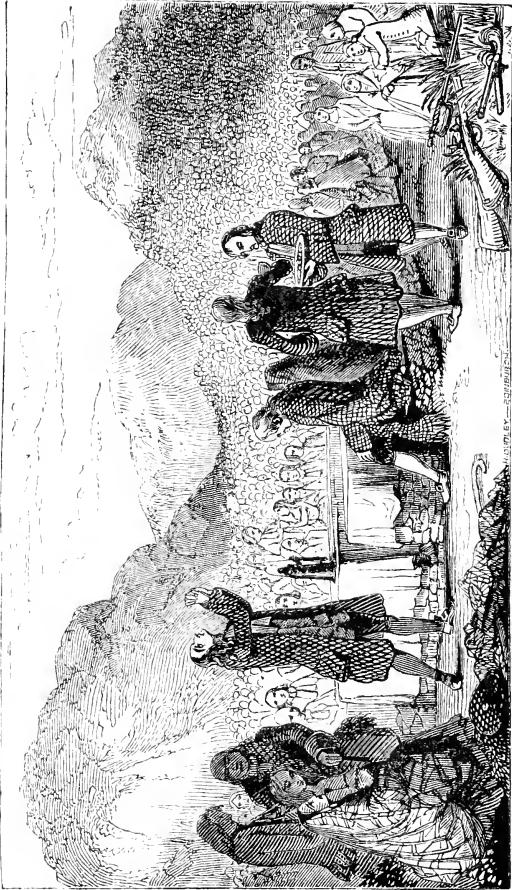


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17



THE COVENANTERS' COMMUNION.

“The communion tables were spread on the green, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae face, which was crowded from top to bottom.”—Page 141.



SKETCHES  
OF  
SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY:

EMBRACING THE PERIOD FROM THE  
REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE  
REV. THOMAS M'CRIE,  
AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF DR. M'CRIE" &c.

VOL. II.

*Fourth Edition.*

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## CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

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|                                        | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------|------|
| CHAPTER I. From 1643 to 1660, . . .    | 5    |
| CHAPTER II. From 1660 to 1663, . . .   | 69   |
| CHAPTER III. From 1663 to 1666, . . .  | 101  |
| CHAPTER IV. From 1666 to 1677, . . .   | 124  |
| CHAPTER V. From 1677 to 1679, . . .    | 150  |
| CHAPTER VI. From 1679 to 1685, . . .   | 183  |
| CHAPTER VII. From 1685 to 1688, . . .  | 219  |
| CHAPTER VIII. From 1688 to 1689, . . . | 242  |
| CHAPTER IX. From 1689 to 1690, . . .   | 267  |

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### APPENDIX.

|                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| NOTE A.—Extremes regarding the Indulgence, . . .      | 303 |
| NOTE B.—Semi-Popery of Scottish Prelacy, . . .        | 304 |
| NOTE C.—Analogy between Past and Present Times, . . . | 305 |
| NOTE D.—The Forged Letter of Claverhouse, . . .       | 307 |



## SKETCHES, &c.

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### CHAPTER I.

Montrose and the Covenanters—Charles I. comes to the Scots army—His discussion with Alexander Henderson—Death of Henderson—Disposal of the king's person—Duke of Hamilton's engagement—Execution of Charles I.—State of religion in Scotland—Abolition of patronage—Negotiations with Charles II.—His coronation—Resolutioners and protesters—Cromwell and the English army in Scotland—Anecdotes of Blair, Rutherford, and Douglas.

WHILE the civil war was raging in England, the state of Scotland, especially in the year 1645, was most deplorable. The kingdom was involved in the combined miseries of war, famine, and pestilence. It is well known that the passions of men are never more inflamed, never wreak themselves in deeds of greater cruelty, than during a civil war; and of all civil wars, those in which religion is concerned are the most bitter and inveterate. But in Scotland, besides these elements of discord, the feudal antipathies of the rival chieftains, who held sway over different parts of the country, contributed greatly to embitter the strife, and led to numerous atrocities, the bare recital of which makes the heart thrill with horror, while it should inspire us with gratitude to God that our lot has been cast in happier days. The person to whom Scotland owed a large share of her

miseries at this time, was the marquis of Montrose, who had now raised the royal standard, and, at the head of a rude and savage band of "Highland kernes and Irish runnagates," was spreading devastation over the country. The close connection in which this nobleman once stood to the covenanters, and the fierce hostility which he subsequently displayed against them, demand a brief notice of his character and history.

At the commencement of the contests between the court and the covenanters, we find Montrose among the keenest partisans of the covenant. He was a member of the famous Glasgow assembly of 1638; he was among the first to take up arms, and having been sent to the north, as we have seen, without any orders to that effect, he forced the authorities of Aberdeen to take the covenant. When the Scottish army invaded England, the lot of his regiment being first to cross the Tweed, he was the foremost person to plunge into the river, which he did most courageously, to the admiration of all. Soon after this exploit, however, having been admitted to an interview with the king, he began to show a disposition to desert to the royalists. Naturally haughty, jealous, and conceited—anxious to distinguish himself, and impatient of all rivalship, superiority, or control—it is supposed, on authority which has never yet been disproved, that he was induced to change sides from seeing Argyle preferred before him in the council, and general Leslie in the field. In 1640, he was detected in a clandestine correspondence with the king, at a very critical conjuncture; but having craved pardon for the offence, he was generously forgiven. In the following year he

was accused of complicity in a plot to assassinate the earls of Argyle and Hamilton, generally known by the name of *The Incident*, which is still involved in considerable mystery. In 1643, he threw off the mask, openly joined the king's party, and raised an army for the purpose of ruining the cause which he had so solemnly pledged himself to maintain.

The character of Montrose, as might be expected from the prominent part which he took in defence of the king, is variously estimated by historians, according to their political leanings and predilections. In the eyes of the admirers of Charles and arbitrary power, who are animated by anything but a charitable feeling towards the covenanters, Montrose appears in a character little inferior to that of the most illustrious heroes of antiquity—invested with all the dazzling interest of romance—“ a high-spirited gentleman, accomplished in mind and body—his heart overflowing with lofty and generous sentiments;” and they dwell with rapture on the splendid victories which he achieved over his countrymen, while they bewail his untimely fate as that of a martyr, and can hardly find epithets sufficiently strong to express their detestation of the “ bigots and barbarians” by whom it was inflicted. By others, again, he is represented as a mean-spirited, vindictive, and ruthless bravado—as the blackest criminal, destitute of either public or private principle—the chief of a lawless banditti committing murder and devastation in the spirit of cold-blooded, indiscriminate, unmanly vengeance; and justly meriting, on these accounts, the ignominious end to which he was brought. It is extremely difficult, in drawing the character and tracing the history of such a man as Montrose, to

avoid extremes; and that both of these pictures are extremes can hardly be denied. Mindful of the ancient adage, that "No man ever became most depraved all at once," we are unwilling to believe that this nobleman, when he first took up arms in the cause of Charles, contemplated the atrocities into which he was afterwards led, by placing himself at the head of a barbarous and disgusting horde, who had no feelings in common with his countrymen, and whose sole object in following him was pillage and plunder; and he may have persuaded himself that, in perpetrating these atrocities he was actuated by a pure regard for the interests of his sovereign. But it is vain to deny, and indeed impossible to explain his conduct without admitting, that there were mingled with this romantic and mistaken feeling, motives of private animosity against Argyle and the other chieftains of the covenant; and that, having forfeited the forgiveness, and roused the resentment of the nation, by imbruing his hands so deeply in the blood of his countrymen, he became equally reckless and daring—determined, apparently, to elevate himself on the ruins of his country, and gain the darling object of his heart, though he should convert Scotland into a field of slaughter and desolation. His humanity and discretion while acting under the banner of the covenant, were such as to elicit the warm commendations of Baillie and his party, who dreaded nothing so much as tarnishing the honour of their victories with deeds of needless severity. To what extent his character may have been altered by becoming a renegade from his religion and a traitor to his country, we shall not say; but the change which marked his conduct may be es-



timated from the following brief recital of his subsequent career.

The regular troops of Scotland being then engaged under general Leslie in England, Montrose suddenly appeared in Perthshire, in September 1644, at the head of an army composed of Highlanders and wild Irishmen, most of the latter of whom had been engaged in the bloody scenes of the Irish massacre, and he gained an easy victory at Tibbermuir over the raw and undisciplined recruits who were hastily called out against him. Having made himself master of Perth, he advanced northward to Aberdeen, flushed with success. Here, also, the troops of the covenanters, unprepared for such treachery, were taken by surprise; and after a brave resistance of two hours, were compelled to retreat. A drummer, who had accompanied a commissioner sent to summon the town to surrender, having got drunk, and been unhappily killed on his return, Montrose irritated by their refusal to submit, made this incident a pretext for indiscriminate slaughter, and gave the inhuman "charge to his men to kill, and pardon none."\* Orders so congenial to the savage dispositions of his soldiery were promptly fulfilled to the letter. The scene which followed is given in the homely language of Spalding, a contemporary, and a townsman of Aberdeen, whose account being that of a stanch loyalist and an admirer of Montrose, cannot for a moment be suspected of exaggeration: "The livetennand (Montrose) followis the chase in to Abirdene, his men hewing and cutting down all manner of man they could overtak within the toune, upon the streits, or in their houses, and

\* Spalding's Hist. of the Troubles, ii. 264, Bannatyne edit.

round about the toun as our men wes fleeing, with brode swords, but (without) mercy or remeid. Thir cruell Irishis, seeing a man weill cled, would first tyr him (that is, strip him), and save the clothes on-spoyled, and syne kill the man. Montrois followis the chase in to Abirdene, leaving the body of his army standing close unbroken till his returne, except such Irishis as faucht the field. He had promesit to them the plundering of the toun for their good service. Alwaies (yet) the livetennand (Montrose) stayit not, bot returnit bak fra Abirdene to the camp this samen Frydday at nicht, leaving the Irishis killing, robbing, and plundering of this toun at their ple-sour. And nothing heard bot pitiful houling, crying, weeping, murning, through all the streitts. Thus thir Irishis continewit Frydday, Satterday, Sondag, Monondag." The conduct of these monsters to the unhappy women whom they found in the town cannot be rehearsed. But to complete the picture, the same historian (too faithful to be quoted in this part of his narrative by the panegyrist of Montrose) adds, "It is lamentable to hear how thir Irishis, who had gotten the spoyl of the town, did abuse the same. The men that they killed they would not suffer to be bureit, bot tirrit them of their clothes, syne left their nakit bodies lying above the ground. The wyf durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter befor her eyes, nor the mother for the son, nor the dochter for the father; which, if thay war heard (doing), then war thay presently slayne also."\*

