the] under payment of their ftipends, defired the Affembly to find overtures for re-mead, and promifed the Parliament would confider what fhould be proponed.

On Sunday afternoone, before the commiffioners, I heard Mr. Blair teach very gravelie for peace, and abftinence from all fuch meetings, as in former tymes had been very profitable, bot now were unexpedient, unlawfull, and fchifmaticall. This fome did miftake, bot the moft tooke it very weell from him. Truelie, I bear that man record, that in all his Englifh voyages, in manie paffages of the Affembly, private and publick, he did contribute as much to the pacifeing of our differences as any, and much more than manie. That day ane very unhappie accident fell in the hand of a minifter, Mr. Thomas Lamb, who had been depofed by the blind Bifhop of Galloway, for diverfe quarrells. The miniftrie of Edinburgh had obtained to him a church in the Prefbytrie of Peebles. The man had alwayes been of a verie contentious humour. They fay he had ftriken a man, whereof he died. However his Prefbytrie, for his perversnefs and contentions, had fufpended him. He had appealed to the Generall Affembly. The committee, on Saturday, had agreed them, and remitted him to the Prefbytrie. On Sunday, after both fermons in Leith, he told Mr. James Power that he was difpleafed with that accord, and would com-

(8) The Commissioner to the Assembly, John Earl of Wemyss. Mr. George Gillespie continued as Minister of the parish of Wemyss until his removal to Edinburgh in 1642.

plean to the Affemblic, both of the committee and his Presbytrie. Immediatlie goeing to ease himself among the stufte, a young man to whom the stufte belonged, fell upon him with evill language, taking up his cloake and gloves : after some mutuall jarring, when he had gotten his cloak and gloves again, he fell in some quarrelling with the young man, and with his whinger stroke him, whereof presentlie he died. He wrote a pitifull supplication to the Affemblic, to obtain some delay of his execution, till his wife and friends might come to him. This was granted. He obtained easilie a letter of Sleans from the partie ; bot we think the Constable will cause execute him ; and so much the more, because he a minister, on the Sabboth-day, had committed that villanie in the tyme of the Affemblic and Parliament.

Mononday, the 2d of August, the Parliament satt not, so wee had two sessions. The forenoon was taken up with the busines of Aberdeen. Mr. Andrew Cant laid out Aberdeen's necessities patheticklie ; Mr. David Lindsay and Provest Leslie, shew their proceeding in Mr. Gillespie's election to have been punctuallie according to the words of the commissiion. Notwithstanding the Moderator, desyreing Mr. George's stay still in Fyfe for the use of St. Andrewes, did so state the question, for all the Northlandmen could say to the contrare, and notwithstanding also of Argyle's evident seconding them, his abode at Weems was carried by pluralitie of voyces. Yea, when they pressed Mr. Edward Wright's transportation, albeit all that favoured Mr. David Dickson did voyce for them, yet they lost that cause also ; in regard [it was] manifest, that before the meeting of that committee Mr. Edward was admitted to the church of Glasgou, and before his citation to come to that committee, or his knowledge of Aberdeen's intention, he was agreed with Glasgou, and had obtained his dismissal from the Presbytrie of Stirling. Mr. Robert Ramsay had sett the town of Glasgou on that man, whereof now I suspect he repents : the man is learned and blameless ; bot it is not lyke Mr. David's way, nor among the most prudent. Factions among that people and Presbytrie is lyke to grow : I wish they come not to a shamefull hearing, and that quicklie, on the occasion of Mr. Hew Blair's election to that toun's ministrie. Sir John Scot's petition, to have a description of our Shyredomes, by some in everie Presbytrie, to be sett before the mappes ⁽⁹⁾ yow have in hand, is granted.

(9) Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, was a chief promoter of the important scheme for illustrating the Topography of Scotland, by the publication of a series of

In the afternoon Mr. Andrew Keer, minister at [Carriden,] being transported by the Provinciaall Synod of Louthian to the burrough of Lithgow, had appealed to the Generall Assemblie. His appeal was voyced null. This preparative made Glasgowe too eager to call my cause; but they found the case manie wayes unlyke. At Aberdeen there had been much adoe for planting of Innerneffe. The Laird of Streichan, patron, had presented Mr. James Anan. More than the two part of the parish speaking Irish, obtained Mr. Murdoch Mackainze, a bold weell-spoken man, to be conjoynd to ane equall stipend and burden. This equalitie Mr. Murdoch urged and refused to preach to the Irish congregation bot day about, so everie other Sunday they sang dumb. After some dayes travell, it was thus agreed, that a third man should be gotten to those who had never more nor one before, to preach in Irish upon fyve hundereth merks, the Towne to pay three, the two ministers each one. We being agreed privatlie, the Moderator thought it tyme to move the questione about Meetings, and regrated the finifter rumors thereanent. It was remitted to a committee in the Moderator's chamber. After two afternoons conference, Mr. Henderson fell on the modell yow have in print, (D.) On Wednesday he read it once, twyce, thrice. Many required delay to voyce till to-morrow, and a copie of the wryte. All delay was flatlie refused; bot anie man was permitted to say what he would, if it were to ten at night. Mr. David Calderwood was impertinent still in his opposition. Mr. Harie Guthrie, and these who were in this poynt, were feared should be more opposite than he had been. All called, to the Committee, and read at length. Some who craved delay were shortly taken up. Fear of a-ryseing and fomenting needlesse scruples, if that paper had run a-showing through the city, before it had been concluded, made the Moderator peremptorie refuse that which now is every day practised in our Parliament, and I think were more necessary to be practised in our Assemblie, except in some few extraordinary cases. The paper that day was voyced, and unanimooslie assented unto; yet fundrie voyced it too generall and insufficient.

Tuesday, the 3d of August, was taken up by a very factious

County Maps, from original surveys, accompanied with Descriptions. The Maps, at this time, were engraving in Holland; and the work, which was completed in 1654, formed the fifth volume of Blaeu's "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," or the sixth of the "*Atlas Major, sive Cosmographia Blaviana*," when republished at Amsterdam, in 1662.

question of your good friend Sir John Scot. He had promised to Mr. Mungo Law, second minister at Dyfart, in the presbyterie of Kirkaldie, a presentation to the Kirk of Kilrinnie, in the presbytrie of St. Andrewes. The Presbytrie of St. Andrewes not very curious to crave his transportation, Sir John, in the Provinciaill of Fyfe, urges his transportation. In the voyceing, not only the whole Presbytrie of Kirkaldie getts voyces, bot some borrowes two ruleing-elders getts voyce. Upon this, and some other informalities, Sir John did appeall to the Generall Assemblies. By strong sollicitation, by a world of mirrie tales in the face of the Assembly, he getts a sentence for his appellation, to the great indignation of the Synod of Fyfe, and the Moderator's malcontentment. Sir John held him with that advantage, and durst not pursue his maine poynt, anent the minister's transportation, which made manie take him bot for a wrangler, who did seek more the Synod's disgrace than another contentment. Overtures for planting of universities, burrows, schools, were read; also a letter of the King's to the Assembly, in favour of Panmure, requyreing the Minister of Monikey to be transported [to] some other church of his Majesties presentation: the defyre, with the man's own consent, was granted.

Wedneseday, the 4th: Mr. William Bennet was ordained, according to the Act of Aberdeen, to transport to Edinburgh. Mr. John Colines, after long opposition of the presbytrie and parochine, was ordained to be receaved to the church of Campsie. His presentation to the tack of Chancellor of the Chapter, wherein also he was obliged to ratifie the patron's tack, was ordained to be rectified. Mr. Andrew Logie, deposed at Aberdeen according to the Provinciaill [Synod's] appointment, was restored to his owne kirk: Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Birkenboug fashed the Assembly much, that he [Logie] might be obliged to receive a new presentation, that a new edictum might be served, and so, that the Assembly's act of reponing him to his own church should be evacuat; bot his motion being found to be from particular respects, it was misregarded.

Thurseday, the 5th: Aberdeen did supplicat for Mr. Andrew [Honeyman's] transportation to their Colledge. Arthure Arskine, had, of his own liberalitie, given him five hundred pound during ane old man's life, the man was but twenty-four years, and extream unwilling to flitt. Arthur Arskine, a weell deserving gentleman in our cause, when he began to plead, was so choaked with tears, that he became silent, and removed. This accident

made the Affembly fo compaffionat towards him, that, by pluralitie of voyces, he obtained his poynt. Thofe three rebuts in end weell near efferat Aberdeene : by way of indignation they crave leave to have back their depofed Doctōrs ; yet they gave in the fourth bill for Mr. John Ofall [Ofwald] of Penketland. His miffortoun was to be laft, elfe he had better reafons of ftay than any of the former three ; yet to pleafe Aberdeen, all he could fay was mifregarded ; and he, full fore againft his heart, was ordained to flitt.

Here came in my long-delayed action. After much altercation betwixt the paffionat parties, and fome calme difpute betwixt the Principall and me, by the favour of the Moderator, I got the invidious queftion efchewed anent my appeal, and the ftate made, Transport, or Abide ; when, after I had read the Reafons (D.) I here fend yow, there was not twentie voices of the whole for my transportation. I did forefee that this favour may readilie transport me, ere it be long, to places where my life will be much more miferable than it is like it would have been in Glasgow ; bot yet I thought it was incumbent to me, in confcience, to ufe all lawfull meanes to keep me with my people. I took it to have been a finne to have neglected this dutie for the preveening of croffes never fo apparent. The Laird of Leckie gave in to the Committee of Bills a complaint of Mr. Harie Guthrie's flandering of him at Aberdeen. Of this Mr. Harie complained in the face of the Affembly. This was like to blow up that fyre again which we thought had been extinguifhed ; yet even here alfo God was favourable to us. That matter was referred to us the Moderator's Affeffors. We laboured fo into it fome nights, that at laft we gott the parties agreed, both in a wryte, read to the Affembly, under their hands, declareing their good opinions each of other : for Leckie did truelie witnefs, that he knew no blame to Mr. Harie, neither in doctrine nor lyffe ; and Mr. Harie testified, that he never had a thought that Leckie, or any of his familie, was guiltie of thefe flanders he complained of. Of this pacification we were all moft glad.

Being defirous to have the Affembly at an end, it was appointed to keep her felfions twice in the day, and to difpenfe with the abfence of fo manie of our Parliamētarie members as could not be prefent in the afternoon with us. The reft of that day, and much alfo of pofterior felfions, was miffpent with the altercation of that bardifh man Mr. David Dagleifh, and the young Conftable of Dundie. He had obtained from his father to Mr. David a prefentation

to the perfonage of Dundie. The cuftome was, that of all the tithes, the Conftable payed bot to the church five hundred pound, the Towne gave to the parfon's fupplie five hundred merk. The Towne not having much will of Mr. David's miniftrie, refufes to pay the old five hundred merk. Mr. David refufes to tranfport from Cowper till the Conftable fecure him in a fufficient ftipend. The Affembly of Aberdeen ordains Mr. David to tranfport with diligence, and referrs the queftion of ftipend to the decifion of the Committee of Eftates. The Conftable fupplicats the Affembly to move Mr. David either to accept the charge, or give back the prefentation. This Mr. David peremptorilie refufed, intending by his prefentation to erect a ftipend to that place, and then readilie to leave it, if all doe not imbrace him. Mr. David's strang ⁽¹⁾ replies to the Moderator would have been taken in worfe part, if the Conftable's naughtinefs, in proclaiming, of the whole perfonage four or fyve chalders of victuall was too much for him to pay to the church's ufe, had not offended us all. My Lord Fleeming's petition, to have a new Prefbytrie erected in Biggart, of thirteen near adjacent churches of Lanerk and Peebles, was referred to the vifitation of the bounds. It was regrated by the Moderator, that Mr. David Calderwood, who deferved fo weell of our Church, was fo long neglected: He was recommended to the firft commodious vacant roome. Lykelie he fhall not be in hafte provided ⁽²⁾: the man is fixtie-fix years; his utterance is unpleafant; his carriage about the meetings in this Affembly, and before, hes made him lefs confiderable to diverfe of his former benefactors. The cafe alfo [of] Mr. James Fairley, late Bifhop of Argyle, was much regraited; that he having given fo long agoe all fatisfaction, that yet no place could be gotten to him ⁽³⁾ to deliver him from that extremitie of povertie wherewith long he had been vexed.

Fryday the 6th: A world of Bills came in to be referred to the Parliament. Among the reft, one of Anna Inglish, complaining, that her hufband, young Aiket Cunninghame, having receaved above fortie thoufand merks in portion with her, had deferted her, after frequent tormenting her with ftroakes and hunger, he debofh-

(1) Not "Mr. David Strang replies" as in the printed copy, but "Mr. David's [David Dalgleish's] strang *or bitter* replies," &c.

(2) The transportation of John Oswald to Aberdeen (see the previous page) made room at Pencaitland for the venerable Historian of our Church in his declining years.

(3) Fairley soon after this was appointed Minister of Lasswade.

ing all with harlots in Paſlay. We ſent two with this bill to the Parliament to get preſent order. The juſtice of God was in this matter. The damſel's father had left her to be married to Mr. H. Montgomrie of Haſilhead, his wife's near couſine. After, his wife falls in a conceit with Allan Lockhart, and gives herſelf to him; and, by his perſuaſion, makes her daughter, when ſcarce twelve years, without proclamation, to be married to his couſine Aiket. For her reward, her huſband Allan leaves her to pay ten thouſand merks of his debt, which made her a poor vexed widow, and her ſucceſs, as yow heard. Wee were ſaſhed with a bill of young Savill, a fyne gentleman, who required, that ane Littetour, ⁽⁴⁾ whom the patron Lindores had thruſt on his church, ſhould be tranſported. The gentleman, for the weell deſerving of his houſe, was much pitied; yet, ſeeing the young man was admitted, and the moſt of the paroche did accept him, it could not be helped, till the young man found commoditie to tranſport, which was not like to be ſudden. The Preſbyterie of Wigtoun compleaned of their moleſtation by one Magie, a notar, a criminous fellow, too much ſupported by that good man the Earl of Galloway. This bill being referred to the Parliament, they enjoyned the Earl of Galloway to goe home without delay, and fetch in that knave to ſuffer juſtice. There was no remead; his Lordſhip behoved to goe away to that unpleaſant ſervice. One Thomas Frazer in the Tolbooth, being condemned to die for murther, did ſupplicat us to be relaxed, before his death, from the ſentence of excommunication: ſome was ſent to viſit him. His true repentance being reported, Mr. Andrew Cant was ordained, on the Sabbath, after his ſermon in the great church, to relax him. On Mononday he died penitent. Dr. Scrogie of Aberdeen ſupplicat to be admitted to our Covenant. The tryall of his repentance was remitted to the Provinciall Synod. In the afternoon, manie overtures by Mr. George Young, clerk of the References, were read. Clappertoun's ſupplication, to enter in our Covenant, was referred to the Provinciall [Synod] of the Merſe.

Saturday the 7th: When Mr. David Dickſone, in the queſtion of my tranſportation, had declared his intention to have als much help from me, in profeſſing in the Colledge, as he gave by his miniſtrie to the towne, the Moderator, and others then there, not generallie lykeing of mixing theſe two offices, everie one whereof required a whole man, Mr. David, left anie rub or marr from this

(4) So in the MS.—Query, John Littlejohn, Miniſter of Colleſſie.

should come to him in his ministrie, which verie profitablie he did discharge, gave in a bill to have the matter cleared. It was gladlie condescended, that it should be leasume for him to exercise so much of the ministrie there as he fand himself able without detriment to his profession; the Principall not being fore-acquaint with that bill, except[ed] somewhat for the preparative, wherewith Mr. David was not weell pleased. It was moved, that the declarations which the Earle of Traquair had alleadged he had made in the Assemblée, but verie fallsie, and had obtained to be registrate in the books of Councill, should be torne out and cancelled. This was referred to the Parliament; who, after the consideration of the truth of our alleadgence, sufficientlie verified by manie witneses, did cause rent out of the Councill-books, according as we required, these full [false?] declarations. Two motions came in here, which was like to procure us great fashrie; yet, both by God's help, were brought to a peaceable conclusion.

The Parliament sent in to us the Earle of Louthian, one from the Barrons, [and] one from the Burrowes, requireing our judgement of the Band; the tennor whereof was read. The reason why they required our declaration in that matter, was, because they said the Earle of Montrose had professed, the other night in his examination before the Committee, that however that band was burnt, yet all the subscrivers were yet by oath obliged to the matter of it; also they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrose's hand, after the burning of the Band, full of vaine...⁽⁵⁾ humanities, magnifieing to the skyes his own courses, and debasieing to the hells his opposites. Here great wisdom was requisite. It was remitted first to the afternoon, and then till Monday. Sundrie of the banded Lords compeared: we feared their stirring. Montrose's advocate required to be heard. A supplication to us, wryten by his hand, was read, desyreing our good opinion of him, offering to answer all we could lay to his charge, to our full satisfaction. He said, that Band was destroyed by the Committees of Parliament; that the paper was but a private memorandum for himself, never to have gone without his charter-kist, had not my Lord Sinclair been pleased to make it publick; that which was alleadged of his words in the Committee was not

⁽⁵⁾ A blank space of half a line occurs in the MS. between the two words "vaine" and "humanities," and a similar blank, (fourteen lines below) between "obligation" and "onlie," but probably nothing material is wanting in either place.

anie part of his written deposition; that he had onlie spoken of a common guiltiness of all the subscrivers with him; that he had spoken of their obligation...onlie in relation to his accusation. Balmerinoch, moderator of that Committee, spake verie patheticklie for the truth of Montrose's words. The Assemblie passed by what concerned Montrose, or any particular person; and, in answer to the Parliament's question, a Committee appointed for that end, drew up that wyfe answer, penned by the Moderator, as yow have it, (E.) making that Band to be unlawfull, and not obligatorie of anie; making those that will not subscribe this censurable, and passing in those who subscrieves, what is bygone and weell buried by the Committee of Parliament. The banders that were present, Kinghorne, Seaforth, Lour, did presentlie subscribe. Mr. Blair and Mr. Rollock was sent up to Montrose to acquaint him with what was passed. He spake to them with a great deall of respect to the Assemblie, seemed to insinuate his willingness to subscribe what the Moderator and Clerk would require. Some made the motion, which the Moderator did much applaud, that as some from the Parliament had been verie happie instruments to take some differences away, which were lyke to aryse in the Assemblie; so it were meet to offer to the Parliament the labours of anie they thought meet in the Assemblie, to help to remove what difference was betwixt the members of Parliament. This motion was from zeall to peace, bot not upon consideration of present circumstances; that the difference was not betwixt anie particular men, bot alleadged crymes of high treason against the State, which could not be [by] counsellis, being cited, and they standing to their defence. Yet Dr. Strang and Mr. Andrew Cant, who were to carrie our answer to the Parliament's question anent the Band, were burdened with the foresaid overtures; the impertinencie whereof the Parliament mis kent, and past without ane answer. All this past on Mononday before noone.

The other motion, which on Saturday before noon perplext us, was the Moderator's petition of libertie to transport from Edinburgh. At the beginning we took it bot for jest; bot it proved earnest. He assured us, his voyce was for no church of the Towne; that continuallie he was [unhealthie] there, and not so anie where else; that to keep him there were to kill him; that in the act of his transportation from Leuchars, there was ane expresse clause of libertie for him to transport when the publick commotions were settled, if he found that towne disagree with his health. The

Towne of Edinburgh was extream averſe; beſyde the loſſe of that incomparable man, thought it a dangerous preparative to have anie of their miniſters tranſported by Aſſemblies. They offered to buy him a houſe, with good air and yards; to preach onlie when he would; to goe freeſie, if his health were not tollerable. They were ſo much the more averſe, becauſe St. Andrewes ſue at that tyme in a bill for his tranſportation to be Principall of their Colledge. He preſſed his libertie, ſhewing his great earend out of England was [to obtain this relief] from the Aſſembly.⁽⁶⁾ Some imputed his earneſtneſs to ſome malcontentment from ſome of the wyves ſpeeches, the laſt year, of him [when conſulting] for their weell, againſt their humour in innovating; bot he affirmed health was the onlie ground of his petition, and if it ſhould not fail, notwithstanding of his libertie, he ſhould not remove; and if he did remove, he would not go to St. Andrewes, bot [to] ſome quiet little landward charge.

After noone there was a long debate for the Preſbytrie of Sky. Glaſgow Aſſembly had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Argyll. Upon the petition of one, Edinburgh had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Roſs. They had kept neither. Argyll pleaded for the renewing of the Act of Glaſgow; Seaforth for the ſealling of the Act of Edinburgh. After long debaiting of reaſons, it was referred to the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly to the Parliament to determine.

Mononday the 9th, before noone, beſydes the things alreadie ſaid, the Preſbytrie of Newcaſtle wrote a letter of complaint, that there was a great neglect in manie Preſbyteries to ſupplie the armie with miniſters: It was provyded for. The afternoone was our laſt ſeſſion. The anſwers to the King's letter, to the Engliſh letters, to Durie's letter, were read. The drawing up the Directory, of [the] Catechiſme, of the Confeſſion, [and] of the Form of Government, that was laid on Mr. Alexander [Henderſon]. His libertie was voyced, and granted,⁽⁷⁾ to the no ſmall miſcontent of Edinburgh. Hence thanks were given to God for his ſenſible and moſt ſpeciall aſſiſtance; 23d Pfalm ſung. Nixt Aſſembly voyced [to be held] at St. Andrewes the 27th of July [1642.] Commiſſioners

(6) This ſentence in the MS. reads, " ſhowing his great earend (errand) out of England was *troublesome this reaſon* from the Aſſembly," which has no intelligible meaning.

(7) Henderson, it is well known, never availed himſelf of this liberty to leave Edinburgh.

[appointed,] to the number of thirtie or fourtie, with some elders sixteen. Those of a province might serve by turnes ; so, after the first meeting, I got leave to goe home.

Yow have here an accompt of the Assemblée, so farr as my weak memorie, without anie notes to count of, can furnish. What I shall hear of the Parliament, of Montrose's proceſſe, of the King's proceedings, who came here, to our great joy, on Saturday the 14th, yow shall shortly receive. What information I got from London, yow have here inclosed ; the evill illegible wryte [of] Sir Thomas Dithintoun contains a journall of that Parliament for some weeks.

Your Couſine to serve yow and your wife, and all others,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

Killwinning, Auguſt 20th, 1641.

[SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF
SCOTLAND, IN JULY AND AUGUST 1641.]

THE proceedings of our Parliament, if you deſyre to know particularlie, crave them at other hands ; for the preſent, take thoſe from me. A ſumme of the Clerk's minutes, and other papers and conferences, gave me information.

On the 15th of July, the day agreed upon in our treatie at London for the fitting of our Parliament, the Nobilitie in a reaſonable number, the Commiſſioners of ſhyres and burrows ſo full as ordinarlie, mett in the New Parliament Houſe, weell prepared and hung, without ryding or robes. The firſt action, after prayer to God, was the election of my Lord Burghlie to be Prefes. The Committee of Parliament had ſent long agoe for ſome of the Commiſſioners at Court. Dumfermling and Loudoun, at their parting, had received letters and inſtructions from his Maſteſtie. The letter was ane earneſt deſyre of ſome farther prorogation : you have the copie of it at (G.) The inſtructions had ſome demands, that the Parliament would be content of the artickle in the Treatie concerning the election of the Officers of State, as he had expreſſed it ; that they would accept of Traquair's ſubmiſſion, the double whereof yow have at (H.) together with Traquair's earneſt deſyre to be tryed of thoſe things Walter Stewart had deponed againſt him : His Maſteſtie demanded alſo to paſſe from all that were cited to the

Parliament, unless some crimes should be proven against them ; in speciall, that the keepers of the Castles of Edinburgh [and] Dumbarton might be restored to their dignitie and late estates ; that no more new Acts should be proponed which might derogate to his Royall power, honour, or benefite ; lykeways they delyvered all the articles of the Treatie, that they might be taken to consideration. Here was matter enough for manie dayes debate ; yet that same day, and some following, it was resolved, that the Parliament could be no longer prorogate ; onlie, for the King's satisfacti^on, it was promised, till the 17th of August, they should passe no definitive sentence on anie matter of weight, unless necessitie constrained them, onlie they would agitate and prepare matters. Traquair's submission they did reject : to the demand, they thought meet to suspend a particular answer till it were given to his Majestie in person, or to his Commissioner ; as for the Treatie, they gave doubles of it to everie Estate for their tryall with diligence. These things they signified to his Majestie in a letter, subscribed by some of everie Estate, appointed for that end. When these things were voyced and concluded, my Lord Loudoun shew, that the desyre of prorogation had come from the English Parliament ; that his Majestie had given him warrand to shew his contentment for their sitting for preparing of matters, if their affaires did permitt no delay.

The 16th of July, a committee was appointed for ordering of the House : Kinghorn, for the Constable, his pupill, Marr, for the Marishall, his nephew, not yet come ; Louthian and Almond for the noblemen ; Power ⁽⁸⁾ and Dun for the barrons ; Glasgow and Dundee for the burghs. Their orders were very punctuall and acurat : none to be absent or late without a fyne, none to be present bot the members of the House. Durie and Craighall intreated, that the Lords of the Session, as those who were Judges to the lawes, might be present at their making, according to the old use and wont : it was flatlie denied. Mr. Archibald Johnstoune required, that some of the Ministers, commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, might have place for hearing : that motion was rejected by Argyle with storme, as makeing way for churchmens voyces in Parliament. Bot the greatest difficultie, the young Noblemen they were very malecontent to be removed from these places

(⁸) According to Sir James Balfour, the Members of this Committee, for the Barons were (Forbes) Laird of Craigievar, and (Erskine) Laird of Dun, and for the Burghs, the Commissioners of Aberdeen and Dundee.

where their birth called them at once to be judges after their fathers death ; bot there the Barrons were peremptor to have roome for the assessors : if any of the noblemen's sones got place, in this they were so strait, that one day they refused to voyce while [until] Angus, Montgomerie, and Maitland, were removed out of the House. The young noblemen were so much the more moved, as they foresaw the Barrons intentions, by this preparative, to question their places of dignitie, which both of late they had gotten ; for before King James went to England, noblemens eldest sonnes were bot Masters, and their younger brethren pretended not to take places of Barrons. This unexpected motion was lyke much to increafe our divisions ; which, without that occasion, were enough before. Yet, on all hazards, the Members of Parliament stood to their mark, resolving to have all prejudicial novations reformed. The young noblemen, lest they should have seemed to be for any other new or old faction, satt still in their malcontentment, till the King, the fountaine of their honour, should come and decyde the question.

That day Erkine, Fleeming, and the Master of Naper, presented supplications, in name of Montrose, Naper, and Keir, that they might have full audience in Parliament. This motion spent much tyme in diverse sessions. First, the supplications were refused till subscribed by the parties supplicant. After the subscription, it was granted they should all be heard, at what tyme the Parliament thought it convenient ; bot in the mean tyme they fand it reasonable to hear the information of the Committee, anent the causes of their imprisonment, and all their proceedings with them. Thereafter they called Montrose. When he came, he demanded what they had to say to him ? It was replied, that upon his oft and earnest supplicating for a hearing, they had sent for him to give him a full audience. All he did say was two or three fair generalls, that they would find him innocent of all that was furnished against him. Having ended, they sent him back again to the Castell, and heard read a verie odious lybell against him ; whereupon they voyced him to be cited to answer within fifteen dayes. Naper and Keir spake, bot the same purpose, in generalls, of their innocencie, and confidence to answer satisfactorilie to all challenges. They descended to no particular : [whether] because they thought not expedient as yet, or because they were commanded to descend to no particular of their cause, wherein they were to be heard in tyme and place to the full, I doe not know ; bot concerning their proceffe,

and their plott, so farr as I am informed, yow shall hear hereafter ; for yet all is not discovered.

In the afternoone the Incendiaries that were all called. Sir Lewis Stewart compeared, desired to know what he was charged for, and offered to answer. He was remitted to the Parliament's best conveniencie. Loudoun spake for him, telling the King had defyred him to assure the Parliament, that Sir Lewis had ever given him counsell of peace. Loudoun so honestlie and effectuellie did discharge himself of the King's commandment towards the Parliament, diverse began to misunderstand him, as if he had turned an agent for the King : yea, this most false suspicion did so farr increase with some, and my Lord Dumfermling's earnestness to be back to Court for his private affaires was so great, that Loudoun had weell neer been shuffled of a commission to returne ; which exceedingly had prejudged us in our common affaires ; for the English did deall with none of our Commissioners with that trust they dealt with Loudoun : also his most ingenuous freedome ever with the King, kepted him from that measure of favor which a little complacencie might easilie obtained. Yea, so farr was that most happie and gracious instrument grieved with the ungrate misconstructions of some, that he petitioned the Parliament to be discharged of his commission, to be exonered of his negotiations bygone, if they found him faithfull. This made Argyle and friends, yea all, awake. They answered, that of his faithfullness none did doubt ; that to exhoner him of his commission, they could not till the Treatie were closed ; that he behoved to returne with the Treatie when it was revised, as after some dayes he did, and he onlie. As for Dumfermling, Argyle obtained to him some ten dayes, after that he also should be sent up with some instructions for disbanding of the armie. It was appointed that some of everie Estate should goe to St. Andrewes, and intreat the Assemblie might transport to Edinburgh.

Saturday 17th : My Lord Weems presented a commission from his Majestie, to attend, in his place, the Generall Assemblie. He defyred a warrand from the Great Seal : it was granted. The rest of the day was spent on the Treatie, and ordering the House.

Mononday the 19th : Orders for the house were voyced and concluded. A letter to the Commissioners with Loudoun, to deall with the English Parliament, for sending home the Incendiaries, and to complaine of the compts of their shyres, which were lyke to exhaust much of their brotherlie assistance.

Tuesday 20th : The Articles of the Treatie were read. Afternoone, the letter to his Majestie, and the Commissioners with Loudoun, read and subscribed. Two of ilk state ordained to receive the bills offered to the Parliament. Argyle and the Advocat petition that a warrand may be given to the Justice-Court, since all courts in tyme of Parliament, without a warrant, did vaikie, to sitt on Mr. John Stewart. It was granted ; and assessors also appointed to sitt with the Justice-Deputs in that cause ; Elphinstone, Edernie, Dumbarton, and Balcolumie, ⁽⁹⁾ for the Lords of Session.

Wednesday 21st : Before and afternoone was spent on the articles of the Treatie ; on my Lord Balmerinoch his demand in name of the Committee, to have their proceedings with these in the Castle approved or disproven.

Friday 23d : A proclamation voyced for dispenning Sheriff and Burrowe Courts to sitt till the last of August. Afternoone, it was voyced that the artickles produced by the Committee, were sufficient grounds of citing the Earl of Montrose, Lord Naper, Lairds of Keir, Blackhall, and Captaine Walter Stewart. The advocats which the Committees had appointed for the publick, Mr. Roger Mowat, Alexander Perone, James Baird, Thomas Nicolstone, together with Sir Thomas Nicolstone, and the King's Advocat, were ordained to draw up the fummonds, and every poynt of the lybell to perue.

Saturday 24th : Mr. John Stewart condemned to die, by ane old act of Parliament, he supplicat the Parliament for mitigation of his censure. It is true that none ever died for no transgressions of that act, and Balmerinoch being condemned for ane alleadged transgression, was thought to have gotten great wrong, and the preparative may prove very dangerous. Whereupon some of the Justices were verie scrupulous to pronounce sentence. Yet Mr. John was stryving with [at] the life of Argyle, Hamilton, and Rothes ; and by consequence at the overthrow of our Treatie of the peace, and welfare of the whole Isle. It was therefore thought necessary to make ane example ; so much the more, as his friends, for whose pleasure his lies were invented, were giving out, that all was bot collusion betwixt him and Argyle, who undoubtedlie would purchase him a free remission. Those tales made Mr. John be remitted to the

⁽⁹⁾ These Assessors were Lord Elphinstone, William Rigg of Atherny, John Semple commissioner for Dumbarton, and Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, one of the Lords of Session.

Judges, who would nor could not dispence with his execution. Blair, Cunninghamhead, [and] Caldwell, my neighbours, gave in supplications to have their wards and marriages past to themselves gratis, seeing their fathers had died of sickness contracted in the publick service : their desyres were granted. Articles of the Treatie were put in mind, and by voyces concluded, and Instructions formed for the Commissioner carrier thereof. Diverse bills dailie of particular persons were read and answered.

Tuesday 27th : The Preses and Clerk ordained to subscribe a warrant for two of everie state to subscribe the Treatie. Ordained, in the tyme of the Assemblies, the Parliament should have bot one session a day. In the afternoon, Montrose, Keir, and Naper was heard, as was said. Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the Castle. The reason of his long libertie was thought to be Argyle's favour, to whom, they say, he made confession of fundrie of the plotters mysteries. Committees for the Incendiaries, and other purposes, appointed.

Wednesday the 28th : Committees appointed for these in the Castle, for the Incendiaries, for the Bills, for answering our Commissioners letters, anent disbanding of the armie, and delay of payment of eighty thousand pound. Montrose petitioned to have Mr. John Gilmore, Mr. John Nisbitt, and Mr. Lues Stewart, appointed to plead for him. It was granted, that all advocats should be appointed to consult who were required, except these who were required to persue ; as for pleading, it was taken to farther advysement.

Thursday 29th : It was denyed to Montrose to meet for consultation with Naper, Blackhall, and Keir ; also it was appointed that they should answer to what interrogatories the Committee pleased to propone to them ; though after their citation it was ordained, that all the members of Committees who were absent, or came after the hours, should be fyned in the same penalties which were ordained for absence or lateness in the Parliament. Every Committee had power to doe all things they thought necessary for their business, provyding they determined nothing, bot onlie prepared matters to be reported in face of Parliament.

Friday 30th : Instructions to our Commissioners at London, and the armie, and payment of eight[y] thousand pound, also for a commission to them to examine witnesses at London upon the Incendiaries, were twyce read and voyced, and my Lord Dumfermling voyced to be their carrier. Stevin Boys warranted to take

up still the Castle rewl[s] [rents] for paying to Colonell Lindfay his two hundred merks a moneth, and to his sojourns their payes. Colonell Lindfay was directed to admitt my Lord Montrose's friends who pleased to come to him; yet in such a number at once as he might command; also, that it was not needfull for him to be present with the advocates consultations. The Lieutenant-Generall was ordained to make proclamation, that all officers and sojourns not members of Parliament, should repaire to the armie with diligence.

Saturday 31st, Sunday 1st of August, Mononday the 2d, no sitting.

Tuesday the 3d: A supplication was given in by the Earl of Arroll Constable, that the Towne of Edinburgh should be caused to delyver to him Mr. Thomas Lamb, for his slaughter committed in tyme of Parliament. After some dayes debate, the Town of Edinburgh, protesting that no dammage hereby should befall their privileges, was made to delyver the said criminall; especiallie since they acknowledged the slaughter to have been committed without the bounds of their jurisdiction. Fyntrie gave in a supplication in Montrose's name, to have the double of the depositions of Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. John Robertsfoun, Naper, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, and Mr. John [Stewart,] and [Col.] Cochrane, and of his owne. It was voyced, that Montrose should first answer to his interrogatorie, before he gott those depositions. Monroe supplicat that monies at last might be provided for his regiment. Justice-deputs petition for the Parliament's advyce, in giving out their sentence against Edward Skular, who was convict by ane assise, albeit the probations were bot presumptions. The petition, after voyces, was remitted to the Justices, and they ordained to proceed according to law.

Wednesday 4th: The Estates ordained, that the half of every Estate, in a committee, should make a quorum; also that the Committee of Bills should have power to subscribe summonds for citation of parties and witnesses. It was proponed by the Committee for the Incendiaries, and agreed to by the Estates, that the Incendiaries, if they did not, at their first coming, present themselves to the Parliament, should be imprisoned by any Judge-ordinare; that who did conceall them, should be punished as contemners of the orders of Parliament; also that any member of Parliament should be used as a witness, without prejudice of his voyce as a judge. Caffills, Durie, and Irwine, were ordained to interrogate Riccar-

towne. His supplication and proceſſe before the Committee, and his intercepted letters, were read.

Thursday 5th : Sundrie supplications, anent paſſing of ſignators, answered. Upon the Preſbytrie of Wigton's ſupplication, the Earle of Galloway ordained to bring in within fifteen dayes, one Magie, a troubleſome knave. Balmerinoch complained, that Keir had reſuſed to answer ſome interrogatories of the Committee : The Eſtates ordained him to answer to all.

Tueſday the 10th : Loudoun's letter the ſixth of this inſtant from London, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, except Rothes who then was dangerouſlie ſick, was read, bearing the King's reſolution to take journey the tenth, and to be in Edinburgh on Friday the thirteenth ; alſo the ſending away of all the arriers in carts, and forty-one thouſand pound to be payed preſentlie, the reſt of the eighty thouſand pound to be given for the armies debts in the North-countreys ; the finiſhing alſo the Treatie, except what concerned the trade, which behoved to be referred to a Committee. Argyle, Marifhall, and Almond, were ordained to meet the King, with the beſt horſe of Merſe and the three Louthians, on Gladſmure, neir Haddingtoun, on Friday. For to make all the members of Parliament ſo faſt to the Church and State as was poſſible, and to be without danger of temptation and Court corruption, ane oath, after long advyſement, was agreed upon, in manie things the ſame with the Engliſh proteſtation, to be taken, now and ever hereafter, by all the members of Parliament, before they get leave to ſitt and voyce ; the firſt draught of this oath yow have at (K.), thereafter it was mended in ſome words, and ordained to be printed. A warrand given to Zeſter, Kerſe, Aberdeen, with Mr. Archibald Johnſtone, Mr. William Hay, Mr. James Durham, to ſee the rolls and Exchequer-compts ſince the year 1630, to make their reports before the Committee for Incendiaries. Lykelie from them ane great eik will be putt to Traquair's proceſſe, which before was long and odious aneugh. Poſſible I may ſend yow the abreviat of it, if it were once cloſed.

Wedneſday the 11th : The Commiſſioners of the Generall Aſſembly craved, that the declarations of the Earl of Traquair [which he] had cauſed regiſter in the Counſell-books, being contrare to his true declarations in the face of the Generall Aſſembly, might be torn out of theſe regiſters. After tryall this was granted ; and, in face of Parliament, they were torne out, their double yow have at (KK.) Colonell Lindeſay being ſick, he gott warrand to put in his

place, for charge of the castle, any for whom he would be answerable. He named Steven Boyd, his predecessor, whom the Committee, for his too great respect to his prisoners, had shifted of that charge. President Spotswood offering himself to the Parliament's tryall, yit a frie ward in the partie (?) castle.

Thursday the 12th: It was agreed that a Preses every Parliament should be chosen, and continued till the election of a new one; likeways that no particular business should be handled till the generall were ended. Sundrie supplications read and answered.

Fryday 13th: Two of every estate, to witt, Argyle, Almond, Innes,⁽¹⁾ Kers, St. Andrewes, Aberdeen, together with the President and Clerk, were appointed to give the King information of all that had past in this Session of Parliament. A proclamation ordained, that no Nobleman cited to the Parliament, should claime to sitt or voyce before he be tryed; and that no Nobleman who has been out of the countrey, though not cited, be permitted to sitt or voyce before they swear the covenant, also the band to maintain the acts of Parliament, and the oath, in face of Parliament. Noblemen, Officers of State, ordained to take place according to their creation, except the Chancellor. It is declared, that the act of constitution of the Parliament excludes all Officers of Estates.

Saturday 14th: Advocats for the State calls the Earle of Montrose: he offered himself to answer, and desired no continuation. The Estates thought meet to delay till the 24th day. To the committee for redressing of insolencies of the North, many supplications referred. Langtoun's bill to have Wigtoun discharged the office of Usherie, referred to a committee.

His Majestie, on Fryday, dyned with the Generall in his house at Newcastle, did give a good countenance to all he saw. On Saturday came to Edinburgh; bot with a small traine: yet the Palatine, Duke of Lennox, Hamiltoun, Lord Willoughbie, was with him. On Sunday, Mr. Alexander Henderfoun, on the 11th of the Rom. ult., had a good fermone to him in the forenoon in the Abbay church. Afternoon he came not; whereof being advertised by Mr. Alexander, he promised not to do soe againe. Mr. Alexander in the morning, and evening before supper, does daylie say prayer, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and say prayer

(1) In the MS. "James, Kers," &c.—The persons nominated for the Barons were the Laird of Innes and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse.

again. The King hears all duellie, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a Liturgie, or any Ceremonies. On Mononday the King came not abroad.

Tuesday 17th: After Mr. A. Ramsay's long sermon on Rom-5. "Being justified," &c. the King came in coach to the Parliament House. He spake very graciously: The Preses, and then Argyle, answered him with cordiall harrangues of welcomes. His Majesty offered presently, without delay, to put his scepter to the thirty-nine Acts of Parliament enjoined in the Treatie. He was intreated, according to the order of the House, to suspend till the morrow: at which tyme he pressed againe that he might ratifie the Acts. He was intreated to delay till the returne of the Commissioners who were present at the Treatie: at last he was intreated so to doe. The question of the Usherie depending, Langtoun too rashly takes a rod, and putts himself in possession of the place: The King herewith offended, commands to committ him for his presumption. It was agreed on, at Argyle's motion, that when any matter of debate did occur, two of everie state should be appointed to acquaint his Majesty. This was done in the afternoon; for they told the King, it was hardlie taken that Langtoun, a member of the House, should be committed without adyce of Parliament; and did require, it should be enacted and recorded, that neither he, nor any of his successors, should committ any Member of Parliament, without the Parliament's adyce.

Wednesday 18th: The Covenant, oath, and band, was read in presence of his Majesty, and approven. The Marquis Hamiltoun, Mortoun, Roxburgh, Lanerick, and others, did subscribe and swear as before the King and Parliament. Burghlie the preses required to dimit his place, as was conditioned to him, in consideration of his weakness. His Majesty spake to his commendation: He obtained ane act of exoneration and approbation of all his carriage in that charge. His Majesty did nominat, to be elected in Parliament, for preses, Balmerinoch: to him went all the voices.

Thursday [19th]: The Duke of Lennox, Earles Annandale and Dumfries, did swear the covenant, band, and oath, and so took their places. The Commissioners at London their letter, for disbanding of the armie the 20th of this instant, was read. After some motion of the King, that they should march on a bridge of boats, over Tweed, it was concluded, with his Majesty's consent, they should come alongst Berwick bridge. No Parliament man was permitted to goe to the army bot the Lieutenant-Generall. It was appoynt-

ed that everie Estate should meet dailie from seven a'clock to nyne; that the session should be from nyne to twelve; that the committee should sitt from three to six; with power to call any member of Parliament before them, or other, and to remove them also; lykewayes, that any member of Parliament should be permitted to sitt in their owne place, in any committee. The Procurator for the Church was ordained to present for the Church what he thought fitt. Sir John Hay offers himself, but supplicats he might be permitted, for his health, to keep his own house for some dayes. Dr. Arnot and Maclure are appointed to visit him, and to report, on their oath.

Fryday 20th: His Majestie presented a manifesto, emitted by him in favours of the Palatine, there recommended by the Parliament of England to the Parliament of Scotland. It was read, and taken to consideration. The petition of the Noblemens eldest sonnes, to sitt and hear in Parliament, [with] the overtures from the Generall Assemblie for universities, churches, and schooles, were lykewayes taken to advysemēt, also overtures anent the Commissariots.

Saturday 21st: Montrose's petition to have [his] cause discussed, was referred to his committee. After manie deliberations, since he refused to subscribe the submission, which the King did see, and not disallow, the cognition of his cause was cast by till the Parliament had dispatched their more weightie affaires. Some of every Estate was appointed to meet in the Duke of Lennox's chamber, for the Palatine's affair. They drew up a heartie consent to the King's defyre, which the Parliament did enact, their readines to assist his Majestie in a parliamentarie way, to regaine the Palatinate when ever he requyred. The controversie betuixt the Marishall and Constable, also betuixt the Marishall and Macers, were referred to Committees.

Tuesday the 24th: My Lord Loudoun asked instrument of his production, in face of Parliament, of ane exemplification of ane Act of the English Parliament, wherein they ratifie the Treatie; also ane exemplification of ane other Act, for securing the payment⁽²⁾ of the two hundred and twentie-one thousand pound sterling, the remainder of the brotherlie assistance; both which Acts were under the Great Seall of England. Also that he produced the copie of the Treatie, which at his last going to England was delyvered to him by the Parliament of Scotland. The Estates are appointed to

(2) In the MS. "for securing by public of" &c.

meet, by themselves at two o'clock, and all together at three. In the afternoon they agreed upon, and subscriyved the instructions to the Generall for paying of the Armie.

Wednesday, the 25th of August [1641.]

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSINE,

As in my last I promised, have now what comes to my mind of the course of our publick affaires since the 25th of August, where my Diurnall of our Parliament did end. The tyme now is so long,⁽³⁾ and my memorie so weak, that the course of weeks, let be dayes, I cannot follow; bot of the matters of greatest moment have a part, as I can remember.

Before I came from London, his Majestie's voyage for Scotland was resolved; upon what grounds, it is bot onlie conjectured. My Lord Rothes was become a great courtiour.⁽⁴⁾ The Queen began to speak honourable and affectionatlie of our nation, and, in found earnest, to think of her convoying the King to Scotland. It was thought the heartie agreeance, and fullie satisfieing of our needleslie irritat land, would be a soveraigne help of the continuall harsh encounters of the English Parliament. Besydes, as it appeared afterward, about that tyme Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assureances for convinceing of Hamiltoun and Argyle of capitall crymes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers. Our Commissioners of the best nott, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by all meanes laboured to make the King's voyage difficult. Few did believe it possible; notwithstanding he was peremptor, and did goe. The first thing his Majestie assayed in Parliament was, to touch without all delay with his scepter the thirty-nine acts of the former Session. To the most the motion was very plausible. It was given out to be ane act of forward zeall to perform what was promised in the Treatie;

⁽³⁾ This letter has no date in the MS.; but it must have been written either at the close of 1641, or the beginning of the year following.

⁽⁴⁾ It is singular that Baillie should thus make mention of the Earl of Rothes, and take no notice of his death, which happened at Richmond upon Thames, on the 23d of August 1641.

onlie some two or three espyed the danger of this action ; who incontinent drew up first a short nott, then a larger paper, demonstrating the great prejudice that the treatie of peace, and the libertie of the land, would receive, by such an unreasonable and undefyred ratification. You have the first at (A.); the next at (B.) These informed so weell the Parliament, that the King's offer was first shifted for a tyme, and then clean laid by as prejudiciall ; and after much debate, the forme of publishing both these Acts, and of the whole Treatie, which yow did see in print, was agreed upon. For ane safe proceeding in all things, before the King's coming, there was fundrie cautions enacted, whereof I writ to yow before, excellent orders for the House, which yet are not come to my hands, whereby the Officers of Estate for the most part, all the Lords of Session, all not members of Parliament, were excluded. Earles eldest sones took this in verie evill part ; seeing the Barrons, by that beginning intended to spoyle them of that honour, which latelie, by the King's favour, had been bestowed on them, and to reduce them to the old state of mere Masters : yet they resolved patience ; for the leading young nobles were Angus, Montgomerie, Maitland, who, for fear of increasing division, were content to swallow down their grudge. It was much feared that the Burrowes should fall foule with the Barrons, who did claim everie one a full voyce ; while as, in King James's dayes, the two Commissioners of a shyre had been in possession of one onlie suffrage : ⁽⁵⁾ yet this difference was quietlie carried, for love of peace, in so dangerous ane tyme. Sundry papers also were scattered, for holding the members of Parliament right, and ordering of affaires before the King's coming ; one whereof you have at (C.) Bot the tough dispute betuixt the King and Parliament was about the election of the Officers of State, of the Counsell, and of the Session. Upon this poynt much dispute had been in the treatie at London. We alleadged it was our law, and old custome, to have all these elected by the advyce of Parliament ; that the election of these by the King alone had been the fountain of our evils, and was lyke to be a constant root of corruption, both in Kirk and State, if not seen to. His Majestie took the nomination of these to be a speciall part of his prerogative, a great finew of his government, the long possession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of the Kings in England. Much dispute in private and publick wes for this great matter. The equitie of our States demand yow may see at

(5) In the MS. "one onlie suffering yet" &c.

(D.) yea, these good hands whilk were alwayes readie to cast in write reasons for all that we craved, caused disperse lykeways other two papers; one, for the precedencie of noblemen according to their creation to statesmen (E.); another, for exclusion of all statesmen from voyce in Parliament, except the Chancellour (F.) When these things with great difficultie were obtained, there fell in for the nomination of the persones to the places vaiking, questions unextricable. For the Counsell and Session there was not much dispute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privie Seall, or the Advocat, Thefaurer-depute, or Justice-clerk: bot all the question was for the Chancellour, the Thefaurer, and Register. The King made no question to satisfie that desyre, which was univerfall, about my Lord Loudoun's advancement; it was resolved he should be Thefaurer. Bot when his Majestie found it more easie to find abilities for the Theasurie, than the Chancerie, he changed, and declared Loudoun Chancellour, against both his own mind and his friends. The objected difficultie of the smallness of that office fees, was presentlie helped by the addition of ane pension of ane thousand pound sterling. For the other two offices arose unhappie debates. For their quiet settling, it was propounded, and long pressed, that the verie nomination should be by the advyce of the States; the reasons you may read at (G.) When little here could be gotten obtained, it was urged, that the States, in their advyce, for eschewing personall offences, might voyce by sheduls, as yow may see at (H.); bot this was counted a noveltie, and rejected. Factions began here evidentlie to appear. The most and best part of the Estates were content to have Argyle Thefaurer; bot others esteeming that ane insupportable greatness, did make the King peremptor in refusing that motion. Upon this rock there was a long sticking. The King did nominate one day, in face of Parliament, [the Earl of Mortoun], whill Argyle topos this nomination, as of man unmeet, because of irresponsableness to the law for his debts, there fell a verie foule flyting betwixt the two; the end was that Mortoun was past by. So much the lesse lykeing had the States to him, in regard of some contumelious words cast by him some dayes before upon their president, Balmerinoch, who took them in verie evill part, and refused to proceed till Mortoun was forced to give him publick satisfaction. The nixt on whom his Majestie pitched was Almond. This motion was also rejected. Argyle had been before allwayes to that man a most speciall friend; bot he said, he behooved to preferr the publick good to private

friendship, and so did avowedlie oppose that motion ; as indeed it was thought Almond, in that place, might have been also good a head and leader to his old friends, the banders and malecontents, as any other of our nation.

Upon these jarres whole moneths were mispent. It was generallie thought, that from these divisions the last plotts which brake out did either arise originallie, or were resumed, when for a while they had slept, and were laid asyde, when before his Majestie's coming, all what was alleadged, about Montrose's intentionns to accuse Hamiltoun and Argyle in face of Parliament, was made grosslie odious ; and by the beheading of Mr. John Stewart, the confest calumniator, the progresse of these designs were chocked. Behold, at this tyme, these same, or the like counsells, are taken up againe. My Lord Kerr, in God's mercie, makes vent to them in his drunkenness before their maturitie. That very insolent youth, without all provocation, one day, after too much drink, will bot cartell the Marquis of Hamiltoun as a juglar with the King, and a traitor both to him and to his countrie. This message he sends to the Marquis with his no less furious and drunken second, the Earle of Crauford. The Marquis received the challenge in the chamber of presence ; bot finding Crauford in drink, he answers modestlie, that gif to-morrow he would returne, he would give him ane answer. This filled the whole Parliament with high indignation, that a member of theirs, of the Marquis's qualitie, should be so abused, at his Majestie's elbow, by drunken fooles. While in face of Parliament, a complaint is made of it to the King, the Marquis, on his knee, did supplicat the King for Kerr ; to whose father he professed his manifold obligations : He excused Crauford, as if he could doe no less than delyver his commerad's message ; bot withall the wise man did make use of the injurie, and humbly required his Majestie's and the Parliament's declaration of their judgements in the matter itself. By this meanes he obtaines, by way of act of Parliament, both from the King and State unanimously, a declaration of his most loyall and faithfull service to that day ; and my Lord Kerr is commanded to crave him pardon in these words, (J.) prescryved, and registred in the records of Parliament for Kerr his perpetuall infamie.

Sundrie wyse men even then did begin to smell some worse thing ; bot at once there brake out ane noyse of one of the most wicked and horrible plotts that hes been heard of, that putt us all for some dayes in a mightie fear. It was noised everie where, that upon

Captain Walter Stewart's relation, that Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Lanerick, onlie for companie, should have been called for out of their bed, that same night it was revealed, by Almont, as it were to the King's bed-chamber; when they should have come, they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delyvered to the Earle of Crauford, waiting on with armed sojourns at the foot of the back stairs ⁽⁶⁾ in the garden, by them to be cast in a close coach, and carried to the shore; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the King's shippes, which for some weekes had been in the Road, for no other purpose that was known, that should have been the prison out of the which they were to be brought before the Parliament to answer challenges of the highest treason; but if in their arresting, they should have made any resistance, Crauford and his sojourns were readie to have stabbed them. Cochrane was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Musselburgh to command the causey of Edinburgh; and that night, with the assistance of manie friends in the toune, to have made fast, or killed, if need had been, so manie of the Parliament men as were suspected might have been headie for the prisoners relief. Wayes were made to delyver the castell to Montrose and his fellow-prisoners. The Kerrs, Humes, Johnstouns, and the most of the borderers, were said to be in readines, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh; the sojourns of Berwick also, who yet were not disbanded. These horrible designs breaking out, all the citie was in a flight. Hamiltoun, Argyle, [and] Lanerick, took a short good night with the King, and fled to Kinneill. The citizens kepted a strong guard that night. Manie of the weel-affected noblemen caused watch their houses. To-morrow the King came up in a coach to the Parliament, and near fyve hundred of sojourns, and the worst affected men about him, with their armes in a minacing way: they brake in to the midst, near hand of the Parliament's outer hall. The States were mightilie offended, and would not be pacified till Leslie had gotten a commission, verie absolute, to guard the Parliament, with all the bands of the citie, and regiments yet on foot, and some troupes of horse, which, according to his printed warrand, he did quicklie and diligentlie. Crauford, Cochrane, and others, were made fast. Great adoe there was for their tryall. The King complained much of the vyle slander which Hamiltoun's

(6) So in the 4to. MS. and no doubt correctly. In the later MSS., 'at the foot of the Blackfriars,' &c. But the passage evidently alludes to the garden behind the Palace of Holyrood.

needleſſe flight and fear had brought upon him. He profeſt to deteſt all ſuch baſe treacheries as were ſpoken of; urged a preſent tryall, in face of Parliament, for the more clearing of his innocencie. Yet this way was rejected as verie unmeet, for the reaſons at (K.); and a committee appointed for a more accurate tryall in private than could have been publick. Manie evill favoured things were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the King, neither much which did reflect on the Duke, Almond, or William Murray. A part of the confeſſion of the accuſed yow have at (L.) The Parliament in England fell in great feares at the ſame tyme of ſome miſchievous plotts for the lyves of their pryme men: bot ſo ſoone as our ſtories had come to their eares, they ſett the trained bands about the doores to be their guard, and ſent down inſtructions (M.) to their Commiſſioners to make known their deep reſenting of our affaires. My Lord W. Howard, and ſome four of the Lower Houſe, had been attending all this while in Edinburgh, for keeping good correſpondence betwixt the Nations and Parliaments; the King had refuſed to ſett his ſeall to their commiſſion; wherefore the Engliſh Parliament took offence at the Duke of Lennox and William Murray, who were thought at that tyme to guide all the Court much at their pleaſure.

In the meantyme, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and his nephew Gordoun, lay quietlie at Hamiltoun without any convocation of friends. The King vented much malcontentment againſt Hamiltoun; and if the late Declaration had not ſecured him, was near to have intended a citation of him to anſwer for poynts of treaſon: yet for his clearing, this paper was ſent amongſt the hands of the States (N.); and after ſome two or three weeks abſence, upon the King and Parliament's letters, which you have at (O.) they all returned, and at once ſeemed to have als great confidence in the King as ever. Sure their late danger was the meane to increaſe their favour with the Parliament; ſo whatever ruleing they had before it was then multiplied. The Marqueis did not much meddle; bot the leading men of the Barrons and Burrowes did daylie conſult with Argyle. He had been verie forward for accommodating the buſineſſe both of the Incendiaries and plotters with Montroſe, and theſe who were cited to the Parliament. He had, the day he fled, brought all things verie near to that poynt the King deſyred. At his return, he began where he left. The great knott was, that the oath which he had invented, obliedged the Parliament, in

direct termes, to ane accurate tryall of all Incendiaries and plotters. To elude this oath, the accommodators used manie distinctions. About it Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Blair had been in contrare termes: In our meeting, who were commissioners for the Church, Mr. Henderfoun spake for the passing of the tryall; I contradicted him at some length. Mr. Archibald Johnstoun was verie infirme, and dangerousslie sick for the tyme; yet I moved him to draw up that paper, as he did manie moe, which yow have at (P.); for all that we were troubled with the question. Sundrie of the Parliament would have the invie of refuseing the King's demand to fall on the Church; bot by ane overture cast in by our good friend Mr. George Young, we gott the thorne put in the right foot; for they had stated, by good Southesk's advyce, a verie captious question to us, Whether, in conscience, the tryall of the Incendiaries or plotters might by the Parliament be dispensed with? If so they did conceive the passing of that tryall was the meane of the countrie's peace, &c. We required, before we could give ane answer, our interrogators declaration, Whether they in conscience, thought, that the passing of that tryall was a sure meane of peace, without which it could not be had? Upon this, without farder troubleing of us, the States resolved, as yow have in the printed act, for taking the tryall, for their oathes sake, bot remitting the sentence to the King. A little before the King was like to be verie peremptor; for he menaced to raise or leave the Parliament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a publick tryall of that plott was alleadged against Hamiltoun and the rest. Bot herein he had ane hard enough rancounter; for a verie strang declaration was drawn up, which yow have at (Q.) and had past the Committees of Burrowes and Barrons, which so moved his Majestie and his cabbin-councill, that, without farder delay, they yielded to the tryall of a private committee, whereat the King should not be present, and all the members should be sworn secrecie till the tryall were ended.

All this while the common affairs were interrupted, as yow may mark in the dates of the Acts of Parliament. We had obtained some triffling Acts for the Church; bot that which we most intended verie hardlie could be obtained, our Commission for settling the churches and schooles. We had here few or no reall friends. The Advocate, (7) with his idle curiositie, put us to infinite difficulties. When we had gotten him somewhat fatissied, then

(7) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate.

fundrie of all the Estates carped for their own interest at everie other claufe of it. All that we could obtaine was that forme yow fee in print, and fuch men on it as we have bot fmall confidence in, as fince it hes proven ; for when we expected, that Church-buffinefs fhould have been taken in the firft place, upon pretence of the publick affaires, all that concerned us was rejected to June's flow feffion ; yea, the churches of the Weft will not come in thefe two yeares yet to come. This I took for a great oversight in fome from whom I expected, in wifdome towards their own ftanding, more favour towards the Church. We were at that tyme preaching fome of us verie zealouffie againft both the old and new Plotters ; for which we gott thanks. One fermone I had in the Parliament Houfe which was weell lyked. Good Mr. Henderfoun all this while was verie filent, and under mifconftitution with the chief of his old friends, as if he had been too fpareing with his Majeftie in thefe dangerous occafions, and that in his fermones fome fentences did fall from him prejudiciall to the States proceedings. Bot furelie that man is moft gracious : he was a good instrument, after much difficultie, to obtaine to the Univerfitie of Edinburgh both the Bifhoprick and Priorie. Glasgow was pitifullie croffed by the Duke [of Lennox], who muft needs have the Temporalitie of that Bifhoprick ; the Spiritualitie fell to the Towne-miniftrie, which is bot a fmall thing. Bot, to content Glasgow, the Bifhoprick of Galloway was given to the Colledge, deduceing a ftipend to its Cathedral, and what will fall to the augmentation of Minifters. Aberdeen Univerfitie got the Bifhoprick. Edinburgh had gotten the gift of their own, and of Orkney ; bot they fand that both were all fpoyled by prior gifts ; fo they took themfelves to be near difappointed. Richard Maxwell, to ingadge his hammermen to the King, got to their Meddlen Chappell, ⁽⁸⁾ the moft of Dunkell. The Deanrie of the Chappell, ⁽⁹⁾ fome four thoufand merks a-year, fell to Mr. Henderfoun. Argyle, Ifles, I fufpect to Argyle. Roſſe, Murray, and Caithnefs, are divided to Northland gentlemen and minifters, who are bot of verie fmall deferving. The Bifhopricks were fo quicklie, and fo much againft our mindes dilapidat, that we were near to have made a proteftation in Parliament in the

(8) Magdalene Chapel in Edinburgh. See the "Ratification in favouris of the beidmen of the Hufpittall callit the Magdalene Chappell, (quhair of the Hammermen of Edinburgh ar Patrones.)" November 17th, 1641. (*Acta Parl.* vol. IV. p. 6.)

(9) The Chapel Royal at Holyrood.

Church's name. The fear of this protestation made our Universities to come the better speed.

The question about the Offices of State did here againe waken. Most adoe was for the Register. Hamiltoun was bent to have it for Orbistoun; but Durie, by William Murray, gott the King and the Duke to be passionatlie for him. The bodie of the weell affected Estates thought that place the just reward of Mr. Johnstoun's great and verie happie labours. Manie papers rann against Durie, amongst the rest this at (R.); notwithstanding, by Argyle his meanes most, whereof manie wondered, Durie⁽¹⁾ gott the prize; and Mr. Archibald was made content with knighthood, and a place in the Session, and two hundred pounds of pension. For the Thesaurie, since it could not be gotten to Argyle, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be gotten drawn; and, in the meane tyme, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commission of fyve, two of Hamiltoun's friends, Glencairne and Lindefay, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Thesaurer-Deput.

Att this tyme it was when the Irish Rebellion brake out.⁽²⁾ At the first hearing, our Estates offered to the King and the English Parliament, to send over in haste ten thousand well-armed men; the way of raising you have at (S.) If present use had been made of that offer, manie a life of our friends had been saved; bot manie miserable impediments have hindered that to this day. There are not over of our men above five thousand, who yet does among the rebels what they will. This Rebellion made both the King and us to haste all affaires; so in some eight dayes as great and precipitat haste was used, as in three moneths before there had been needlesse protraction. A committee was appointed; the minute whereof, the 4th and 5th of November, see at (S 2.) which in two or three nights did agree all things privatelie with the King, most according to Argyle's minde; whereupon the number of malcontents in all estates grew against him; bot without anie just cause; so our Parliament ended, after so long sitting, somewhat abruptlie. The King behooved to be gone; and yet he made no such speed as was expected; for at York he staid some dayes, and wes long

(1) Sir Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, was appointed Lord Clerk-Register, 13th November 1641.

(2) The news of the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion was communicated to the Scottish Parliament by the King in person at the morning session on the 28th of October.

ere he came to the Parliament, which presentlie hes the mouths of all, that the Irish Rebellion, and new plotts in England against the Parliament, were invented by the Queen, and not against the King's mind : bot in manie declarations his Majestie hes since put all such suspitions out of everie equitable minde : however, too manie to this day will not take satisfaction.

There was appointed a Committee of our Estates to attend the Parliament of England, not so much for the perfecting of our Treatie, as to keep correspondence in so needfull a tyme. None of the former commissioners were employed, bot Sir Archibald Johnstoun, and Sir John Smyth ; for the most of all the rest were fallen in the countrey's dislyke, complying too much with the King. Certainlie Dumfermling, Waughtoun, Sherriff of Teviotdale, Rickartoun, Clerk of Dundie, did tyne all credite with the Estates. Our new Commissioners obtained warrand of Parliament to choose for their service what ministers they thought meet. They agreed on Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Borthuick. It was thought the King was evill furnished of preachers ; for his stay was long : Mr. Henderfoun, on whom it lay to provide for two everie Sabbath, and one upon the Tuefday, could not get men according to his mind. The Commissioners of the Assemblie behooved to make some of their number to pray daylie in the Parliament, at the entrie and in the end of the action. These who were most hable, did declayne both preaching and prayer, and these who wer least hable, were soonest intreated. In the end of the Parliament, the Advocate's idleness put the King on ane humour of protesting of saving his right. This dangerous noveltie, of casting all loose, his Majestie at last was moved to give over, most by Mortoun's persuasion. The author, for this, and other his needles offices, obtained to his sone Sir Thomas,⁽⁵⁾ not onlie a place in the Session, bot also, to the indignation of the nobilitie, a patent to the Generall Justiciarie, at least for one year. Poor Mr. Elphinstoun, who had it before, was cast by without anie challenge, as a man contemned by all. The King made all the haste he could, and strove to give contentment to all. Manie moe pensions given than ever will be payed. Sundrie Earles and Lords, bot a world of Knights, were created. Among manie refers from our Generall Assemblie to the Parliament, there was one verie good, for ordering of the levies of our

(5) Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the second son of the Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, was appointed one of the Lords of Session, and Justice-General, in November 1641.

countrey men who went abroad to serve Popish Princes, as yow may see at (T.) It had been a pitie bot the Parliament had taken some notice of it.

Also the Parliament was in a fair way, before the breaking out of our wicked plotts, to have put over sea, to Germanie, ten thousand brave and well armed souldiers for the Palatine. And for the advancement of that service, this letter (W.) was drawn up by Robin Meldrum, (who is yet a man altogether, bot verie unjustlie and imprudentlie, neglected by our State,) and sent away be the King to the Queen of Swedden: bot mischeant instruments, as these twentie years bygane, so to this day, misleads so the Court, that nothing can be gotten done for that poor Prince. Never such order in anie Parliament among us. The whole States mett daylie in the forenoon, and sometyme in the afternoon also. Oft the severall States had their afternoone, and ever the committees, which were manie, for facilitating of all buffinellies of importance. No Act past till it were first read to the whole States, and doubles of it given to everie State for advysment, at least for one day, except in the last two or three dayes, where manie acts could not, it seemes, for haste have that leasurelie consideration.

A MEMORANDUM FROM MR. ROBERT BAILLIE FOR THE TOWNE
AND COLLEDGE OF GLASGOW. ⁽⁴⁾

First Defyre.—That the Towne may have a new warrand, under the King's hand, for election of their Magistrates.

Reasons.—1. This power is common to all Regall Burghs, such as their old Chartours makes them. 2. The King, in their late signatour, hes expressed particularlie that favour. 3. Their service deserves it, as weell as any burgh in Scotland, as my Lord Marqueis [of Hamilton] can weell instruct. 4. If it should be denied, it would cast that City on the dependance of some Noble family or Statesman, which might be an occasion, as of old it was, of great trouble to that countrey fyde.

Second Defyre.—That the King would be pleased to give assuere-

⁽⁴⁾ This paper occurs in the MS. immediately preceding Baillie's letter to his Wife, from Gravesend, on the 2d of June 1641:—it must evidently be some months later, probably in October, as it doubtless refers to the anticipated distribution of the Bishops Lands, which took place in November that year; see *supra*, page 395.

ance to maintain, out of the Bishopricks, a Minister in the High Church.

Reasons.—1. The Bishops did ever, by themselves or chaplaines, take upon them to supplie that place: their fall ought not to pre-judge the Church of one preacher at least, in their roome. 2. The Towne would be overburdened to provyde that place, being over-charged with the stipends of so many more, both ministers, readers, schoolmasters, hospitalls, and such publick works as exhaust their rents.

Third Defyre.—That the fair and famous High Church of Glasgow may not be permitted to decay: it is neither equitie nor possibilitie for the Towne to keep it up. Fyve or six chalders of bear, if it be presentlie bestowed by the King, will uphold it; bot if long delayed, all the Bishopricks will not repaire the ruines of that building, which is Scotland's only Paull's.

Fourth Defyre.—It is all the reason in the world that the Bishops Hospitall should have a part of the Bishopricks, if it were bot some few chalders of victuall. For the present, the full rent of it, in my opinion, is within fifteen pounds Sterline.

Fifth Defyre.—Whatever his Majestie will be pleased to bestow on a Preacher, on the fabrick of the High Church, on the Bishops Hospitall, it would be put in a signatour for the Towne, to be defrayed out of the Bishops milnes lying within and near the Towne.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNIVERSITIE.

The King being willing to help all the Universities out of the Bishopricks, your Lordship⁽⁵⁾ have [has] reason to see Glasgow provided with the first.

It is founded by the House of Hammiltoun, yow are one of its plants, the most of your friends have [had] their breeding there. It is verie poor for the maintainance of ane Principall, a Professor of Divinitie, a Professor of Physick, five Regents, fourteen or fifteen Bursars, a collector, a steward, a beddall, a porter, some cookes; I think about twenty-eight founded persons: They have not for table and stipend four hundred pounds of rent. It were a pitie bot at the least four hundred pounds out of the Bishopricks, and one

⁽⁵⁾ James Marquis of Hamilton.

hundred pounds out of the Subdeanrie, might be gotten, for augmentation of stipends already founded, for the maintenance of three new Professors, (one for the Contraversies of Divinitie, one for Mathematicks, one for the Orientall Tongues,) for at least six Bursars of Divinitie, for some yearlie rent to the Bibliothek, also for maintaining and enlarging the fabrick of the House: Whatever is gotten, God and the King and your Lordship shall have the thanks.

A P P E N D I X

TO

VOLUME FIRST

OF

BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

APPENDIX No. I.

LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME FIRST OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.

[THE following is an accurate List of the several Papers which are interspersed in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters. A considerable number of these papers were printed at the time as separate Tracts: others obtained an extensive circulation in Manuscript, and many of these copies are still preserved. It has been thought sufficient, however, merely to indicate references to such as have been published in works that are easily accessible; or are included in No. II. of the Appendix. The titles of the abbreviated references are as follows:—

Acta Parl.—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Mr. Thomson's edition.

Baillie,—Appendix No. II, of the present edition of Baillie's Letters and Journals.

Balfour,—Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne. Edin. 1824, 4 vols. 8vo.

Burnet,—Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton, by Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. Lond. 1677, folio.

Large Declar.—His Majesty's Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, [by Walter Balcanquhall, D. D.] Lond. 1639, folio.