This horrible scene of carnage, lust, and rapine, was perpetrated in the presence, under the autho-

\* Spalding's Hist. of the Troubles, vol. i., Bannatyne edit.

rity, and by the express orders, of “the gallant Montrose,” who was lodged in the town, and kept the main body of his troops in the neighbourhood, that his Irish followers might revel at pleasure, and reap the full reward he had promised them “for their good service;” and the next day he marched off with the rest of his army, leaving the city at the mercy of the inhuman instruments of his vengeance. And yet this reckless and infatuated man could so far forget himself as to declare, before his execution, that he “did all that lay in him to keep back his soldiers from spoiling the country; and for bloodshed, if it could have been thereby prevented, he would rather it had all come out of his own veins.” If the remembrance of his former behaviour, in forcing the inhabitants of this town to embrace the covenant, could make no impression on his sense of shame, we might have thought that their well-known partiality to the cause of Charles might have recommended them to his mercy; and the army of the covenanters, by whom alone resistance had been made, having fled, his conduct in giving up the unoffending and unarmed to pillage and massacre is deprived even of the feeble defence of his taking reprisals upon the enemies of the king. But next to the guilt of being accessory to such atrocious proceedings, which have at least the palliation of being done in civil war, is that of attempting to vindicate them; and when we hear Dr. Wishart, the panegyrist of Montrose, coolly describing the scene, by telling us that “he entered the city and allowed his men two days to *refresh themselves*;” and a later historian, who surveys it in the nineteenth century, callously declaring that Montrose “stands as com-

pletely exonerated as any general under whose command blood ever flowed or misery followed,"\* we are almost tempted to say that his conduct, bad as it was, was not so inexcusable as the spirit which dictated such vindications.

For four days did this monstrous cruelty continue, and it ceased only then, because the approach of Argyle obliged the rebels to evacuate the town. As Montrose was not in a situation to cope with Argyle, he retreated northward, and having gained fresh adherents, he penetrated, in the midst of winter, into Argyleshire, and, in the absence of its chief, overran that district with a vindictive barbarity of which only the ferocious Irish of that age and the savages of the mountains could have been found capable. The houses and the corn were burned, the cattle destroyed, and all the males fit to bear arms who fell into their hands massacred in cold blood.† Argyle, resenting this invasion as a personal wrong, hastened to the scene; but his soldiers, being mostly raw recruits from the Lowlands, were easily routed by Montrose at Inverlochy. The conduct of Argyle on this occasion, in taking to his boat on the lake instead of leading his men, has given occasion to his enemies to reproach him with pusillanimity. Baillie vindicates him from this, by informing us that, "having a hurt in his arm and face, gotten by a casual fall from his horse, whereby he was disabled to use either sword or pistol, he was compelled by his friends to go aboard his barge." Be this as it may, it should be remembered that Argyle was a senator, not a soldier; he never pro-

\* Napier's *Montrose and the Covenanters*.

† Brodie's *Hist. of the British Empire*, iii. 534; Spalding's *Troubles*, &c.

fessed to excel in that martial daring which, in the eyes of some men, is deemed almost sufficient to atone for the absence of every moral and religious qualification. His firmness as a patriot, his fidelity to his country at this awful crisis, and the services he rendered to the cause of the covenant by the wisdom of his counsels and the energy of his measures, exposed him to the slanders of the cavalier party, who, while they ridiculed his religious principles, which they were incapable of appreciating, were too glad of an occasion to exaggerate his deficiency in point of mere animal courage—a quality in which it was their chief glory to excel. These slanders, transmitted by successive historians, continue to be repeated to the present day; and the memory of this nobleman lies under a cloud, which is only beginning to clear away, as the principles for which he contended are beginning to be better understood.

Meanwhile the troubles of the country continued to increase. Almost every man who could bear arms having been called to serve in the wars, agricultural operations were suspended, and the consequence was, that famine, and its general attendant, pestilence, soon made their appearance. It might truly have been said, in the language of the prophet, “The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within; he that is in the field shall die with the sword, and he that is in the city, famine and pestilence shall devour him.”\* The plague, which spread quickly through the southern parts of the country, had slain its thousands. The greatest alarm prevailed in consequence of the excesses of Montrose,

\* Ezek. vii. 15.

whose hands were by this time deeply dyed in the blood of his countrymen; and who, elated by his successes, conceived himself already master of the whole kingdom. "Only give me leave," wrote this vain-glorious man to the king, "after I have reduced this country to your majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your majesty then, as David's general did to his master, 'Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name.'"\* The savages, under the conduct of this leader, and of one Alaster Macdonald, a popish outlaw, exercised everywhere the most "horrid and unheard-of cruelties," so that the inhabitants fled in all directions at the slightest notice of their approach; and nothing was heard but the cries of women and children, wailing over the loss of husbands, fathers, and brothers.

In these circumstances, the country may be said to have been saved from absolute ruin by the firmness of the Scottish Church. At an extraordinary meeting held in February 1645, the general assembly addressed a spirited remonstrance to the Scottish parliament, urging them to execute exemplary punishment on the authors and abettors of the civil war. They also addressed "a solemn and seasonable warning" to all classes, and to the armies both in England and Scotland, pointing out the various sins of which they had been guilty, and which they viewed as the causes of God's wrath against the land, and urging

\* The letter in which this bravado occurs was found among Montrose's papers after his defeat at Philiphaugh. (*Burnet's Hist.*, i. 52.) Welwood states that this letter "had as ill effects as the worst of king Charles' enemies could have wished, for it dashed out in a moment all the impressions his best friends had been making upon him for a considerable time, towards a full settlement with his people." (*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 65.)

them to the duties of fasting, repentance, and prayer. In this paper, after having described the prevailing miseries, sins, and dangers of the country, they say: "Unless men will blot out of their hearts the love of religion and the cause of God, and cast off all care of their country, laws, liberties, and estates. yea, all natural affection of themselves, their wives, children, and friends, and whatsoever is dearest to them under the sun, they must now or never appear actively, each one stretching himself to, yea, beyond his power. It is no time to dally, or go about the business by halves. If we have been so forward to assist our neighbour kingdoms, shall we neglect to defend our own? or shall the enemies of God be more active against his cause than his people for it? God forbid. If the work, being so far carried on, shall now miscarry and fail in our hands, our own consciences shall condemn us, and posterity shall curse us; but if we stand stoutly and stedfastly to it, all generations shall call us blessed." The effect of these exhortations, which were echoed through all the pulpits of the land, was highly encouraging. "The covenanters," as one observes, "betook themselves to their old shift of fasting and prayer." The minds of the people, instead of yielding to despair, were roused to more vigorous exertion. Shortly afterwards, the country was delivered from its fears by the defeat of the royal forces at Naseby in England; and this permitting the return of the regular troops under lieutenant-general David Leslie, the marquis of Montrose was speedily discomfited at Philiphaugh; from which time it may be considered that the strength of the king's cause was broken, and "none of his men of might could find their hands."

Much has been written of the severity of the covenanters to the prisoners after this victory; and, particularly, in putting to death a number of the rebels, who were some time afterwards compelled to surrender at discretion at Dunavertie in the Highlands.\* It is impossible for a Christian mind to contemplate these horrors of war without shuddering, nor will we undertake to vindicate all the measures of the presbyterians at this trying period; but certainly, if ever severity was justifiable, it was in the case adverted to. What can be more preposterous than to gloat, as some writers have done, with evident delight, over the massacre of *six thousand* trembling fugitives after the battle of Kilsyth—a feat which Montrose and his savages accomplished in their shirts, with “the sleeves tucked up, like a butcher going to kill cattle;” and yet to affect the utmost horror at the military and judicial execution of some two or three hundred rebels, chiefly Irish, taken with arms in their hands, and reeking with the blood of our countrymen?† Blinded by prejudice, such writers can see no distinction between the cry for justice against these murderers, which rose from every quarter of the country, and a base thirst for private revenge; nor will they condescend to make the smallest allowance for the outraged feelings of a people smarting under the threefold scourge of war, famine, and pestilence, towards those whom they regarded as the authors of all their miseries, and in whom they often recognised the very ruffians who

\* Sir James Turner, who was on the spot, and no friend to the covenanters, distinctly refutes bishop Guthrie’s account of this affair; and declares that no quarter was promised to these prisoners. (*Turner’s Memoirs*, p. 74.)

† Napier’s *Montrose and the Covenanters*, ii. 422–473.



had been engaged in the murderous scenes of the Irish rebellion.\* Cruelty, in every form, is justly an object of detestation; but it betrays a strange perversion of mind to sympathize in its perpetration, and only to revolt at its punishment.

The period which we now approach was, without exception, the most trying and perplexing in the whole history of the Scottish church. When we consider the circumstances in which our ancestors were then placed by the course of events, we will make great allowances for them, and not hastily condemn them for measures which we cannot fully approve. Distracted between the conscientious duty they owed to the great Head of the church, and the allegiance they owed to their earthly sovereign—earnestly desirous to see Charles on the throne, and yet unwilling to offend the English parliament, to which they looked for protection against his despotic encroachments—dreading sectarianism on the one hand, and prelacy on the other—never had the rulers of the church found more difficulty in steering the sacred vessel. Though events did not answer their expectations (and we must not judge of their actions by the events) it is impossible for any well-constituted mind not to admire the straightforward, consistent principles with which they prosecuted their course during this stormy epoch, manifesting the most devoted loyalty to their unhappy prince, and at the same time a steady adherence to the cause

\* Such was the impression produced by the atrocious conduct of the Irish papists, that they were regarded, in England as well as Scotland, as having placed themselves beyond the rules of civilized warfare. In 1644, the English parliament passed an ordinance, that no quarter should be given to the Irish who were found in arms against them. (*Oldmixon's England*, i. 269.)

of liberty, and to their religious engagements—a course that affords a striking contrast to that pursued by the other two parties. Indeed, one of the strongest attestations to the general rectitude of their conduct appears in the fact, that by the friends of both of these parties they have been equally blamed, of old and of late, for opposite extremes; the republican party sneered at their excess of loyalty, while the royalist party denounced them as the most base and disloyal of demagogues.