Records,—Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c. from the year 1638, by Alexander Peterkin. Edin. 1839, large 8vo.

Roths,—Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, from August 1637 to July 1638, by John Earl of Roth's. (Presented as a Contribution to the Bannatyne Club, by James Nairne, Esq.) Edin. 1830, 4to.

Rushworth,—Historical Collections, &c. Lond. 1682-1701, 8 vols. folio.

Spalding,—History of the 'Troubles in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1645. (Bannatyne Club edition,) Edin. 1828, 2 vols. 4to.

Stevenson,—History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the Accession of Charles I. Edin. 1753-1757, 3 vols. 8vo.]

1637.

- C. 4. The Supplication of the Ministers of Fyfe given in to the Counsell, 23d Aug. 1637, *Vide* Baillie, vol. i. page 19
 Rothes, 45.—Rushworth, 2. 394.—Balfour 2. 227,
 and Records, 53, (copy abridged).—Baillie, 1. 449.
 Informations given to severall Counsellors. . . 19
 Rothes, 46.—Baillie, 1. 450.
 The Act of Counsell after the Ministers Supplication,
 25th Aug. 19
 Stevenson, 2. 194,—Records, 53,—Baillie, 1. 449.
- C. 5. The Counsell's Letter to the King, 25th Aug. . . 19
 Balfour, 2. 229,—Records, 53.—Baillie, 1. 451.
- C. 6. The King's Letter to the Counsell, 10th Sept. . . 21
 Balfour, 2. 232,—Records, 54,—Baillie, 1. 452.
 The Supplication presented to the Counsell, 20th Sept. 21
- C. 7. The same Supplication, as corrected and sent up to the King. 22
 Rothes, 47.
- C. 8. The Act of Counsell after the Supplication, 20th Sept. 22
 Balfour, 2. 233,—Records, 54.
 Considerations for such as lay to heart the danger of this
 intended Liturgie; (wherunto let every watchman
 and wyfe-hearted Reader adde as he thinks fitt:)
 with Motives and Overtures. 23
 Stevenson, 2. 206–211.
- F. Supplication of Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, Mini-
 ſters, &c. to the Lords of Secret Counsell, 18th Oct. 36
 Rothes, 49,—Large Declar., 42,—Rushworth, 2. 406.
 Supplication to the King's Most Excellent Majesty,
 [presented in the year 1633.]
 Stevenson, 1. 104.
- L. Declaration of the King's abhorrence of all superstitions
 of Poperie, at Linlithgow, 7th Dec. 43
 Large Declar., 46,—Rushworth, 2. 408,—Stevenson,
 2. 236.
- N. 5. The Clearing of these who have subscribed the Com-
 plaint against the Prelates for undermyneing of Re-
 ligion in the two Books of Canons and Common
 Prayer. 44
 Stevenson, 2. 243.

- P. 1. Bill given in to the Lords of Secret Counsell, at Dalkeith, 20th [19th] Dec. *Vide* page 26
- P. 2. Act of the Counsell, same date. 45
- H. A Power for (or granted to) Commissioners. 42
- O. The Protestation. (“It was reddie, but not presentit.”) 45
- N. 1, 2, &c. “No Alteration,”—“No Alteration of the Words
Archbishops and Bishops,”—also “We cannot di-
vyde.” 44
- The Heads of my Lord Loudoun his Speech to the
Counsell, concerning the Controversie depending for
the Service-Book, Canons, High Commissions, and
other Innovations, pressed upon Scotland. 45
- Balfour, 2. 240,—Records, 57,—See the fuller report
in Baillie, 1. 455.
- T. Mr. James Cunninghame’s Speech. 46
- Balfour, 2. 246,—Stevenson, 2. 258.
- S. 1. & 2. Copie of the Bill presented to the Counsell 21st
Dec., and the Declinature given in the same day. 46
- Roths, 50, 51.
- V. Ane Act of Counsell, at Dalkeith, 21st Dec. 46
- Roths, 40,—Balfour, 2. 249,—Stevenson, 2. 262,—
Records, 58.
- Memorandum for these who did confer with the Coun-
sellors, 15th Nov. 41
- G. 2. The Counsell’s Letter to the Secretary, 17th Nov. 41
- D. Letter from the Counsell to the King, 20th Sept. 33
- Baillie, 1. 453.
- Extracts of the Books of Secret Counsell, from the
20th December 1636 to 25th August 1637. 32
- Roths, 201, 202.—Baillie, 1. 440, 447, 449.
- The Supplication of the Presbytery of Couper, 20th
Sept. 1637, 32
- Anonymous Letter, beginning “Most Holy Father;”
dated Madrid, 8th July 1623.
- Meditation upon the Canterburian Faction, penned
and given out some fyve years agoe, (in Latin.) 113-114
- A. Missive Letter from His Majestie for Establisshing the
Service Book; dated 18th Oct. 1636, 31
- Rushworth, 2. 343.—Balfour, 2. 224,—Records, 50.
—Baillie, 1. 441.

B.	Act of Horneing against the Ministers to buy the Service-Book, 13th June.	<i>Vide</i> page 32 Records, 51.
E. 1.	Answer from his Majestie, 9th Oct.	35
	Balfour, 2. 236.—Records, 55.	
E. 2.	Act for Dissolving the Counsell-day, 17th Oct.	35
	Large Declar., 33.—Records, 55.	
G. 1.	Letter to his Majestie from the Counsell, 17th Nov.	41
K.	Letter from his Majestie to the Counsell, 15th Nov.	43
	Balfour, 2. 237.—Records, 57.	
M. 1.	Act of Counsell, 7th Dec.	43
M. 2.	Proclamation at Linlithgow.	43
G.	The way of Advertising the Commissioners of Shyres.	42
Q.	The Counsell's Letter to the Secretary, 14th Dec.	45
	Roths, 44.—Baillie, 1. 454.	
R.	The Earl of Loudoun's Speech to the Counsell, 21st Dec.	45
	Stevenson, 2. 251.—Baillie, 1. 455.	

1638.

	The Common Advertisement sent from the Commissioners and cheiffe men of the Shyres to all that are well affected, &c. 22d Febr. 1638.	59
	Roths, 68.	
	The King's Will proclaimed at the Croffes of Stirling and Edinburgh, 19th and 22d Febr.	59
	Roths, 87.—Large Declar., 48.—Rushworth, 2. 731. —Stevenson (abridged) 2. 273.—Records, 59.	
	The Protestation, 19th Febr.	59
	Roths, 88.—Large Declar., 50.—Rushworth, 2. 732, —Records, 59.	
	Considerations according to the Grounds of Conformity for these who are scrupulous in subscribing the Covenant. (To this paper by Robert Baillie there are Additions at fol. 58 of the MS.)	93
	The Confession of Faith subscribed first by the King's Majestie and his Household, the year of God 1580,—again in 1590 and 1638.	62
	Large Declar., 55.—Rushworth, 2. 734,—Acta Parl. 5. 294.—And often elsewhere.	

Instructions from his Majestie's Counsell to the Lord Justice-Clerk, whom they have ordained to goe to Court for his Majestie's service: at Stirling, 5th March 1638. *Vide* page 64

Roths, 84,—Balfour, 2. 258,—Rushworth, 2. 742,

—Burnet, 34,—Records, 60,—Baillie, 1. 460.

The Lawfulness of the Subscription to the Confession of Faith.

Roths, 90.

The Least that can be asked to settle this Church or Kingdome, in a solid and durable Peace.

Roths, 96,—Balfour, 2. 252.

Theses de Majestatis Jure. 114

3. The Noblemen's Letter to the Duke of Lennox, Marquis of Hamiltoun, and Earl of Morton, 8th March. 64

Roths, 83.

To the King's most excellent Majestie, the True Remonstrance of the Nobility, Gentry, &c. (same date.) 70

Roths, 93.

Reasons for the Unversitie of St. Andrewes, of their just refusall of their Oath and Subscription to that pretended Covenant, obtruded upon them amongst the rest of the leidges, 20th March. 62

Answer to Ten Articles opposing our Covenant, &c. given out under the name of the Unversitie of St. Andrewes. 62

Eight Articles for the present peace of the Kirk and Kingdome of Scotland. 70

Roths, 100,—Rushworth, 2. 745, (only the first

3 Articles)—Burnet, 39,—Stevenson, 2. 318.

Memorandum respecting Supplications, &c. to the Counsell. 70

Roths, 110,—Large Declar., 79,—Stevenson, 2. 323.

Letter directed be the Noblemen under subscribers, (Roths, Montrose, and Fleming), for themselves, and in name of the rest, to the Duke of Lennox and Marquis of Hamiltoun, with the Eight Articles forefaids. 64

Roths, 99.

- D. Mr. William Livingston's Speech to the Commissioner. 83

Roths, 116,—Balfour, 2. 264,—Stevenson, 2. 342.

- H. Propositions anent the Treatie with the Commissioner. 85

- C. Petition to the Counsellors for Subfcriving, by the
Minifters, *Vide* p. 82
Rothcs, 117,—Large Declar., 88,—Rushworth, 2. 751.
- E. Reafons againft the rendering of our fworne and fub-
fcrived Confeflion of Faith; and Objections an-
fwered, 84
Stevenson, 2. 345.
- F. Neceffity of Proteftation, 84
Rothcs, 119,—Stevenson, 2. 353.
- G. Supplication to the Commiffioner, for calling an Affem-
blie and Parliament, 85
Rothcs, 121.
- L. a. Reafons for which the Service-Booke urged upon Scot-
land ought to be refused, 90
- A. Coppie of the Marqueiffe of Hamiltoun his Commiffion
(dated 20th May), delivered at Dalkeith, 6th June. 75
Large Declar. 77,—Rushworth, 2. 747, (Instruc-
tions *ibid.* 746,—Burnet, 50.)—Records, 68,
(Latin Commiffion.)
- B. a. b. Reafons to forbear attending thefe that are not joynd
in Covenant with us.—Reafons for forbearing, &c. 79
Rothcs, 129, 130.
- J. To his Majeftie's Commiffioner, the Supplication of the
Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burgeffes, Minifters, and
Commons, here attending his Majefties gracious
Anfwer of our former Petitions, Complaints, and
Defyres, (23d June,) 86
Rothcs, 123,—Large Declar., 108,—Balfour, 2.
266,—Rushworth, 2. 761,—Stevenson, 2. 357,
—Records, 70.
- K. Six Articles which the Marqueiffe of Hamiltoun was
requested to agent with the King, 87
Stevenson, 2. 358.
- L. b. Proclamation of the 28th June, made at Edinburgh 4th
July, 91
Large Declar., 96,—Rushworth, 2. 754,—Steven-
son, 2. 360, —Records, 70.
- O. Ane Aët of Counfell confirming the Proclamations,
apud Halyroodhoufe, 4th July, 91
Rothcs, 173.
- N. Some few of many Reafons for quhilk the Proclama-
tion the 4th of July fhould not be ratified in Counfell, 91
Rothcs, 174,—Stevenson, 2. 362.

- Q. Reasons for a Generall Assemblée: Objections answered. *Vide* p. 92
 Stevenson, 2. 387.
- M. The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barons, &c. when the King's Majestie's Declaration was read at Edinburgh Crofs, 4th July. 91
 Rushworth, 2. 756,—Large Declar., 98,—Records, 71.
- P. Act of Counsell at Halyroodhous, 5th July. 92
 Roths, 182,—Records, 75.
- R. To His Majestie's Commiffioner, the Complaint and Supplication of His Majestie's Subjects, heavilie greived. 94
 Roths, 179,—Stevenson (abridged,) 2. 365.
- O. The Duke of Lennox his Speech, made before his Majestie, concerning Warre with Scotland. 105
 Stevenson, 2. 305.
- His Majestie's Letter to the Professors and Preachers of both Aberdeens, 4th Auguft. 101
 Spalding, 1. 62,—Roths, 185.
- Letter of the Marquefs of Hamilton to the Professors of both Aberdeens, 10th Auguft. 101
 Spalding, 1. 63,—Roths, 185.
- Letters of the King and Marquefs of Hamilton to the Proveft, Baillies, and Counsell of Aberdeen, 31st July and 10th Aug. 101
 Spalding, 1. 62,—Roths, 185, 186.
- A. The Articles or Particulars proponed by His Majestie's Commiffioner; and the Answers, 28th July. 98, 107
 Large Declar., 116, 117,—Balfour, 2. 277, 279,—Stevenson, (Answers,) 2. 379,—Records, 76, 77.
- D. Letter of Noblemen, &c. to Presbyteries, in view of a Generall Assemblée, 28th Auguft. 103
 Baillie, 1. 470,—In Baillie's MS. this Letter has only five signatures, viz. Roths, Cassillis, Lothian, Lindsay, Loudoun.
- E. F. Some Directions for Presbyteries,—Form of Commiffion to the Generall Assemblée,—Of Ruling Elders,—Of Moderators of Presbyteries, &c. 103
 Large Declar., 129,—Stevenson, 2. 398,—Records, 82,—Baillie, 1. 469.
- G. A Note of the Private Articles, 27th Auguft. 103
 Stevenson, 2. 409,—Baillie, 1. 469.

- Instructions for the Commissioners of Shyres, for Provision of Armes. *Vide* page
- The Christian Faith and Profession of that ancient and powerfull preacher Mr. Humphrey Fenn, sometyne pastor of ane of the churches in Coventrie, 26th April 1631:
- Extract from Tindall's Treatise of Obedience.
- I. Form of Commission from Sessions to ane Elder, with their Minister, to Vote in the Presbyterie in Electing Commissioners to the Generall Assemblie. 103
- M. The Common Letter of Advertisement, 104
- K. The Proclamation of the 9th and 22d Sept. . . . 104
 Large Declar., 137,—Stevenson, 2. 419,—Rushworth, 2. 762, [770],—Records, 81.
- L. The Form of Protestation to be used at everie Burgh where the late Proclamation, at Edinburgh the 22d of Sept. 1638, shall happen to be proclaimed. 104
- The Generall Band, [subscribed in the year 1590.] . . .
 Rushworth, 2. 778,—Large Declar. 143,—Burnet, 77.
- Act of Counsell, accepting the King's Declaration of 9th September, removing the Service Book, &c. 22d Sept. 107
 Balfour, 2. 288,—Large Declar., 153,—Rushworth, 2. 783,—Records, 84.
- The Counsell's Subscription of the Covenant of 2d March 1580-1; and the Band, with an Explanation, 22d Sept. 107
 Large Declar., 152,—Rushworth, 2. 781.
- The Counsell's Letter to the King, announcing the above, 22d Sept. 107
 Balfour, 2. 290.—Large Declar., 154.—Rushworth, 2. 784.
- Proclamation indicting the Assemblie to the 21st November, dated 22d Sept. 1638. 103
 Large Declar., 146,—Rushworth, 2. 781.
- Proclamation for the Parliament to meet on the 15th May 1639, (same date.)
 Large Declar., 146.—Rushworth, 2. 782.
- Proclamation for the Generall Subscription of the King's Covenant, 24th Sept. 1638, 105
 Large Declar., 147.—Rushworth, 2. 782.—Spalding, 1. 80,—Records, 90.

- Act appointing persons to receive Subscriptions, 24th September. *Vide* page
 Large Declar., 148.
- L. The Protestation against the above Subscription. 106
 Rushworth, 3. App. 272.—Stevenson, 2. 422.—Large
 Declar., 157.—Records, 84.
- Directions from the Tables to Members of Assemblée. 107
 Large Declar., 238.—Records, 99.
- Reasons (by the Covenanters) against the Counsell's
 engaging to maintain Episcopacy with Caveats, 111
- The Heads and Articles concerning the Discipline of
 the Kirk, at the Generall Assemblée held at Glas-
 gow, 8th June 1610, to be observed in all tyme
 comeing; with the form of Oath of Intrants; and
 Ratification of the Acts and Conclusions of the
 above mentioned Assemblée, by the Estates, 151
- R. Lybell for the Archbishop of Glasgow, 108
 Records, 94, &c.
- The Protestation of four Judges against subscription of
 the Covenant, with the King's interpretation, Edin.
 1st Nov. 111, 118
- The power of Elders proved from the Constitutions of
 our Church. 137
 Stevenson, 2. 401.
- The Deputy of Ireland's Letters to the Earl of Argyle,
 28th August and 25th Nov. and his Answers, in
 Oct. and Dec. 192

1639.

- Mr. Alexander Henderson's Instructions for Defensive
 Armes. 189
 Stevenson, 2. 686.
- C. Instructions from Edinburgh, 7th March 1639, 191
- B. Proclamation in all the Parish Churches of England,
 27th Febr. 1639,—to inform our loving subjects of
 the seditious practises of some in Scotland seeking
 to overthrow our Regall Power under the false pre-
 tences of Religion. 188
 Rushworth, 2. 830.
- H. Reasons (by Mr. Robert Baillie) why Mr. D. Dickson
 could not be urged to transport from Irwin, 170

- G. My Overtures to the Assemblée of Glasgow. *Vide* page 151
Anent Civill Pleadings in Generall Assemblies.
- A. Answer to the Objection of Horneing. 120
- D. Anent the Assessors Vote. 129
Stevenson, 2. 491.
- C. Commission from the Presbytrie of Irvine, of Members
to the Generall Assemblée, 25th Sept. 1638. 124
Baillie, 1. 473.
- Mr. R. Baillie's Draught of an Act of Oblivion to be
past in the Generall Assemblée,—and an Act anent
Prayer Meetings. 180
- Reasons why Mr. Robert Baillie ought not to be tran-
sporting from Kilwinning to Glasgow. 225
Baillie, 2. 444.
- Overtures on Various Subjects to the Assemblée, (anent
Argyle and Isles, Scots in foreign service, &c.)
- T. The Indiction of the Generall Assemblée, 1st July, to
be held in August. 221
(Warrants, &c.)—Records, 230.
- W. Protestation against Bishops, &c. in the above Indiction,
1st July. 221
Records, 231.
- Considerations concerning Ministers voice in Parliament. 223
- Reasons to show how necessary it is that there be ane
Explanation of the Confession of Faith made by
this Generall Assemblée [1639.]—The State of the
Question,—Answer to Objections,—Answers to the
Acts restoring Bishops, 1597, 1606, 1609, 1612,
—Anent the fyve Articles, and first of kneeling:
Off Festival dayes : Off the administration of Sacra-
ments in private houses : Confirmation : Imposition. 157
- A. King's Letter to the English Nobilitie, requiring them
to attend his standard at York on the 1st April,
dated 26th Jan. 188
Rushworth, 2. 791.
- C. 2. Measures for defence of the Country. 191
- D. The Pope's Instructions from Rome, 13th April 1639,
to Monseigneur Cone. 199
Balfour, 2. 348.
- E. Proclamation against the Covenanters, 25th April. 202

- F. 1. The Covenanters Letter to the Commiffioner againft publishing the above Proclamation, 9th May. *Vide* page 202
Rushworth, 3. 931.—Burnet, 125.—Records, 217.
2. The Eftates of Scotland their Supplication, with Dr. Moyfley. 204
Records, 216.
- G. 1. Letter from the Nobilitie of Scotland to the Earles of Pembroke and Holland, Edinb. 11th May 1639. 204
Records, 218.
- G. 2. Letter to the Commiffioner, 16th May,
Records, 220.
- H. Inftuctions to Shyres and Burghs, at Edinburgh 18th May.
- I. The laft Proclamation fent by the trumpett, 14th May. 207
Records, 220.
- The Earl of Holland's Letter to the Nobilitie, 22d May.
Records, 221.
- The Earl of Holland's Letter to Argyle,
- K. Letter from the Generall to the Committee at Edinburgh, and from thence to be fent to the whole Shyres. 210
Baillie, 2. 438.
- Letters from the Camp at Dumbar to the Committee at Edinburgh, 18th and 30th May. 210
Baillie, 2. 439, 440.
- L. Supplication to the King, dated at Dunfe, 5th June 1639. 215
Balfour, 2. 324.—Rushworth, 3. 938.—Records, 225.
- Letter to the Englifh Nobility, (Earl of Holland, &c.) accompanying the Supplication, fame date. 215
Records, 222.
- M. Inftuctions for Sir Edmund Vernham, 7th June. 215
Records, 226.
- N. The King's Anfwer to a Supplication written the 11th June, by the Subjects of Scotland, 13th June. 217
Stevenson, 2. 738,—Rushworth, 3. 942, 1019,—
Hardwicke's State Papers, 2. 139,—Records, 228.
- O. The Queries propofed by the King; and Answers. 217
Stevenson, 2. 739, 740.

- P. The King's Declaration, 18th June. . . *Vide* page 218
 Rushworth, 3. 944, 1020,—Spalding, 1. 157,—
 Burnet, 141,—Balfour, 2. 329,—Stevenson, 2.
 742,—Records, 228.
- Articles of Agreement, (same date.) . . . 218
 Balfour, 2. 327,—Stevenson, 2. 747,—Rushworth, 3.
 945, 1022, —Burnet, 142,—Spalding, 1. 158, 159,
 —Records, 229.
- Q. Some Heads of his Majesties Treatie with his Subjects in
 Scotland before the English Nobility, 17th June 1639. 218
 Records, 230,—Stevenson, 2. 745.
- R. Information against mistaking the King's Declaration. 220
 Stevenson, 2. 749.
- S. Articles challenged by the King's Majestie ; and
 Answers.
 Balfour, 2. 34,—Spalding, 1. 161.
- Proclamation, publishing ane Aēt of State, and his
 Majesties command concerning ane scandalous paper
 latelie disperfed among many of his Subjects, 11th
 August.
 Rushworth, 3. 965.
- Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the
 Pastors and Professors of the Churches and Univer-
 sities of Zurick, Berne, Basile, &c. and Laud's An-
 swer to the Letter, 30th April.
 Baillie, 2. 431, 433.
- Reasons for Presbyteries planting Kirks usurped by
 Bishops.
- Memorandum for the Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesſies,
 and the Articles before the voyceing the Aēt anent
 the election, and the power of the Articles. . . 223
- Aēt of Rescission.
- Memorandum to the Noblemen, Barons, and Burrowes,
 anent the 14 voyces in Parliament, and 8 on the
 Articles. 223
- Aēt of Ratification.
- The Councell's Letter to the King, 31st Oct.
- Supplication of the members of Asſembly for his
 Majesties ſanctiōn, 30th Aug.
 Rushworth, 3. 964.—Records, 209.
- Instructions ſent up with my Lord Loudoun, 1st Nov.
 Baillie, 2. 540.

Some few Cautions in case the Commiſſioner goe up or diſſolve the Parliament, without conſent of the Eſtates,—Reaſons againſt conſenting to, or the Commiſſioner's prorogating the Parliament, &c. *Vide p.*

Some Directions anent the voyceing in this Parliament.

Letter for the Faſt at Edinburgh, 1ſt Nov. .

Stevenson, 3. 813.

Letter ſigned by the Moderator and Clerk, with extract of the Act of the late Generall Aſſembly, holden at Edinburgh, concerning Catechiſing and Family Worſhip, 25th Nov.

Letter from Meſſrs. A. Ramſay, H. Rollock, and W. Colvill, to a ſimilar purpoſe, 25th Nov. .

Baillie's Reaſons to the Synod of Glaſgow and Ayr, againſt his transportation to Glaſgow. . 225

Baillie, 2. 447.

The Cauſe of the long fitting of this Parliament. 224

Ratification of the Acts of the Kirk,—The conſtitution of the Parliament anent the Act of Reſciſſion,—The Acts of Aſſembly, 17th and 30th Auguſt 1639, to be ſimply Ratified: Other articles to be paſt in Parliament.

Acta Parl. 5. 291, &c.

The Reſolution of Parliamentary Men.

The Remonſtrance and Supplication of the Noblemen, Commiſſioners of Shyres, Burrowes, his Maſteſtie's good ſubjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, 22d Nov.

Balfour, 2. 364.

Inſtructions for Mr. William Cunynghame.

The Earl of Loudoun's Letter to the Marqueſs of Hamilton, Edinburgh, 23d Nov.

Balfour, 2. 368.

Letter ſent to the King's Commiſſioner, John Earl of Traquair, by the Convention at Edinburgh, 23d Nov.

Balfour, 2. 367.

Dilecto filio Tobiaë Mathæo, Societatis Jeſu ſacerdoti, Urbanus Papa Octavus: datum Romæ, pridie Idus Maij.

Rushworth, 3. 1324.

To the Lord Deputie and Councell, the Humble
Petition of diverse Lords, Spirituall and Temporall,
Knights, Gentlemen, and others, of the Scottish Na-
tion, inhabiting the Kingdome of Ireland. *Vide* page 337
Rushworth, 4. 501.

Oath imposed on the Scottish race in Ireland and
England. 337

Stevenson, 3. 799—Rushworth, 3. 923, 4. 494, 53.

The Fourth Article of the King's Oath at his Coro-
nation in Scotland, 1633.—The Bishop's Demands;
the King's Answer; and the Earl of Loudoun's
Reasons to dissuade the King from swearing protec-
tion to the Bishops at his Coronation.

B. The Marquess of Hamiltoun his Commission for holding
the Assemblée of Glasgow.

Records, p. 21,—Large Declar., 234,—Rushworth,
2. 842.

The King's Ratification of these things the Marquess
granted at Glasgow, 29th Oct. 124

Rushworth, 2. 843,—Stevenson, 2. 539,—Records, 21.

The Supplication and Humble Remonstrance of the
(Episcopall) Ministers of the Church of Scotland,
presented to his Majesties High Commissioner and
Generall Assemblée, holden at Glasgow in Novem-
ber 1638.

Large Declar., 265.—Records, 115.

Answer to Mr. Mad-Cap in name of Sir John Suckling,
(in verse.)

Ex Literis D. Andreae Riveti, datis Hagæ-Comitis
pridie Idus Aprilis et nonis Septembris 1639.

The King's Condemnation of all Tyrannick Government.
Information and Advertisement for our Friends in
England.

1640.

Letter of the Ministers of Edinburgh to Presbyteries,
23d March.

Noticed by Stevenson, 3. 856,—Baillie, 2. 461.

Overtures for the Visitors of the Colledge of Glasgow,
for Pietie, for Learning, for Discipline and Manners.
Baillie, 2. 464.

Grounds of God's Aime and Call to this Voyage as the
meane to the end, (by Johnstone of Warristoun.)

Vide page

An Abstract given by Stevenson, 3. 881.

- A. My [Baillie's] Aet at Edinburgh anent Meetings. 250
- B. Mr. Henderfon's Paper anent Meetings. 250
Stevenson, 3. 891, (abridged.)
- C. 1. & 2. The King's Letter direct be my Lord Lanerick to
the Generall and the Committee, 11th Sept. 1640. 260
Balfour, 2. 402.
- C. 3. Anfwer of the Earl of Lanerick's Letter, sent by Sir
Peter Killigrew, 14th Sept.
- C. c. Letter sent from the Committee of Warre, immediatlie
after the Victorie the Lord gave them at New-
burnford, to the Committee of Estates at Edin-
burgh, 2d Sept. 259
More at length in Balfour, 2. 384.
- D. Supplication to the King sent by Mr. Hugh Cathcart,
2d Sept. 260
Balfour, 2. 394,—Burnet, 175,—Spalding, 1. 231,—
Rushworth, 3. 1255,—Records, 300.
- E. Petition of Lord Bedford and other English Peers, 260
Balfour, 2. 398,—Spalding, 1. 258,—Rushworth, 3.
1260.
- F. 1. The Earl of Lanerick's Letter inclofing the following,
5th Sept.
Burnet, 176,—Rushworth, 3. 1256.
- F. 2. The King's Anfwer to the Supplication (D.) 5th Sept. 260
Burnet, 176,—Records, 300.
- F. 3. The King's Anfwer to the English Supplication (E.) 260
Spalding, 1. 259.
- G. The Committee's Letter to the Earl of Lanerick, in
anfwer to the King's (F. 2.) 8th Sept. 260
Rushworth, 3. 1258,—Burnet, 177,—Records, 300.
- H. Proclamation to summons all such, &c. against the
Scotts, 20th Auguft, 260
Rushworth, 3. 1221.
- I. Proclamation declaring those of Scotland who have
entered, or shall enter this Kingdome in a warlike
manner, &c. to be traitors and rebels to his Majestie,
20th Auguft, 261
Rushworth, 3. 1221.

- K. Papers by Prentifes, &c. in London, affixed with the above Proclamation, declaring the Scots honest men. Six Articles : a Proclamation, 27th August, *Vide* page 261
- L. The King's Speech to the Peers conveyed at York, the 24th of September, 261
Balfour, 2. 405,—Rushworth, 3. 1275,—Stevenson, 3. 934.
- M. Letter from the Earl of Lanerick to the Committee, appointing the conference at Rippon, 24th Sept. 261
Burnet, 178,—Rushworth, 3. 1277.
- N. 1. The Committee's Answer to Lanerick, containing the names of the conferrers, and requesting safe conduct, 261
- N. 2. Letter from the Earl of Lanerick to the Committee, 261
- O. 1. The King's Letter of safe conduct. 261
- O. 2. Letter from the Peers to the Committee to the same purpose. 261
- O. 3. Letter from the Committee to Lanerick, (in answer to O. 1.) 261
- O. 4. Letter from the Committee to the Peers, 261
- P. Papers of Intelligence, 5th Sept. 262
- Q. Abridgement of the Articles [Instructions], publick and private, sent to our Commissioners for the Treaty. 262
Balfour, 2. 408.

1641.

- A.&B. The King's Letter to the Generall Assemblée, 10th July 1641, and the Assemblies Answer, 9th August. 360
Acts of Assembly, 1641.—Records, 292, 296.
- C. Letter of London Ministers to the Generall Assemblée, 12th July, and the Assemblée's Answer, 9th August. 364
Records, 295.
- D. (1.) The Assemblée's Acts, anent Meetings for Prayer, 4th Aug. ; and against Novations, 6th August. 369
Stevenson, 3. 974, 976,—Records, 294.
- D. (2.) Reasons why Mr. Robert Baillie ought not to be transported from Kilwinning to Glasgow, or any where else. 371
Baillie, 2. 444.

- E. Declaration from the Generall Affemblic anent the
copy of the Band exhibit to them be the Parlia-
ment, 9th Aug. *Vide* page 375
Records, 295.—Baillie, 2. 469.
- G. His Majesties Letter direct to the Parliament of the
Kingdom of Scotland, 30th June. 377
Acta Parl. 5. 340.
The Parliament's Answer, 20th July. 378, 381
Acta Parl. 5. 340.
- H. The Earl of Traquair's submission to the Parliament of
Scotland, &c. ; and his earnest desyre to be brought
to tryall, 9th July. 377
Acta Parl. 5. 335, 336.
The King's Majestie's Speech in the Parliament at
Edinburgh, 17th August. 386
Balfour, 3. 40,—Stevenson, 3. 998.
- K. Oath of Parliament, 18th August. 384
Acta Parl. 5. 363,—Stevenson, 3. 1001.
- A. Anent the King's Touching the Acts of 1640 with the
Sceptre. 389
- B. Anent the Publifhing of the Acts of Parliament, June
1640. 389
Acta Parl. 5. 387.
- C. Advifes to the Parliament before the King's Sitting. 389
- D. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Anent Election of the Councill in Parlia-
ment,—Anent the Presuppofition of this Present
and New Election of all Offices, &c.—Copy of the
Act of Session, against Solicitation. 390
- E. Anent the Protestation of Precedencie. 390
- G. Anent the Nomination of the Treasurer and Register. 390
- F. Anent Officers of State, their Voyceing in Parliament. 390
- H. Draught of the propofed Act for choofing the Officers
of State by Billets ; and Lift of other Acts prepared
before the King's arrival in Scotland, 390
- I. The Oath of Alledgance of the Subjects of the King-
dom of Scotland,—The Generall Form of Oath,
for Persons in Office, with uplifted hands.
- I. 1. Overtures anent the Union of Clydesdaill.
- I. 2. Lord Kerr's Apologie, [30th September 1641.] 391
Acta Parl. 5. 424.
- K. Ane Syllogisme for the Private Committee. 393
- L. An Abridgement and Collection of the Depofitions, &c. 393

- M. Instructions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to the Commissioners of both Houses, now attending his Royall Majestie in Scotland, 22d September. *Vide* page 393
 Rushworth, (October 22,) 5. 391.
- N. Some Considerations of the Present Business anent the Marquess of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyle. 393
- O. Order from the Parliament recalling Hamiltoun and Argyle to Parliament, 1st November. 393
 Acta Parl. 5. 445.
- P. Answers to the Questions anent the Oath, 394
- Q. Declaration to be made and read unto the Barrons. 394
- R. Anent the Election of the Clerk-Register. 396
- S. Order of the Committee for Levying of Forces in Scotland to assist England, for Repressing the Rebellion of Ireland. 396
- S. 2. Minutes of the Committee of Parliament, 4th and 5th November 1641. 396
- T. Overture to the Generall Assemblie for Petitioning Parliament that Scotsmen serving in Foreign Armies may be provided with Ministers, and enjoy Liberty of Conscience. 398
- W. Letter (in Latin) from King Charles to the Queen and Regency of Sweden, 6th Oct. 1641. 398
 Acta Parl. 5. 429.

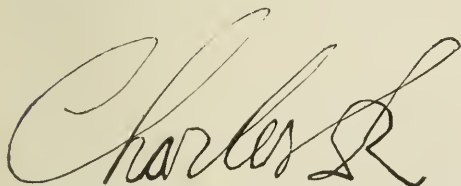
APPENDIX No. II.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND, M.DC.XXXIII.—M.DC.XLI.

I.

CHARLES THE FIRST TO BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 12.—Adam Bellenden was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane in 1615. At this period, as the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was conjoined with that See, and the Bishop usually resided in Edinburgh, Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen in 1635, (as intimated in the letter No. XI.) to make room for Dr. Wedderburn, whom the King and Laud thought would be more serviceable as Dean of the Chapel, in promoting their views. See *supra*, page 161.]

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles I". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial 'C'.

REVEREND Father in God, and Trusty and Wel-beloued Counsellour,
Wee greet yow well. Wee have thought goode, for the better ordering of
Divine Service to be performed in Oure Chappell Royall there, to fett
downe some Articles vnder oure owne hand to be observed therein, which
Wee fend yow here enclosed. And it is oure speciall pleasure, That yow
carefully see everie thing performed, according as Wee have directed by
these oure enclosed Articles; And likewise that yow certifie to the Lords of
oure Privie Counsell, if any of these appointed by oure former letters to
them to communicate in oure Chappell Royall, shall not accordingly per-

forme the fame, to the effect fuch order may be taken by oure Counfell therein, as by oure fayds former letters to them Wee did appointe. Wherein expecting your diligence and care, Wee bid yow farewell. From oure Court at Whitehall, the eight day of October 1633.

To the Reverend Father in God, and oure Right Trusty and Wel-beloued Counselloure The Bifhops of Dumblane, Deane of oure Chappell Royall within oure Kingdome of Scotland.

[Indorsed.]—The Letter and Orders for the Chappell Royall.

II.

THE ARTICLES FOR HIS MAJESTIE'S CHAPEL-ROYAL. October the 8th, 1633.

[The Articles referred to in the preceding Letter, have not been preserved along with it; but they are inserted in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 205, from which they are here given. Rushworth introduces them with the following notice,—“The Bishop of London (Laud) being lately translated to be Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he, by vertue of his place, as the greatest man in the Church, thought fit to advise His Majesty for a Reformation in the Church of Scotland, and began with the Royal Chappel in these following Articles sent in His Majesty's name, with a Letter to command obedience.” He also subjoins a copy of the Letter, which corresponds with the original above printed.]

CHARLES REX.

OUR exprefs Will and pleafure is, That the Dean of our Chappel, that now is, and his fucceffors, fhall be Affiftant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbifhop of St Andrews, at the Coronation, fo often as it fhall happen.

That the Book of the Form of our Coronation lately ufed, be put in a little box, and laid into a ftandard, and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel fucceffively.

That there be Prayers twice a-day, with the Quire, as well in our abfence, as otherwife, according to the Englifh Liturgie, till fome courfe be taken for making one, that may fit the cuftom and conftitution of that Church.

That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the Bleffed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that our Chappel, the firft Sunday of every month.

That the Dean of our Chappel that now is, and fo fucceffively, come duly thither to prayers upon Sundays, and fuch Holy-days as that Church ob-

ferves, in his Whites, and preach so, whenever he preacheth there; And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary occasion of his Diocese, or otherwise, according to the course of his preferment.

That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of our Chappel, That the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Sessions, the Advocates, Clerks, Writers to the Signet, and Members of our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion, once every year at the least, in that our Chappel-Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the Kingdom. And We likewise command the Dean aforesaid to make Report yearly to us, how We are obeyed therein, and by whom; as also, if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why?

That the Copes which are consecrated to Our use, be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose; and to be used at the celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel-Royal.

III.

CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE LORDS OF COUNCIL AND SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

[This letter "Anent communicating in the Chapel Royal," is transcribed from the "Books of Sederunt," or the Register of the Court of Session. The Chapel Royal, says Rushworth, "being thus ordered, was declared to be for a pattern of the intended Reformation, to all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Parish-Churches in Scotland."]

CHARLES R.

RIGHT Trusty and Well-Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, and Trusty and Well-Beloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee were formerly pleased to require the Lords of our Privy Council to give order, by publick proclamation, or otherways, as they should think fit, that they, and you of our College of Justice, and Members thereof, should communicate twice [once] every year in our Chapell of Holyroodhouse: Bot now, being willing, for good considerations, that the Communion be oftner celebrated there, and to nominate such times as we have thought fit for that purpose, IT is our pleasure, that every first Sunday of the months of July and December yearly, you prepare and address yourselves, with your Advocates, Clerks, Writers, and all other members of that Judicatory, (to whom you shall cause intimate this our pleasure,) to our said Chapell, to participate of that Holy Sacrament, that others, by your example, may learn to observe the laudable order in that case prescribed: wherein fail you not, as you tender our princely respect and pleasure, and as you will answer to the contrary; for Wee will not suffer you, who should precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the Church.

So, requiring you to caufe thefe our letters to be registered in your Books of Sederunt, Wee bid you farewel.

From our Manor of Greenwiche,
13th May 1634.

IV.

THE WARRANT OF CHARLES THE FIRST FOR ESTABLISHING THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION IN SCOTLAND,

OCTOBER 1634.

[From a contemporary copy in Wodrow MSS., 4to. Vol. LXXVII. No. 16. The Original Warrant or Signature does not appear to have been preserved, but agreeably to this Warrant, a Commission (in Latin) was passed under the Great Seal, and is recorded in the Paper Register, (vol. iv. fol. 24;) which also presents similar blanks, in regard to the names of some of the Commissioners.]

OUR Soverane Lord ordeanes a Commiffion to be granted vnder [his] Hienes Great Seall of the Kingdome of Scotland, making mentioun y^t quhair divers complaints have bene made to his Ma^{tie} be the most Reverend Fathers in God and the Reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, vpon certane advocatiouns and suspensions granted by the Lords of his Ma^{ties} Counfall and Sessioun, at the instant sute of pairties callit before the judicatories of church discipline. For removing of that inconvenient, and to the effect no wicked, scandalous, nor disobedient persone pass vncensured and escape without punishment, his Ma^{tie}, as being Supreme Judge of all persones and causes, alswele civill as ecclesiasticall, within the Kingdome and all vtheris his Ma^{ties} dominions, have gevin and granted, lyk as his Ma^{tie}, be the tennor heirof, geves and grants full power and commiffioun to the most Reverend Fathers in God and his Ma^{ties} right trustie and wele-beloved Counfallors, the Archbishop of St Androis, Primat and Metropolitane of Scotland, and the Archbishop of Glasgow; to his Hienes trustie counseill and counfallors, George Erle of Kinnowll Lord High Chancellor, W^m Erle of Mortoun Lord High Thesaurer, Thomas Erle of Hadingtoun Lord Privie Seall, James Duik of Lennox, James Marques of Hammiltoun, William Erle of Merchell, George Erle of Wintoun, Alex^r Erle of Linlithgow, Joⁿ Erle of Wigtoun, Joⁿ Erle of Kinghorne, Ro^t Erle of Roxburgh, Alex^r Erle of Galloway, John Erle of Annandail, John Erle of Lauderdall, W^m Erle of Dumfreis, W^m Erle of Queinsberrie, W^m Erle of Stirling, David Erle of Southask, John Erle of Traquair, Joⁿ Erle of Weymes, Ro^t Erle of Ancrum; To the Reverend Fatheris in God, the Bishop of Ed^r, the Bishop of Galloway, the Bishop of Dunkell, the Bishop

of Aberdene, the Bithop of Murray, the Bithop of Rofs, the Bithop of Breichin, the Bithop of Dumblane, the Bithop of Argyll, the Bithop of Caithnes, the Bithop of the Iles, and the Bithop of Orkney; his Maties trustie coufing Mungo Vicount of Stormont, his Hienes trustie coufings and counfallors George Lord Gordoun, Archibald Lord Lorne, and Joⁿ Lord Erskin, and his Hienes right trustie and wel-beloved Ro^t Lord Dalzell, and Ro^t Lord Kirkeubru^t; his Hienes trustie counfallors, Alex^r Maister of Elphinstoun, Sir Archibald Achefon of Glencairne kny^t his Maties Secretar, Sr John Hay of Baro kny^t keiper of his Maties Register and Rolls, Sr Thomas Hope of Craighall kny^t barronet his Maties Advocat, Sr James Carmichaell of that Ilk Justice-Clerk, Sr James Galloway M^r of Requeists, and to his Maties trustie and wele-belovit Sr Ro^t Spottiswood of Dunypace Kny^t President of the Session, Sr John Scot of Scottistarbet kny^t Director of the Chancellerie, Sr Ro^t Gordoun knight barronet, Sr Jo. Scrymgeor of Dudope, Sr W^m Sinclare of Rosline, Sr Walter Stewart of Mynto, Sr John Spottiswod of Darfie, Sr Joⁿ Hammiltoun of Bargeny, Sr W^m Cunningham of Capringtoun, Sr Ro^t Greir of Lag, Sr John Charters of Amiffeld, Sr W^m Mure of Rowallane, Sr Jⁿ Maxwell of Pollock, Sr W^m Douglas of Cavers, Sr Patrik Agnew of Lochnaw fhiref of Wigtoun, Sr John McDougall of Garthland, Sir James Baillie of Lochend, Sr Joⁿ Auchinmowtie, of Gosfurd, Sr Ro^t Mongomrie younger of Skelmurelie, Sr James Lockhart younger of Ley, Sr Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck younger, Sir W^m Scot of Harden, Sr Donnald McDonnald of Slait, Sr Ro^t Innes younger of Balveny knight barronet, Sr Thomas Vrqhart of Cromartie, knight, Joⁿ McCloud of Herreis, Joⁿ Campbell younger of Caddell, Campbell of Ardkinlase, Lawmount younger of that Ilk; and to his Maties wel-belovit Doctor Andro Bruce deane of S^t Andros, M^r James Hammiltoun deane of Glasgow, Doctor Alex^r Gladstanes archdeane of S^t Andros, Doctor Theodor Hay archdeane of Glasgow, Doctor Walter Whytfurde subdeane of Glasgow, Doctor Ro^t Howie provest of the New Colledge of S^t Andros, Doctor George Martene provest of the Auld Colledge of S^t Andros, Doctor Patrik Panther professor of Theologie in the New Colledge of S^t Andros, Doctor John Strang principall of the Colledge of Glasgow, Doctor John Douglas, Doctor David Monro persone of Kinuchar, M^r James Hannay Deane of Ed^r, M^r W^m Withart persone of Restalrig, Doctor Joⁿ Mitchelfone minister of Brunteland, Doctor George Withart minister at S^t Andros, Doctor Henry Scrymgeor minister at S^t Phillanes in Fyffe, M^r Coline Campbell minister at Dundie, Dr Ro^t Barroun professor of Theologie in the Colledge of New Aberdene, M^r W^m Annand minister at Air, M^r John Tennent persone of Calder, M^r Andro Ramfay and M^r David Mitchell ministers at Ed^r, M^r George Hannay minister at Torphichen, M^r W^m Maxwell minister at Stow, M^r James Logane minister at Smailhame, M^r Patrik Durame deane of Ros, M^r George Monro chancellor of Ros, M^r Thomas McKenzie minister at Tarbet, Doctor James Elliot, M^{rs} John Bell, Ro^t Wilkie, John Maxwell, and Zacharie Boyd, ministers at Glasgow, M^r John Hay persone of Renfrew, M^r W^m Birsbane

perfone of Erskin, M^r Walter Stewart minifter at Kilpatrick,
 minifter at Cambufnethan, M^r Michael Wallace minifter at Kil-
 marnock, M^r George Lindfay perfone of _____, M^r John Lindfay
 perfone of Carstairs, M^r Thomas Ramfay minifter of Dumfreis, M^r Joⁿ
 Alex^r perfone of Hoddorn, M^r George Buchannan perfone of Kirkpatrick
 Juxta, M^r W^m Bennet perfone of Ancrum, M^r Joⁿ Maitland perfone of
 Ediltoun, M^r Abraham Henderfone minifter at Whithorne, M^r Alex^r [Ham-
 miltoun] minifter at Mongoff, M^r James Hammiltoun minifter at Wigtoun,
 M^r James Scott minifter at Tungland, M^r David Leitch minifter at Dun-
 dreunan, M^r Henrie Guthrie minifter at Stirling, M^r Thomas Spittell per-
 fone of Faw Kirk, M^r Ro^t Balcanq^{ll} minifter at Tranent, M^r George Sydferte
 minifter at Colbrunspeth, M^r James Burnet minifter at Lawder, M^r Alex^r
 Kinneir perfon of Whitfon, M^r Murdo M^cKenzie perfon of Dinguell, M^r
 Dougall Campbell, minifter at Knapdaill, M^r Donald M^cGillinorith minifter
 at Innerara, Frafer Deane of the Iles, and M^r Patrik Stewart
 minifter at Bute, Constable of the Threue, S^r
 Jerome Lindfay S^r Hendrie Hay, M^{rs} Ro^t Nicolfone and Thomas Aikin-
 heid, Comiffars of Ed^r, M^r James Weymes comiffar of S^t Andros, M^r
 James Sandilands, comiffar of Aberdene, the Comiffars of Elgin, Invernes,
 and Ros, present, and who fall be for the tyme being, M^r Ro^t Murray,
 comiffar of Stirling, Adame Cuninghame, comiffar of Dumfreis, the Comiffar
 and Proveist of the Citie of Glasgou, the Comiffars and Proveists of Wig-
 toun and Kirkeubru^t: Or to any fevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bishop
 being one of the number, to fumond or call before them, at quhatfomevir
 tyme or place it fall please them to appoint, all and findrie perfones within
 the Kingdome of Scotland, and dwelling within the provinces of S^t Andros
 and Glasgou, that ar ather scandalous in lyfe, doctrine, or religion, speci-
 allie all traffiquers, intercomouners, refetters of Jesuits or seminarie priests,
 all herars of mafs, all excommunicat papists, recusants or non-communicants, all
 incestuous or adulterous perfones, all obstinate contemners of the discipline
 of the Church, or for that caus excommunicated, all abusers of religious per-
 fones and places, and disturbers of divyne service, and things therevnto be-
 longing, and all blasphemars, cursars, and swerars; and not onlie to call the
 faids transgressors, and everie ane of them, bot lykewayes all perfones quhat-
 fomevir within the said Kingdome suspected to be guiltie of the afoirfaid
 crymes, or any of them, and to try and to cognosce of the afoirfaid crymes
 and offences, and if they fall find any man guiltie and impenitent, to geve
 directioun to the minifter of the parich quhair the said impenitent perfone
 remaines, to proceed against him or hir, and pronounce sentence of excomu-
 nication against them; and if the minifter disobey the said directioun, to
 suspend, deprive, incarcerate, and punish, as they fall think fitt. Attour,
 with power to them [to] punish, incarcerat, fyne and confyne, any that fall
 be fund guiltie of the faids crymes and offences, or fall prove contumacious,
 or refuse to compier before them; with power lykwayes to the faids comif-
 fioners to call before them all ministers, preachers, M^{rs} of schoollles, col-
 ledges, and vniverfities, exhortars, and letterars, within the faids bounds,

that fall be dealeat vnto them for preiching or speiking in publict against the present state and government of the kingdome and church, or against any of the conclusions of the bypast Generall Assemblies, particularlie against the Acts concluded in the Generall Assemblie haldin at Perth in the moneth of August 1618 yeirs, and whom they fall try dissobeyars of the saids acts, writers of lybells and pamphlets against any of the constitutions of the Church, the imprinters of the saids lybells, pamphlets, or any vther bills, without his Ma^{ties} licence and warrand, or the licence of these who fall be authorized by his Henes to that effect, to censure and punish, by suspensioun, deprivation, fyning, committing, and incarceration, according as they fall find the qualitie of ther offence to deserve. As also with power to receave and discus all appellations made vnto them from any inferior ecclesiasticall judicatories, and to inhibit the saids inferior judicatories to proceed in any cause that they fall judge impertinent, and not to belong to their cognition, and to censure the saids judges whom they fall find to behave themselves partiallie in any cause concerning the foirfaids. Comanding the captane and leutenent of the guaird, the provest and baillies of Burrowes q^r it fall happen the saids comissioners to reside, the Shirefs and Baillies of regalities to search, feik, tak, and apprehend all such delinquents, and present them before the saids comissioners, vpon the warrand of any sevin of them, an Archbishop or Bishop being one of the number. Comanding lykwayes the captanes and constables of his Hienes castles and houses, and the keepers of prisons and vtheris places of firmance, to receave and deteane these that fall be directed vnto them by the saids comissioners vpon warrand as said is, As they will answer vpon their disobedience and vttermost perrill; ordaning farther the Lords of Privie Counfall, vpon the certificat subscrivit by the saids Comissioners, or any sevin of them, an Archbishop or Bishop being one of the number, to direct letters of horning for payment of the fyne imposed by the saids Commissioners, in case of the delinquents disobedience or refusall to compeir, when they are cited before them. Of which letters and charges, no suspensioun or relaxation fall be granted without the testimonie of one of the Archbishops or Bishops beiring obedience to the decree of the commisionars and satisfiactioun of the pairties. And maks constituts, and ordeanes Mr. W^m. Hay, comissar-clerk of Ed^r, clerk of the said High Commission during all the dayes of his lyfytyme, with power to him to creat deputs vnder him, in ather of the saids tuo provinces requyring the saids Commissioners, to receave the oath of the said Mr. W^m., for dew administration of the said office, with power to them to appoint fiscall, officers, and all vther members of Court, and to direct fumonds and precepts in his Hienes name, for citing quhatfomevir pairties or persones in any of the causes forfaids; which precepts fall be sealled with one of the Archbishops or Bishops sealls and subscryvit be the saids clerks, with power to summond witnes in any of the forfaids causes vnder the paine of fourtie pundis money of Scotland; and if the saids witnessis refuse to compeir, or the saids parties decerned in a fyne, delay to mak payment of the samyne, Ordaining the Lords of Privie Counfall to direct charge vpon the certificat of the said

comiffioners, as is above fpecifeit. Of the which fynes the ane half fall per-teane to his Ma^{tie}, and the vther half to be imployed vpon the charges which the faids Commiffioners fall be forced to mak in the executing of the faid Commiffioun, and if any remainder fall be, the fame fall be beftowed to pious vfes, at the fight of the faids comiffioners. And generallie all and findrie vther things to doe and exerce that are neceffarie in the premifes, or may be thought onawayes requifite for his Hienes fervice, and according to the intentioun of this prefent commiffioun, inhibiting the Lords of Secret Counfall and Seffion to grant no advocacy from the faids comiffioners in maters of the qualitie foirfaid, bot to remitt the tryall and censure therof to the faids, comiffioners. Comanding, laftlie, all his Ma^{ties} lieges whom thefe things may concerne, to anfwer and obey the faids Commiffioners, or any fevin of them, ane Archbifhop or Bifhop being an of the number, and their officers and minifters quhatfomevir vnder all hyeft paine that may follow, and ordeanes thir presents to be an fufficient warrand to the Direfter of the Chancellarie for wryting of the fame to the Great Seall, and to the Lord Chancellor for appending the faid Seall thervnto, without any farder precepts to be direct thervpon.

Given at our Honnour of Hamptoun Court the twentie-ane of October, the yeir of God I^m. VI^e. threttie-four yeirs.

V.

ANE ACCOUNT OF PAPERS INTERCEPTED BETUIXT
ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND THE SCOTS BISHOPS.

[From a contemporary MS. in the Editor's poffeffion. The above title is the indorfation 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 poffeffion of the Covenanters.]

To Remark and remember God's providence in bringing to our hand fome principall authentick Autographes betuixt the B. of Canterbury and our Prelatis, quhilk contributes to the difcovering of their plottis and projectis. And firft, amongft utheris we haiff gone through, of memoires, intituled "MEMOIRES FOR MY LORD B. OF ROSS, OF MATTERIS TO BE PROPONED TO HIS MAJESTIE AND MY LORD CANT. HIS G.,," all writtin and fubfcriyvit by the Archbifhop of St. Androis, Auguft 8, 1634; of the fame dait, and fubjoind with the firft draucht of the Book of Canones fent up to be corrected, and no doubt corrected with the fame hand to quhom it is fent; as fra the dait, fo fra the conjunctioun of the King and Canterbury in the title, ye may cleirly perceave the fame, and the dependance of our Prelatis from Canterbury, to quhom, equallie with the King, they mak ane accompt of all things: As in the firft directione, they give ane accompt anent the Liturgie,

the Canones, and the Pfalmes. In the 2, anent the filling of voyd places in the Church. In the 3, anent the Communione in the Chappell. In the 4, anent restraint of wageing to Communione. In the 5, anent the Hie Commiffioun to be a constant judicatorie, or undoeing the Presbyteriall discipline, whereupon the B. of Rofs obtieit a letter from the King to the Counsaill, superserivit be the King, 20th of October 1634, whereof we have the principall. In the 6, 7, 8, 9, ane accompt gevine of all that was injoynd at St. Androis; anent the seatis of the Kirk; anent the comensment of the Univerfitie; anent the doctorateing of Clyft ane Inglishman, and the degradeing of one Baftock. In the 10, anent the Commiffioun of Surrenderis, that ane new injunctioun be sent doune to prohibit all other churches but these of the Erectioun. In the 11th, anent the Commiffariat of Argyle. In the 12, anent the B. of Ed^l. relict. In the 13, 14, 15, 16, anent the Pryorie of St. Androis, where mentione is maid of founding a Cathedrall in St. Androis, and in bringing the Pryorie to greater integritie after these dayes. In the 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, all anent the Exchequer for ane new Comiffioun to reforme it; that few noblemen be on it; that the President *sine quo non*; that the forme be conforme to that of Ingland; that the [office] of Thesaurer and Comptroller be separated; that the annuitie be put in ane churchman's hand to bring in church livingis againe; that all signators pas in Exchequer; that the manageing of his rentis be intrusted to men resposnabill and comptrollabill. The 25 anent Balmerinoch and his lybell. The 26 anent the two comiffions for the Chappell rentis, the Erle Roxbruche's kirks. Be the quhilk Memoires, even in all fortis of matteris, sent by our chiefest Prelat unto the B. Canterbury, yow may perceave his medling in all our effaires, and their absolute dependance on him therein as the Primus and principall mover, author, and director, from quhom all did and most flow, especially wherin his Ma. was to haiff any hand, or give any countenance, and particularlie anent the Service-Book and Book of Canones, wherin our greatest Prelate gewis ane accompt to the B. of Canterbury, as equally joyned with the King, ewen as scholaris does unto their masteris.

Lykas we haiff ane uther autographone intituled, MEMOIRES FOR MY LORD B. R. (1) all writtin and sub^t by the B. of St. Androis hand, but without a dait, quhilk beginnes thus, "My Lord Cant^y. desyred to be informit," and than goes on, In the first article he schowis both how the Chancellar had the place before St. Androis, and how it suld be redrest be ane act of Counsaill. In the 2, anent the Liturgie, that they had done all that was possibill. In the 4, anent the Canones, to gett a varrand for the printing. In the 5, anent the kirkis that are voyd, your Lo. will acquaynt my Lord Canterbury with our opinione. In the 6, anent the Comiffioun of Surrenderis, that all continuatioun of erectit kirkis. In the 7, your Lo^p may tak occasion to speak of the Pryorie to my Lord Canterbury, and learne quhat is done, and schow how necesarie it is. In the 9, that the Annuitie be used for buying of the erectit Lordships, and a comiffioun grantit to fyve perfonis there-

(1) Lord B. R.—that is the Lord Bishop of Ross.

for. In the 10, anent the reduction of the laite Patronages, that Bifchops be difchargit to give collatione therupon. In the 12, anent Lindores to Mr. Andro Leirmonth. In the 13, that Wederburne be brought to the Chapell. In the 14, that the loftis of the church of Ed^r be takine doune. In the 16, touchting my Lord Balmerinoch, ye fall fchew my opinion to my Lord Canterburry. Quherby he may perceave that nothing was done or might be done in this Church quherof Canterburry was not the pryme and *primum mobile*; efpecially anent Service-Book and Canones, and all other our church changes.

We haiff ane letter writtin all be the hand of the B. R., [Bifhop of Rofs,] bot unfufberyvit, to the B. of Canterburry, quhilk is the fcroll of the principall whilk he has fent away, quherin he acknowledgis and admires Canterburry's wifedome in the governing and directing of this Church, and all the effaires therof.

We haiff a letter of my Lord Sterling's to the B. R., 17th February 1636, quherin he fchawis my Lord Canterburry delyvered our new printed Book of Canones to the Kingis Majefty, with ane direction to him for tuo letters to be drawine up for the Kingis hand, concerning the authorizing of the Book. Quherby ye may perceave Canterburry medling therin.

[The following Letters from Archbishop Laud to the Bishops Bellenden and Maxwell, fays Lord Hailes, "were made part of the Charge by the Scottifh Commissioners againft the Archbishop in December 1640. It does not however appear, that they were ever produced in fupport of that charge. See *Troubles and Trial of Laud*, p. 89. 91. The Letters are now in a very imperfect condition; fome parts of them are worn away, others much defaced; the Editor has, from conjecture, fupplied a few words, and diftinguifhed them by *Italics*." (Memorials, &c. in the Reign of Charles the Firft, p. 3.) The Original Letters are now in a very frail, as well as a mutilated ftate, which rendered it defirable to have them printed in a more full and accurate manner than accorded with Lord Hailes's plan, who omitted feveral paffages which he conceived did not "ferve to illuftrate the Hiftory of thofe times." The words that have been fupplied are now printed within brackets. It will be feen from the Inventory of thefe Papers, which is given in this Appendix under the date June 1641, that only a portion of them has been preferved.]

VI.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF
DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 13.]

MY VERY GOOD L^d.S. in X^{po}. [Salutem in Christo.]

You are much beholding to my L^d. Sterlinge; and for my selfe, I did you the best service I could, and am glad your troublefome suites are at an end. I hope that w^{ch} y^e Kinge hath now done will preserve you against your pressing necessities, thorough w^{ch} I pray God send you a good passage: But for Westminster foes, they did very much wrong you, whoever they [were,] y^t made those relations to you of y^t great Sume; for my former [letters told] y^e trueth to you.

Concerning your preferme[nt, until any better] place falls, I can promise nothing; but I assure [you, his Majestie] hath a very good opinion both of you and your service; and therefore I [can not] doubt but y^t he will take you and your estate into his consideration. Att this time you have given his Ma^{tie} good content, and he expects that you continue in y^t course; and lett him still receive a note whoe they be that conforme, and whoe not, for I see his Ma^{tie} is resolved to goe constantlie on, and therefore you must not fayle.

I have considered howe much reason you speake concerning y^e poore Singing men, and have receivd their Petition w^{ch} you sent enclofsd. I must needs say their case deserves a great deale of commiseration; and the very first time y^t I gott access to his Ma^{tie}, after y^e receipt of your letters, I acquainted him wth their necessities, and he, like a gracious and a good Prince, was very much moved wth it, and commanded me to deliver their Petition to my L^d Sterling, y^t some course might be taken for them; and this, God willing, I will doe soe soone as ever I can meete wth y^t L^d, w^{ch} I hope will be this day, and soe soone as I can drive it to any good issue, you shall heare from me. Soe, in hast, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your L^ds very lovinge ffrend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 14,

1633 [1633-4].



To the R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother the L^d B^p of Dunblane, at Eden-
burrow, these.

[Indorfed.] Anent his encouragment, and anent non-communicants.

VII.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 15. William Forbes, the Bishop of Edinburgh, who is mentioned in this letter, died on the 1st of April 1634, or little than two months after the date of his patent. His successor in the Metropolitan See was David Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X^po.

I am right forry for the death of y^e Bishop of Edenburrow, the loss being very great both to the King and the Church. I acquainted his Ma^{tie} how needfull it was to fill y^t place with an able Successor; and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you desire, shewe his Ma^{tie} what your desires were, and what necessityes lay vpon you. After much consideration of the busynes, his Ma^{tie} resolved to give the Bp^{ricke} of Edenburrowe to my Lo. of Brehen; and for yourfelfe, he commanded me to write exprefly to you, y^t he did not take it well, y^t, contrary to his exprefs command, you had omitted prayers in his Chappell Royall, according to the English Litturgye, wth some other omiffions there, w^{ch} pleased him not; besides, his Ma^{tie} hath heard y^t there have been lately some differences in Edenburgh about y^e Sufferings of Christ, &c. and y^t your Lord^p was some cause of them; or, at least, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if y^e late Bishop of Edenburrowe his care and temper had not moderated them; and this his Ma^{tie} is not well pleased wth neither: And this hath been y^e cause, as I conceive, why his Ma^{tie} hath past you over in this remove; and you shall doe very well to applye your selfe better, both to his Ma^{ties} service, and y^e well ordering of y^t Church, least you give just occasion to the Kinge to passe you by when any other remove falls. I am very forry that I must write thus unto you; but y^e only way of helpe lyes in your selfe and your owne carriage; and, therefore, if you will not be carefull of y^t, I doe not see what any freind can be able to doe for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious consideration, for your owne good, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord^ps very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, Maye 6th

W: CANT:

1634.

To y^e R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lo. and Brother, y^e Lo. Bishop of Dunblane,
att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorsed.] Anent the Liturgie, and his Sermon.

VIII.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 16.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X^{po}.

MY haft att this time forces me to write very breefely: And these are to lett you knowe, that I writt nothing in my former letters but as the Kinge was enformed, and myself by him commanded. I have nowe read your Lord^{ps} letters to his Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} hath in some part satisfiied him, but not altogether^{re}.

And for y^e first, his Ma^{tie} faith, y^t though y^e Gentlemen of y^e Chappell Royall did absent themselves for feare of arrests, having not to pay; and y^s that might hinder y^e service in y^e Chappell in a solemne and a formall way of finging by them; yet his Ma^{tie} thinkes you might have gott a Chaplaine of your owne, to have read the English Liturgye, that foe y^e worke, for y^e maine part of it, might have gone on; And for y^e payment of those menn, I thinke your Lord^p knowes I have done all y^e good offices I cann, but have it not in my power to mend all y^e difficultyes of y^e time.

Concerning y^e disturbance y^t was in Edenburrowe, if any wrong was done your Lord^p, y^t must lye vpon y^{em} whoe misreported you to y^e Kinge, whoe ere they were. And howfoeuer, y^e Kinge took it not ill you advised y^e then Bishop of Edenburrowe to appease y^e differences, for that was very worthily and deservedly done by you. But as farre as I remember, y^e charge layed upon you to the Kinge, was, y^t in your owne Sermon, w^{ch} you preach'd about y^t time, you did rather side w^t one partye, than either repressse or comepose the difference. Though I must needs confesse to your Lord^p, that, by reason of the multitude of busyneses w^{ch} lye vpon me, I cannot charge my memorye wth y^e particular.

You have done very well to acquaint the L^{ps} of Counsell and Session, &c. wth his M^{ties} resolution concerning y^e Communion in y^e Chappell Royall. And I doubt not, if you continue to doe y^t w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} looks for in y^e course of y^r Church, and w^{ch} is most just and fitt to be done, but y^t you will easily recover his Ma^{ties} favour, and finde y^e good of it. Soe, in haft, I leave you to y^e Grace of God, and rest

Your Lor^{dps} very loveing Freind and Brother,Lambeth, July 1st,
1634.

W: CANT:

To the R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo.
and Brother, the Lord Bp. of Dvnblane, these.

[Indorfed] Anent Reading of the Liturgie, and his Sermon at Edinburgh.

IX.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 17.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X^{po}.

I HAVE a second time mou'd his Mat^{tie} concerning y^{em} y^t obeyed or disobey'd his commands in receiueing y^e Communion in y^e Chappell att Hallyrudhouse, and you shall not fayle to receiue his Mat^{ties} answere by my Lo. [of Rossie]; foe y^t I shall not need to be farther troublesome to you in y^t parti[cular.]

His Mat^{ie} is fully satisfiyyed y^t y^e English^t . . . in y^e Chappell Royall before my Lo. of Rossie.
 and in all things else, onl
 satisfiyyed me concerning
 his Mat^{ie} fuch satisfi
 doubt not but
 your L
 foe much to your fi

Your
 Gentlemen of the Chap
 to moue his Mat^{ie} conce
 and he told me y^t a little before his, . . . d since y^e your Lord^p halfe y^e money was payed unto y^{em}. And y^t y^e other halfe was payed before to one, I think of theire company, whome themselves employed to receive it; whoe, it seemes, was a Bancroft, and either runne away with their money or mispent it, or else serued his owne turne wth it. Now, what to say to this, I cannot tell, for y^e Chequer is not in y^t case y^t I can thinke it fitt, (or if I doe,) I am sure y^e Lo. Treasurer will not thinke foe, y^t ye Kinge should paye y^e same summe twice; and yet, I must confesse, it falls very hard upon y^e poore men to beare y^e losse; but they should have been wiser in ye choyce of their agent. Notwithstanding, if there can be any hope in this case to releue y^{em}, I shall doe my best, and, for y^e future, my Lo. hath promised me they shall be duly payd. Soe, I leaue you to y^e Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord^{ps} loueing Freind and Brother,

Croyden, Octobr^r 4,
 1634.

W: CANT:

To the Rt Reve
 my very good L
 Lo. Bp. of Dun

[Indorsed] Against these the municat.

X.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 14.]

[Mr. Edward Kellie, who is mentioned at the close of this letter, was by a writ under the Privy Seal, appointed Receiver of the Fees of the Chapel-Royal, 26th of November 1629. There is an original and interesting paper by him, preserved in the General Register House, entitled, "Information touching the Chappell-Royall of Scotland," dated at Whitehall 24th of January 1631, which has been printed in the Appendix to Mr. Dauney's "Ancient Scottish Melodies," p. 365. Edinb. 1838. 4to.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

S. in X^{po}.

I AM very very glad to heare your resolutions for the ordering of his Mat^{ies} Chappell Royall, and y^t you are resolved to weare your Whites, notwithstanding the malicioufnes of foolish men. I knowe his Mat^{ie} will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satiffyed both concerning your Sermon, and all thinges else committed to your trust, you may, as opportunity serues, expect from his Mat^{ie} all reasonable thinges; and I shall not be wanting to give you all y^e affittance y^t I can vpon all occasions; of w^{ch} I heartily pray you not to doubt.

My Lo. y^e Earle of Traquare is now come, and I shall take y^e first opportunity I can to speake once more wth him about y^e Gent. of y^e Chappell, and shall showe him what your Lord^p writes concerning one Edward Kelly, whome you mention; and what anfuere soever I can gett, you shall receive from me. Soe, in hast, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord^{ps} very loveinge Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 12,

W: CANT:

1634 [1634-5].

I have spoken wth my Lo. Traquare, and he tells me, (if I mistooke him not,) y^t paym^t was made to Kelly wth relation to the Gent. of the Chappell, and y^t your oune hand, as well as others, is to some agreement y^t was made thereabout. The paper was not then about him, else he had shewed it me. Your Lord^p therefore shall doe very well to speake wth him againe about this particular. As for the time to come, he hath assumed to me they shall be duly paid.

To y^e R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane,
att Edenburrewe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent wearing of the Whites.

XI.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio. Vol. LXVI. No. 19.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X^{po}.

THE Kinge hath been acquainted with yo^r care of the Chappell Royall, and is very well pleased wth y^e conformity that hath been there att y^e lait reception of y^e blessed Sacrament; and, for my part, I am heartyly glad to see in what a faire way y^r Church-busynesses now are in those parts. I hope, if y^e B^{pps} be pleased to continue their good example, and their care, all things will settle beyond expectation.

The Kinge hath declared his pleasure concerning y^e Bp.rickes now void, and hath given yow y^e Bp.ricke of Aberdeen, as yow well heare more att large by my Lord of Rosse. But being an Vniversity, and a place of consequence, he will haue you reside there, and relies much upon you for y^e well ordering of y^t place. I am very glad y^e Kinge hath been soe mindfull of you, and given you soe good a Testimony vpon this occasion of your remove. Soe, I leave you to y^e Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord^{ps} very loveinge Freinde and Brother,

Lambeth, May 19,
1635.

W: CANT:

To the R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good
Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane,
att Edenburrowe, thefe.

[Indorfed] Anent their encouragement.

XII.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 20.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

S. in X^{po}.

MY Lo. Sterling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Matie in what forwardnes your Liturgye there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And, by y^e King's command, I have sent for Yonge y^e Printer, y^e better to prepare him to make ready a blacke letter, and to bethinke himselfe to send to his seruants att Edenburrowe, y^t soe, against y^e Lo. Sterling's comeing, all things might be in y^e better readines, w^{ch} is all y^e service I can doe till his Lord^p come.

I am very glad your Canons are alsoe in foe good a readines, and y^t the true meaning of y^t one Canone remaines still under y^e Curtaine. I hope you will take care y^t it may be fully printed and passed with y^e rest : 'Twill be of great use for the setleng of y^t Church.