The king, after his defeat by Cromwell, had betaken himself, in the spring of 1646, to the Scottish army, at that time lying in the north of England, obviously with the design of inducing them to take part with him against the English parliament. This unexpected step placed the Scots in a situation of extreme embarrassment. Their army had been levied and sent into England expressly to aid the parliament against the royal forces: they were supported by the money of the parliament, and considered themselves solemnly bound, by the brotherly covenant, to advance its cause. At the same time, they had begun to suspect that some of the parliamentary leaders entertained designs against the king's person; and to refuse him the "shelter and defence" for which he professed to have thrown himself into their hands, seemed as inconsistent with their engagements in the covenant, which bound them to "preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom," as it was repugnant to every feeling of honour and generosity. He was received with every mark of respect; and had he complied with the only terms on which

they could engage to support him, there can be little doubt that he would have escaped all his subsequent calamities. These terms were—That he should dismiss his popishly affected counsellors, and subscribe the solemn league. The Scottish commissioners were fully aware of the advantage to their cause by the accession of such a convert; but, from the state of feeling in the country, they were equally convinced of the impracticability of success on any other terms. They entreated him, on their knees, and with tears in their eyes, to comply with conditions so essential to both nations, as well as to his own interests; assuring him, that, in the event of his compliance, not only would the whole Scottish people prove faithful to him, but that the great body of the English would join in replacing him securely on the throne of his ancestors. To all these solicitations, Charles, who was buoyed up with false hopes by his prelates, turned a deaf ear. His only answer was, that he was bound, by his coronation oath, to defend the prelacy and the ceremonies of the English church; and that, ere he wronged his conscience by violating that oath, he would forfeit his crown and his life. It may appear to have been harsh to insist on the king taking a covenant which bound him to extirpate prelacy, while he professed to believe it to be a form of divine institution; but when we consider that this form had been already abjured and abrogated by the three kingdoms, it does not seem too much, that the sovereign should have been required to adopt the national faith. The interests of a whole nation were not to be sacrificed to the personal scruples of the monarch; especially when these related merely to a form of ecclesiastical government, which could not

be shown to have any foundation in Scripture, and the divine right of which had only of late been asserted, for political purposes. His majesty's professions of regard to his coronation oath, after the specimens he had given of his duplicity, and after so often violating that oath, in regard to the civil liberties of his subjects, met with little credit. They did not impose even upon Baillie, who says: "As to his conscience, none would believe him, though he were to swear it, that he had any conscience on the subject." The real grounds of his refusal to comply were, as has been amply shown by others, purely of a political kind. We shall merely add, for the sake of anticipating another objection, that although "covenanting," as it has been practised by churches, is a religious duty, requiring certain religious qualifications for the right performance of it, yet the solemn league, as well as the national covenant of Scotland, were properly national and public deeds, binding, indeed, to the external support of a certain profession of religion, but not necessarily implying spiritual qualifications in those who entered into them. Religious vowing is, in its own nature, a moral duty, founded on the law of nature, and competent to nations as well as individuals; and our covenants may be vindicated on the same principle as the oaths which Britain still exacts from those who hold the highest official stations. The real source of all the prejudice against these deeds has been, that they were sworn in support of presbyterianism.

That no means might be left untried to relieve the royal mind from scruple, Alexander Henderson was, by the king's special request, appointed to confer with him at Newcastle, on the points of difference

between prelacy and presbytery. Henderson declined a public disputation with his majesty's divines, on the ground that he had seldom found any good result from such controversies. "All that I intended," said he, "was a free yet modest expression of my motives and inducements, which drew my mind to the dislike of episcopal government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the university." Instead, however, of a familiar conference, the points in dispute were discussed in a series of papers which passed privately between his majesty and Mr. Henderson. The result may be imagined. His majesty, in his answers, carefully evaded the main argument. Henderson quoted Scripture, and Charles the Fathers; and the time was consumed in a heroic but hopeless attempt, by this most unsatisfactory of all modes of discussion, to convince the king on points where neither his pride nor his policy would yield. These papers are eight in number—five by his majesty, and three by Henderson. "After perusing them," says one who was well versed in the controversy, "it is difficult to read without a smile the panegyrics which the episcopalian writers have bestowed on the *incomparable wisdom* of his majesty, and the triumph which he obtained over Mr. Henderson in the controversy." \*

Grieved and heart-broken by the infatuation of the king, whom he perceived to be obstinate to all means of extrication, this devoted servant of Christ, who was labouring at the same time under a severe distemper, which he was persuaded would prove mortal, returned by sea to Edinburgh, on the 11th of August 1646. Though sick and exhausted, he

\* Life of Henderson by Dr. M'Crie, Miscel. Writings, p. 53.

enjoyed great peace of mind, and conversed much to the comfort of his brethren who visited him. Having revived a little, he was one day so unusually cheerful, that his friend sir James Stuart could not refrain from congratulating him on the change. "Well," said Henderson, "I will tell you the reason. I am near the end of my race, hasting home, and I am as glad of it as a school-boy, when sent home from the school to his father's house. In a few days I will sicken and die. In my sickness I will be much out of ease to speak of any thing; but I desire that you may be with me as much as you can, and you shall see that all shall end well." Soon after this, as he foretold, he departed in peace. His body was interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard, and a monument was erected over his remains with a suitable inscription. After the restoration, this monument was defaced by orders from the government; but it was afterwards repaired, and still remains in a very perfect state. Not satisfied with their vengeance on his tomb-stone, his enemies attempted to blast his reputation. Laying hold of his having died soon after his conference with the king, they circulated the report that he had become a convert to their cause, and that his death had been hastened by remorse for the part he had acted against his sovereign! They had even the effrontery to publish a forged document, purporting to be his death-bed declaration, in which they put into his mouth sentiments which he would have sooner died than avowed. This disgraceful and unprincipled trick, which resembles those so often resorted to by papists, was exposed at the time by the general assembly, who, immediately upon its appearance, appointed a com-

mittee to examine the pamphlet, and afterwards published a declaration of its falsehood and forgery; in which, "out of the tender respect which they bear to his name, they declare that, after dueresearch and trial, they do find that their worthy brother, Mr. Alexander Henderson, did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms—as divers reverend brethren who visited him have declared to this assembly, particularly two brethren, who constantly attended him from the time he came home till his breath expired."\* This was certainly sufficient; and yet this base slander, which has been refuted by our best historians,† and which has done more discredit to the cause of prelacy than anything that Henderson ever said against it, continues to be retailed by writers of that party down to the present day!

The next scene which occurs in this dramatic portion of our history, is the surrender of the king's person into the hands of the English. It must be gratifying to every lover of his country to know, that late investigations have freed the memory of our Scottish ancestors from the stigma which was so long attached to their conduct in this transaction. It is hardly worth while to notice the ridiculous story of the Scots having *sold their king*, which was got up at the time, in consequence of some arrears having been paid to the Scots army for their assistance. Instead of being given as a bribe, this

\* Acts of Assembly, p. 422, edit. 1682.

† Laing's History of Scotland, ii. 327.

money was reluctantly paid by the parliament as a debt for past services; and this matter was adjusted in August 1646, five months before the question as to the disposal of the king's person was settled, with which, in fact, it had no connection. The money was payable simply on the condition of their delivering up the fortresses on the borders, and marching into Scotland—with no stipulation, on either side, as to the king's person.\* But the transaction, though thus stripped of its mercenary character, may seem still to reflect on the generosity of our countrymen. Even in this point of view, it is capable of a complete vindication; and, had our space permitted, it could be demonstrated that the Scottish leaders acted, on this trying occasion, in the most upright and honourable manner. To carry the king with them to Scotland, while he refused all terms of accommodation with his parliament, would have been to renew the civil war in their own country, under circumstances more unfavourable than ever. His consenting to the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, while he retained his designs of subverting the reformation in England, afforded no rational prospect of peace; and the Scottish church, with a noble firmness, which is condemned by many who are loud in their praises of the firmness of Charles, would not accept of a boon, which, in the circumstances, was nothing better than a bribe, and which would have involved them in a compromise of their sacred engagements with England. On the other hand, to deliver him up unconditionally to the pleasure of the Eng-

\* Whitelocke, 229. Answer of the Commons to the Scots Commissioners' Papers, 19.



lish parliament, as the English demanded, was an alternative to which they would not listen; and months were spent in negotiations, in the course of which the pertinacity of the Scots on their right to be consulted in the disposal of the king's person, threatened to issue in an open rupture with the parliament. The speeches of the Scots commissioners, who went to London to treat this delicate question, on being sent to press, were seized and suppressed by order of parliament, and the printer was imprisoned. They were published, however, in Scotland; and, breathing as they did the most devoted loyalty, they created a sensation in behalf of the unfortunate monarch, which his subsequent fate roused into universal indignation.

The point for which the Scots commissioners contended was, that the king should, in accordance with his own earnest and repeatedly expressed desire, be permitted to return to some of his palaces in the neighbourhood of London, "with honour, safety, and freedom." "We do hold," said lord Loudoun, "that the disposing of the king's person doth not properly belong to any one of the kingdoms, but jointly to both. And after Scotland hath suffered the heat of the day and winter's cold, have forsaken their own peace for love of their brethren, have set their own house on fire to quench theirs; after we have gone along with you in all the hardship of this war, and (without vanity be it spoken) have been so useful in the cause; and that the king hath cast himself into the hands of the Scottish army, and that, by the blessing of God, we are come to the harbour of a peace—we cannot expect that the honourable house will think it agreeable with the conscience

or honour, that the person of the king should be disposed of by them as they think fit, or by any one of the kingdoms alone. The king doth, with all earnestness, desire to be joined with you. Nor can there be a more real testimony of our respect and affection to England, than that we desire he may be with you, and be advised by you; neither can you have any greater honour, than that his majesty is willing to return to you. And if so kind an offer should be refused, and the king driven to despair, it is to be feared these kingdoms will be involved in greater difficulties than ever. For though Scotland be most willing and desirous that the king should return to his parliament with honour, safety, and freedom; yet, if any such course should be taken, or any demand made for rendering of his person, which cannot stand with his honour and safety, or which cannot consist with our duty, allegiance, and covenant, nor with the honour of that army to whom, in the time of his extreme danger, he had his recourse for safety, *it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an act.* And whatever hath been moved by us concerning the king, we desire it may be rightly constructed, as proceeding from such as have not wavered from their first principles; for when the king was in the height of his power, we did not, and, I hope, never shall, flatter him; and when the enemy was in the height of their pride and strength, *Scotland did fear no colours!* And now, when the king is at his lowest ebb, and hath cast himself into our army for safety, we hope your lordships will pardon us, from our sense of honour and duty, to be very tender of the person and posterity of the king, to whom we have so many near relations, and not like the worse of us, that we

cannot so far forget our allegiance and duty, as not to have an antipathy against the change of a monarchical government, in which we have lived through the descent of so many kings, and under which both kingdoms have been governed so many ages, and flourished in all happiness.”\*