I thanke you for your care of D^{or} Wedderbourne : He is very able to doe service, and will certainly doe it, if you can keepe up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated, as well as my Lord of Brehen, but I perceive he is not ; what y^e reason is [I know] not, but 'tis a thousand pittyes y^t those uncertantyes abide wth him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him, I would not have him sticke att any thinge, for y^e Kinge will not leave him long att Dunblane, after he hath once settled y^e Chappell right, which I see will settle apace, if he keepe his footing. My letters are gone to y^e Bp. of Aberdeene, by the King's command, to disfert his protestation concerning y^e Chappell, [and] to leave y^e rents presently to Dr. Wedderbourne ; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from y^e Kinge to take of the Annats from y^e Bp. ricks ; and D^{or} Forbes being y^e late B^{ps} Exequutor, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for y^e Annats of y^e Ministers, y^e Kinge is resolved not to tuch y^{em} att this time.

Concerning y^t w^{ch} you mencion about fitting of y^e Chappell, both wth silver vessells and other ornaments, upon y^e sale now to be made of some stuffe of y^e King's ; I thinke my Lo. of St. Andrewes will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all y^t yow desire ; and then, if you do not see y^e Chappell well furnished, y^e blame for ever be yours.

The Bp. of Brehen is come, and my L^d of St. Andrewes hath written att large by [him,] and I have given my Lord's Grace answere to all y^e particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my [Lord, I hold no]thing certaine in Court till it be done ; yet I have that affiance in my Lo. Marquesse, [that I am confi]dent, he will passe Arbrothe, full and wholly, Præcinct and all ; and his [Majesty is of the] same opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lo. of St. Andrewes feare [and yours is cause]lesse.

[The next passa]ge in your letter is only an expresseion of an apprehension w^{ch} you [have for your over]throwe, and that if they can bring you into disgrace wth y^e Kinge, [they will find easier passa]ge to damnify y^e Church. I pray trouble not yourselfe wth these [conceits ; but f]erve God and the King, and leave y^e rest to their protection. It may be such [a fear were] fitter for me, and perhaps I have juster cause of apprehensions, would I give way to [such thoughts]

In the next passage you are more confident ; hold you there, & lett no man stagger [you in the ser]wise of God and y^e King. But wheras you write y^t some w^{ch} have promised, and [protested f]aire to me concerning y^e Church, have, in all Judigatures, since your last return, gone [against] y^e Church, I pray name y^{em} ; for I am loth to mistake persons, and then I shall not [spare] to acquaint y^e Kinge wth what they doe ; and, in y^e mean time, you have noe cause to doubt, either y^e change of y^e King's counte-

nance, or his giving full credit to any against y^e Church, till y^e Church be heard.

You need not feare any thing in my Lo. of Roxborough's busynesse, for I doe not beleue y^e King will erect any other Bp.rick in hast. God blisse him, and make him able to better those which are already, and stand in need of helpe. I doe not heare of any alteration to y^e lesse or y^e more about y^e Exchequer there; but should there be any, I haue moued his Ma^{tie} y^t no thing be concluded till my Lo. of St. Andrewes judgment be knowne, according as yow desire. As for y^e instance you make, in y^e Annuity of Tithes, I read y^t alſoe to y^e King; and you cannot but remember y^t y^e King hath said enough to you in y^t par[ticular: Let this] be enough.

My Lo. for y^e cloſe of your letter all y^t I can ſay is this, my aſſiſtance you ſhall haue in all juſt and hono^{ble} wayes for y^e Church; but y^e Kinge is ſoe gracious of himſelfe, y^t you may be better able att any time to doe your owne buſyneſſe wth him then I am to doe it for you, being not able to vnderſtand many difficultyes of your buſyneſſes. Yet, conſidering my preſence is heere, where yours cannot alwayes be, I ſhal be euer as ready to ſerue you as I haue been, y^t is, to y^e vttmoſt of my power. Soe, wiſhing you all health and hapines, I leave you to y^e Grace of God, and reſt,

Your Lord's very loueing Freinde and Brother,

Croyden, Sept. 19th, 1635.

W: CANT.

To the R^t Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Biſhop of Roſſe, att Edenburrowe, theſe.

[Indorſed] 19 September 35, His gladnes for their being at the preſſe, eſpecially that one Canon vnder the curtaine.

XIII.

DR. JUXON BISHOP OF LONDON, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 21. The Book of "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical," &c. so often referred to, bears on the title, "Aberdene, imprinted by Edward Raban, 1636." 4to, pp. 43.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

Vpon the receipt of yo^r former letters, I p[reſentlie] repaired to my L: Grace of Canterburie, and gott a diſpatch of what you deſired to haue explained in yo^r Common Praier Booke; and I hope ere this it hath found the waye to Edinburgh, that yo^r preſſe ſtand not ſtill; for I was enforced, wth ſignification of the haſt it required, to leave the care of conveiance vpon his Grace; becauſe, my letters coming from Newmarkett, (where the Court then was,) by an vnknown hand, I knew not well how to gett it returnd.

With yo^r letter of the 6th of this month, I receaved yo^r Book of Canons,

which perchance at first will make more noise then all the Canons in Edinburgh Castle; but when men's eares have beene vsed awhile to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at first; and, perchance, find them as vsfull for preservation of the Church, as the others for the Comonweale. Our praiers heer are for yo^r happie proceedings in that great service, wherewith I rest,

Yo^r Lordshippes assured frend to serve you,

London House,

17^o Februarij 1635 [1635 6.]

Guil: London:

To the right Reverend Father in God, my verie good Lord, the Lord Bpp. of Rosse these bee, Ed^r.

XIV.

THE EARL OF STIRLING, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 22.—Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Author of the Monarchick Tragedies, was created Earl of Stirling in the year 1633. At this time, he held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland.]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERIE GOODE LORD,

I THANKE yow verie hartliely for yo^r Booke of the Cannons, w^{ch} I receaued yesternight. I was present in the morneing when my Lord of Canterburry delivered the Booke to the King, w^{ch}, as soone as his Ma^{tie} had reade some parte of it, he delivered unto mee; and I was glade to heare him so well pleased therewith. I finde some erroures in the Printer, by mistakeing or renversing of letters; and therefore have the more care in lookeing to that in printeing of the Service-Booke, for Yong the printer is the greatest knave that euer I dealt with; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necessity you must [leave.]

[Since] the writeing hereof, I receaued a letter from my Lord of [Canter]burry, signifying his Ma^{ties} pleasure for two letters that should be [drawen] vp for his hand, concerning the authorizeing of the Booke [of Ca]nnons; w^{ch}, God willing, shall come home with the next packett. I hope my Sonne will take such a course, with yo^r advice, concerning the Psalmés as shall be fitt, to whom I referre the same; and still remayne,

Yo^r Lo^{ps} verie affectionate frend and servant,

Stirling

I fend yo^r Lo^p these inclofed letters from my Lord of Canterburry, to be delivered by yow according to their severall direCTIONS.

[Whyte]hall, the 17 of Feb^r. 1636.

To the right reverend Father in God, and my verie goode Lord,
my Lord Bifhope of Roffe.

[Indorfed] 17th Februar 1636. His purchafing the King's authorifing the Canons.

XV.

ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL AUTHORISING THE SERVICE BOOK, WITH HIS MAJESTYS WARRANT :
OCTOBER 1636.

[Regiftrum Secreti Concilii, fol. 179.]

Apud Edinburgh, 20 Decembris 1636.—Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Dumfries.	Naper.	Advocat.
Thefaurar.	Angus.	Deputie Treafaurer.	Juftice-Clerk
Glasgow.	Binning.	Clerk-Regifter.	

ACT ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKE.

Forfamekle as the King's Maieftie, euer fince his entrie to the imperiall Crowne of this his ancient Kingdome, efpeciallie fince his late being heir, hes diverfe times recommendit to the Archbifhops and Bifhops heir, the publishing of a publiſt Forme of Service in the worſhip of God, whiche his Maieftie would have vniformelie obſerved in this Kingdome; and the ſame being now condeſcended upon, although his Maieftie doubts not bot all his Maiefties ſubjects, both clergie and others, will receive the ſaid publiſt Forme of Service with ſuch reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt his Maieftie thinking it neceſſair to make his pleaſure knowne twiching the authorizing the booke thairof, Thairfore the Lords of his Maiefties Privie Counſell, according to his Maiefties ſpeciall warrand and direction, Ordains letters to be direct, to command and charge all his Maiefties ſubjects, both eccleſiaſticall and civill, be open proclamation at the Mercat Croſes of the heid Burrowes of this Kingdome and other places needfull, to conforme themſelfs to the ſaid publiſt Forme, quhilk is the onlie forme quhilk his Maieftie, (having takin the Counſell of his Clergie,) thinkes fitt to be uſed in Gods publiſt worſhip heir: Commanding heirby all Archbifhops and Bifhops, and others preſbyters and churchmen, to take a ſpeciall care that the ſaid publiſt Forme of worſhip be dewlie obſerved and obeyed, and the contraveaners condignlie cenſured and puniſhed; and to have a ſpeciall care that euerie

Parish betuix and Pasche next, procure unto thameselffs twa at the least of the faids Bookes of Commoun Prayer, for the use of the Parish.

FOLLOWIS HIS MAJESTIES MISSIVE FOR WARRANT OF THE ACT ABOUT-
WRITTEN.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT Reuerend Father in God, right trustie and weil-belouit Coufins and Counsellors, right trustie and trustie and belouit Counsellors, We greit you weill. Whereas since our entrie to the Crowne, especiallie since our late being in that Kingdome, We have diuerse times recommended to the Archbishops and Bishops there, the publishing of a publict Forme of Seruice in the worship of God, whiche We would haue vniformelie obserued therein ; And the same being now condescended vpon, thogh We doubt not bot all our subjects, both Clergie and others, will receaue the same with such reuerence as appertaineth ; Yitt thinking it necessãrie to make^r our pleasure knowne, tuicheing the authorizing of the Booke thaireof, We require you to command, by opin proclamation, all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civill, to conforme thameselffes in the practise thairrof, It being the onlie forme which We, (having takin the Counsell of our Clergie) thinke fitt to be used in Gods publict worship there : As alswa We require you to inioyne all Archbishops and Bishops, and other Presbyters and churchemen, to take care that the same be dewlie obeyed, and the contraveeners condignlie censured and punished ; And to take order that euerie Parish procure to thameselffes, within such a space as you shall thinke fitt to appoint, two at least of the faids Bookes of Common Prayer for the use of the Parish ; wherein you will doe us most acceptable seruice, and for which these shall be your warrant. We bid yow farewell, from our Court at Newmercat, the 18 of October 1636.

XVI.

DISCHARGE BE THE PRINTER FOR THE BOOKS TO THE
CHAIPPELL.

[The Original indorfed as above, is preserved in the General Register
House.]

WE, Robert Bryson, Bookfeller, and I, Evan Tyler, Printer, by these presents grants us to have received from Mr. George Halyburtoun, all & whole the sowme of Ane hundred fourty-four pounds, four shillings Scots money, being the just price of the Liturgies, which are given in to the Chappell Royall. In witnes whereof we have subscribed our names, At Edinburgh this fifteenth of Aprill 1637 years.

ROBERT BRYSONE.
EVAN TYLER.

XVII.

ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD, TO DR. HALL BISHOP OF NORWICH.

[The Original is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, inserted in a copy of "The Booke 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, &c. 1637." Folio. The copy (marked KK. e. 24.) is printed on large paper, but it has been rebound and cut down, and does not, as usual, contain King James's Psalms, dated 1636.]

MY VERY REVEREND AND HONORABLE GOOD LORD,

I WAS desired to present your Lordship with one of the copies of our Scottish Liturgie, which is formed so nigh to the English, as we could, that it might be knowne how we are nothing differen in substance from that Church. And God I beseeche to keep us one, and free us from those that craife divisions. Your Lordship will be pleased to accept this little present, as a testimonie of our Churches love, and sent by him who truly loveth your Lordship and will still remain,

Your Lordship's most affectionat Brother,

SANCTANDREWS.

[Indorsed.]—To my very Reverend good Lord and Brother,
my Lord the Bishop of Norwich.

XVIII.

LINDESAY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, TO THE PRESBYTERY OF DALKEITH.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 40.]

WELBELOVED BRETHREN,

A GREAT number of the Ministers of this diocese, thinking the day of the Synode had beine the last Weddinsday of Apryll, did come to this Towne, and finding themselves mistaken, presently returned to their owne homes, where I spake not. These presents therefore are to desire you to keepe precisely the tyme appointed, which is the last Weddinsday of Maij, for at that tyme there [are] fundrie things that I haue to impart unto you, and in speciall concerning the Service Books that are to be receaved in our Church; of the which books it is thought expedient, that presently everie 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 Booke I think shal be 4lbs. 16sh. y^t is 9lb. 12sh. the two. The matter is of no great moment, and the imployment verie necessar and profitable, as experience shall prove. I hope y^efore yee will not faill everie one to bring in your moneyes and receaue your books, for it is appointed that the Printer be payed, and the buiks taken off his hand, betuix this and the first of June. In the meane tyme I expect that yee will observe the commemoration of Chrif's Ascension, on Thursday the 18th of May; and on Sunday the 28th thereafter, called Whitfonday, a commemoration of the descending of the Holy Ghost, w^{ch} haue beine and are solemnly observed throw all the Christian world, to the hono^r of him who is the God of order, vnity, and peace; to whose grace I leaue you, and shall euer remaine,

Yo^r loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 28 Aprill 1637.

DA : EDENB.

To his welbeloued Brethren the Moderator and remanent
Brethren of the Exercise of Dalkeith, these.

XIX.

INSTRUCTIONS HOW THE SERVICE CAME TO BEE MADE DELIVERED TO MEE BY THE KING.

[Woodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 36. The above title is the indor-sation of this paper in the hand-writing of Dr. Balcanquall. It evidently was drawn up by the Earl of Stirling, then Secretary of State for Scotland. The original is mutilated in the several places marked with points, or where words have been supplied within brackets.]

KING JAMES, of blifed memorie, who knew most perfectly the defects of the Church of Scotland, shortly after his coming to the Croun of England, out of his religious and pious care of God's glorie, and tender affection to that poore Church, *in quâ natus et renatus*, beganne feriously to think vpon the esta[blishing of a] Liturgie there.

After many though[ts for that purpose, he] obtained that in a Generall Assembly at [Aberdeen in the year 1616,] it was enacted that a Booke of Co[mmon Prayer] should be framed; and, by Act of Assembly, so many were trusted with it to draw it vp, of whom I am sure Mr. W^m. Cowper B. of Galloway was one.

Then a Booke of Common Prayer was formed and delivered to my Lord Archb. of S^t Andrew's, w^o after hee had reuifed, it was sent vp to King James, who did take the paines to peruse and consider it, and gave order to the Deane of Winchester to doe the like, the same was returned to my Lord of S^t Andrews, with his Ma. directions what hee would have to be changed, omitted, or added, to make it the more perfect.

Before it could be brought *ad umbilicum*, God called that blifled King to Glory.

King Charles shortly after his entrie to the raigne, air not only to his Father's crowne, but pietie, vrged the same w^t a most pious care and fatherlie affection. This very-Booke *in statu quo* King James left it, was sent to his Ma. and presented to his Ma. by myfelfe, (whether the same was done or not by the B. of Rofs then, now Archb. of Glasgow, I darre not confidently averre, but I thinke hee it was). His Ma. took great care of it, gave his Royall judgement, and I returned home and signified his Ma. pleasure to my L. S^t. Andrew's, and hee to such of the Clergy as hee thought fit.

There was during this time much paines taken by his Ma. here, and My L. St. Andrew's, and some others there, to have it so framed, as wee needed not to be ashamed of it when it should be seen to the Christian world, [and] w^t that prudent moderation that it might be done in that [way which might occasion] the least offence to weak ones there.

In God's mercy that it was framed so as the it, and put their hands to it, w^c I shew to his Ma.; and thereafter his Ma. gaue His Royall approbation, writte to the Councill for authorising of it, and to the BB. to be cairfull, in all prudent and conuenient speed, to put it in practise, and that it should goe to press, that this might be the sooner and better done.

To facilitat the receiving of the Booke of Common Prayer, a care was had besides to make it as perfect as cowlde be, so lykwise that howsoever it should come as neare to this of England as could be, yet that it should be in some things different, that our Church and Kingdome might not grumble as tho wee were a Church dependent from or subordinat to them.

His Ma. prudent pietie was such, that tenderly caring for the peace of this Church, some things were kept in our Liturgie which as yet our Church could not be vrged with, and some things which the weakness of the greater part would except against: that the turbulent heire might get no aduantage by our Booke to disquiet the Church, and that ours might the more [smoothly] be receaued His Ma. in a gracious moderat ned vnder his hand, dispensed w^t ye BB. not vpon any but such as were willing their flocks to doe it.

And yet [His Majesties] care and prudence was more, that when all was concluded, and the Booke ready for the press, to prepare men the better to receue it, gave order to all Archbishops & BB., till our owne should be printed and fully authorised, to cause read the English Seruice booke in their Cathedralls, to vse it morning and evening in their owne houses and colledges, as it had been vsed in His Ma. Chappell Royall in the yeir of God 1617. The BB. vpon a remonstrance made to his Ma. that seing their owne was shortly to come forth, desired that all should be continowed till their owne were printed and fully authorised: to which his Ma. gratioufly accorded.

In 1636, at farthest in the beginning of 1637, the Booke was printed, sent to his Ma. presented to the Councill, authorised at His Ma. command, publick proclamation made to all churchmen to beginne the practise at

Eafter 1637. His Ma. at this tyme, at euery occasion, put the BB. in mynd of their dutie, and not to be negligent.

The Bishop of Edinburgh not being able to beginne at the appointed day, the Bishops meiting in June and July, carefull to obey his Majestie did think fit, before the Session raise, (that so it might be knowen in all the corners and parts of the kingdome,) that the reading and vse of it should beginne in Edinburgh and all the neirest adjacent churches; and knowing that all were not alike affected to so pious a worke, ordaining intimation to be made the Lord's day before the 23 of July, that the Service was to beginne and continow, fearing that some disaffected would prevaricate in the intimation, caused print the intimation, and intimat it in all the churches of Edinburgh, in the printed order.

What a barb[arous] hub-hub was then, would to God it were buried in [oblivion. After] that the Toune of Edinburgh, fearing His Ma: [displeasure,] yea puritans themselves condemning it expressly condemning the factis either knowledge of it, or hand in it, and promising obedience (. was put vpon Rascallis and Coal-steillers, but how justly, let subsequent actions and events declare:) His Majestie was so gracious, that he pardoned the Toune, accepted of their excuse: Such was His goodness all this tyme, not one, no not the basest, censured.

The 23 of August, a Councell day, appointed to meet solemnly, to know His Ma. pleasure, expected to returne before then; their came to that diet some few Ministers from Fife, and some from the West, being charged to buy and receue the books, to suspend. Nothing was done then to curbe them, but at Councell table speking that their was a fire in all the parts of the kingdome. Quherevpon, in the next Councell day, noble-men and numbers of Ministers did appear wth petitions, and crying out against the Booke as Popish superstitions. After which petition and petitions were sent to his Ma. At this tyme, if I mistake not, my L. D. of Lennox, occasionally being at home, did bringe vp their Petition. They encreased in number, and then spoke against Service-book, Canons, His Commission, &c. Declarations were given in to the Councell; and heir you would admire to see the tennor of that Act at Dalkeith, which they pretend as their warrand for meiting, which they abused to the establisshing of their [Tables. His] Ma. was gratiouly pleased to declair, by op[en Proclamation, hee] intended no novation in Relligion, &c.; [but that the conte]mpt of the Proclamation concluded at Lin[lithgow,] commanding them all to repair home, would be look't to. Traquair written for came vp. At Stirling was a gracious proclamation, to assure His Majestie's subjects of the syncerity of Relligion. Heir was made the first protestation against authority, which *in terminis* meits & opposes the proclamation. After that, Privie Seale was sent home. Then the Covenant was put on foot, &c. After that, his Lordship's panis did proue succeffull: His Lordship can give you information of this. Then the Marquis of Hamilton, &c.

XX.

INFORMATION FROM THE EARL OF STIRLING TO
DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No 26.—This paper has no date or signature, but it relates to matters which occurred in 1637, and appears to be a continuation of the preceding article.]

THE Councell gave out letters, chargeing euery minister to receave two Service Bookes for every paroch church; but M^r Alex^r Henderfon, and two other ministers with him, in name of the rest, gave in a petition the next day, that they might have some reasonable tyme to see the Booke and consider of it; wherevpon the former charge was suspended. The Service Booke was begun to be read in the church of Edinburgh vpon a Sunday, when the Lo. Treasurer was forth of towne, and the Councell not present, which made a great mutinie in the church, and the service was read with difficultie, the church doores all being shutt; and as soone as the sermon was ended, they threw stones at the Bishop, and entered in a great tumult. There was a tumultuous multitude that came about the Towne Councell-house, the Clerk Register being then Provest, vrgeing him to signe what they demanded, till the Lo. Treasurer came and releevd him.

The Towne of Edinburgh being pressed to receave the Service Booke, offered once to do it, so they might have men to read it to them; and they gave in a petition that they might not be vrge'd to vse it till the rest of the Borroughes did consent to the receaving of it, and they would abstaine, in the mean tyme, from joyning in petition with them. They could have no answer, but that they must either receave it presently, or joyne with the rest, which they did, though it might then have been prevented.

The Councell, vpon this, was removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and the Lo. Roxbrughe was sent home with a commission from his Majestie, and a proclamation, shewing that no innovation in Religion was intended; but it was so farr from settling the busines, that they proceeded to more high demands then before, and of others then concerning the Service Booke.

Thereafter, the Session being removed to Sterline, and the troubles still encreasing, a proclamation was made there, expressing his Majesties gracious intention and sincerity in Religion, and withall, chargeing all men, vnder paine of Treason, to retire themselves to their owne houses; but this was encountred with a protestation, and no obedience given to the charge.

After this, they made a Covenant amongst themselves, and a Bond of mutuall aide, for prosecuting their cause in establishing of the Religion in that estate which they conceived to be the purity thereof, and confirmed the same by an oath and subscription of all such as they could, by any meanes, draw to adhere to them. The Ministers, taking a liberty, even out

of the pulpits, to abstract from the authority of Bishops, thereby to incense the people against them; and all such of the ministerie as would not condescend to their Covenant, the Presbyteries either deprived, suspended, or silenced, for any fault they could finde out, (or, they say,) could be pretended against them.

[Indorsed in Balcanquhall's hand.] From my L. Sterlin.

XXI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE PRIVY
COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

(1.) Apud Edinburgh, 13 Junij 1637.

ACT ANENT SERVICE BOOKES.

FORASMEIKLE, as by act and proclamation, made and published heretofore, It wes commandit and ordained, that everie Presbyterie within this Kingdome should have had a care that their parochiners should have beene furnished and provydit, betwixt and Pasche last, with twa of the Bookes appointed to be universallie receaved throughout this Kingdome, for the publict forme of Service in the worship of God, as in the act and proclamation made to this effect at lenth is conteinit: Quhereunto, altho great numbers of the ministrie of best learning and foundest judgement and gifts, hes given dewtifull obedience, and hes conformed thameselfes to his Maiesties royall will and pleasure in this point, Yitt there is some others of the ministrie who, out of curiositie and singulartie, refuse to receave and embrace the said Booke, and does what in thame lyes to foster and interteyny distractioun and troubles in the Kirk, to the disturbing of the publict peace thereof, without remeid be provydit; Thairfore, the saids Lords ordains letters to be direct, charging the whole Presbyters and Ministeris within this kingdome, That they and everie ane of thaim provide and furnishe themselfes, for the use of their Parishes, with twa of the saids Bookes of publict Service, or Commoun prayer, within fyfteine dayes nixt after the charge, vnder the paine of rebellion and putting of thaim to the horne; and if they faille, to denunce, &c. and to escheit, &c.

(2.) Apud Edinburgh, 28 Julij 1637.

Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Dumfries.	B. Ros.
Thefaurer.	L. Lorne.	B. Brechin.
Glasgow.	L. Alexander.	L. Deskford.
Priue Seale.	B. Edinburgh.	L. Naper.
Winton.	B. Galloway.	Clerk-Register.

Wigton.	B. Aberdeen.	Justice-Generall.
Kingorne.	B. Murray.	Deputie-Treasurer.

ACT ANENT SERVICE BOOKES.

The Lords of Secret Counsell having heard the Proneft and Bailleis of Edinburgh tuiching the propofition made be thame, and courfe taken conforme thereto, for a peaceable exercife of the Service-booke, and securitie of the perfonis employed, or who fall be prefent and affift at the praftife thair of; The Lords ordaine the Proveft and Bailleis to advyfe amongs thaimfelffs anent ane obligatorie act to be given be the Toun for the reall performance of what they fall undertake in the buffines abone mentioned, And allowes thame to publishe, by touck of drwm, the Orders to be eftablifhed be thame for keeping of thair Toun in peace and quyetnes, and preventing of all trouble and commotioun within the fame.

(3.) Apud Ed^r 29 Julij 1637, in the Chan^{rs} looding.

Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Kingorne.	L. Deskford.
Treasurer.	L. Alexander.	Clerk Register.
Priue Seal.	B. Galloway.	Justice-Generall.
Glasgow.	B. Aberdeen.	Blakhall.
Wintoun.	B. Brechin.	

THE CLERGIE'S REPORT ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKE.

The whilk day the Archbishop of St Andrewes, Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdome, for himfelfe and in name of the remanent Bifhops, reported to the Counsell, That, in regaird of the late trouble and infurrection raifed upon Sunday laft, for oppofing the Service-booke, and upon new emergent occasions and confiderable refpects, It wes thought fitt and expedient be thame, That there fould be a furceaffe of the Service-booke till his Maieftie fould fignifie his pleafure twiching the redrefse and punifhment of the authors and aftors of that diforderlie tumult, and that a courfe be fett down for the peaceable exercife thair of, to the glorie of God, his Maiefties honour, and the good of this Citie; And in the meane time, to the effect his Maiefties good and loyall fubjects be not defrauded of the comfort of the word, the faids Bifhops had appointed and given order that, in the whole churches of this Citie, fermon fall be made at the accustomed times, by regular and obedient Minifters, and that a prayer fall be made before and after fermon, and that neither the Old feruice nor the New eftablifhed feruice, be vfed in this interim: Whiche report and conclufion, takin be the faids Bifhops, being heard be the Counsell, They remitted to thame to doe therein according to the power incumbent unto thame in the dewtie of thair offices.

(4) *Apud Edinburgh, 25 Augusti 1637.*

DECLARATION ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKES.

The Lords of Secreit Counsell, understanding that there has been a great mistaking in the Letters and charges given out upon the Act of Counsell made anent the buying of the Service-Bookes, the saids Lords for removing and clearing of all such scruples, declares that the said Act and Letters extends allanerlie to the buying of the saids Bookes and no farther.

XXII.

THE SUPPLICATION OF CERTAIN MINISTERS OF FYFFE,
GIVEN IN TO THE COUNSELL, THE 23^D OF AUGUST 1637.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals: Compared with other Copies.]

MY Lords of Secret Counsell unto your Lordships humbly meanes and shewes we your servitors, Mr. Alex^r. Henderfon minister at Leuchars, Mr. George Hamilton minister at Newburne, and Mr. James Bruce minister at King's Barnes, That where we wer requyred of late, by the Moderator of our Presbytery, to receive tuo coppies of the new Booke of Common Prayer, and declaring our selves most willing each of us to receive one of the said Bookes to read, that we might know what it containes before we could promise to practife it, alleadging, that in matters of God's worship we are not bound to blind obedience; it was refused us, and taken out of some of our hands; and yet we are now charged with Letters of horning, directed by your Lordships, upon a narrative that we have refused the saids Bookes out of curiosity and singularity, to provyd every one of us tuo of the saids Bookes for the use of our Parishes, which hath made us, who wer never acquainted with any charge from authority, and knowing no other way so just and voyd of offence, to have recourfe to your Lordships, most humbly intreating, that the Charge may be suspended, for the Reasons following:—

1. Because this Booke is neither warranted by the authority of the Generall Assembly, which is the representative Church of this Kingdome, and hath, ever since the Reformation, given direction in matters of God's worship; nor by any Act of Parliament, which in things of this kind hes ever been thought necessary be his Majestie and the Estates.

2. Because the liberties of the true Kirk, and the form of worship and religion received at the Reformation and univerfally practised senfyne, is warranted be the Acts of Generall Assemblies, and diverse Acts of Parliament, especially of the Parliament 1567, and the late Parliament 1633.

3. The Kirk of Scotland is ane free and independant Kirk, and their pastours should be most able to discern and direct, what doth best befeeme our measure of Reformation, and what may serve most for the good of the people.

4. It is not unknown to your Lordships, what disputing, division, and trouble hath been in this Kirk, about some few of the manie Ceremonies contained in this Booke; which being examined (as we shall be ready, a competent tyme being assigned be your Lordships to show,) will be found to depart far from the forme of worship and reformation of this Kirk, and in poynts most materiall to draw neir to the Kirk of Rome, which for her heresies in doctrine, superstition and idolatry in worship, tyrannie in government, and wickedness every way, is als Antichristian now, as when we came out of hir.

5. The People hath been otherwayes taught by us and our predeceffors in our places ever since the Reformatione, and so it is likely they will be found unwilling to the change when they shall be affayed, even where their pastors are willing, in respect whereof, the saids Letters of horning, hail effect and executions whereof, ought to be suspended simply in tyme coming. Therefore, we beseech your Lordships that we may have letters directed, charging the persons who has caused use this Charge against us, to compeir personally, bringing and producing the said Letters of horning, with the executions and indorfations thereof, at ane certain day, to be seen and considered; and in the meantime to be suspended, and your Lordships answer, &c.

XXIII.

INFORMATIONS GIVEN TO SEVERALL COUNSELLERS.

[From the same.]

1. This Booke of Common Prayer hath no warrant of a Nationall Assembly, which in all Nations ought to direct, and in this Nation hath directed, in the matter of God's worship ever since the Reformation.

2. It hath no warrant of the Estates of Parliament, without whose consent to alter the Form of worship, and to enjoin all his Majestie's subjects to receive every form of religion, under the pain of rebellion, we desyre to be considered how important this is.

3. The Form of worship here is ratified be the Parliament 1633, and consequently all different Forms are forbidden.

4. This Kirk is a free and independant Kirk, no less then the Kingdom is a free and independant Kingdom; and as our own Patriots can best judge what is for the good of the Kingdom, so our own Pastors should be most able to judge what form of worship becometh our Reformation, and what serveth most for the good of the People.

5. This Booke destroyeth all the order of our Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, and puts the censure of doctrine, the admision of ministers, and the whole government of the Kirk, absolutely in the hands of the Prelatts.

6. It establiſheth a reading miniftry; whoſoever can read the Booke can be a miniſter, and he who is beſt gifted muſt ſay no more nor he readeth, whether in prayer, baptiſm, communion, &c.

7. It preſcryveth Apocrypha to be read, as if it wer the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles; hath many groſs poynts of Popery, and openeth a wide door by generalities and ambiguities of ſpeech to many moe, as we ſhall be ready and are moſt deſirous to be employed, to manifeſt in particulars, upon a competent tym granted to us by authority.

XXIV.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE LORDS OF PRIVY
COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

[From the Same.]

(1.) THE COUNCELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

ACCORDING to the warrant of your Maſteſties commandement, wee have been moſt willing and readie to give all concurrence and aſſiſtance to my Lords of the Clergie for eſtabliſhing of the Service-Booke; and notwithstanding of that barbarous tumult (occaſioned allendarlie, for any thing wee can yet learne, by a number of baſe and rascal people,) wee were very hopeful in a ſhort time, without any further trouble or importunity to your Maſteſtie, to have brought it to practice: but having appointed a meeting of Councell upon the 23d of Auguſt inſtant, in this extraordinarie time of vacation, expreſſlie to think upon the beſt expedienſies for advancing of that Service, wee found ourſelves farre by our expectation, ſurpriſed with the clamours and feares of your Maſteſtie's ſubjects from almoſt all the partes and corners of the Kingdome; and that even of theſe who otherwayes heſ heretofore lived in obedience and conformitie to your Maſteſtie's lawes, bothe in Eccleſiaſtical and Civile buſſineſſe, and thus wee finde it ſo to increaſe, that we conceive it to be a matter of high conſequence in reſpect of the generall murmure and grudge in all ſortes of people for urging of the practice of the Service-Booke, as the like hath not being heard in this Kingdom; ſo that wee dare not longer delay, nor conceill it from your Maſteſtie, not knowing whereunto the ſame may tend, and what effects it may produce; neither dare wee dyve further in the tryell of the cauſe of the ſaid feares or remedies thereof, till it ſhall pleaſe your Maſteſtie, in the deepeſſe of your Royall judgment, to preſcribe the way, after hearing of all the particulars, either by calling ſome of your Maſteſties Councell, bothe Clergie and Laitie, to your Maſteſtie's owne preſence, to the effect our caſe may be taken for paciſieing the preſent commotion, and eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Service-Booke, or otherwayes by ſuch other meanes as your Maſteſtie in your owne

great wifdome fhall think fitting; and wee have appointed the 20th of September for attending your Majefties pleafure hereanent, which wee, as becomes humble and faithfull fubjects, and thefe whom your Majeftie has honoured with your Royall commandments, will follow and obey: and fo, with all our moft humble prayers for your Majeftie's long and prosperous reign, we humbly kiffe your Royall handes, from Edinburgh 25th of Auguft 1637.

TRAQUAIR.

ROXBURGHE.

PERTH.

LAUDERDALL.

JO. ROSSE.

W. BRECHIN.

ALEXANDER.

NAPER.

ST. ANDREWS.

MORTON.

WIGTON.

WINTON.

SOUTHESK.

DA. EDINBURGH.

THO. GALLOWAY.

JO. HAY.

THOMAS HOPE.

JA. CARMICHELL.

JO. HAMILTON.

(2.) THE KING'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL.

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, &c.—Wee have confidered your letter, and do find that our former direCTIONS have produced verie fmall effects; neither doe you hereby propone any new expedient, but onlie that you defire that fome of the Clergie and Laitie fhould be fent for to deall with us therein, which wee conceive not to be fitt; and by a needlefle noyfe, would make it appear, that either wee have a verrie slack Councell, or verie bad fubjects which wee will never beleive, having had foe great a prooffe of their affection heretofore; but rather will that a fufficient number of you doe ftill attend at Edinburgh, or neere thereabout during the vacation tyme, till the Service-Book be fettled; and wee are not well fatisfied neither with yow nor with our Town of Edinburgh: that after that the Service was read upone the Sonday in the afternoone, it fhould have benee intermitted immediately thereafter, and that no delinquents, who were authors or accefforie to that infolencie and ryot (committed in the tumult that day), were nowayes censure to terrify others from attempting the like; and it doth likewayes feeme verie ftrange unto us, that the Miniftry of Edinburgh, haveing offered to beginne the reading of the Service prouyding that they were fecured from indemnity, and releevd by our faid Cittie of the foresaid charge within a moneth thereafter, that the faid offer was not accepted, which wee will you yet to accept, and fee it performed; and it is our pleafure that everie Bifhop caufe read the Service within his oune diocie, as the Bifhops of Rofs and Dumblane have already done; as lykewayes that yee warne our Burrowis, particularlie that none of them make choyfe of any Magiftrates but of fuch for whom they will anfwere for their conformitie: So expecting that yee will extend the uttermoft of your endeavours, by doing what is neceffary, and preventing any inconvenients that

may occurre, that Wee may have a good account with diligence, Wee bid you farewell.

From our Court at Oatlands, the 10th of September 1637.

(3.) THE COUNCIL'S LETTER TO THE KING.

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

WE received your Majesties letter concerning the Service Booke, and according to the prescript and direction thereof, we are seriouſlie applying ourſelves toward the performance of what your Maſteſtie hes committed to our care. For which purpose, we have appointed a constant Counſell to reſide here at Edinburgh, and have required the Prelats preſence, and written to theſe that were abſent, for eſtabliſhing the Service within their ſeverall diocies; and have accordingly given order to the Burrowes to make a right choyſe of conforme and well affected perſones, for the charge of the Magiſtracie, this enſuing year.

By our former letter, we certified your Maſteſtie of the generall diſlike and prejudice conceived againſt the Service Booke; which, at this Counſell-day, hes beene more fullie evidenced by the numerous confluence of all degrees and ranks of perſones, who were earneſt and humble Supplicants for oppoſeing the acceptation of the Service Booke, as by their petitions, extending to the number of three ſcore and eight, may more clearlie appeare; whereof we have herewith ſent to your Maſteſtie three copies, one in name of the noblemen, barrons, and gentlemen, one from the miniſters of the Exercise of Auchterarder, within the diocie of Dumblane, (where your Maſteſtie is informed the Service is practiſed), and the third from the cittie of Glaſgow; together with the liſt of the remanent petitions: The effect and ſubſtance of all which reſolves in one alleadgance, that the Service enjoyned, is againſt the religion preſentlie profeſſed; or that the ſame is in orderlie brought in without the knowledge or conſent of a Generall Aſſembly, or contrare to the Acts of Parliament, or diſconforme from the Service uſed and received in England, which the Petitioners undertooke to qualifie and make good; wherewith we have forborne to meddle till we receive your Maſteſties gracious reſolution thereanent.

We doe humble crave pardon to expreſſe our unſpeakable greefe to find that your Maſteſtie is not ſatiſfied with the ſinceritie of our faithfull endeavours in this particular ſervice. For the better clearing of the truth and ingenuitie of our proceedings therein, we have ſent to your Maſteſties Secretar a more full and particular accompt of all that was moved or concluded in Counſell concerning that buſineſſe. We have alwayes beene dewtfullie inclyned to further the performance of your Maſteſties royall commandements, and ſhall ſtill continue, as in deutie bound, to anſwer the truſt which your Maſteſtie hes repoſed in us; and ſo humbly entreating your Maſteſtie to be graciouslie pleaſed not to hearken to wrongous ſuggeſtions which may prejudge us in your Maſteſties favour, we pray God to bleſſe your

Majestie with a long and prosperous reigne, and we rest your Majestie's most humble and obedient subjects and servants, &c.

Edinburgh, the 20th of September 1637.

(4.) LETTER FROM THE LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF
STIRLING, SECRETARY OF STATE.

OUR VERY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

THE Earle of Roxburgh having, upon the seventh of this instant, exhibitt to his Majestie's Counsell his Majestie's letters directed to them; to witt, one for a frequent meeting of the Counsell, for obedience whereof letters wer ordained to be directed to all those of the Counsell who wer not present; which was done: the other letter was the letter of trust, and withall commanding the Counsell to take the readiest way for vindicating his Majestie's honor, and settling the peace of the Kingdom. Thereafter the Earle of Roxburgh did signifie his Majestie's pleasure anent the places of Counsell and Session; according to which, the Lords preferring his Majestie's commandments to all particulars, ordained the Counsell to sitt att Dalkeith till the first of February, the Session then to begin, and to hold at Stirling. Thereafter, the Earle of Roxburgh represented his Majestie's favor and declaration anent the mistake of his Majestie's intention in the matters of the Service-Book; according whereunto the Counsell ordained proclamation to be made, (whereof we have herewith sent your Lordship ane double,) which was published at all the publick places of this Kingdom, and which we caused to be done at Linlithgow before our removeall, and thereafter at the mercatt crofs of Edinburgh, in most solemn manner, with displayed coat of armes and sound of trumpet; which gracious expresseion was accepted in all humility and thankfulness be his Majestie's subjects. Thereafter, the Counsell met at Dalkeith on Tuesday and Wednesday, being the 12th and 13th days of December, where they entered upon consideration of the way of the tryall of the tumults in Edinburgh, and of the cause, effects, authors, actors, and whole circumstances thereof; and continued the matter till Tuesday next, upon ane motion made to the Counsell be the Provost of Edinburgh. Thereafter, some few of the noblemen, barrons, burgeses, and ministers, in a most humble and modest way, according to the order taken the 15th of November, desyred to be heard, and made offer to give in ane petition; but the Counsell, being carefull to follow his Majestie's gracious commandments and directions, which wer represented to them by the said Earle of Roxburgh, entred in a serious consideration how farr they might receive petitions, and of what nature; wherein the Counsell debated and laboured the most part of Tuesday and all Wednesday, and finding some things to tend to informations against the Bishops in their carriage concerning the Service-Book, the Lords absolutely refused to receive any thing of that nature, and expects to hear no more of this petition; and upon Tuesday we are to meet again at Dalkeith for prosecuting this matter according to his Majestie's commandments. And so we rest. From Dalkeith, the 14th December 1637.

XXV.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN'S SPEECH TO THE LORDS OF
PRIVY COUNCIL, 21st of December 1637.

[From the same, compared with other manuscript copies.]

MY LORDS,

A more weighty and stately cause than this, for the which we compeir before your Lordships at this tyme, we never pleaded before any judge on earth; being for the defence of true Religion and established Lawes, on the which dependeth the weelfare both of Church and Commonwealth, our condition of lyf, liberty, and temporall estate in this transitory world, and our eternall happyness in the world to come; our duty to God Almighty, the Supream King of Kings, and our alledgeance and duty to our Sovereign Lord and Master the King: And as the public form of God's worship is the most comfortable and solemn action of us his creatures on earth, so the greatest grievance we can sustain is the alteration of Religion, which, by the Innovations complained of, is pitifully changed, in Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline, contrare to severall laudable Acts of Parliament and the Constitutions of the National Assemblies of our Church, by the illegall introduction of the Book of Canons, Ordination, High Commiffion, and Service Book, called the Book of Common-Prayer, in which are sown the seeds of diverse superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrines, so as the Romish Masse is in the main and substantiall points made up therein: which whole Innovations, as they are fraughted with heaps of absurdities, and intollerable pollutions, in the matter, tending to the undermyning and extirpation of true Religion; so, in the manner of inbringing, they want the warrand of Generall Assemblies, the only representative body of the Church, or allowance of Parliament, but are unlawfully introduced, contrare to both, by the Prelats. First, by causing set forth a new Book of Canons, wherein it is ordained, that, "Whosoever should affirm that the form of worship in the Service-Book, and administration of the Sacraments, doth contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or is corrupt, superstitious, or unlawfull in the worship of God, shall be excommunicate;" which Book of Canons was the forerunner and usher to the Service-Book, printed thereafter: which Service-Book, by the Bishops conveyance, was, by Act of Counsell, ratified, long before it was either printed or seen; and thereafter, being thus sheltered by some shadow of authority, by publick proclamatione, it came forth, charging all his Majestie's subjects to conform themselves thereunto, as the only form of God's publick worship to be used within this Kingdom; and ministers, ere ever they had seen it, were charged to accept and buy the same for the use of their Parishes, upon an implicit faith, under the pain of rebellion; whereupon they were forced to supplicat your Lordships, by giving in an Bill of suspension in the moneth of August, being charged in the moneth of July before: And your Lordships were pleased to restrict the

charge to the buying of the Book allanerlie, and did write to his Majestie the difficulties of establisshing it. And the subjects finding themselves thus insnared betwixt two extremities, by danger of rebellion and excommunication on the one hand, or of forsaking the way of true Religion and breach of our Covenant with God on the other hand, could find out no safer nor more legall way nor humbly to supplicat your Lordships against these Innovations, so farr tending to the overthrow of true Religion and our lawfull liberties. For preventing whereof we resolved to proceed in that most orderly and legal way whereby to eschew all imputations of factious convocations, or tumultuous dealing, and which might best testifie our loyalty to the King our Master, by selecting one or tuo of the gravest ministers within each Presbitry, and one or tuo discreet Gentlemen from every Shyre, to præfer our complaints, and remonstrat our just grievances to your Lordships; by whose mediation, the matter might be represented to the King's Sacred Majestie, from whose justice redresse was humbly craved and expected, and supplications at divers tymes were given in name of the nobility, gentry, ministry, and burrowes, to that effect; as the petitions themselves, especially that which was given in the 25th of September, and upon the 18th of October, doth clearly proposit: At which tyme, by warrand from his Majestie, procured, as we apprehend, by the Bishops, the course of our supplications wes interrupted, and the Counsell at this tyme discharged to medle with any Church busines; and the Supplicants, by open proclamacione, wer charged to depart off the Toun within the space of 24 hours, under the pain of rebellion; whereby we were constrained to give in that supplication the 18th of October, containing ane complaint against the Archbishops and Bishops as the contrivers, maintainers, and urgers of the Service-Book and such other grievous Innovations; and so, in obedience to the proclamation, that meeting wes dissolved, and the Supplicants did return to the severall places of their residence in the country, till the earnest desyre of an gracious answer of our former demands, whilk was alwayes longed for from his Majestie, made us return to Edinburgh the 15th of November, as a tyme convenient of our meeting, being coincident with the term and down sitting of the Session; where we might lykwayes consult and advyse of the most expedient way of representing our humble desyres and remonstrating our just grievances to the King's Majestie. But my Lord Thesaurer, with the Earle of Lauderdale and the Lord of Lorne, having, out of their respect to his Majestie's service, and the quietnes of the countrie, signified to us that so frequent a meeting might be misconstrued, and produce some dangerous effects, even contrair to our intentions; to testifie how much desyrous we wer to carrie our selves in that humble and respectfull way which might be most pleasant to his Majestie, (as we hope your Lordships will bear us witnes,) and that the important bussines so deeplie concerning us all might be attended and prosecuted by a few, that frequent and numerous meeting was dissolved, and Commissioners chosen for attending his Majestie's answer, and to doe what else might conduce for furthering our lawfull desyres; who have

remained in Edinburgh, till the Earle of Roxburgh's coming from Court, with whom his Majestie's anſuer was expected, at whoſe return the Privie Counſell was appoynted to convene at Linlithgow the 7th of December; where we lykwayes intended to have gone to get his Majestie's anſuer of our former demands; but being deſyred by my Lord Theſaurer and the Earle of Roxburgh not to appeir at Linlithgow, upon aſſured promiſe, that our petitions and deſyres ſhould be judiciallie heard in Counſell the next week thereafter: in obedience wherof we did ſtay at Edinburgh, where, after your Lordſhips returned from Linlithgow, there was an publick declaration ſhewing that his Majestie doeth abhorre all ſuperſtitious of Poperie, or violation of the laudable lawes of the Kingdom: By which ſignification of his Majestie's gracious pleaſure, we are ſtill more and more confirmed of his Royall care for preſervation of true Religion eſtabliſhed in this his ancient and native Kingdom; and are encouraged, with the greater confidence, to remonſtrate and ſo proſecute our juſt exceptions and complaints againſt the Service-Book, and other ſuperſtitious and unlawfull innovations, which we offer to prove, in tyme and place convenient, to be contrare to our true Reformed Religion, contrare to the laudable Lawes of the Kingdom, contrare to his Majestie's gracious Declaration. And ſeeing, after ſo long and patient attendance, our earneſt deſyres doeth tend to the preſervation of true Religion, (which is the very ſalvation of our ſoules,) his Majestie's honor, and the ſubjects lawfull liberties, we beſeech your Lordſhips, out of that duty ye owe to God, to the King, and your native countrey, that ye will be pleaſed to read and ponder our Supplications, and give ſuch ane anſuer therto, as the juſtice of our cauſe and the equity of our demands doeth deſerve; and if this ſhall ſeem ane matter of ſuch importance as your Lordſhips will not give ane determinat anſuer therein till ye know his Majestie's royall pleaſure, we humbly crave, that theſe our preſſing grievances, and juſt deſyres, may be fully repreſented to his Majestie by the hand of your Lordſhips who have the honor to be intruſted, as prime Officers of State, and as his Highneſſe particular ſervants, with his Majestie's royall commandments; whoſe faithfull counſell and travell is moſt requiſite in this buſineſſe, whilk doeth ſo highly concerne God's glory, the King's honor, and the good of his ſubjects.

And in reſpect that, by the whole ſtrain of our Supplications and complaints, given in to your Lordſhips, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops are our direct parties as contrivers, devyſers, introducers, maintainers, and urgers of the Books, (the one whereof is called the Book of Canons, and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, the other is called the Book of Common Prayer,) and other unlawfull Innovations and juſt grievances complained of by us, we crave, that the matter may be put to tryall, and the Prelates our partie taken order with, according to the lawes of the Realm, and not ſuffered to ſitt as judges, untill our cauſe be tryed and decyded according to juſtice; and ſo, the ſaids Prelates being our only parties, upon whom we have at this tyme juſtly complained, muſt be declyned as our judges, ſeeing they cannot be both judge and party, according to the laudable Lawes of this

kingdome, and of all nations in the lyke case: And our Declinature ought to be sustained as relevant against the Prelates, notwithstanding they have purposed to absent themselves at this time, because if the matter and action depending shall not receive a present decision, but shall happen, by answer or letter from his Majestie, to be remitted back to the Counsell, the Chancellor and Bishops who are Counsellors, will be judges in the complaint given in against themselves; and the Chancellor, with sixe or seven of the Bishops, making vp a quorum of the Counsell, may doe and determine of our cause and petitions, now depending, as well as they past an Act of Counsell for approving the Service-Book, before it was either printed or seen; which Act, we perswade ourselves, had never been past, if either there had been a frequent Counsell, or if the Bishops had not been the predominant ingredient at that tyme. And where, by our Petitions, it is craved, that the matter may be tryed, and the Bishops, as the partie delinquent, taken order with, according to justice, we declare, that our desyres doeth chiefly tend to the preservation of true Religion, and the subjects lawfull liberties; neither doe we crave the Bishops blood, nor revenge on their persones, but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truelie remonstrat to his Majestie; that after due tryall of the wrongs, such order may be taken, as the evils may be remedied, and the power that they have abused may be so restrained, as the lyke evils may be prevented in tyme to come.

XXVI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF PRIVY COUNCIL
CONTINUED FROM No. XXI.

ACTS ANENT THE PRESENT COMBUSTION IN THE COUNTRY.

(5) Apud Stirline, primo Martij 1638.—

Sederunt.

Thefaurer.	Lauderdaill.	L. Elphinston.
Privie Seale.	Southesk.	L. Naper.
Winton.	L. Angus.	Clerk Reg ^r .
Perth.	L. Lorne.	Justice Generall.
Wigton.	L. Doune.	Deputie Tre ^r .
Kingorne.	B. Brechin.	Advocat.
		Justice Clerk.

THE 9th day, the Lords of Secreit Counsell being conveenned in Counsell, and having at lenth reafounded upon the causes of the present combustion within the Country, and of this present meiting, they declare, that the cause of this meiting is to represent to his sacred Ma^{tie} the trew estat of the Coun-

trie, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and the Hie Commission; and to thinke upon the best way how his Ma^{tie} may be satisfied in honnour, and the peace of the countrie secured.

Thereafter, the Clerk of Reg^r. produced ane letter from the Lo. Chan^r. excusing his not keeping of this dyet according to his promise; and the Lord Privie Seale declared, that he had receaved the like letter, and to the same effect, whiche he had communicat to the Lord Treasurer, who immediatlie dispatched a letter to the Lord Chancellor, desyring his L^p. to keepe this dyet preciselie. And in respect thair of, and feing the Lord Chancellor was not come, The Lords thought meit to continue all further doing in this mater till the morne, at eight of the clocke in the forenoone, whilk they appointed to be thair nixt meiting, and to sitt till twelffe, and to meit at twa after noone, and sitt till fax. And the saids Lords ordains the said Lord Chan^r his letter, produced be the said Clerk Reg^r. to be infert and regisrat in the Bookes of Privie Counsell, *ad futuram rei memoriam*: Of the quhilk the tenor follows:—

Pleafe your Lordships to excuse my absence frome this meiting whiche I promised to keep, but am hindered by diverse vrgent occasions. Your Lo. knowes my minde in the cheefest buffines whiche is to be intreated, whiche I assure myselfe will be the mynd of all good clergie men, that is, to lay aside the Booke, and not to presse the subjects with it anie more, rather then to bring it in with fuche trouble of the Church and Kingdoms as we see. But I fould wishe all this to be fairlie caried, without anie taiche to his Ma^{ties} honnour, and the opening of a doore to the disobedience of ill affected people, q^{rof} I know your Lordships will be carefull; and so beseeching God to blesse yo^r Counsells with a good successe, I take my leave,

Resting yo^r Lo. humble servant,

(Subscribitur) SANCTANDREWES.

Ed^r. the last of Februar 1638.

(6) Apud Stirline, 2 Martij 1638.

Sederunt, *ut die prædicto*.

The q^{lk} day, The Lords having entered vpon consideration of the present estat of the Countrie, and causes of the generall combustion within the same, They all in one voice conceave that the feares apprehended be the subjects, of Innovation of Religion and discipline of the Kirk establisht be the Lawes of this Kingdome, vpon occasion of the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commission, and the forme of introduction thair of, contrare or without warrant of the Lawes of this Kingdome, ar the causes of this combustion.

(7.) Apud Stirline, 3 Martij 1638.

Sederunt, *ut die prædict.*

The Lords having tane to thair consideration what farther shall be done for compefcing and setling of the present combustion within this Kingdom,

and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, feing proclamations are already made and published, discharging all suche convocations and unlawfull meetings, the Lords, after voting, finds, they can doe no farther nor is already done heerin.

It being after propounded, what nixt wes to be done, It wes resolved, that one or two of the Counsell shold be sent to his Ma^{tie}, to acquaint his Ma^{tie} with the trew estat of maters heir; and it being voted whether one or two shold be sent, it was voted that one shold goe, and choice wes made of the Justice-Clerk.

Item, the Lords having entered vpon consideration of the remedies, and conceaving that the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commission, as is sett down, ar the occasion of this combustion, and that the subjects offers thame, upon perrell of thair lyves and fortunes, to cleere that the said Service Booke and others foresaids, conteane diverse points contrare to the Religion presentlie profest, and Lawes of the Kingdome in mater and maner of introduction, The Lords thinkes expedient that it be represented to his Ma^{ties} gracious consideration, if his Ma^{tie} will be pleased to declare as ane act of his singular justice, that his Ma^{tie} will take tryell of his subjects greivances and reasons thair of, in his owne time, and in his owne way, agreeable to the Lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Ma^{tie} may be pleased graciousslie to declare, that, in the meane time, he will not presse nor vrge his subjects therewith, notwithstanding anie act or warrant made in the contrare.

(8.) INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS MAJESTEIS COUNSELL TO THE LORD JUSTICE-CLERK, WHOM THEY HAVE ORDAINED TO GOE TO COURT FOR HIS MAJESTEIS SERVICE.

In the first, Yow ar to receive from the Clerk of Counsell all the Acts past since our meeting vpon the first of Marche instant.

Item, You haue to represent to his Ma^{tie}, that this dyet of Counsell wes appointed to be solemnelie kept, be the advice of the Lord Chan^r and remanent Lords of the Clergie, being at Ed^r for the tyme, who assured ws that they shold keepe the dyet preciselie; but at our meeting at Stirlie, we receaved a letter of excuse from the Lord Chan^r, whiche forced ws to proceid without his Lordship's presence, or anie others of the Clergie, except the Bishop of Brechin, who attended with ws three days, but removed from ws before the closing of our opinions in this busines.

Item, That immediatlie after that we had resolved to send yow with a letter of trust to his Ma^{tie}, we did send ane letter to the Lord Chan^r, acquainting him with our proceeding and desyring him to consider thair of, and if he approved the same, to signe thame, and to caus the remanent Lords of the Clergie neereft vnto him, and speciallie the Bishop of Brechin, who wes ane eare and ey witnes to our consultations, to signe the same, and by thair letter to his Ma^{tie}, to signifie thair approbation thair of; or if his L^p

did find some other way more convenient for his Ma^{ties} honour, and the peace of the countrey, that his L^p, be his letter to the Lords Treasurer or Privie Seale, would acquaint thame therewith, to the effect they may convene the Counsell for consulting hereanent.

Item, That yow shew to his Ma^{tie}, that his Ma^{ties} Counsell, all in one, finds, that the causes of the generall combustion in the countrey, ar the feares apprehended be the subjects, of innovation of religion and discipline of the kirk, established be the lawes of the Kingdome, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commission, and the forme of introduction thair of, contrare, or without warrant of the lawes of the kingdome.

Item, Yow ar to represent to his Ma^{tie} our humble opinion, that seing (as we conceive) the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commission, (as it is sett down,) ar the occasion of this combustion; and that the subjects offers thame, vpon perrell of thair lyves and fortouns, to cleare that the said Service-Booke, and others forefays, conteane diverse points contrare to the true religion presentlie profest, and lawes of the kingdome, in mater and maner of introduction: That the Lords thinkes it expedient, that it be represented to his Ma^{ties} gracious consideration, if his Ma^{tie} may be pleased to declare, as ane act of his singular justice, that his Ma^{tie} will take tryell of his subjects greivances, and reasons thair of, in his owne time and in his owne way, according to the lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Ma^{tie} may be pleased graciously to declare, that in the meane time he will not presse nor vrge his subjects therewith, notwithstanding of anie act or warrant made in the contrare.

And in caise his Ma^{tie} fall be graciously pleased to approue of our humble opinions, yow ar thereafter to represent to his Ma^{ties} wife and grave consideration, if it fall not be fitting to consult his Ma^{ties} counsell, or some sutch of thame as he fall be pleased to call to himselfe, or allow to be sent frome the Table, both anent the time and way of doing.

And if his Ma^{tie}, (as God forbid,) fall dislyke of what we have conceived most conducing to his Ma^{ties} service, and peace of this Kingdome, yow are to vrge, by all arguments yow can, that his Ma^{tie} doe not determine vpon anie other course, vntill some at the least of his Counsell frome this be heard to give the reasons of thair opinions; and in this caise lykewayes, yow ar to represent to his Ma^{ties} consideration, if it fall not be fitting and necessarie to call for his informers, togidder with some of his Counsell, that in his owne presence he may heare the reasons of both informations fullie debated.

And yow fall lykewayes shew his Ma^{tie}, that the Counsell, having taken to thair consideration what farther wes to be done for compefcing and satling the present combustion within the kingdome, and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, seing proclamations ar already made and published, discharging all sutch convocations and vnlawfull meetings, The Lords, after debating, finds they can doe no farther nor is already done heerin, vntill his Ma^{ties} pleasure be returned to thir our humble Remonstrances.

(9.) MISSIVE TO HIS MAJESTIE ANENT THIS MATER.

[Other letters of the same date from Members of the Privy Council to the King and the Marquis of Hamilton, are given by Burnet, in his Memoirs] of the Dukes of Hamilton: a work, it is scarcely necessary to mention, which contains a number of very important original letters relating to this period.]

MOST SACRED SOUERAIGNE,

THE Estate of this Kingdome is such, That since this last proclamation, the expresseion of the subjects thair feares, and apprehension of alterations in religion, and of these other things conteanit in their petitions, ar come to so great hight, that we conceave ourselves bound in dewtie to represent the same to your Sacred Matie be one of our owne number, and be him likeways to acquaint your Matie with our humble opinions and advices anent the remedeis; and having for this purpose made choise of SIR JOHN HAMILTON OF ORBISTON Knight, and Justice-Clerk, We humbelle intreate your Matie may be graciousslie pleased to give credit vnto him, in what he shall deliver concerning thir maters. And so praying God to bleffe your Matie with a long and happie rayne. We rest,

(Subscibitur) TRAQUAIRE, ROXBURGH, WINTON, PERTH,
WIGTON, KINGORNE, LAUDERDAILL, SOUTHESK, ANGUS,
LORNE, DOUNE, ELPHINSTON, NAPER, J. HAY, S. W.
ELPHINSTON, JA. CARMICHAELL, S. THOMAS HOPE.

Frome Stirline, 5 of Marche 1638.

(10.) MISSIVE TO THE CHANCELLOR.

OUR VERIE HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

WE received your L^{ps} letter and excuse anent your L^{ps} not keeping of this meiting of the Counsell, whilk be your L^{ps} owne proposition and motion wes appointed and found most necessarrie to be at this time and in this place, and we expected to have been assisted with your L^{ps} best advice and opinion in thir great and weightie affaires now in hand, wherein the bodie of the estat is too neerlie interest. But seeing your Gr^s other adoes withdrew you from this meiting, and we finding the necessitie and importance of the buisnes to be so vrgent as it could not admitt anie delay, we therefore entered to the consideration of the causes of the present evils and remedies thair of; and having spent three dayes thereupon, and debated and digested all that could be said thereanent, wherein as we shall answer to God, We caried our selves without all priuat respect, and had nothing before our eyes but the glorie of God, his Ma^{teis} honnour, and the peace of the countrie. In end, we agreed vpon some articles to be remonstrat to his Matie be Sir Johne Hamilton of Orbiston, Justice-Clerk, the copie whereof your L^p shall heerewith receive marked by our clerk; and if yow approue of our judgments, we intreate your L^p to signe the same, and to send the same to the

Bishops of Glasgow and Ed^r. requesting thame and such of thair number as fall be in Ed^r. or Glasgow, to signe the same. And we ar the rather moved heereto, that the Lord Bishop of Brechin wes ane eare and ey witnes to all our proceedings, and assented and assisted all that wes done heerin; and we thinke it lykewayes verie necessar, that if your L^p approue heirof, yow fall testifie the same to his Ma^{tie} by your awne particular letter; and if your L^p thinkes vpon anie better course for his Ma^{ties} service and peace of the countrie, we expect that your L^p will acquaint us therewith, and with the reasons moving yow thereto; and send your answer in writt to the Lords Tre^r and Privie Seale, who will be resident at Ed^r. that, accordinglie, they may conveene the rest of the Counsell to consult thereupon. And so with the remembrance of our best affections, committing your L^p to the protection of God, We rest,

(Subscribitur ut supra.)

Frome Stirline, 5 Martij 1638.

The q^{lk} day the Counsellors present, promiseit that they, nor nane of them fall, send anie advertisement to Court tuicheing the proceedings of this meiting, till first the Justice-Clerk acquaint his Ma^{tie} with the same.

XXVII.

MR. DAVID MITCHELL, ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, TO DR. JOHN LESLEY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 49. In some old transcripts this Letter is marked, by mistake, as having been addressed to (Henry) Lesley Bishop of Down.]

MY LORD,

THIS is the first occasion I [have] found to answer your last kinde letters. I can do no more bot humblye thanke your Lo. for the sincere proffers of your undeserved kindnesse. Truelie it is like ynough I will be brought to that necessitie to leaue my charge here; and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholding. It would make any man's eares to tingle to heare what a pitifull plunge this Church and Kingdome is in. The greater part of the Kingdome have subscribed, and the rest are daylie 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 bin brought in since that tyme; so as if the least of the subscribers be touched, (and there be some of them not 10 yeeres of age, and some not worth 2 pence,) 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 Kingdome, according to the lawes, whereof a 100 are cited in the Carta. This goes on a pace. The true Pastors are brought in to Edb^r., to cry out against

vs wolues; and they, with our brethren here, M. A. Ram. M. H. Roll. and your whilome friend the Principall, (crying out that they are neither good Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe, nay, nor in Covenant with God,) have made vs so odious, that we dare not goe on the streets. I have bin dogged by some gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatnings behinde my back, and then, when I was up staires, swords drawne, and, “If they had the Papiſt villaine, O”! Yet I thanke God, I am liuing to ſerue God and the King, and the Church, and your Lo^p. Your Chiefe is chiefe in this buſineſſe. There is nothing expected here but ciuill warre. There is no meeting of Counſell; the Chanc^r. may not with ſafetie attend it, nor any Biſhop: the verie name is more odious among old and young than the Devill’s. Galloway takes ſhelter under the Treafurer’s wings; he drawes him out to knowne dangers, and then makes a ſhow of protection. Roſſe keepes at home ſtill, and keepes vp the Service in his Cathedrall, but I feare ſhall not be able long. What was told your Lp. of his diſclaiming the Booke was moſt falſe: Dun and he never ſpake together. Concerning the other point of your poſtſcript, y^t the Booke is a tranſcript of King Edward’s Booke, that is not true neither. I know my Lord of Roſſe ſent a copie of ours to your Lp., and the other you may have and compare them. They are ſomewhat like in the Communion, and great need there was to returne to it *propter Sacramentarios*. But now, when all ſhall be diſcharged, Service Booke, Canons, and High Commiſſion, they will not reſt there: there is ſome other deſigne in their heads. There are ſtill here 500 Commiſſioners of the States; they relieue one another by courſe, as Caſtor and Pollux went to hell. They ſit daylie and make new lawes; their proteſtations, and decrees beginne thus:—“Wee Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſis, Miniſters and Commons.” They depoſe Moderators of Preſbyteries, and chuſe new. M. Matt. Weems ſubſcribed on Fryday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday, and diſcharged the Organ. I have neither more tyme nor paper. God ſend this Church peace, preferue yours, and ſend you better newes next. So wiſheth

Edb. 19th Marche 1638.

your L^ps humble Servant,

DA. MICHELL.

To the Right Reuerend Father in God, my verie honorable
good Lord, my Lord Biſhop of Raphoe.

XXVIII.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN TO JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 52.]

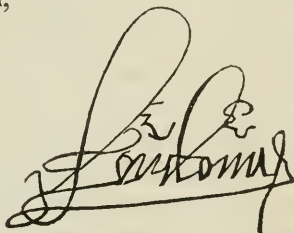
RIGHT WORTHIE AND LOVEING FREIND,

AFTER I hade cloſed the w^tin contained, I reſaved yo^{rs} of the 21 of Ap-

pryle, and I approve y^t cours (which efter Rothies and Lindfay's coming) is resolved vpon, in writting vp to the thrie Noblemen; and seeing o^r Articles ar to be refyned and sent to them, as I doubt nott bott they wilbe exprest in modest termes, and vpon warrantable growndis, so it wald be wyflie adverted that our desyrs be nott too spairing, nor any thing ommitted to be fought, which is necessar for remedie of the evils present and prevention of future: for althoe the demandis be never so moderat, wee may expect les, bott noe more, then is craved. Bott I knowe thes who ar about the busines are wyfe and weill affected, and God who hathe direct all their former steps, I hope will gif his grations asistance in this passage also. A letter from Lorne of the 11 of Appryle, is come presentlie to my hand, schowing he came to Court one the Setterday befor, and was called the nixt day to waitt vpon the King; q^r he staid a full ho^r and a-halfe w^t his Ma^{tie} alone, and (with his Ma^{tie} permissione) hade verie frie conference w^t the King: That he thought that the King wold have bein willing to take a fair cours, if things hade bein done in a right way, or that wee wold followe honest mens advyfe. But this pairt was so generall and ambiguous, that I culd nott knowe his meaning, for he said he wold explain this poynt at meitting. Ther was noe thing determined anent o^r busines at the writting of his letter, nor hope y^t a Generall Assemblie wilbe granted. Wee ar nott beholding to the Steatifmen's report of o^r cariadge; and if they offerr to joyne and interpone the King's authoritie to further otheris who offeris ther service to the King, they vndertake to effectuate all the King wold have done; so that ge write of Huntlie and M^cKaye seemes to be trewe; and if wee geild nott to that whiche shalbe declaired nixt concerneing the King's farder pleasour, (which I fear will nott be satisfactorie) wee may shortlie expect the worst; which is all I can find by what is writtin to me: Bott I am confident Lorne shall stand fast, and nott be moved w^t all y^r temptationis; so y^t if Rothies knowe of a suir bearer, or be to send one vp with the letter to the 3 Noblemen, he will doe weill to writt to him apairt, and w^t fridome, or heaft back this bearer to me; that efter I knowe what is concludit, I may writt to him as shalbe thought most convenient. So trusting to heir from zow w^t expeditione, I rest in heaft,

Lowdown, the 24
Appryle 1638.

30^r most loving freind,



I have writtin to the Earle of Rothies, acquainting him w^t what I learned by Lorne's letter, and desiring to knowe what he will advyfe me to writt to him, for till I knowe what is writtin vp to the 3 Noblemen, and o^r demandis,

I can nott refolve what to writt to Lorne. Therfoir heaft back this bearar.

To my Right worthie and loveing Freind,
Mr. Archibald Johnston of Wearastoun,
Advocat, thes.

(William Dunbar ye schal delyver this to my Lord Balmerino.—A. J.)

XXIX.

LETTER OF SPOTTISWOOD ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII, No. 6.—This letter has no address or date, but the words, “to your Grace,” evidently denote the Marquis of Hamilton, as Lord Commissioner, probably in August 1638.]

MY LORD,

THERE may be reasens very sufficient given for moving his Ma. to the Indicting of a Generall Assembly, as, first,

The diftraçtiounis in the Church, which this is esteemed by many the best and easiest means to remove.

Nixt, the taking order with the exiled and deprived Ministeris in Ireland, that have taken their refuge hither, and are the comon incendiaries of rebellious, preaching what and where they please.

Thirdly, the calling of these Ministeris to an account, that have gone throw the country vsurpand other mens pulpitis, exacted peoples oathes to the Covenant, so called, and ministred the communion to them that are not of their flock; besides the fastings and humiliationis, by them indicted, q^of they had no warrant.

Fourthly, the examinatioun of the Book of Comon Prayer, if there be any thing in it founding to Poperie and superstition.

Fifthly, to trie the Book of Canonis, if there be any Canon therin q^{ch}e is not concluded by Generall Assemblies, or in comon practise of the Church.

And the main and last reason, is, That it is supposed the grant heirof may move these men to dissolve their meetingis, and leave the towne of Ed^r free for the ministratioun of justice. There is no questioun, at go^r G. motioun, and vpon o^r humble requests that are Churchmen, his M. will be pleased graciously to grant an Assembly: But as it [is] in his M. sole power to call an Assembly, the time and place must be left to his appointment.

As to the maner and way of proceeding, it may be at lyfure considerit and advysit; and, in the mean time, go^r G. wold be pleasit to tak some course for repressing these seditious sermonis and preachers that are daylie preaching in Ed^r, one q^of this day made we have desyrit my Lord Register to report to go^r G. Oy^rwyfe, as we cannot look for any peace heir, we will tak the neereft way to secure o^rfelfis.

Qhat I wold further say, I remit to my Lord Register, for I love not to trouble yo^r Grace, nor to seem too bufy, but restis,

yo^r G. humble servant,

Samuel

XXX.