In their reply to these truly loyal and patriotic sentiments, the parliament expressed great indignation at the suspicions which the Scots seemed to entertain of their intentions. “Let not your expressions obliquely infer,” said they, “that the parliament of England will not do what becometh them to the king, since all the world doth know that this kingdom hath in all times showed as great affection to their kings as any other nation.” The English house of peers, who were inclined to befriend Charles, and considered his presence in London necessary to prosecute their designs in his favour, and against the sectarian army, now became as anxious as the commons for the removal of the Scottish army out of England. Embarrassed by these conflicting claims—despairing of being able to conquer the obstinacy of Charles, whose last message, when presented to the house of peers, “made all,” as Burnet informs us, “even those that were best affected, hang their heads, and send it down to the house of commons without a word”—and perceiving no other course which they could pursue with safety or success, the parliament of Scotland at length, considering that, “as his majesty has frequently expressed his desire to be near his two houses of parliament, and that

\* Several Speeches spoken by the Right Honourable the Earle of Loudoun, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, at a Conference, &c. Oct. 1646.

these houses had desired he might come to Holmby House, promising the safety and preservation of his royal person, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom, according to the covenant, they declare their concurrence for his majesty going to Holmby House, or some other of his majesty's houses in or about London, there to remain till he give satisfaction to both kingdoms in the propositions of peace; and that, in the meantime, there shall be no harm, prejudice, injury, or violence done to his royal person—that there shall be no change of government other than has been for three years preceding—and that his posterity shall in no wise be prejudiced in their lawful succession to the throne and government of these kingdoms.” Who could have anticipated, that within three years after, the English, to whose honour and fidelity the Scots committed the person of their common sovereign, would have brought him to their bar as a criminal, and to the scaffold as a traitor? When Charles returned to his parliament, there was no human probability of such a catastrophe; his affairs were in a better train than ever, had it not been for what has been well termed his own “perverse fatality;” and before we can condemn the Scots as accessory to his death, we must suppose them to have possessed a sagacity which foresaw the issue of the most complicated negotiations, to have calculated on the obstinacy of the king resisting every proposal, and to have anticipated the bloody termination of the conflict—a catastrophe which took the whole nation by surprise, and filled Europe with astonishment.\*

\* In a treatise published by the committee of estates, 1650, in answer to Montrose's declaration, they vindicate themselves, and the Scottish

The year 1648 was distinguished by the famous *engagement* projected by the duke of Hamilton, the professed object of which was to rescue Charles from the English army, now under the command of Cromwell, and which had obtained, by force, possession of the king's person. This ill-fated expedition was condemned by the Scottish presbyterians, because no provision was made, in the event of its success, that the king should secure the liberties of the nation according to the terms of the covenant. These terms, indeed, bound them to "stand to the defence nation, with unanswerable force, from the charges above referred to. "Our chief study and endeavour," say they, "hath been to render unto God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to our neighbours the things that are theirs. We hope it is made clear and evident to all that will judge impartially, that there was no treaty betwixt this kingdom, their committees or armies, with the king, before his coming to our army, nor after his coming, but with the advice and consent of both houses of parliament; and that it is a malicious and wicked device, and manifest untruth, that we should have sold our king. We abhor the very thoughts of it." After stating that "the agreement for paying their arrears was made five months before the king, with consent of both kingdoms, went from Newcastle to Holmby," they proceed to vindicate themselves from disloyalty and imprudence in giving consent to his majesty's going to the parliament. "Who would, at that time, have foreseen that an army, raised by the parliament for their own defence, and which, in profession, so highly esteemed and magnified the authority of parliament, would not only disobey their orders, but also attempt such horrid things as they have since adventured upon? Surely, when the Scots army came out of England, it would have seemed not only improbable but incredible. The kingdom of Scotland did intrust his majesty's person to the honourable houses of parliament of England, who were as deeply engaged by duty, oaths covenants, and solemn professions, for his majesty's preservation, as the kingdom of Scotland; and, no question, they would have preserved his majesty's person from all violence or injury whatsoever, had they not met with the unexpected violence against their own persons; for until the army did, by the power of the sword, imprison and seclude the far greater part of the house of commons, and make void the power of the house of peers, they durst not attempt anything against his majesty's person. And what wonder if we, who were strangers, could not perceive the depth of such designs (if at that time there was any framed design of that kind, which we very much question), when the houses of parliament did not foresee their own ruin?"

of our dread sovereign the king's majesty, his person, and authority;" but at the same time, "to the defence of the liberties and laws of the kingdom;" and the reason assigned for this was, that "some among themselves had laboured to put into the hands of the king an arbitrary and unlimited power, destructive to the privileges of parliaments and the liberties of the subject." So that, as has been justly remarked, "in proof of the regard of our fathers to civil liberty, we may appeal to those very covenants which have been so absurdly decried by ignorant and prejudiced moderns, but which, in reality, constituted at that time the only *magna charta* of Scottish freedom."\* The covenanters, with equal sagacity and regard to liberty, protested against the admission, into places of power and trust in this army, of those who were termed *malignants*—that is, persons notoriously hostile to the cause of civil and religious freedom, and inclined to favour the arbitrary measures of the court. It was perceived at once that to suffer this, in the circumstances of the country, was equivalent to delivering up the military into the hands of the king, and abandoning all that they had been contending for. But though the church protested against the enterprise, it was sanctioned by the estates; the command was intrusted to notorious malignants, and Hamilton dragged a reluctant army of fifteen thousand men into England, where, as might have been expected, from the total want of spirit and mutual confidence among them, they were easily routed by the English army, under Cromwell, near Preston, with the loss of two thousand killed, and eight thousand prisoners.

\* Preliminary Dissertation to Wodrow's History by Dr. Burns.

The battle, fatal to so many of our countrymen, proved fatal also to the infatuated monarch. The sectarian army, or, as Cromwell called them, his "obedient lambs," elated by their successes, repaired to London, and took the administration into their own hands. Their first step was to *purge* the house of commons, by excluding all the presbyterian members, which was done by a guard of soldiers under the command of colonel Pride. The commons thus reduced to sectaries, commonly called the rump parliament, appointed what they termed a high court of justice; and Charles, on being arraigned before this nondescript tribunal, and refusing to own their jurisdiction, was condemned as a traitor, and sentenced to be beheaded. The awful sentence was executed on the 30th of January 1649, before an immense concourse of spectators. Cannons were planted at all the avenues leading to the place of execution, in case of tumult; and when the axe fell, and the executioner exposed the bleeding head to public view, one dismal universal groan burst from the horror-stricken crowd, who were immediately dispersed in all directions by troops of dragoons.

The behaviour of Charles at his death presents his character in a light much more favourable than any of the public actions of his life. That cold reserve and inflexible obstinacy which distinguished his whole conduct, assumed, in his last moments, the sublimer aspect of chastened and tranquil magnanimity. His private virtues have been acknowledged by all; but such were the imperfections of his character, that these virtues were unprofitable to the public, and, by their abuse, proved pernicious to himself. His bigotry, his stubbornness, and,

above all, his ambition of inordinate power, which he refused to share with any but the prelates, brought misery upon his country, and ruin upon himself. His life was a series of political blunders; and his death, though little better than a judicial murder, may warn princes, to the end of time, against abusing the power with which they are intrusted, not for their own exclusive benefit, but the welfare of the community.

When the news of the execution of Charles I. reached Edinburgh, on Sabbath, February 4, 1649, it is impossible to describe the mingled feelings of astonishment, horror, and indignation, which filled all ranks of persons;\* and if anything were wanting to prove the devoted and disinterested loyalty of the Scottish presbyterians, the step they instantly took places it beyond all question. The very next day, without calculating the consequences, Charles II., the son of the deceased monarch, was proclaimed king, at the cross of Edinburgh, by the committee of estates. The proclamation, however, was guarded by the proviso, that “before being admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things that concern the security of religion, according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant”—the only terms on which the Scots considered themselves warranted, in consistency with their engagements to England, and from regard to their own civil and religious liberties, to invite him to the throne. As a

\* While the episcopal clergy timidly stood aloof, the English presbyterians boldly protested against the execution of Charles, and condemned it in every possible way. (*Bennet's Memorial*, p. 223; *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, pp. 241, 245.)



proof of his sincerity in prosecuting the ends of these covenants, he was to be required to dismiss from his councils, and from places of trust, all who were suspected of disaffection to the covenanted cause. Commissioners were immediately despatched to Charles, who was then at the Hague in Holland, to treat with him on these terms; but at first, imitating the policy of his father, he refused to listen to any stipulations; in consequence of which the commissioners returned, without accomplishing their object. The negotiations were renewed with better success the following year; but meanwhile, let us attend to the proceedings of the church during the intervening period.

During the whole of this period of civil convulsion, the church prospered and improved in no ordinary degree. The minds of men were kept on the alert, and led to serious inquiry, by being compelled to contend, amidst almost perpetual changes, perils, and alarms, for their religious principles and privileges. The constant practice of catechising the young and old, left few ignorant of the doctrines of religion, or of the profession for which they were contending. All felt personally interested in the public struggle. The ministers, though not without their faults and extravagances, were distinguished, as a body, for their theological learning, their piety, and assiduity in their functions. Bishop Burnet, who is sufficiently ready to depreciate them, is obliged to own, "They had an appearance that created respect. They were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage, and had lived in so decent a manner, that the gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their parishes

much; and had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. As they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what degree they were loved and revered by them."\* Great efforts were made, during this stormy period, to purify the church from unworthy ministers; a step which was followed by the revival of religion, and a visible reformation of manners, in several parishes. Many excellent acts were passed by the general assembly. To this period, also, we are indebted for the full establishment of parochial schools, which have contributed so much to elevate Scotland above other nations in point of general intelligence; and which, being originally designed as nurseries for the church of Christ, as well as seminaries for useful learning, were placed under the superintendence of presbyteries, and conducted on religious principles. This valuable institution, which was projected by the reformers, and brought into extensive operation long before it received the support of the government, we entirely owe to the efforts of the church courts; and indeed, their care to promote the interests both of common education in the Highlands and Lowlands, and of classical learning, manifested in numerous acts regarding schools and universities, reflects the highest credit on their enlarged and enlightened views, at a time when our ancestors are generally charged with the most narrow-minded bigotry. Making allowances for the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, and by which they were occasionally driven

\* Burnet's History, 1. 225.

into extreme measures, the estimate of Kirkton cannot be considered beyond the truth, when he says of this period (1649), " Now the ministry was notably purified, the magistracy altered, and the people strangely refined. Scotland hath been, even by emulous foreigners, called Philadelphia; and now she seemed to be in her flower."

In these exertions for the good of their country, the church had the co-operation of the ruling powers, who passed several acts contributing to the advancement of religion. Among these we cannot omit the celebrated act passed in 1649, for the total abolition of patronage. Without entering into the much litigated question of patronage, we shall state a few facts in illustration of its history in the church of Scotland. The opinion of the first reformers on the subject may be gathered from the fact, that they held the election of the people essential for the pastoral relation between a minister and a congregation. In the First Book of Discipline, which continued to be the rule of the church for many years, and the authority of which was not superseded by the Second Book, it is laid down as a principle, that " it appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister;" and that " altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation." It would appear they did not at first perceive that patronage was incompatible with this principle; and, for some time, they went on harmoniously together in practice.\*

\* In 1561, Knox admitted John Spotswoode as superintendent of Lothian, and the form of procedure, which was published in a treatise at the time, may serve to illustrate this point. The sermon being

In the year 1565, queen Mary, having suspected that the general assembly, by certain articles which they presented to her majesty, intended to interfere with her right of presentation, the assembly replied, "Our mind is not that her majesty, or any other patron of this realm, should be defrauded of their just patronages; but as the presentation of benefices pertains to the patron, so ought the collation thereof, by law and reason, pertain to the kirk." Her majesty had misunderstood them; whatever they might think of patronage, they did not intend, *by these articles*, to interfere with the rights of the queen, far less to "defraud" the patrons; the struggle, at that time, was for the right of collation. Still the form of electing by the congregation was continued in one shape or another; and such was the care of the clergy to preserve the liberties of the people, that during the presbyterian administration, no complaints of intrusion were ever heard.\* They soon,

finished, Knox declared, "That the lords of secret council had given charge and power to the churches of Lothian to *chuse* Mr. John Spotswoode, superintendent," &c. "When no objection was moved, the people present were asked if there was any other they desired to be put in election with the said Mr. John; and next, if they would have him to be their superintendent; if they would honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in everything pertaining to his charge? It was answered, by some appointed for that purpose, 'We will; and do promise to him such obedience as becometh the sheep to give unto their pastor, so long as he remaineth faithful in his office.' The people's consent being thus declared, Mr. Knox proposed the following questions to Mr. Spotswoode," &c. This treatise, entitled "The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, which may serve in the election of all other Ministers," may be found in Dunlop's Confessions, vol. ii., and in Wodrow's Biographical Collections, Maitland edit., vol. i., part 1, p. 75.

\* In 1563, Robert Ramsay is suspended by the assembly, "for entering in the ministrie within the superintendent of Angus his bounds, *without election* or his admission." (*Booke of the Universal Kirk*, part i. p. 44, Ban. edit.) Even the bishops, introduced by Morton, were "chosen

however, discovered that patronage in its exercise interfered with the freedom of election; and accordingly, in the Second Book of Discipline, begun in 1573, and finally agreed to in 1578, among "certain special heads of reformation which we crave," they mention the abolition of patronage.\* If it should be asked, how the church of Scotland could continue to enjoy her benefices under a system which she declared to be "contrary to the word of God, and to the liberty of election?" we reply, That she did so under a solemn protest against it; that it was not in her power to rescind the law, this being the province of the state; and that she was constantly looking for deliverance from it as a yoke. In 1582, when an act was passed to prevent some abuses of patronage, it was declared that its provisions "should no ways be prejudicial to the laic patrons and their

by the flock then present," anno 1574. (*Ibid.*, p. 349.) Indeed, the parliament of 1640 declare it as a well known fact, that it had been the practice of the church of Scotland to settle parishes "on the sute and calling of the congregation, ever since the reformation." (*Act Parl. Scot.*, v. 299.)

\* "The libertie of the election of persons called to the ecclesiastical function, and observed without interruption so long as the kirke was not corrupted by antichrist, we desire to be restored and retained within this realm. So that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk, and good order craves. And, because this order which God's word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices, used in the pope's kirk, we desire all them that truly fear God earnestly to consider that, forasmuch as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the pope and corruption of the canon law only, in so far as thereby any person was intruded, or placed over kirks having the care of souls; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they [patronages] ought not now to have place in this light of reformation." (*Second Book of Discipline*, ch. 12.)

presentations, *until the time the laws be reformed according to the word of God.*"\* In 1596, the assembly ordained, that "because by presentations many are forcibly thrust into the ministry, and upon congregations that utter thereafter that they were not called of God, it would be provided that none seek presentations to benefices without advice of the presbytery." They also ordained, "That the trial of persons to be admitted to the ministry hereafter consist not only in their learning and ability to preach, but also in conscience and feeling and spiritual wisdom; and such as are not qualified in these points, to be delayed to further trial, and till they be found qualified." The events which followed soon after, with the introduction of prelacy, rendered all attempts of this nature hopeless; but no sooner did the civil power become favourable, than the church renewed her exertions to shake off the burden. The famous assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, not only ratified the Second Book of Discipline, in which patronage is so explicitly condemned, and the foresaid act of assembly 1596, but enacted, "That no person be intruded in any office of the kirk contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." With these principles, the practice of the church of Scotland at that time fully corresponded; "so that," says Henderson, in a treatise published in 1641, "no man is here obtruded upon the people against their open or tacit consent and approbation."† In 1646, we find the assembly "recommending to several presbyteries and provincial assemblies to consider

\* Calderwood, p. 124; Booke of the Universal Kirk, p. 247, Peterkin's edit.

† The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland.

the interests of particular congregations in the calling and admission of ministers;" and at length, in compliance with the urgent desires of the church, the parliament, March 1649, cordially and completely abolished patronage, leaving it to the general assembly to fix upon such a plan of admission to the sacred office as they in their wisdom might see fit. The preamble of this act, as expressing the views of our reforming ancestors, deserves attention: "Considering that patronages and presentations of kirks is an evil and bondage under which the Lord's people and ministers of this land have long groaned, and that it hath no warrant in God's word, but is founded only on the canon law, and is a custom merely popish, brought into the kirk in time of ignorance and superstition; and that the same is contrary to the Second Book of Discipline, in which, upon solid and good ground, it is reckoned among abuses that are desired to be reformed, and unto several acts of general assemblies; and that it is prejudicial to the liberty of the people and planting of kirks, and unto the free calling and entries of ministers unto their charge: and the said estates being willing and desirous to promote and advance the reformation aforesaid, that everything in the house of God may be ordered according to his will and commandment—*do discharge for ever hereafter* all presentations of kirks, whether belonging to the king or any laic patron, presbyteries, or others within this kingdom." The general assembly, in July following, "highly commend the piety and zeal of the estates of parliament in promoting so necessary a point of reformation;" and, with some variety of opinion as to the particular mode in which elections should be conducted, they

agreed on a plan which, though imperfect, and only intended to be temporary, was attended with the best effects. According to this, the election was placed in the session, with consent of the congregation, who might obtain a hearing of any preachers they chose, by petitioning the presbytery. In the case of dissent by the major part of the congregation from the person agreed upon by the session, the matter was to be remitted to the judgment of the presbytery, who, "if they do not find their dissent to be grounded on causeless prejudices, are to appoint a new election."\*

But, to return to our narrative:—in the following year the Scots renewed their negotiations with Charles at Breda; and upon hearing that Montrose had failed in his foolhardy expedition against the covenanters, and been executed as a traitor, he thought proper to comply with their proposals; and setting sail with

\* Sir James Balfour informs us that "the current was carried for the church way, in respect Argyle, the chancellor, and Archibald Johnston, durst doe no utherwayes, lest the leaders of the church should desert them, and leave them to stand on their auen feeitt, which without the church none of them could weill do." (*Histor. Works*, vol. iii. ad. an. 1649.) This is, at least, a testimony to the zeal of the church in the matter; but sir James had no ground for accusing the nobles, as a body, of insincerity.

The chief dispute in the assembly 1649, regarding the mode of election, turned on the question, Whether the part which the congregation had in the election was that of nomination or consent? The progress of independency in England filled many with a dread of everything that seemed to favour the views of that sect, who ascribed to the people the whole power of admission to the sacred office. Calderwood, "who, in the time of his exile, had seen the wild follies of the English Brownists in Arnheim and Amsterdam" (*Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 79), Baillie, and others, who had been engaged in the independent controversy, were averse to admit that the people possessed the right of *election*; but all agreed that the right of election should be within the church—that patronage was, in every form, hostile to the liberty of election and the independence of the church—and that no minister should be intruded into any congregation against their will.



the commissioners, landed in Scotland, at the mouth of the Spey, on the 23d of June 1650. It would be well for the credit both of his majesty and of our venerable ancestors, if historical truth would allow us to draw a veil over the transactions which followed. Before Charles landed on the Scottish shore, he agreed to swear and subscribe the covenant. Mr. Livingstone, who accompanied the embassy, and was very jealous of the king's sincerity, would have deferred this ceremony till he was brought to a better state of mind; but he was overruled by the rest, and prevailed on reluctantly to administer the solemn test. In August following, finding that the church still entertained strong suspicions of his insincerity, the king subscribed a declaration at Dunfermline, in which he professed to lament the opposition his father had made to the work of reformation, and solemnly declared that he renounced popery and prelacy, and "would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant—no friends but the friends of the covenant." Mr. Gillespie, the minister who put the pen into Charles' hand to subscribe this declaration, assured him, "that if he was not satisfied in his soul and conscience, beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of the subscription, he was so far from over-driving him to do it, that he obtested him, and charged him, in his Master's name, not to subscribe that declaration, no, not for the three kingdoms." "Mr. Gillespie," answered the king, "Mr. Gillespie, I am satisfied, and therefore will subscribe it."\* The truth is, that in religious matters, Charles would subscribe anything. It was afterwards discovered that, before he left the continent, he had

\* Life of Mr. John Livingstone.

embraced popery, and in this religion, if he can be said to have had any religion, he continued till his death, though on his restoration he subscribed the articles of the church of England; thus juggling in sacred things to the last, and imposing on the English church, as he now did on the Scottish, by false professions.\* Even at this time, while coming under the most sacred engagements to support presbytery, he was secretly concerting measures to ruin that cause, by introducing its enemies into the army and legislature, and dividing the presbyterians. The stern obstinacy of his father appears virtue itself, when contrasted with the cool perjury of his profligate and unprincipled son.