DR. BALCANQUALL'S PROPOSITIONS TO CHARLES
THE FIRST.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 37. This Paper is indorfed in Balcanquall's hand, "My Propofitions to his Majestie, at Oatlands." He appears to have accompanied the Marquis of Hamilton to England, in August 1638, to represent to the King the State of Affairs in this Country.]

If his Ma^{tie} shall think it not fitt to chaftise his subiects of Scotland wth a juft warre, or at least not to doe it yett, these thingis must be taken as granted: First, that it is not to be imagined that they will ever renounce the Covenant: Next, that no satisfaction can be given them without abrogating the Five Artickles of Perth, and granting them a free Parliament, and a free Generall Assemblie; and that they call Free, when there shall be no cautions treated of before hand, either for the matters to be treated of, or their maner of treatie.

Now, for a Parliament, the daunger is not so great, his Ma^{tie} having a negative voyce, by w^{ch} he then giving them a stoppe, thingis can be no worfe then they are now, but rather better; for they can never be better prepared for force then now they are, and his Ma^{tie} shall gaine tyme for his designes: But the inconveniences of a Generall Assemblie are verie great, his Ma^{tie} therein having no negative voyce; for,

First, they will vndoubtedlie suffer no Bishop to be Moderator or President of it; w^{ch} is a thing to that order most disgracefull.

Secondlie, They will vndoubtedlie, proceed to the accusation, deprivation, and excommunication of some of the present, and those the principall Bishoppes.

Thirdlie, The mildest thing that can be expected is, that they will so limite Bishoppes for the tyme to come, as that they shalbe onely titular, and keepe their revennewe, but shall have no jurisdiction, and be made lyable to the censure of Generall Assemblies as much as any other ministers: These things are certainlie to be expected from the Assemblie; but besides, these things are justly to be feared from it:—

First, That they will repeale all Actis of Generall Assemblies whereby Bishoppes were erected; w^{ch} they may doe, and then they are confident that

all Actis of Parliament erectinge Bishoppes, being only Actis of Ratification of these Actis of Generall Assemblies, are *ipso facto* voyd, as being meerlie relative to thingis w^{ch} they will now make *Nonentia*; and this poysonous tenet is put in them, and mainteyned by many lawers, though by others, as good lawers, rejected.

Secondlie, They will enact, that any Bishopp who shall euer be of the Privie Councill, Session, Exchequer, or any other secular judicature, shal be excommunicated and deprived.

Thirdlie, It is iustlie to be feared, that all the rigid Actis w^{ch} now they shall make, shalbe made additionalls to their Covenant, and so accordingly sworne vnto.

Yet their be probable inducementis for his Ma^{tie} to grant them a Generall Assemblie, notwithstanding the other great daungers:—

First, Vpon the verie refusall of a Generall Assemblie to them, they will immediatlie indict one themselves, (for that they may doe it, after they have petitioned his Ma^{tie} for one, and not obteyned it, the lawers have assured them,) and then all the former inconveniences will follow, and that with farr more violence, they being not restrained by the presence and interlocutions of his Ma^{ties} Commissioners.

Secondly, The Lords, and many of the Ministers, in our communications with them, have protested, that they intend no totall destruction of the Episcopall Government, but onely restriction of it to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

Thirdly, If notwithstanding, these their promises, they should goe on to take from Bishoppes those things w^{ch} Actis of Parliament have given them, then his Ma^{ties} Commissioner's Protestation to the contrarie will save their right, till it be discussed *coram iudice competente*, as well as they conceive their Protestation doth save their right.

Fowerthly, It may be hoped that the care and wisdom of his Ma^{ties} Commissioners may take of the edge of many mens forwardnes; for we have seene that the singular dexteritie and wisdom, the infinite patience and industrie of his Ma^{ties} present Commissioner, hath gained tyme hitherto, and restrained them beyond all hope, from present violences and outrages.

Fifthly, If in that Assemblie, thingis goe the worst that may be, his Ma^{ties} Commissioner's Protestation will make his Ma^{ties} case to be no worse than it is now, but rather better, having gained tyme for ripeninge his designs; and their case, I am sure, cannot be better then it is now, and the president of their indicting ane Assemblie of themselves is of dangerous consequence.

If his Ma^{tie} be not pleased to grant them a Generall Assemblie, then Barwick must presentlie be looked after, els they will take it, and the Non-covenanters, especiallie the Ministers, must have present and private warninge to provide for their saifties.

XXXI.

SOME DIRECTIONS SENT TO PRESBYTRIES,
27TH AUGUST 1638.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII. No. 10.]

1. THAT everie Presbytrie have ane coppie of the Act made at Dundie the 7th of Mairche, 1597, concerning the number of Commissioners; the tenor of followis:—

“ Because ther hes bein no ordour hitherto anent the number of Commissioners to be directed from everie Presbytrie to the Generall Assemblie, therfor it is statute and ordained, that, in all tyme comming, three of the wyfetest and graivest of the brethrin sall be directed from everie Presbytrie at the most, as Commissioners to everie Assemblie, and that none presume to come without commission; and lykwyse, that one be directed from everie Presbyterie in the name of the Barrouns, and one out of everie Brough except Edinburgh, which sall have power to direct two Commissioners to the Generall Assemblie.”

2. That everie Presbyterie have ane coppie of the commission to be given to the Commissioners; wherof the tenor followis:—“ At the day of The quhilk day, efter incalling of the name of God, we the members of the Presbiterie of having diligentlie considered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and disorders, disturbing our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of the reformed Kirkis within this realme, quhilk hes come to passe, especiallie through want of the necessar remedies of a Generall Assemblie, alsweill ordinar as *pro re nata*, injoyed be this Church for manie years, and ratified be Acts of Parliament; and now expecting shortlie, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a free Generall Assemblie, doe, by thir presents, &c.

[See the rest of this paper in the Large Declaration, 1639, p. 129, and in other works.]

XXXII.

NOTE OF THE PRIVATE ARTICLES. 27TH AUGT. 1638.

[From the Same.]

1. THAT, iff anie man offer to enter in procefs with Ministeris erroneous in doctrine, or scandalous in lyff, that they be not choysen Commissioner; and, iff the Presbytrie refus them proces, that they protest againes that refusall, and thereafter againes the election of these Ministeris, and therwpon to taik Instrumentis, and to extract the samin.

2. To have a speciall cair that informationes be tymoufflie maid againes everie Bishope, with the fuir evidences thereof, anent their miscariadges in Synodis, Presbyteries, Hie Commission; urging Intransis to subscryve unwarranted Articles, receaving of brybes from intransis; staying censure

againes Papiftes, giveing licence to marie without asking of banns; the prophanitie of their owin lyves, by drinking, whooring, carding, dyceing, fuearing, breaking of the Saboth; the purchais of their Bifchopricks by brybes, their vnhoneft dealing in civill barganes, and abufeing of their vaffalis; and thefe and fieklyk, commoun to all, or proper to anie, to be gathered and put in ordour by fum in euerie Prefbytrie, to be trusted for that effect, and their diligence to be reportit againft the 20th of September, leaft the noyse of all our complaintis againes the Prælatiſch evaniſch at the Affemblie.

3. To remember the miniſteris to be reddie for diſputatioun about ſuch heids as ar lyk to be agitated in the Affemblie; as, *De Episcopatu, de senioribus, de diaconatu, de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, præsertim in convocandis conciliis, et qui debent interesse in conciliis, de civili jurisdictione ecclesiasticorum eorumque officiis in civilibus, de rebus adiaphoris et potestate magistratus in illis, de liturgia præscripta, de ritibus ecclesiæ seu Liturgia Anglicana, de sacramento, de corruptelis liturgiæ et libri canonum, de quinque articulis Perthensibus, &c.*

4. To chuiſe thrie Commiſſioners in everie Præſbytrie quhair they can be had weill affected, and to uſe all means how fewer may be choſen in evill diſpoſed Præſbytries: Let weill affected Barrounes and Miniſters nixt adjacent indevoir for this.

5. Conſultation would be had by the beſt affected among themſelfſis, befor the electioun, that in the chuiſeing the voyces be not devydit, but may condiscend togidder on the ſamin perſounes.

6. To uſe all meanes for eſchewing in the electioun, as far as may be, Chapter-men quho have choiſen Biſchopes, thoſe quho have ſitten vpon the High Commiſſioun, Chappell-men quho have countenanced the Chappell-ceremonies and novatiounes, all quho have offered to reid and præcteis the Service Buik, the Buik of Canounes, and Miniſteris quho ar Juſtices of Peace, altho they have ſubſcrivit the Covenant, unleſs they have deſiſted and acknowledged the vnlawfullnes of their former doeing; becauſe theſe and ſuch lyk will be readye to approve theſe corruptiounes in the Affemblie.

7. That where a prym Nobleman and weill qualified gentleman may be choſen in fundrie Præſbytries, that he be choſen in that Præſbytrie where their is gryttest ſcairſitie of abill men.

XXXIII.

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO PRESBYTERIES,

28TH AUGUST 1638.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXII. No. 12.—It is indorsed in Warriſton's hand, "Coype of the Letter to be ſent to Prefbyteries, 28th Auguſt:" It contains, however, the original ſignatures, as here given.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BRETHREN,

IT is not vnknawin to yow how the pitiful caſe of our Kirk lying ſick of

many diseases in the want of her ordinarie yeirlye Generall Assemblies, hath called these many yeires bygane vnto vs, her children and seruantis, to cry with her for help to our Lord Iesus, her husband, who now of late is risin vp for us, (blessed be his holie name). And haueing led us along throw the course of lawfull meanes fit for her recoverie, doeth now call us by manie evidences as vnto a more deip humiliation for our sinnes aparte, so also vnto a Generall Assemblie of the Kirk togidder; for obtaining whereof as we have often made supplication to authoritie, and long waited in all patience, so haueing removed quhat was objected, or we cowlde conceave to be any hinderance of obtaineing our just desyres, we are now at last in hope and expectation thereof, our eyes in the mean tyme being fixed mainelie on the Lord Iesus, who as he hath a vncontrollable richt of gathering his awin people into Holie Assemblies, and ruileing his awin house and effaires in all the dominiounes of the Earth wher it pleafeth him to have a Kirk, so hath he this privilege in a speciall manner in this land by long possession, (vnjustlie interrupted,) and Actis of Parliament confirmed so vnto him, as this parte of our service cannot evin befor men be quarrelled; speciallie now, quhen, for want heirof, his seruantis of the Ministerie ar becom strangeris one vnto another, and ar as far from communion of giftes as if they lived in fundrie kingdomes, yea ar begun to be devydit in judgement and affection, ther former peace and vnity turned in schisme and division, the doctrine, once pure amongst us, now corrupted by Arminianisme and Popish errouris, the teachers thereof these fundry yeires bygane rewarded and preferred, quhen the faithful and peaceable pastoris wer censured and thurst from their places; and the Lordes people made to doubt of their religioun, not knawing what hand to turne vnto, and almost throwin into the pit of popish superstition and tyrannie, oppined wide in the late Service Buik and Buik of Cannones, which yitt wer bot the beginninges of greater evilles; So that if this remedie be neglectit, we sie no appearance of recoverie or settleing of true religion amongst us, bot all must goe to confusion, and our Lord and his people heir be divorced ane from another, quhich sould affect us more then the severing of our lyffis from us. These ar therfor to exhort, requeist, and to charge yow to consider the lawfulness and necessitie of vseing this remedie according to the printed Reasounes for a Generall Assemblie, and for the better preparation of the Commissioners that they may be in readines vpon the shorter advertisement, when tyme and place fall be appointit, that ye would now in this strait exigent goe about preparation for the Assemblie. And efter the 20th day of September, the tyme appointit for the returne of His Maties Commissioner, with your best convenience, chuse your Commissioners, according to the direction to be delyvered with these vnto yow, so that they may repaire hither to Ed^r. befor the first of October, or so soone as may be, to convein with the rest of the Commissioners, and to reseave His Maties last answer from His Ma. Commissioner, fra q^m we expect the present indiction of a frie Generall Assemblie; and that to als short a tyme as the vrgent necessitie of this Church requireth, or vpon refusall y^rof, (which God forbid), to advyse and resolve vpon such lawfull remedies as may cure our present evilles, and prevent the extreme miseries of the Kirk and State

threttened y^rby, q^{lk} we ar perfwadit will be sufficient motives to induce yow to vse all lawfull meanes, and to spare no paines that may conduce for so guid endis. In confidence q^{of}, haveing given yow this loveing and tymeous warning, we remain, yo^r Brethren and fellow fervantis in the Lord,

THE NOBLEMEN, GENTRIE, BURGESSIS, AND MINISTERS
WAITING AT EDINBURGH.

MONTROSE.

CASSILLIS.

LINDESAY.

YESTER.

CRANSTOUN.

BALMERINO. JOHNSTOUN.

A. FORBES.

J. WEMYSS, fiar of Bogie.

S. W. FOULIS.

WILLIAME HUME, Aytone.

S. F. HAMILTON.

J. CHESLY of Kerfwell.

AL. FORBES.

A. DUNBAR of Grange.

LYONE.

GRAY, fiar of Nauchtane.

C. ARD of Kilmound.

A SWINTOWNE.

BOUGHTRIG.

BISCHOPTOWNE.

J. WEMYSS, fiar of Bogie,

(The signature repeated.)

(The following signatures are upon the oppofite page of the original.)

J. COCHRANE, Commiffioner for Ed^r.

J. SMYTH, for Ed^r.

THOMAS PATERSONE, for Ed^r.

JOHN OSBURNE, for Ayre.

GE. MASON, for Ayre.

Ro^r. RICHARDSONE, for Drumfries.

GE. BRUCE, for Culros.

W. GLENDONYNG, for Kirkcudbry^t.

Subscriptione of Min^{rs} Comiffioners fra Presbitries.

Jo. KER, at Saltpreftoun.

M. A. RAMSAY, Ed^r.

M. DAVID DICKSON, Irwin.

M. DAVID DALGLEISCHE,
Cupar.

Mr. ANDREW CANT, Petflligo.

Mr. ANDREW AUCHINLEK, at
Largow.

M. R. CRANSTOUN, Skunye.

M. A. BLACKHALL, Aberladie.

M. ROBERT MURRAY, Methven.

Mr. JOH: CRAGINGELT, Allo-
way.

M. ALAN FERGUSOUN, at Strae-
blain.

M. JAMES HAMMILTOUN, at
Drumfries.

M. RT. MAIRTINE, at Ettrick.

Mr. WILLIAM MENYEIS, M.
at Canemore.

J. NORWALL, at Balphron.

W. GUILD, at Abd^a.

Mr. ALEXR. MAKGOWNE at
Moufwall.

M. JOHNE MORAY, M. at
Stramiglo.

XXXIV.

BAILLIE'S COMMISSION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
1638.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

AT IRWIN, the 25th September 1638.—The whilk day, after incalling upon the mean of God, We, the members of the Presbetry of Irwin, having diligently considered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and disorders, disturbing our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of our reformed Kirk within this realm, which hath come to pass especially through want of a necessary remeid of a Generall Assembly, as weel ordinar as *pro re nata*, enjoyed by us many years, and ratified by Acts of Parliament; and now expecting shortly, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a Generall Assembly, which is indicted by his Majestie to be at Glasgow the 21st of November next to come, doe, by thir presents, nominat and appoynt MR. DAVID DICKSON minister at Irwin, MR. ROBERT BAYLIE minister at Kilwinning, MR. W. RUSSELL minister at Kilburnie, as also JOHN LORD OF LOWDOWN ruling elder of the parochin of Newmylnes, in name of the barons, conjointly and severally, our lawfull Commissioners, giving and granting to them, our full power, commission, and expresse charge, to repair to the said Assembly indicted by his Majestie to be holden at Glasgow upon the 21st of November next ensuing, or when and where it shall happen to sitt in any safe and commodious part within this Kingdom, and there with the rest, who shall be authorized with lawfull commission, in our name to propose, treat, reason, vote, conclude (according to the word of God and Confession approven by sundry Generall Assemblies, and received throughout the whole Kingdom,) in all Ecclesiasticall matters competent to a free Generall Assembly, and tending to the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ and good of religion, as they will answer to God and his Church thereupon, and to report to us their diligence therein:

In testification of this our commission and charge, We have subscribed thir presents:

MR. MICHAEL WALLACE, Moderator, MR. JA. FULLARTON, Clerk to the Presbetry, MR. JO. BELL, MR. A. DUNLOP, MR. W. LINDSAY, MR. R. BELL, MR. H. EGLINTON, MR. H. McKAIL, L[ord] MONTGOMERIE for Ardrossan, CUNYNGHAMHEID for Stevenston, J. C[UNNINGHAM of] Aikett for Dunlop, BLAIR of Adamtown for Peirstown, SOUTHOOK for Long-Dreghorn, MR. R. BARCLAY for Irwin, T. NIVING of Munkriding for Kilwinning.

XXXV.

SIR THOMAS HOPE, LORD ADVOCATE, TO THE EARL OF
ROTHES.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI., No. 56. In printing this letter, the numerous contractions in the original have not been retained.]

PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS inclofit will gif your Lordship fatiffaction of quhat your Lordship commandis, and the berar will cleir any doubt therein. He hes told me of the refolutioun takin for hindering the Subfcriptioun; and I find your Lordship's letter inclyne that way, quhilk makis me almoft ftupefeit; for if I had not both conceivit and cleirlye feine it to be the greteft good that ever happenit to Godis Kirke fince the Reformatioun, trewlie I fould haif beine loth fo quicklie to haif embracit it. But quhen your Lordship, (and utheris quhom God hes bliffit with that honour to be instrumentis to bring his Kirk to this happie eftait wherein it is now, and to the full perfeftioun quhairof thair is nothing inlaiking but that quhilk, on 2 Merche 1580, wes, be Actis of Kirk and Parliament, eftablifchit for the government of Godis Kirk in this kingdome) dois feyme to oppugne it, I am brocht to fuiche a perplexitie that I know not quhair to fix my mynd; for I dar not deny obedience to my Souerane quhair he commandis that quhilk is lauffull, and aggreabill to Godis word, and quhilk ge both think to be fo and hes interpret fo in your particulars expreffit in that quhilk ge haif fuorne; and, on the vther part, I can not find in my hart to think or conftit ill quhat theis (quhom God hes fo mercifully and wonderfully bliffit in the beginning of this work) feymes to inclyne to. But I may and will fay, I find ane good warrand for myfelf to do quhat I did, and prayis to the Lord that thairs may haif als good fuccese, as in hart I wifche, onlie I feir that the courfe of oppofitioun takin fall not produce to them according to thair pious intentionis; and I can not fay that intentionis ar a good warrand ather to reufe quhat is good, or to do that quhilk is contraire. The Lord direct gow all, and if ge wald efchew the feir of diuifoun, chok it in the entrie, be commanding ane abfolut vnioun, quhilk is very eafie if ge fall gif ordor to all to fubfcrive this, as one in fubftance with the other. Pardoun me, my Lord, if I haif exceidit the bounds of my anfuer, for the buffines and the feir of the event of it breckis my hart; but go quhat it will, I truft in God to haif both my lyff and foule for a pray. So committing your Lordship to Godis grace, I ref,

Your Lordship's humbill feruitor,

Craighall, 2d October 1638.

THOMAS HOPE.

To the right nobill Erll, my Lord the Erll of Rothefe.

XXXVI.

LINDESAY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH TO THE PRESBYTERY.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 42.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND WELBELOUED BRETHREN,

I AM informed y^t yee haue fummoned Mr. Daurid Mitchell to comeire before yow, and to be censured for certaine points of erroneous doctrine deliuered by him from pulpit, as is alleadged, and y^t yee are to proceede against him after tryall, if he be found guilty, either to suspension or deposition. And becaus it is ordained in y^e Asssembly holden at Glasgou in y^e monethe of June 1610, and by Act of Parliament, holden at Ed^r the 23 October 1612, it is statut as ane inviolable law to be obserued in all times coming, y^t y^e Bishope of y^e Diocese associating to himselfe y^e Ministerie of these bounds where y^e delinquent ferveth, is to take tryall of y^e fact, and vpon just cause found, to deprive; and y^e like order to be obserued in suspension of ministers from y^e exercise of y^e function; These are y^rfore to requyre yow not to proceede to any of y^e forsaide censurs against y^e said Mr. Daurid, vntill y^t I, associating to myselfe, yow, y^e ministerie of y^e bounds, take tryall of y^e fact wherevpon he is accused; w^{ch} I, by these presents, offer myselfe to doe at any convenient tyme and place to be appointed by vs w^t commone consent. Otherwyfe, in my judgment, yee shall doe best to continue this proces, and all other of this kinde till y^e Generall Asssembly indicted by his Ma^{tie}, y^t there all things may be handled without preiudice. So hoping yee will take this matter to yo^r wise consideration, and direct some of your brethren to me w^t yo^r answere, y^t after conference w^t them, both yee and I may advyse and doe y^t w^{ch} shall be found most expedient for y^e hono^r of God, y^e peace of y^e Church, and y^e quietnes of our owne conscience at y^e glorious appearance of our Saviour y^e Lord Iesus, who shall render to every one according to y^t w^{ch} he hath done in y^e body, whether it be good or euill, to whose grace I commend yow, and in him doe rest,

Your very loving Brother,

Halvudhous, 9th October 1638.

DA. EDENE:

To his welbeloued Brethren, the Brethren of y^e Exercise of Ed^r, these.

XXXVII.

DR. BALCANQUALL TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[Orig.—From the same Volume, No. 33. The letter has no Address, and is much mutilated; but it evidently was addressed to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in October 1638.]

PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

[By yo]wr G. his letters to my L. Commissioner, dated the 18 of this pre-

sent moneth, your G. seemeth to expect from me, according to my promise, the Reasons why I conceive this present Assemblie indicted, cannot hold with his Maties honor and faistie. Trewlie, my meaning was, that I conceived nothing would bee concluded in it, either for his Maties honor or satisfaction: my reasons are the same w^{ch} my L. Commissioner at Oatlands, [represen]ted to his Matie, whairin their resolution, both w^{tterly} to abolish Episcopacie and ratifie their owne Covenant, were demonstrated; to which now may be added, the dangerows poynts w^{ch} they mean to ventilate and establish their, w^{ch} your G. will easily perceave by their Private Instructions, w^{ch} I sent to your G.; as also their dayly growing insolent proceedings, which your G. will easily perceave, by my last from Hamilton, and from Dalkeith yesterday. But whether it will more consist with his Maties honor, that the Assemblie should meet at the day and place assigned, I leave to your G. his mature advyse. The Covenanters hope it shall bee either prorogued or dissolved, as will appear to your G. by the packet sent yesterday from Dalkeith.

In the last part of your Grace's letter, you intimat that you have reviewed the Devyns of Aberdeen's last Duplyes, w^{ch} your G. proposeth to have printed with the rest: if they be the same duplyes w^{ch} I sent your G. from Hamilton, then the Commissioner will send to them to divulge their copies, for the Devyns themselves do earnestly desyre it, as my L. Marquis will shewe your G.; for I confesse I advysed his L. to make a stay of them till your G. were made acquainted with it, not only because the LL. Covenanters had in many places said that they hoped the . . . ministers should be drawn by the Aberdeen's men . . . the Covenanters mynd in a poynt for w^{ch} his . . . , would give the Aberdeen's men, no thanks; but also because your G. in your letters, had intimate your dislike of farther replying, the first velitations, (as your G. trwly affirmed,) being more vigorous, the rest more languishing and verball. But your G. having received their duplyes from Hamilton, in your G. next letters, wee expect your G. advyse heirin, w^{lk} shall bee accordingly followed.

The inclosed I showed to my L. Commissioner; it is sent from a man of worth, and a Covenanter, to whom I [have been] much beholden for intelligence in their secretest [acti]ngs. The latter part of it since it concerneth a . . . ws, great man, and at this tyme the most to bee looked [vn]to of any man in this kingdom; and being not willing to . . . e him, yet unwilling that his Matie should not knowe of him [as much] as I do, I thought good to send with the letter it selfe, humbly beseeching your G. to send it saifly back againe; for if the writer should but any way be discovered, there were no more living for him heer, and wee barred of one of our best intelligencers.

The w^{ther} part of the letter concerneth that answer to the last protestation, w^{ch} I mentioned to your G. in my last from Hamilton, written by the Principall of the Colledge of Glasco, the learnedst covenanter in Scotland, but so fearfull, that he darre not owne it, and indeed if he should be knownen, [beside]s his danger, we should loose that great wfe which my L. Commissioner maketh of him. My L. Commissioner meaneth presently to

putte it to the preſſe. One thing I deſyre your G. advyſe in, Whether I ſhall not cauſe to be printed after it, their generall and publiſhed Inſtructions to the ſeverall Preſbyteries for the election of their Commiſſioners, as alſo their private ones, w^{ch} they think are not knownen, that ſo the reſt of the hoodwinked Covenanters may ſee how much they have been abuſed? or ſhall we reſerve that private paper to wpbraid them with it in their teeth at the opening of the Aſſembly. I ſend your G. lykwyſe their newe Inſtructions, ſent through the kingdome, by w^{ch} your G. may eaſily ſee what tumultuous and violent proceedings they [intend] to wſe, not without force, if they ſee cauſe. If your G. think fitte, this ſhall be printed too. I hope I ſhall have it by the nixt returne. God keep your G. is the heartie prayer of

Your G. moſt obliged and devoted,

[Halyrudho]uſe, this

1638.

W. A. Balcanquhall:

XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF LOUDON'S REASONS TO DISSUADE THE KING FROM SWEARING PROTECTION TO THE BISHOPS, 1633.

[From Baillie's MS.—Charles the Firſt was crowned at the Palace of Holyroodhouſe, 15th of June 1633. As Sir James Balfour takes no notice of any oppoſition being offered to that article in the Coronation Oath, confirming to the Biſhops, “all Canonical privileges and rights,” it is probable that the following Reaſons were not publicly tendered; but the Nobleman who ventured on this Remonſtrance is known as one of the moſt faithful, conſiſtent, and zealous ſupporters of the Presbyterian cauſe in Scotland. He was for many years Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. In point of date this paper ſhould have been firſt in this Appendix.]

THE BISHOPS DEMANDS.—THE FOURTH ARTICLE OF THE KING'S OATH AT HIS CORONATION.

“SIR, We alſo beſeech yow to grant and to preferve to us of the Clergie, “and to the Churches committed to our charges, all Canonical Privileges; “and that ye wold proteſt and defend us, as everie good King ought in his “Kingdome to defend his Biſhops, and the Churches under his government.”

THE KING'S ANSWER.

“WITH a willing heart I grant the ſamen, and promiſe to maintain yow “and everie one of yow, with all the churches committed to your charges, “in their whole rights and privileges according to juſtice.”

1. Let it be conſidered if it be not moſt ſafe for the King not to take this article of the Oath; becauſe it cannot ſtand with the largeneſs of the King's

royall prerogative, to be cut short of his power to dispose of the privileges and possessions of the Prelacy of Scotland, to abrogate, or abridge the same as he sees fit, when it pleases his Majestie; but by taking his Oath his royall liberty is so constrained, as he cannot choose to doe but what he has sworn, albeit it should be found to his hurt.

2. His Majestie's Father, of royall memory, knowing that the law of Pre-munire had no place in this Kingdom, did keep himself free, and retained this power over the Prelates of Scotland fast in his own hand, for his own especiall reasons concerning himself, and the publick good of this Kingdom; and no reason the King should now be bound, and his Majestie with his successors, by this preparative, in worse case than his predecessors was.

3. The King being free of the personall Oath, may give privileges when he pleases, as well unsworn as sworn, and no reason his free favor should unnecessarily be thus bound.

4. It is undoubtedlie more honourable for the King to give to his servants of his own free will, than by necessitie and force of Oath; of his own bounty, than by craving of particulars closely conveyed in one generall, and far more safe to keep his servants in dependence upon himself, than to be ascribed to him by Oath.

5. Neither the Nobilitie, Barons, nor Burrowes requireth any speciall Oath for maintenance of their rights and privileges, and the Kirk and other Kirk men will rest content with the first Article for maintenance of the religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this realm, no reason the Bishops should crave more.

6. Seeing the particulars which the Bishops intend to have are not specified in this Oath, but their project involved in the ambiguous generality of all Canonick Privileges and whole rights, it were unreasonable to grant what they thus crave, except, first, their present possession, which they crave to be preserved, were tryed, and then what farther they would have, were declared, and found so equitable in itself, and so convenient to the state of this Kingdom, as it were worthie to be sworn, and never to be changed, lest his Majestie's Oath should be subject to misconstruction hereafter.

7. If search be made for their meaning by Canonick Privileges, they do not understand what the Canons of the Scriptures gives them, for that is granted in the Article for maintenance of true religion, and does not content. If they pretend to mean what the Canons of the Kirk of Scotland, with the Caveats of their admission gives them, let them be asked, if they will stand content with what they have thereby: But if they understand by Canonick Privileges and whole rights, what the clergie had before Reformation; and yet see, where Poperie prevails, according to the native and originall sense of the word, and of this whole article, yet standing in the Coronation of Kings, as it was of old, whereby the clergie may have ground still to claim their old possessions, and the King forced either to grant all that they crave, or make such interpretations of this oath, as shall not stopp the obloquie of the clergie still urging the tenor of the article in the proper and native meaning, it is more nor becomes good subjects to crave; specially here in this Kingdom, wherein the Oath of Kings at their Coronation is

reformed, and made far more equitable for King and subjects, if it please his Majestie to compare, as is found approved in Parliament 1567, ratified in anno 1581, and 1592. For which reasons it seems his Majestie should ponder this matter, lest, when their Canonick Privileges shall be explained in particular, the taking of this Oath shall overthrow the King's course about tithes, hinder that he cannot make himself immediat superior to the Bishops vassals, though he wold open a door to brangle rights to lands and rents, which the King's subjects doe quietlie possess, give ground to the Church for exemption from secular obedience, and subjection to imposts and taxations, and make way for many other inconveniencies, which not to have forseen, had been great simplicitie in this Kingdom, and to have concealed from his Majestie, unfaithfulness. Δοξον τω Θεω.

XXXIX.

THE EARL OF ROTHES TO LORD BALCARRAS.

[Orig.—Balcarras Papers, Vol. IX. No. 71.—This Letter, from its date, should likewise have had an earlier place in this Appendix.]

MY LORD,

When this new Book of Common Prayer was first introduced, and when we first went over to petition against it, advertisements com to us all, be our Ministers, and I did heir, that because they suspected your's, that your Lordship shuld bein advertised be another Minister; which being neglected as sundry war, I was desyred this day to signify to your Lordship a purpose we have to be in Edb. [Edinburgh,] & meet together on Wednesday nixt, for thinking still on the best and fairest and most submise wayes for preventing thir threatned calls. For all the fals suggestions giuen out be som, I dar say ther is nothing either yit don or intended, that is not legall & submise, and which can any way be justly accepted att. You may be a witnes to this, & then can justly bely thes raporters. This is mor then I use to do, bot it is warrendable. My service to your Lady, & all hapines is wished to yow be

Leslie, ij Nouembre

Your Lordships cufin & seruand,

1637.

ROTHES.

To my honorid good Lord my Lord Balcarafe, thes.

XL.

LETTERS IN FAVOUR OF DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 33. The first letter, which is in Balcanquall's hand, is without name, date, or address; but was no doubt written by the Marquis of Hamilton in his favour to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King's letter to the Marquis is subjoined from Bur-

net's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 100. As Balcanquall's name appears so prominently at this time, a few notices of his history may be subjoined :—

WALTER BALCANQUALL, D.D. was a native of Edinburgh, where his father (of the same name) was a minister, and died in August 1616. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and took his degree of M.A. 27th July 1609. He then entered at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, 18th Sept., 1611, where he was admitted a fellow; and as Bachelor of Divinity, was incorporated at Oxford, 14th July 1618. He was one of the chaplains of King James, who appointed him Master of the Savoy; and to this place, which he had vacated before his attending the Synod of Dort, he was again appointed in 1621. He was installed Dean of Rochester, 12th March 1624; and soon after, as one of George Heriot's executors, he took the management of carrying through the noble foundation of Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh, the statutes of which were compiled by him in 1627. The following letter shows that he held the living of Adisham in Kent. His application for the valuable Deanery of Durham was successful. His predecessor, Richard Hunt, died on 2d Nov. 1638, and his appointment was probably in December, although not installed until 14th May 1639. The appearance of his work, "The Large Declaration," (*vide* pp. 140, 175, 208,) about the same time, was the beginning of his misfortunes. On the march of the Scottish army into England, he fled hastily from Durham; and was declared an Incendiary. Having been denounced by the Parliament of Scotland, he presented this petition to the King, in September 1640, apparently without effect :—

"That whereas your Petitioner lyeth under a great scandal for your Majestie's Large Declaration, your Majestie would be graciously pleased to require the Right Honourable the *English* Lords Commissioners for the *Scottish* Treaty, to call before them your Petitioner, and to give unto their Lordships a faithful and true account of that service."

Balcanquall was deprived of his office as Master of the Savoy, by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons 7th June 1645; and, ere long, having found refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there on 25th Dec. 1645. He was interred in the parish church of Chirk, where a monument was erected to his memory, with an inscription, which is printed in Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 255. See also Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 179, Fasti, p. 383.]

AND nowe I must be a verie importunat suitor to your Grace, in a bussines in w^{ch} I should bee verie forrie to be denyed. It is in behalfe of the Dean of Rochefer; the Dean of Durham being dead, that he may succeed in that Deanry. If your Grace will moove his Ma^{tie} in it, I doe beleieve he will not denye me this favor for him. His Deanry w^{ch} is neer worth 300 lb. per annum, will be at his Ma^{ties} disposing, his parsonage of Adisham in Kent, of w^{ch} your G. is patron, and w^{ch} he letteth for 320 lb. per annum, and a litle more: the house whairof hee built himselfe from the grownd, and w^{ch} he hath made the best parsonage house in Kent, he will leave to your G. disposall. This I must say, he hath been a faithfull servant

to his Ma^{tie} in this wnluckie service. A great servant to your G. in perswading manie of this Covenanting clergie to beleve wtherwyfe of your G. then . . . they had been made believe . . . of some use in this busines and in any troubles w^{ch} nowe after the Affemblie are lykelie to beginne. I dare be bold to fay, his Ma^{tie} hath no chaplain can doe him the lyke service, especially in the poynt of intelligence; for he hath gotte a great hand with that part of the Covenanting clergie, whom he hath made refent the tyrannie of some of the rest of the ministers, and especially of the laitie and lay elders, even to a verie high discontentment, I hope ere long to ane open breach; by these men he cometh to knowe all the secrets of that pairtie, w^{ch} is of singular wfe to his Ma^{ties} service and me. And theirfoir, if these troubles hold on, his residence at Durham, or near these pairts, w^{ch} are near to his intelligencers, will bee verie wsfull. If he should misse of this, I am affrayed both he himfelfe will be infinitely discouraged, as thinking his Ma^{tie} and your G. do not regaird him; as also that the pairtie with whom he hath heir correspondence will beginne to think so too, and so will not cair for continewing that correspondence wth him, w^{ch} will be prejudiciall to his Ma^{ties} service. I beseech your G. by the most . . . Ma^{ties} and yowr G. welcome answer in this particular.