It is impossible, on the other hand, to vindicate the conduct of the leaders among the presbyterians, in accepting or requiring these protestations from such a man as Charles, under the circumstances of the case. The truth is, that these tests were exacted by a party in the church and state—the moderate party, as it may be termed—who were most friendly to Charles, and were driven to these measures to silence the scruples of their brethren, and secure the co-operation of the country in restoring the king to his throne. With the same views, and hopeful that his majesty would prove faithful to his engagements, which were absolutely necessary to his success, they prevailed on the commissioners to “forbear mentioning in the assembly (July 1650) anything which might make the king or his way odious, in the entry of his government.” And thus were laid the foundations of that lamentable schism between the reso-

\* Burnet, i. 131, ii. 457.

lutioners and protesters, which was not healed even at the period of the restoration.\*

The people of Scotland, ignorant of the real character of Charles, and confiding in his professions, were overjoyed at the arrival of their prince. "In a special manner at Edinburgh," says Nicol, in his Diary, "by setting furth of bailfyres, ringing of bells, sounding of trumpets, and dancing all that night through the streets. The puir kaill-wyffes at the Trone sacrificed their creells, and the very stools they sat upon, to the fire." These rejoicings were soon interrupted by the approach of Cromwell, and the shameful defeat at Dunbar, when no less than three thousand Scots fell on the field of battle, among whom were several ministers, who, being viewed with an evil eye by the sectaries, found no mercy at their hands. If we may believe a historian who is far from favouring the covenanters, the English owed this victory as much to the lenity of the Scottish leaders as to their presumption. Sir Edward Walker tells us, that the committee of war would not allow the attack to be made on Cromwell when they might have routed him, "saying it were pity to destroy so many of their brethren; but seeing that next day they were like to fall into their hands, it were better to get a *dry victory*, and send them back with shame for their breach of covenant."† The unfortunate cove-

\* Row's Supplement to Life of Blair, MS., p. 82; Burnet's History of his Own Times, i. 102; Hind let Loose, pp. 87, 88; Cruickshank's Introd., i. 38.

† Sir Edward Walker's Journal, Disc., p. 180. Much misapprehension exists as to the share which the ministers had in provoking David Leslie to engage. Some of them, no doubt, were too forward; their notion of purging the army, even of private soldiers suspected of malignancy, was sufficiently absurd; and their expectation of supernatural success to their army, because thus purified (the error of the age), was equally unwar-

nanters, who were sincere, at least, however far they might be mistaken in their attempts to serve the monarch for whom they shed their blood, met with little sympathy; and it is with no ordinary feelings of disgust that we learn, from Clarendon, that Charles rejoiced at their defeat. "Never," says that cold-hearted historian, "was victory obtained with less lamentation; for, as Cromwell had great argument of triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies!"

Charles, indeed, soon gave evidence that he looked on the presbyterians as his "enemies." One Saturday morning, when at Perth, shortly after the battle of Dunbar, and while Cromwell lay in Edinburgh, his majesty, on pretence of hawking, left the town on horseback, attended by a few domestics, and set off at full speed to the hills. Here he was met by the earl of Buchan, not, as he expected, at the head of an army prepared to deliver him out of the hands of the covenanters, but with a miserable escort of some sixty or seventy Highlanders. He was led to a wretched hovel, where, throwing himself on an old bolster and some rushes, he was found by a party sent in pursuit of him, and brought back next day to Perth in time to hear the afternoon sermon. This ill-timed flight, which was called *the start*, filled the minds of all his friends with the deepest grief. "To my own heart," says Baillie, "it brought one of the most sensible sorrows that in all my life I had felt." Jealous as many of the stricter presbyterians were of ranted. But it was Leslie's own conceit to draw down the army from the hill at night which proved its ruin; and none were more indignant at him than the protesting ministers. (*Pamphlets, Adv. Lib. A A A. 3, 22; Baillie, ii. 350.*)

him before, when he "took the start," they lost all confidence in him. And, in October 1650, a long and pointed remonstrance was addressed to the committee of estates, signed by a number of gentlemen, officers, and ministers, connected with the forces in the west country, complaining of their rashness in admitting the king to swear the covenant, and charging them, in very severe terms, with having "turned aside, forgotten their late vows, and brought the calamities of war upon the nation by their unfaithful conduct."

In the midst of all these disorders of church and state, Charles was solemnly crowned at Scoon, on the 1st of January 1651. The sermon before the ceremony was preached by Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He chose for his text those strikingly appropriate words, 2 Kings xi. 12, 17: "And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord's people; between the king also and the people." This sermon has been printed, and it is certainly an ingenious, able, and faithful discourse. "Many doubt of your reality in the covenant," said the preacher, addressing his majesty; "let your sincerity be evidenced by your stedfastness and constancy; for many, like your ancestor, have begun well, but have not been constant. Take warning from the example before you; let it be laid to heart; requite not men's faithful kindness with persecution; yea, requite not the Lord so, who has preserved you to

this time, and is setting a crown upon your head." After sermon, the national covenant and solemn league were distinctly read, and the king solemnly swore them. Thereafter, the oath to defend and support the church of Scotland was administered to the king, who, kneeling, and holding up his right hand, used these awfully solemn words: "By the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath." The whole ceremonial was gone about with as much formality as circumstances admitted; but the dangers with which they were environed threw a gloom over the scene, and the mournful forebodings of the more faithful of the clergy were speedily confirmed.

The shameful defeat at Dunbar proved hardly less disastrous to the church of Scotland than to the Scottish army. The successes of Cromwell, who now threatened to overrun the whole country, emboldened Charles and his courtiers to press for the removal of those restraints which were laid on the royal party by the act of classes, passed in 1649. This act, so called from its dividing the malignants into different classes, according to their degrees of disaffection to the covenant, excluded many of Charles' friends from the army and civil judicatories. To have some pretext for repealing this obnoxious statute, which guarded the privileges of the church as well as the liberties of the nation, it was deemed of importance to obtain the approbation of the general assembly. This, however, was not easily obtained. A large party in the church had, as we have already seen, become justly suspicious of the sincerity of Charles, and severely blamed their brethren of the royal or

moderate party, for precipitance in exacting from him professions which were contradicted by all that they knew of his principles and conduct. As proofs of his insincerity, they referred to the fact, that while in treaty with the Scots covenanters, he had secretly confirmed a peace with the Irish rebels, and sent a commission to Montrose to invade Scotland—which was found among the papers of the latter after his defeat. And, in their remonstrance, they protested against the Dunfermline declaration, which the moderate party had drawn up, as “teaching his majesty dissimulation and outward compliance, rather than any cordial conjunction with the cause and covenant.”\* These remonstrances gave great offence to the ruling party in the church, and the breach was widened by their subsequent procedure. A few members of the commission of the assembly, favourable to the royal party, having met at Perth in December 1650, the parliament submitted to their judgment the following question: “What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity, for defence thereof, against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the solemn league and covenant and treaties, have most unjustly invaded and are destroying the kingdom?” In answer to this ensnaring question, so plausibly worded, the commission passed two resolutions, favourable, under certain limitations, to the admission of all fencible persons in the land. No sooner had these been obtained, than the parliament, without paying any regard to their limitations, rescinded the act of classes; and the consequence was, that the most

\* Westland Remonstrance, *apud* sir J. Balfour's Works, iv. 143.

notorious malignants, some of whom had served under Montrose, and all of whom were enemies to the second reformation, were nominated to the highest posts in the army, and to places of power and trust in the state. In consequence of these resolutions, a sad division took place in the assembly which met at St. Andrews and Dundee, July 1651. Those who adhered to the resolutions or answers given by the commission, were called Resolutioners; those who joined in a protest against them, were denominated Protesters. The debates between the parties, as might be expected from the spirit of the time, were violent, tedious, and involved; each side professing to be actuated by regard to the reformation, and mutually charging each other with marring it. The resolutioners, who formed the majority in this assembly, went so far as to depose three of the most eminent and active of the protesters, namely, James Guthrie, minister of Stirling (who was afterwards martyred), Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow, and James Simpson of Airth. The protesters, on the other hand, asserted the nullity of this assembly, and protested against all their proceedings.\*

Such was the origin of the first schism that had taken place in the church of Scotland since the reformation. The controversy involved a number of questions, casuistical and political, of which we cannot afford room even for an abstract. Much may be said on both sides. Great allowances must be made for the resolutioners who contended for the necessity of enrolling all that were capable of bear-

\* Nullity of the Pretended Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, &c. Printed 1652. Vindication of the Freedom and Lawfulness, and so of the Authority, of the late General Assembly, &c. Printed 1652.



ing arms. But it is not difficult for us, who have the light of subsequent history, to see that the protesters, as their brethren were afterwards compelled to acknowledge, "had their eyes open, while the resolutioners were blind." The perfidious conduct of Charles at the restoration, and twenty-eight years of bloody persecution, furnish a melancholy commentary on the truth of this conclusion. "I must confess, madam," said Mr. Dickson to a lady who came to visit him on his death-bed, "that the protesters have been much truer prophets than we were."\* It is needless to speculate on what might have been the result, had the church acted otherwise; it was the will of Providence that she should be subjected to a long period of trial; and in a little time, as Wodrow expresses it, "the whole honest presbyterian ministers were struck at, and sent to the furnace to unite them."

By the advice of his new counsellors, Charles undertook an expedition into England, the result of which is matter of well-known history. His defeat at Worcester, in September 1651, which Cromwell, in his despatches, called "a crowning mercy," was not such matter of congratulation to the king as that at Dunbar; it completely ruined his hopes; and, after many narrow escapes, he effected a passage to France, leaving the whole country at the mercy of the conqueror. It is hard to say whether our worthy fathers were more alarmed at the secular weapons of Cromwell's soldiers, or at the monstrous heresies which they imported. They beheld, with dismay, an army of sectaries, impregnated with all the errors of the times, and quite as ready to com-

\* Wodrow's Anal. M.S.

bat the pastor in the pulpit, as to meet his people in the battle-field. Cromwell himself, who delighted as much as even James VI. in a theological debate, entered into a curious controversy with the clergy who had taken refuge in the castle of Edinburgh, which held out after the city was captured. While his soldiers battered the ramparts with their artillery, the general attempted to storm the minds of the besieged theologians with his Independent mis-sives, which were met, on their part, by regular and firm rejoinders. Meanwhile their pulpits were usurped by the gifted lay-preachers of the army, holding forth in buff and bandoleers to crowded and astonished auditories. "General Lambert," says Nicholl, "having urgit the toun of Edinburgh coun-cel to appropriate to him the East Kirk, being the best kirk in the toun for his exercise at sermound, the same was rendered to him for that use; wherein there was divers and sundrie sermounds preached, asweill by captanes, and lievtendants, and troupers of his army, as by ordinar pastors and English minis-ters; which captanes, commanders, and troupers, when they enterit the pulpits, did not observe our Scots forms, bot when they ascended, they enterit the pulpits with their swords hung at their sides, and some carrying pistolls up with them; and after their entry, laid asyde within the pulpits their swords till they had ended their sermounds. It was thocht," adds our simple annalist, "that these men war weill giftit, yet were not ordourlie callit according to the discipline observit within this kingdom of Scot-land."\*

In various places throughout the country, Crom-

\* Nicholl's Diary, ad. an. 1651; Bannatyne edit.

well's soldiers behaved very rudely. They would come into the churches during the time of service, take up their seat, by way of contempt, on the stool of repentance, and after sermon publicly challenge the minister to dispute with them on the doctrine which he had been preaching.\* But the ministers generally got the advantage of these intruders, and even before Cromwell showed a becoming spirit. Though a proclamation had been issued, prohibiting any to pray for king Charles, many of them continued to do so, in spite of the prohibition, and even in the face of the soldiers, who threatened to fire on them if they attempted it. When Cromwell came to Glasgow, the magistrates and some of the ministers fled at the first news of his approach. Among those who remained was Mr. Zachary Boyd, famous for his extraordinary translation of the Bible into metre. This divine, nothing daunted by the presence of Cromwell and his soldiers, who came to hear him, "railed on them all to their face in the High Church." Tradition informs us that Cromwell's secretary was so annoyed with the plainness of the worthy paraphrast, that he asked leave, in a whisper, "to pistol the scoundrel." "No, no," said the protector, "we will manage him in another way." In the evening he asked the clergy to sup with him, and concluded the entertainment, it is said, with an incredibly long prayer.† Cromwell, it would appear, could stand a sermon levelled at his civil authority better than a reflection on his powers as a theological disputant. Marching into a meeting of the ministers

\* Lamont's Diary, p. 58.

† MSS. in Adv. Lib.; Brown's History of Glasgow, p. 101; Baillie, ii. 359.

in Edinburgh on one occasion, he made a harangue to them nearly an hour in length, in his usual style of rhapsody, and copiously interlarded with quotations from Scripture. The members looked at each other in bewildered amazement, till at length an old minister, Mr. John Semple of Carsphairn, rose up and said: "Moderator, I hardly know what *the gentleman* wald be at in this long discourse; but one thing I am sure of, he was perverting the Scripture." For this speech the honest minister was punished by six months' imprisonment.\*

The general assembly, however, was a court too free in its constitution to suit the temper of Cromwell, any more than that of James or Charles. The successful dictator, who had dissolved the long parliament, and openly scoffed at *Magna Charta*, was not likely to suffer the continuance of an assembly, the members of which had been so active for the king. Accordingly, on the 20th of July 1653, when the general assembly had convened in Edinburgh, and the clerk was beginning to call the roll, the church in which they met was surrounded by a troop of horse, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Cottrel, who, with another officer, entered the assembly, and standing upon a bench, demanded to know by whose authority they had met—whether by authority of the late parliament, or of their late king, or of the protector? Mr. David Dickson, the moderator, replied that they were an ecclesiastical synod, a spiritual court of Christ, which meddled not with anything civil, and that their authority was from God, and confirmed by the laws of the land yet unrepealed. The colonel then demanded a list of the members,

\* Wodrow's Anal. MS.

which the moderator told him he should get, if he would have a little patience till they had called the roll; but Cottrel declared this would be too tedious an affair, and ordered them to be gone, otherwise he had instructions how to proceed. Upon this, the moderator, in the name of the assembly, protested against such unexampled violence, and was proceeding to dissolve the meeting with prayer, when he was rudely interrupted, and ordered to the door; a mandate with which he and the rest of the assembly at last complied.\* “He led us all through the whole streets,” says Baillie, “a mile out of the town, encompassing us with foot companions of musketeers and horsemen—all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had led us a mile without the town, he then declared what further he had in commission;—That we should not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that, against eight o’clock to-morrow, we should depart the town, under pain of being guilty of breaking the public peace; and the day following we were commanded off the town, under the pain of present imprisonment. Thus,” adds Baillie, “our general assembly, the glory and strength of our church upon earth, is by your soldiery crushed and trode under foot, without the least provocation from us, at this time, in word or deed.”†

This unconstitutional encroachment, though it came with a bad grace from one who boasted himself the patron of toleration and liberty of conscience, was, after all, the less to be regretted at this period, as the meetings of the church courts were chiefly occupied with unseemly discussions between the resolu-

\* Lamont’s Diary, p. 69.

† Baillie’s Letters, ii. 369.

tioners and protesters. The melancholy consequences of this breach in the Scottish church soon became apparent after the defeat of Charles had subjected the whole of Scotland to the arms of Cromwell. The English conquerors, as was natural, were partial to the protesters, who had been opposed to the party that brought over the king; and Cromwell endeavoured, by all the arts of his masterly policy, to gain them over to his interests. He succeeded in inducing some of them to take *the tender*, which was an acknowledgment of his authority and that of the English commonwealth without a king or house of lords. With great difficulty he prevailed upon them, and ultimately on the resolutioners also, to cease praying for king Charles; but Mr. Patrick Gillespie was the first, and we believe the only minister in Scotland, who publicly prayed for the protector. Mr. Gillespie was, it may be presumed, a great favourite with the usurper, and he, with some of his brethren, received a commission in 1655, empowering them to settle the affairs of the kirk. In this document, it is somewhat curious to find that Cromwell declares himself clearly in favour of an established church. "Being thoroughly sensible," his highness says, "that whatsoever union of nations is made where the true religion is not the foundation thereof, it will prove tottering and unstable, he hath therefore expressly commanded his council here to endeavour the promoting the preaching of the gospel, and the power of true religion and holiness; and to take care that the usual maintenance here be received and enjoyed by such ministers as are of a holy and unblamable conversation, disposed to live peaceably under the present government, are able and fit to preach the gos-

pel, and shall be approved according to an ordinance of his highness of the 8th of August 1654.”\* It appears from this commission that Cromwell was determined to be patron-general to the whole church of Scotland; it is obviously so framed as to admit only such as were protesters; and what is very curious, in the ordinance to which he refers, with the view of securing his own men, it is expressly provided that, in the induction of ministers, “respect shall be had to the choice of *the more sober and godly sort of the people, although the same should not prove to be the greater part*”—a somewhat arbitrary and invidious distinction, which, it must be allowed, left ample discretion to those who were intrusted with the administration.

It does not appear that the protesters availed themselves of the power with which this commission invested them;† though it is certain that very unseemly contests happened at various settlements about this period, particularly in the west country, where the protesting party mustered very strong. Baillie has given some very lamentable accounts of the intrusion of ministers upon congregations by that party, with the aid of the English soldiery; but it must be remembered that this writer was a bitter opponent of the protesters, and he is chargeable with having not only exaggerated their conduct, but resorted to very unworthy means to defeat the negotiations which were set on foot for healing the breach between them and their brethren the resolutioners. It is but justice to add, that the great body of the

\* Nicholl's Diary, pp. 163-166.

† A considerable party among the protesters, including Warriston and James Guthrie, were opposed to this ordinance; and very few settlements took place under it. (*Baillie's Letters, and Macward's Papers.*)

protesters were far from being favourable to republicanism or to the usurpation of Cromwell. Lamont informs us, in his Diary, that at a communion at Sconie in Fife, where Alexander Moncrieff and Samuel Rutherford officiated, "all that had taken the tender were debarred from the table, as also the English." The same scrupulosity was not felt by Mr. James Sharp, who afterwards, as archbishop of St. Andrews, rendered himself infamous in history for the persecution of his brethren; he swallowed *the tender*, and paid his court to the usurper, with the same ease that he afterwards renounced the covenant, and truckled to the king. James Guthrie, on the other hand, whose death he had a share in procuring, though a protester, not only refused the tender, but incurred considerable risk in maintaining his loyalty. "I have it from good hands," says Wodrow, "that Mr. Guthrie defended the king's right in public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit he asserted the king's title in the hearing of the English officers."\*

These dissensions among the ministers must have been unfavourable to the interests of religion. The protesters, who had been deposed, continued to exercise their ministry, and each party held communion exclusively with those of their own sentiments. On too many occasions the pulpit was converted into an arena of contention; and the people beheld the spectacle, hitherto unknown in Scotland, of ministers preaching, and even praying, against each other. In September 1655, Patrick Gillespie, who was principal of Glasgow college, having come to Edinburgh, was invited by Mr. Stirling, a protester,

\* Wodrow's Hist., i. 163, Burns' edit.



to preach for him in the West Kirk. The rest of the ministers, hearing of it, refused to countenance him with their presence. "Mr. Patrick," says honest Nicholl, "at his coming to the pulpit, was interuptit by ane of the late king's servants, called captane Melvill, wha, sitting near to the pulpitt, did ryse and call to him, saying, 'Mr. Gillespy, how dar ye cum thair to the pulpitt to teach and preach? Ye aught not to cum thair, because ye are deposed from the ministrie by the general assemblie, and ye have been ane enymie and traitour both to kirk and kingdome!' and sum more to that purpose; and with that he raise and went out of the church, and sindry uthers with him, alleging, that he aucht not to be heard in pulpitt, being a deposed minister. Yet, Mr. Patrick Gillespy, not being much dasched, proceedit, and after a short prayer, read his text, quhilk was the 29th verse of the 26 chaptour of the Acts of the Apostles, in these words: 'And Paul said, I wald to God that not only thow, but also all that heir me this day, both war almost and altogidder such as I am, except these bands.'"\*

This was no doubt sufficiently deplorable. But each party was disposed to exaggerate the public evils. Nicholl, who is a stanch loyalist, complains grievously of the increase of crime in Scotland during this period; but indeed little weight can be attached to the opinions of this writer, who betrays great weakness of mind. The following specimens of his lugubrious reflections are rather amusing. He complains bitterly of the taxes levied in Edinburgh for the support of the English army, especially the plack laid on the pint of ale—for the imposition of

\* Nicholl's Diary, ad. an. 1656.

which, he seriously considers a storm of wind and rain which happened, as a judgment on the city! “And then,” says he, “thair wyne, aill, and beir, were all sophisticat—drawn over and kirked with milk, brimstone, and uther ingrediants; the aill made strong and heidy with hemp seed, coriander seed, Turkie pepper, sute, salt, and uther sophistications. Whairwith the magistrates of Edinburgh did take no ordour; nather yit with blown mutton, corrupt veill and flesche; nor yit with fusted breid and lycht loaves, and with fals missoures and wechts.” “Mairover,” he adds, “befoir the English army came into Scotland, there was a lecture every day in the afternune, at the ringing of the four hour bell, quhilk did much good both to the soull and body; the soull being edifeit and fed by the word, and the body withheld in from unnecessary bibbing, quhilk at that hour of the day was in use and custome.” But what distressed him most of all was, that notwithstanding of all these burdens, the ladies dressed as fine as ever: “The moir poverty, the pryde of men much moir aboundit; for at this time it was daylie seen that gentill-women and burgessis wyffes haid moir gold and silver about thair gown and wyliccoat tails, than thair husbands had in thair purses and cofers!”\*

And yet, notwithstanding some public grievances, which, after all, were not more than might have been expected in a country occupied by a victorious enemy,† and notwithstanding the prevalent heats

\* Nicholl's Diary, pp. 168, 170, 189.