LETTER FROM THE KING TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

HAMILTON,

I HAVE heard this day that the Dean of Durham is dead, for the disposing of which place, though I may have many Suiters, and (which is more) though heretofore I have had divers Intentions upon the disposing of that place, for the better accommodating of my Service, the reason of which is now as forcible as ever; yet I have thought fit not to dispose of it till I might (if your stay be not longer than I expect) speak with you; and to shew you that I am not unmindful of the daily pains that at this time Balcanquall takes in my Service, I would let you see the case before I dispose of it, and have your Opinion, if he might not stay a little longer for another nearer my eye, and yet not dishearten him, when it may accommodate my Service another way; and so I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

CHARLES R.

XLI.

LETTERS TO DR. BALCANQUALL, DEAN OF DURHAM.

[The following letters, although written at considerable intervals, are brought together for the sake of connection, and are now printed for the first time. How "Dr. Balcanquall's Wryttis," came into the hands of the Scottish Commissioners at London, in 1646, does not appear; but

some notice of them must have been transmitted that year to the General Assembly. The Minutes of the Assembly end abruptly in the middle of the Sederunt of June 15th 1646, but on the 17th of that month, (Index of unprinted Acts,) the Assembly suspended Mr. William Wilkie, and added, a reference to the Commission both concerning his relaxation, and Dr. Balcanquall's Letters. The Commission of the General Assembly, on the 24th of July 1646, having considered the reference of the Assembly concerning Dr. Balcanquall's Letters, &c.—therefore for tryell thereof, appointed the Moderator to write to the Commissioners at London to send down any of Dr. Strang's or Mr. William Wilkie's Letters to Dr. Balcanquall, they have found there, that they may take the same to their consideration. The answer of the Commissioners, dated 29th September 1646, is still preserved, and is here subjoined. It is addressed—"For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Edinburgh." From this it appears that nine of Wilkie's letters were sent, but only six are known to be preserved; and one note by Dr. Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

SIR,

THE reason for which wee have so long detained the letters and papers heirwith sent, is, That it was our opinion, and likewise our Brother Mr. Henderson's, while he was here, that they should not be made publict, but reserved to keepe the persons that wrote them in awe, and as a meane to winne them to a strict and circumspect cariage in their callings. And being now required to send them to the Commission of the Generall Assembly, wee have directed them to yow, that yow may make such vse of them as yow shall think fitt, and wee remaine,

29 Sep^r. 1646.

Your very affectionat Brethren,

LOUDOUN. LAUDERDAILL.

A. JHONSTON.

SAMWEL RUTHERFURD.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

There are 9 letters of Mr. Wm. Wilkie, one of Doctor Strang's, and a Treatise.

[Mr. William Wilkie, Minister of Govan, was a near relation of Robert Baillie, of whose communications, it will be seen, he availed himself to inform Balcanquall of the various proceedings of the Presbyterian party. Whether Baillie suspected Wilkie as one of Balcanquall's "busy fleas, still creeping among us," (*vide supra*, p. 174,) may be considered doubtful; but his letters certainly justify Lord Hailes in terming him "a sort of Ecclesiastical Spy," (*vide supra*, p. 1, *note*.) The Commission on the 17th of November 1646, having considered the petition of Mr. William Wilkie, and his penitence for his bygone miscarriages," relaxed him from this sentence of suspension; but three years later, it appears that the General Assembly in 1649, passed an Act of approbation of the sentence of his deposition. (Index of Unprinted Acts.)

The originals of all these Letters are contained in Folio Vol. XXV, of the Wodrow Manuscripts, which is now preserved among the Archives of the Church of Scotland; and Vol. XXXI. (No. 2,) contains "The Principal of Glasgaw against the Covenant," being the Treatise referred to in the above letter from the Commissioners.]

No. 1.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

WE long to hear if these papers and letters, directed hence to Hammilton, came faise to your hands, and what you have resolved anent them. No doubt you have hard what hes bein a doing heir this weik. My Lord Boyd and Loudon came on Tuesday at night, and remained heir til the Fryday at afternoone. Boyd, with a greit number, came in to the Presbiterie, giving in before them that famous lybel against our Archbishop and his colleagues, (the tenor wherof you have sein since it came fra the east) whom they have styled ther the said Mr. Patrick and his Colleagues; which expression occasioned a mirrie mistake amongst the ruder sort of people on the Thursday, when it was red publickely in the Cathedral, before sermon, wher for Colleagues they tooke it to be the Colledge, and mervellid how they could challenge the said Mr. Patrike and his Colledge of incest, adulterie, drunknes, &c. for they believed that both the Bishop and we wer frie of these; also, they beleived that Bishops onlie should have bein removed by this reformation; bot for the Colledges, they mervellid why they wold remove these. Bot to leave sport, my hert wes trewlie sorie to sie such despightful and insulteing carriage; for they wer not content to give in that long lybel to the Presbiterie, and to send him the copy of it with a officer, which was al the legalitie they could vse, but set up a wryter boy to reid it in the Reader's faise in church, by the knowledge of the Magistrats of the towne, the Lords and gentlemen sitting in one dask, and Mr. D. Dick, in ane vther, singin the triumph over the Bishop in his prætendit Cathedral. After sermon, the Lord Loudon came to the Proveist, desyreing him to convocat the Towne-Council: He refused, bot answered thus, that if he had to doe with any of them, he wold come to his chalmer with those he wold requyre. Bot after that, Loudon being enformed that the Church-Session fate at afternoone, by the expectation of any, he came ther with Boyd and vthers, requyred acceffe, and haveing entred, had a harrangue of ane houre's length, to the Ministers, Magistrats, and vther honest men ther, concerning the iniquitie and daunger of the King's Covenant, conjureing them, by al the powers of heaven and hel, that they wold not subscrybe it. The ground of his fear wes, the hearing of the course wes taken in sending for so many of the printed proclamations, and distributeing of them amongst ther burgesis of al forts. His demande in the close was, that he might have ther assured promises not to doe it, which he might report to the Tables, whence he had his direction. He pressed the Proveist to answer, whom if he had intangled, he knew the rest wold follow. He shuned to make answer ther, it being the Moderator's place, Mr. John Bel: yet fearing leif that good

old man should yeild too much, he was induced to answer, and that shairpelie enough; the summe of it was, that since it was notar that they had given my Lord Commiſſioner his Grace a delaying answer, and had taken it to ther deliberation, the matter not yet being come to a resolution, far les that resolution being signified to his Grace, he thought it did not become any Nobleman of the kingdome to requyre of them a simple negative or promise not to doe; bot if the Towne, or any in ther name, wold prafume to answer so, it wer a vyld shame; wherfor he could not, nor wold not say more, but that they wold advyse anent that he had spoken; so he was dismissed with les content then he expected. After this, ther was dealing to have had the day appointed by the Tables to be our fast daye; bot this lykwyse is denyed, and shifted handsomelie, because it falls to be the day of the celebration of the Communion, so that Wednisday onlie is to be keiped heir. As concerning the Protestation you recommendit to me, I have verie good hopes to obtaine it; for althogh I could get nothing done on Wednisday last, the Biſhop's lybel haveing detained them so long, yit I have assurance of ther comeing heir to towne the morrow anent that matter, when I beleive it shall have a good begining; and as I find occasion, I wil daylie stryve to draw in these, one be one, that you wold glaidlieft have. My collagues and I ar sorie that since fundrie of the præciseſt people of the countrie hes gotten Aberdein's late reply, we should be defraudet of it; so if you could help us to one of them, you wold oblige us al verie far. I wold also glaidlie know if you expect to be at Hammilton shortlie or not; so craveing pardon for my long and tedious letter, I rest

Your W. servant in what I ame able,

Glasgow, 29 Octob. [1638.]

WIL. WILKIE.

The bearer heiroy, Mr. Archbald Cambron is the brother of that worthie Monsieur Cambro; he is pitifullie vsed by the Buchanans, and hes them cited before the Secreit Councel. In helping him you doe a grit worke of charitie.

For the Right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual,
Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 2.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I RECEAVED your letter with the Doctors of Aberdein their duply, for which I humblie thanke you. All heir ar hartlie glaid of ther intention to be at this Asſembly. And you may be sure they wil not want lodging; althogh my Lord Commiſſioner his Grace, had not taken such particular cair to have them provydet, we could caus some of our students quyte ther chambers and confyne themselves in les bounds, or they laked. I show the Principal what you writ concerning him, and how it was his Maties wil he should owne what he writ; the reasons you referred to meating. He thought it fraunge, mervelling what they could be. Be way of conjecture I told him tuo. 1^o. That in thir tymes so ful of misconstructions

and præjudices, *non quid dicatur sed quis dicat*, is looked to. 2^o. That it was dishonorable as I imagined, for his Ma^{ties} cause to be pleadit by nameles men, as importeing both lake of authoritie dew to his Ma^{tie} to protect, and lake of courage and loyaltie in the wryter not to professe what he writ in the defence of his Ma^{ties} just caus. He conjectured rather that it proceedit fra some thing in the writ, or els that this is a course his Ma^{tie} is not earnest for; and I find if it wer a matter that his Ma^{tie} and the Commiſſioner wer resolved to throughe without being diverted to any mid course be the Affembly, it wer easie to persuade him to avouch what he does. That vther poynt you intrusted to my cair I have agented so weil as I could, persuadeing these of the Ministerie to come into the Towne who I trusted wold be most willing; and haveing met privatelie we drew vp this, the copie whereof I have heir enclosed. I have got the hands of feiven alreddie to it, whereof the gritter part ar subſcrybers of the countrey's Covenant. We keip it verie secreit, both becauſe by this means I hope to persuade moe of the Presbyterie to goe on, who if it wer divulged might be diverted. As lykwyſe I find the Principal and vthers of them accompt it full of hazard, it importeing their pleading of the nullitie of this præſent Affembly, which how odious it wil be, any may judge. God willing, it ſhal be kept til the Commiſſioner and you come heir; at which tyme if you find it conducible for the King's ſervice, you wil adde courage to their faint herts. In the mean tyme what evir vſe you make of the matter done be a Presbyterie, yet doe not ſpecifie the place, for reaſons above-mentioned, til once you be heir. If the Affembly wil goe on illegallie in any thing, I hope the Commiſſioner his Grace wil command the King's Advocat to plead his Ma^{ties} right, who, if he deal ſincerlie, will be able to convince them both in the matter of Laick elders, and their procedure againſt Episcopacie, both whereof ar illegal. So with my beſt wiſhes and prayers that God wold bliſſe you, and proſper your labours in this grit buſines, I reſt

Glaſgow, 6th Novemb.

1638.

Your W. ſervant in what I ame able,

WIL. WILKIE.

If any letters come in the packet at any tyme directed to me, I hope, Sir, you will give them to ſome who wil ſend them hither. I gate ſome of late, bot could not find that they had receaved theſe of myne which went vp with Maſter Paine fra Hammiltoun.

For the Right Worſhipful Doct^r Balcanqual, Dean of Rocheſter. Theſ.

No. 3.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

I THOUGHT to have had the happines of ſieing you before you had gone fra Hammilton, and came ther on Monday morning, being enformed, by a Gentleman that came thence, that my L. Commiſſionar was not to take jour-nay till Tueſday; bot being come ther I fand my enformation falſe, wherat

I was not a litle forie. Alwayes having missed that occasion, I doe by these lynes present my hertie service and best wishes for your vnderferved favours shoven me at your being heir; and withal must make bold to intreat your favour to a poore youth, my Brother, whom you wil find before you at Court. He hes had goode education both at Cambridge and St. Andrews, and I hope shal prove ane able man. He hes written to me that I wold deal with your W. by the intercession of friends heir in his favours, to be Lecturer at Savoy: if you have not some neir friend to prefer to that place, it were a worke of charitie thus to respect him who is so chargeable to his Father, and I ame confident you wold nevir repent it; the young man his giftes being such as wil give contentment, and having had thrie yeir education ther, wil have the language prettie weil. I am forie bot his letter had come to my hands before I shed with you, that so I might have knowen your mynd, and if you have any obligation prior; bot I hope, if you have any tyme, by tuo lynes you wil signifie your mynde heirin, which I wil expect as the copestone of your former favoures. The Articles of Perth wer condemned yisterday in the Assemblée, as being contrair to the National Covenant, and consequentlie abjured for ever out of this Kingdome; and Mr. James Forfythe deposed. I ame certanelie enformed, by one that knowes it weil, that ther is one Barnes, a merchant of Ed^r, that hes brought home 6000 muskets of late out of Holland, which ship was stopped by the States, til afterwards, that the King of France his legat did obtaine that it might be sent to a towne in France, for his master's service, and so, by this means, is come home heir. It is straunge if his Ma^{tie} of France, or any Prince, should further the armeing of subjects against ther Prince. I pray God give wisdom to al that hes his Ma^{tie}'s ear, to direct him aright in thir tymes of so grit difficulties, and that he wold blisse you in al your effaires, which is the wish of,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Glasgow, the 11th Decemb. [1638.]

WIL. WILKIE.

To the Right Worshipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual,
Dean of Rochester, and Master of Savoy, thes.

No. 4.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I MADE bold not long since by letter, to tender to you a petition in favours of a Brother I have at Court: if it had bein my fortune to know the matter of my sute or we shed, I could have bein more confident to have obtained a goode answere; and yit I wil not diffide, bot what you may you wil. The youth I hope shal be worthie, at leist was accompted so heir, and had the offer of a presentation to a church, wherto he was earnestlie desyred be Sir James Carmichael, the Thesaurer-depute; bot sieing no peaceable entrie in thir tymes, except he wold run the Countrey's way, he retired to England, to which he had alwayes a mynd, be reason of his education some yeirs at

Cambridge. If your W. wold be pleased to favour him, yow wold oblige not a few to be thankful to you in his name; my interest and affection makes me importunat, bot I know you have so much goodnes and love as to oversie such venial faults as this.

I beleive I neid not wryt occurrencis, you have them of more pryme men then I; yit being alse neir the fontane as any, with that Persian to his Prince, (of whom *Ælian*) I præsent you with a handfull of Glasgow waters. Our Assemblie, after the ratification of ther Church Register, abrogation of six former Assemblies, explanation and reconciliation of the Covenants, abjuration of Episcopacie and Perth Articles, deprivation of all, and excommunication of most part of the Bishops, indiction and intimation of ane Assemblie to be keiped at Ed^r in July nixt, appointment for Committes, visitations, and provincial Synods, with a number of lesser constitutions, *tandem aliquando*, on Thursday last, being the 20 of this instant, it came to a final conclusion. The Moderator, I hear, had a speach in the close whollie eucharisticke, wherin he gave thankes, and exhorted al to doe so, to God and his Ma^{tie}, for the Assemblie they had gottin, to the Nobles and gentrie for their paines and attendance, to the Towne wherⁱⁿ they had bein so weil intertained, and particularlie for ther commodious seat; yet God knowes these thankes wer dew to his Ma^{tie} and his Commiffioner, for respect to whom onlie it was buildet. Then after some vthers of the ministerie had spoken, the Moderator, craveing pardon for his forgetfulness, gave thankes to my Lord Argyle, by whois præsence and counfel they had bein so much comforted and strenghtned: Wherat my Lord arose and had a long harangue, first intreating all præsent not to misconstrue his too late parting, and kything for them, protesting he was alwayes their way, bot had delayed to profess it, so long as he fand this cloffe carriage might be advantageous to their caus, bot now of late matters had come to such a chocke, that he fand he behoved to adjoyne himselfe openlie to ther societie, except he wold have proven a knave, (this was his expreffion, which how hard so evir, did much endeare him to his auditorie;) then his Lo. went on, and exhorted them al to vnitie, wishing al, bot especially the reuling elders and ministers, to keip a good harmonie; entreated al of the ministerie to consider what had broght the Bishops to ruine, viz. pryde and avarice, and therfor willed them to thun these rockes as they wold eschew shipwracke: Lykwyse both he and the Moderator, in their speeches, pressid much al to speake favourable of his Ma^{tie} and his authoritie. At last the summe of the whole Acts wes red over be the Clerke, and al particularlie did voyce to them *in cumulo*; wherin ther was ane particular remarkeable, when the Articles of Perth wer voyced some dayes before the close, the whole Assemblie had given voyce in these termes, Abjured and removed, except onlie one minister Mr. Robert Baylie, minister of Kilving, whois conscience straiter in this particular dyted him to voyce, Removed bot not abjured, to the grit scandal of his stronger breither, so that the Act was drawn vp, Abjured and removed, be the voyces of all except one. This one knowing that they wer al to be particularlie red and voyced againe, had drawn vp a supplication to the Assemblie, in the name of conforme men, to mitigate that Act, at least that

it might have farder hearing and be disputed ; wherof they haveing gottin intelligence, my Lord London went to the Clerke, when he was reiding the catalogue, and caused him to suppress that man's name, so he not being cited, and therat a little astonished, did not kyth, effrayed to be made *publici odij victima*. Vpon the day after, they went al to Ed^r almost, wher no doubt you know better what they have bein doeing then we ; the report went they met ther to draw vp a Supplication to his Ma^{tie} to be hard plead the æquitie of ther proceaddings ; also to draw the strenght of their voits together in that center to answer your reasons in the Commissioner's Manifesto concerning the not abjuration of Episcopacie by the Covenant, a peace, which, however they slight, calling it (those of them who speak most favourable) a prettie courtelie pamphlet ; yit al that ar indifferent and frie of præjudice, æsteimes these reasons prægnant and persuaive. I have send you inclosed the minut of the Acts which was givin vnder the Clerk's hand to al the Commissioners. Thêr be many thinges of grit importance not mentioned heir which they did, as ther chooseing agents for the Church to the Parliament some young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleming, &c. with fundrie of the ministers, who must attend the Parliament in name of the Church, to repræsent matters that concernes hir good, bot must not voyce nor ryde in Parliament ; as you may sie in the Acts : So the Church hes excommunicat itself fra the whole politiçk bodie, and so pure and spiritual it wold be, that it hes comunicat its wholle policie to the reuling laitie. I find be those that knowes the grounds of the Nobilities proceidings, that the pryme reason of the removeal of Bishops is the power they had in Parliament ; 8 of them being Lords of the Articles, who had the power to choyse vther 8 of the Nobilitie whom they knew most addicted to his Ma^{tie}, and these 16 the rest ; so that al depended vpon them, and they onlie vpon his Ma^{tie}. Amongst ther Acts heir omitted in the Index, there was ane Act of reference of divers matters to the Parliament ; as how the Bishops rents should be disposed vpon ; item of restoreing Mr. David Catherwoode to his libertie, &c. Al the tyme of the Assemblie ther was grit outcryng against the Colledge daylie by some of the Nobilitie, accompting it a high contempt to any incorporation, in the place wher they sate, to have withdrawen their Commissioner, and disallowed their proceidings : The Moderator, Mr. David Dicke, and vthers, wold not suffer summonses to be givin out, bot choysed rather to labour in a freindlie maner ; in which privat conferences they wer so shifted fra day to day, til it being come to the last day, wherin they had no tyme, a Committee was appoynted with ful power to visite the Colledge, and to take order with everie thing they thinke amisse ; especiallie to establissh Mr. Rutherford a Professor of Theologie ther, to lay the grounds of Divinitie, more ancient then antiquitie, and yet laiter then Luther : what shal be the event of this visitation you shal afterwards heir ; ther is good hopes to get it shifted and delayed, but come when it wil the visitors will get no content, come of it what will. The nixt Lord's day is appoynted, in the most part of Churches heir, to be a day of thankesgiving for the Assemblie ; a terrible day of tryal for many Ministers, who is directed to professe joy, when ther is nothing within bot fear and sorrow. To al the preachers I wold assigne, for

that day, this text, Pſal. 2. " Rejoice in trembling;" for have of the firſt what they wil, I am ſure they, and the moſt part of the countrey that hes any vnderſtanding, wants not the latter.

I will not wearie you any more, expecting the favour of ſome few lynes for a anſwer, which you may direct to Orbeifton; and praying God, to bliſſe you in all your wayes, I reſt,

Hammiltone, 26 Decemb. [1638,]

Your W. in al dewtiful obſervance.

wher I chanced to be.

If Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, wer alſe myndeſul of you as [ſome words delete] heir is, you wer ſure of a grit freind at the Court of Heavin, and you neidit not be effrayed of any thing in earth, yea evin though Mr. Kers, that infallible Judge Mar-prælat, and his company, wer to give ſentence vpon you for your ſuperſtitious titles of Dean, &c., and though you wer to diſpute the quæſtion concerning reuling Elders with Mr. Ramſay ther champion, liſted vp on a ſtoole in the midſt of them lyke a cocke, by his croweing to chafe away the lyon. Both paper and vther things bids me leave of to play.

To the right worſhipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual Dean of
Rocheſter and Maſter of Savoy, thes.

[Indorſed by Balcanqual.] Mr. Wil: his letter concerning the breaking up of the Aſſembly, and my L. Argyle his ſpeech.

No. 5.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I RECEAVID yours yeſterday, to which I reſolv'd, without delay, to returne this anſweir, althogh ſince my laſt I have not had the occaſion to meit with him fra whom I uſe to get beſt intelligence of particulars. How the guyſe goes in general theſe tuo papers enſloſed, ordained to be ſpred throw all the ſhyres, at ther Tables, will ſoone ſhew you; the firſt wherof I doubt not bot long er now the Treafurer and vthers hes brought, the latter poſſible you have not ſein becaus its bot juſt now divulged. If ther former information to England, ſo ſmoothlie (as they conceive) contrived to conciliat favour, hes had ſuch bad acceptance at the good ſubjects hands ther, as to irritate, and furniſhed ſuch ample matter to his Ma^{tie}, in his ſhort præcurſorie Declaration, to give them ſuch a laſh and ſuch gollie titles and ſtyles as they doe litle glorie of, what a world of good ſtuffe I pray you ſhall be fund in theſe for that larger promeiſid Declaration. For my owne part, I was aſtoniſhed to hear Mr. Dicke preach al thoſe grounds, not haveing then ſein this paper, which after came to our hands, as you ſie, directing theſe to be preſid vpon the people by the preachers. Weimen, ſimple ones, and mad deſperat fellowes, liſtens; bot the gritter number, partlie out of conſcience, partlie of fear, groanes and grummils at ſuch poynts, not ſo Je-

fuit by ther Covenant as to swallow such pillons, (however incrusted, with the hazard of the preacher's saluation for their treuth, and crufted over with the scrufe of the good caus,) without a whryning squeamishnes, the sure præfage of a sudden randring, voyde of operation. I ame stil of the former mynd, that his Ma^{ties} præfence, with any tollerable forces, shall produce a present victorie, and you may consider my reason, and judge whither I be mistaken. I find that which holds the countrie on, in ther hazardous hardines, is prymelie ther blindnes; they ar pitifullie blindfoldet by false enformations and fained letters, disperfid of purpose fra Ed^r vnto al quarters, and borne in vpon the people as vnquæstionable treuths. The King's lake of concurrence fra England, their assurance, although he get assistance, that they wil onlie accompany him to the Bound Rod, but no farder, til they sie a better quarrel; that the trained bands of England, the sinews of his power, ar become to his Ma^{tie} soure ploomes, (this is the expreffion of one of those supposid letters,) yea, some does not stand to averre, that our nobles receaves letters of encouragement from some councelers of England, moe then one or tuo of that number. If those, and such lyke grounds, being preffid by men powerful and popular, might not deceave a poore people for the tyme, and may not, in a short tyme, proveing false, deceave themselves, through ther being deserted by these they have deceived, judge you: Bot now, since his Ma^{ties} last declaration, wherin he speaks as a King haveing both power and a mynd to vindicat his honor, (to which they ar in al haist printing ane answer, and wil yit hazard some men in sending them to England,) you wold wonder to sie how they flyde from these former false reports, and takes vther grounds of retaineing the people in ther wonted ignorance and humours, by declairing now that al is in hazard, liberties, religion, and what not; that now they have to expect to be a province, the Liturgie, Canons, &c. They wer foole hardie, as you may sie by these papers, enclosed before his Ma^{ties} enformation to England came downe; but now, since they seam more desperatlie mad, so that some who wer become cold in the caus, shrinking and reddie to retein, ar now forced, being desitut of leaders and shelters, to keip vp and goe on in fair generals with the currant, til they meit with a contrarie tyde, or some bush in the brae to grip to, fearing not to make ther partie good in this chocke, and so to be made the first sacrifice of ther furie. The Towne of Glasgou (as I lerned of those who seamid to know it weil) was of this number, and therfor had givin such a limited commission to these that came fra them to the meiting at Ed^r. that it did gritlie displeafe the rest of the burrowes, and gritlie wer they vpbraidet as being Aberdein's sister, and of a Laodicean temper; ther commission rejeçted, and this (the copie wherof I have enclosed which was the ordinarie of al the rest) givin to be sent to be signed by ther council; this they shifted whole eight dayes, til at last a peremptorie direction in grit haist was sent them, by one who was ther weil wisher, and saw how matters wold goe, if they shrinked. So at a extraordinarie tyme, after day light wes gone, ther council was convocat; for that divers came not, vthers dissasented, bot the gritter part ther præsent, agreed to give warrand to the towne-clerke to signe it, although they had promised tuo dayes before not to give it til they had hard the judgment of

ther minifters and colledge; and yat if evir they fhould be neceffitat to grant it, they fhould put in that claufe, “What may concerne the King’s honour”; bot what wil not fear doe. The Noblemen keip their refolution verie cloffe; they met al of them that was in towne, after his Ma^{ties} declaration or enformation to England came, and fate fra 2 houres at afternoone till neir 8 at night; yit we can not lerne what they did. They profefse a oath of fecreicie was taken; they looke and fpeake alfe big as evir. *Spem vultu simulant premunt altum corde dolorem.* Grit courage in fhew, and yit it was told me that it made fundrie of them fhed tears. Ther was a meiting appoynted (I know not if it hads [holds] now) at Perth to be the 15th of this month, whither Argyle and fundrie vtheris fhould goe to fpeak with divers of the North. The reafon praetendit is to take order for fecurity the North fra John Dowgaire’s robberies; bot I hear fundrie whifpering (I know not if they have grund for it) that the thing intendit, is to take fome fudden courfe for Aberdein. Its givin out alfo that Argyle fhould goe imediatlie fra Perth to Glaſgow, ther to remaine a ſpace, and by his power to keip them right; for they are verie jealous of them, both of ther towne and prefbyterie, the minifters wherof can not be induced to preffe the takeing of armes. If he goe ther, fundrie wil be in daunger, who hithertil hes ſpoken boldlie againſt thir vncouth courſes and Table-directions. Its thoght the griteſt part ther and therabout wold be more glaid to hear of the Duke or Marquis his comeing in his Ma^{ties} name to fhelter them. However, both Caſils and Eglintoun wer drawin in to the laſt meiting at Ed^r; yit none of them wold condifcend to ſubferyve the band for the 200,000 merks which W^{am}. Dicke, the proveiſt, furniſhes. They ſaid they fhould pay what fel them to pay by juſt proportion, but wold not be bund conjunctlie and ſeverallie. God knowes what difficulties they wil meit with, or all be clipped that they have chalked. Eglintoun at that meiting had a ſpeech to the nobilitie, whollie for peaceable courſes, and repreſented al the hazards they ran by takeing armes. It was verie weil ſpoken, if he ſpake it alfe weil to them as he did refume it to ws; bot withal he told it was repellid, and he behaved to be partaker of ther bad or good fortune; though for any thing I could lerne by his ſpeech, its much to be hoped he will ſhrinke. Thus farr I have hazarded to acquaint you with what I know, and yit I wil not be ſo foole hardie as to name him who is your ſervant, bot lives you to your conjecture.

11th March [1639.]

If your W. ſhal doe me the favour as to anſweir me, and acknowledg the receipt of this, I intreat you onlie mention this of myn in general, for fear of intercepting, except you be affured of one who wil delyver it to the gentleman the laſt was ſent to, fra whom I ame ſure to have it faife. My freinds ther with you, it ſeams, hes forgot me, and I dare ſcairfelie remember them, at leaſt by nameing them in this letter.

For the Right Worſhipful Doctor Walter Balcanquall,

Dean of Durehame and Maſter of Savoy. Theſ.

[Indorſed by Balcanquall.] A letter from Mr. W. W.

No. 6.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL S^r,

I AM loth that the wryte which ye sent to me be published, and I hope ye wil not doe it, vntil ye be better advysed, and at least have revysed and corrected it carefullie: yet I have resolved to satisfie your desyre, and to send it after the maner ye requyre to Patrick Hammilton, my Lord's baillie, duelling in Hammilton, vpon Mononday nixt, inclosed in a paper directed to yow. He wil delyver it to any beirar whom ye pleis to direct to him to receive it, (for this I think the safest way, and ye wil not want occasion to send to Hammilton to him for it, miskenning my name.) I can not be answerable for the correct wryting in al points, speciallie concerning the spelling, which ye wil easilie get helped I wil not be content that my name be any way hard in the matter. I lippen to gow more, and fal alwayes remane,

Yo^{rs} at command to power,

Reid & ryve.

A. C.

To the Right Worshopfull D^r Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester.

[Indorfed by Balcanquall] A letter from the Principall of Glasgow.

No. 7.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Being heir occasionallie, at the Abby-gate, and sieing James Hammilton reddie to take horse, I have præsumed, in bais paper, such as I could get, and in a tumultuarie way, to præsent my dew respects. For Scots occurrence I doubt not bot yow have them by better hands; and this day I had trysted your brother, that at grit length we might enforme you of al hes passed. Alwayes for the præsent receive this breif sume of what passed in the Assemblie the first 10 dayes, it being in my pocket, givin me by one who fate ther. Since that tyme, on Tuesday and Wedinsday last, nothing was done, bot the transportation of some Ministers was with grit contest and solistation on al hands agitat, and the Towne of Ed^r crossid in their desyres for M. Rutherford, and on M. W^{am}. Bennet of Fyfe, by Rothes and Lindsay, to the grit offence of the Towne. Much jangling and chydying was on both fydes for these and vthers. On Thursday, Fryday, and Sattirday, ther was comittees for all the parts of the Kingdome, to revise proceffis of depofed Ministers who supplicat, (for vthers they ar neglected and ther depofition holden as good;) in which this course was taken and yeildit be the Commiffioner, that men depofed for vitious lyfe or erroneous doctrine should be depofed, or rather their depofition ratified, vthers whois griteft blemishes wer not subferying, and declyneing Glasgow Assemblie vpon supplication and repentance be received. Bot yit when it came to the poynt I fand that Mr. Fletcher of Ed^r, notwithstanding of a most humble supplication and offer of al fort of satisfiaction imaginable, be them to whom and whois

cenſure he whollie ſubmitted himſelf, could not be reponed in his place, bot onlie declared capable of one, vther ; and now this holds good as a general. Let a man nevir be ſo blameles, if he have not ſubſcrybed, if his whole pariſhioners doe not petition for him, for al his repentance, he is onlie declared capable of the Miniſterie. Laſtly, on Sattirday morning ther was a committee appointed, in praſence of the Commiſſioner and whole Aſſembly, for reviſeing the King's Declaration, to gather out the eſcaips and manifeſt falſhoodes (as they terme them,) of that book, to remonſtrat to his Ma^{tie}; and yit when I hear indifferent men ſpeak of that, the fardeſt they can ſay is, ſome eſcaip in circumſtances, bot in the ſubſtance of the relation, al trew. Arme yourſelf with patience and providence ; and the God of mercie give you courage and reſolution againſt al ther ſpyte. Til farder, Sir, I humble thanke you for your laſt kyndnes at Berwick ; except it be renewid in the cuntry way, directed to the Preſbiterie, its of no uſe. My Father hes his humble ſervice remembrid to yow, and fayes, he can doe no more bot pray for you for your kyndnes to his beſt beloved ſonne, Mr. James, whom he wold wys to come home (becauſe of the chairges he is to him ther) if he could condiſcend to matters heir ; bot of this I deſpair, and therfor renews my fute for him. Noght els bot craves pardon.

For the right Worſhipful Doct^r Walter Balcanqual Dean of Durehame.

[Indorſed by Balcanqual,] Mr. Wilkie his Letter.

XLII.

COMMISSION FOR VISITING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII., No. 50. A Commission was alſo appointed for viſitation of the University of Glasgow : See Index of the unprinted Acts.]

Act Seſſ. 25, December [18th] 1638.

THE Generall Aſſembly haueing conſidered, y^t it wes the continuall praſtice of this Kirk, as is evident by the Books of Aſſembly, and y^t it is now moſt neceſſar, to give commiſſion to ſome able and wyſe men of the miniſters and elders to viſit the Colledges & Vniverſities of this Kingdome ; and now being preſentlie convened in the cite of Glaſgow, by God's providence, and vnabill to goe themſelfs for the viſitation of the Vniverſitie of Old Aberdein, Thairfoir nominats & apoints John Earle of Sutherland, the Maſter of Berridaill, my Lord Fraſer, Alex^r M^r of Forbes, the Laird of Leyis, Robert Innes of y^t Ilk, Walter Barclay of Towy, M^r David Lindſay at Bellhelvies, Doct^r W^m Guild at Aberdean, M^r Thomas Mitchell at

Turreff, M^r James Martein at Peterheid, M^r John Paterfoun at Foveraine, M^r W^m Forbes at Fraferburgh, Sir Gilbert Ramsay of Balmaine, M^r W^m Dougless, and anie aucht of thame, being foor Ministers & foor Elders, a sufficient quorum, giveand & grantand vnto thame the full power & commissioun of the Assemblie, To meitt at Aberdein betwixt & the first Monon-day or Tuesday of Apryll nixt to cum, to constitute y^r Clerk & wy^r neecesser members to visit the Vniverfities of Old Aberdein, To summond & conveine befor thame all the members y^rof, To try & examine the qualities of the members y^rof giff they be correspondant to the order of y^r errectionis, To consider how the doctrine is vfit be y^r Masters & Regents, & if the same be correspondant to the Confession of Faith, & Acts of this Kirk, & how the order is keiped amongst students, how y^r rents and liveings ar bestowit, and all wy^r things, to try & examine whilk anie Commissioners from the Assembly had power to try, or whilk the Generall Assemblie itselff might have tryed in her Visitation, an efter due tryell of the members and orders theirin, if they be agriable to y^r Errection, and the Acts of this Church; To remoue all members superfluous, vnqualifiet, or corrupt, & to plant y^r rounes w^t moir sufficient & found masters; To remeid all difforders, rectifie all abuses, and to doe all wy^r things necessarie for the preservatioun of Religion & learning, whilk the Generall Assemblie themselffs might haue done, or anie Commissioners from thame in y^r Visitationes haiff done: Lykas the Assemblie grants vnto the Commissioners fairfaids, the power of sumounding befor them all Ministers & Professors w^tin the province of Aberdien for to acknowledge the laitt Assemblie and the constitutions y^rof, & vpon their Refuifall, to cite them to compeir befor the next Generall Assemblie, to be holden at Edinburgh the third Wednisday of Julij, to be censoured for y^r contempt & disobediencie; And this Commission to indure till the last day of May nix to cum, & the Commissioners report y^r dilligence to the next Generall Assemblie, & be answerable for y^r proceedings.

Extracted out of the Books of Assemblie by Mr. Archibald Jhonston clerk to the Assemblie.

A. Jhonston Clerk

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