† It is generally allowed that public justice was never more impartially executed than during Cromwell's government in Scotland; and it is even said that the decisions of the English judges whom he set up were more agreeable to the spirit and principles of the Scots law than the previous

and divisions which must have frustrated to a great degree the good effects of the reformation, it appears, from the most indubitable evidence, that religion prospered in no ordinary measure during the time of this invasion. "It is true," says Kirkton, "that they did not permit the general assembly to sit (and in this I believe they did no bad office, for both the authority of that meeting was denied by the protesters, and the assembly seemed to be more set upon establishing themselves than promoting religion); also, the division of the church betwixt protesters and resolvers continued for six or seven years with far more heat than became them; and errors in some places infected some few; yet were all these losses inconsiderable in regard of the great success the word preached had in sanctifying the people of the nation; and I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the reformation, though of triple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace. Ministers were painful, people were diligent. So, truly, religion was at that time in very good case, and the Lord present in Scotland, though in a cloud." Again, referring to the state of Scotland before the restoration, he has these remarkable words: "At the king's return, every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible—yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of

decisions of our native judges had been. A young lawyer making this observation to a Scots judge, who died many years ago, received this singular reply: "No thanks to them! they had neither kith nor kin in the country: take *that* out of the way, and I think I could be a good judge myself." (*Brown's Hist. of Glasgow*, p. 114.)

Bibles either by their parents or ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as a presbyterie stood. I have lived many years in a parish where I never heard an oath; and you might have ridden many miles before you heard any. Also, you could not, for a great part of the country, have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped, by reading, singing, and public prayer. Nobody complained more of our church government than our taverners: whose ordinary lamentation was—their trade was broke, people were become so sober!”\*

This high testimony is fully borne out by that of other witnesses, as unimpeachable as honest Kirkton. They tell us what fell under their own observation; and those must have been no mean attainments, either in piety or morality, which came up to the standard required by the presbyterians of these times.† No doubt, many hypocrites may have been concealed under the mask of rigorous devotion; but, whatever might be the case in England during the same period, it is certain that hypocrisy was not then the reigning vice in Scotland. We grant that crimes and outbreakings of a very flagrant nature

\* Kirkton's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 63, 64.

† “Old Mr. Hutcheson, minister at Killellan, used to say to Mr. Wodrow, ‘When I compare the times before the restoration with the times since the revolution, I must own that the young ministers preach accurately and methodically, but there was far more of the power and efficacy of the Spirit and the grace of God went along with sermons in those days than now; and, for my part (all the glory be to God!) I seldom set my foot in a pulpit in those times but I had notice of some blessed effects of the word.’” (*Gillies' Hist. Collections*, i. 315.)

were occasionally taking place, which some, not considering the rude state of society at the time, would set down as a proof of its general demoralization. It is certain, too, that immediately before the restoration, a sad declension became apparent, which was the more remarked from its contrast with the previous prosperity. But there can be no question that the piety of that period was both more intense and more widely diffused than it has ever since been in Scotland. It is not by looking into the records of church courts, which indeed almost supplied the place of courts of police, nor into the "Acknowledgments of Sins," published about that period, that we can form a proper estimate of the moral state of the country. Such documents only serve to show that, in those days, the discipline of the church was administered with a fidelity which is now too little known, though not a whit less needed, and that our fathers were affected by the existence of public evils, which are no longer so candidly acknowledged, only because they are not so deeply laid to heart.

An English merchant, who had occasion to visit Scotland in the way of business about the year 1650, happened to hear three of the most eminent of the Scottish ministers of that age—Robert Blair, Samuel Rutherford, and David Dickson. Being asked, on his return, what news he had brought from Scotland, the gentleman, who had never shown any sense of religion before, replied, "Great and good news! I went to St. Andrews, where I heard a sweet majestic-looking man (Blair); and he showed me *the majesty of God*. After him, I heard a little fair man (Rutherford); and he showed me *the loveliness of Christ*. I then went to Irvine, where I heard a well-

favoured proper old man, with along beard (Dickson); and that man showed me *all my heart*." "The whole general assembly," says Wodrow, "could not have given a better character of the three men."\*

Robert Blair we had occasion to notice before. He was a man of mild and amiable temper, and was exceedingly active in endeavouring to heal the unhappy dissensions between the resolutioners and protesters, in which he professed to be neutral. Mr. Blair was originally settled at Bangor, in Ireland, on which occasion, as he refused to be ordained after the prelatie form, the bishop of the diocese agreed to be present with the other ministers only in the character of a presbyter. Driven by a less charitable bishop from Ireland, he took refuge in his native country, where he was first settled at Ayr, and afterwards translated to St. Andrews. Polite and affable in his manners, he was chosen by Charles I., after the death of Henderson, as his chaplain in Scotland; an office which he discharged with the most scrupulous fidelity. He was a shrewd observer of character. When Cromwell came to Edinburgh, he and Guthrie and Dickson, were deputed to hold a conference with the general. Blair, who was best acquainted with him, begged him to answer three questions. "What was his opinion of monarchical government?" Oliver replied that he was favourable to monarchy. "What did he think anent toleration?" He answered as confidently, that he was against toleration. "What was his judgment about the government of the church?" "Ah, now, Mr. Blair," said Cromwell, "you article me too severely; you must pardon me that I give you not

\* Wodrow's MSS., Adv. Lib.

a present answer to that question." On retiring, Mr. Dickson said, "I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;" to which Blair replied, "If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe one word he says; for he is an egregious dissembler."\*

Samuel Rutherford is one of those characters whom every one thinks he should know by his writings as familiarly as if he had seen him face to face. Eager, ethereal, and imaginative, ever soaring and singing, the high notes of his devotion fall down on the ear with a singular effect, as if the music came from heaven rather than from earth.† Rutherford was the most popular preacher of his day; but it is not so generally known that he was as much distinguished for his learning and metaphysical attainments as for his eloquence and devotion. He received invitations to the chair of philosophy in more than one of the foreign universities; but such was his love to his native country, that he would not desert her in the midst of her troubles. The following anecdote of his infancy, though it approaches the marvellous, is so characteristic of the future man, and the age in which he lived, that it deserves to be preserved. While amusing himself with some of his companions, Samuel, then a mere child, fell into a deep well: the rest of the children ran off to alarm his parents, who, on reaching the spot, were astonished to find him seated on an adjoining hillock, cold and dripping. On being questioned how he had got there, he replied, that "a bonnie white

\* Memoirs of Blair, p. 107.

† His Letters, with all their faults, which are those of the age, have excellences which must be felt to the end of time. "Hold off the Bible," said Richard Baxter, "such a book the world never saw the like."

man came and drew him out of the well." The minutest particulars concerning such a person are interesting; the following are curious:—"I have known many great and good ministers in this church," said an aged contemporary pastor who survived the revolution, "but for such a piece of clay as Mr. Rutherford was, I never knew one in Scotland like him, to whom so many great gifts were given; for he seemed to be altogether taken up with every thing good, and excellent, and useful. He seemed to be always praying, always preaching, always visiting the sick, always catechising, always writing and studying. He had two quick eyes, and when he walked, it was observed that he held aye his face upward. He had a strange utterance in the pulpit, a kind of *skreigh* that I never heard the like. Many times I thought he would have flown out of the pulpit when he came to speak of Jesus Christ. He was never in his right element but when he was commending him. He would have fallen asleep in bed speaking of Christ."\* Rutherford was a stanch protester; but controversy, though he excelled in it, seemed to be alien to his nature. "One day, when preaching in Edinburgh, after dwelling for some time on the differences of the day, he broke out with—'Woe is unto us for these sad divisions, that make us lose the fair scent of the Rose of Sharon!' and then he went on commending Christ, going over all his precious styles and titles about a quarter of an hour; upon which the laird of Glanderston said, in a loud whisper, Ay, now you are right—hold you there!"† Rutherford died in 1661, shortly after

\* Patrick Simpson, *apud* Wodrow's MSS.

† Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. iv.



his book called *Lex Rex* was burnt by the hangman at Edinburgh, and at the gates of the new college of St. Andrews, where he was regent and professor of divinity.\* He departed just in time to avoid an ignominious death; for though everybody knew he was dying, the council had, with impotent malice, summoned him to appear before them at Edinburgh on a charge of high treason. When the citation came, he said, "Tell them I have got a summons already before a superior judge and judicatory, and I behove to answer my first summons; and ere your day arrive, I will be where few kings and great folks come." When they returned, and reported that he was dying, the parliament, with a few dissenting voices, voted that he should not be allowed to die in the college! Upon this Lord Burleigh said, "Ye have voted that honest man out of his college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven." Some of them profanely remarked, "he would never win there; hell was too good for him." "I wish I were as sure of heaven as he is," replied Burleigh; "I would think myself happy to *get a gripe of his sleeve to haul me in.*"† Among his brethren who came to pray with him on his death-bed, were Mr. Wood, a resolutioner, but an excellent man, and Mr. Honeyman, who afterwards was made a bishop, and distinguished himself for his opposition to the cause of God. It was observed that, when Mr. Wood prayed, the dying man was not much affected, but when Honeyman was engaged,

\* "It was much easier to burn the book than to answer it," says Wodrow. When Charles II. read *Lex Rex*, he said, with his native shrewdness, that it would scarcely ever get an answer; and his words have proved true.

† Walker's Remains, p. 171; Reid's Memoirs of the Divines in the Assembly at Westminster.

he wept all the time of the prayer. Being afterwards asked his reason for this, he replied, "Mr. Wood and I will meet again, though we be now to part; but alas for poor Honeyman! he and I will never meet again in another world; and this made me weep."\* When dying, he frequently repeated, "Oh for arms to embrace Him! oh, for a well-tuned harp! I hear him saying to me, Come up hither!" And thus, says Howie,† "the renowned eagle took its flight into the mountains of spices."

David Dick or Dickson was a very different character, yet almost equally eminent. We have already seen the success which accompanied his ministrations when at Irvine. He was afterwards translated, first to Glasgow, and afterwards to Edinburgh; in both of which cities he officiated as professor of divinity. His contemporaries have preserved many of his remarkable sayings, which show him to have been a man of great shrewdness and sagacity, mixed with a peculiar vein of humour. He was singularly successful in dissecting the human heart, and winning souls to the Redeemer. Mr. Dickson took an active share in the disputes between the resolutioners and protesters, in which he supported the former party, though he lived to see and confess that they had been completely deceived. He was a man of strong nerve and undaunted resolution in the discharge of his duty, of which the following anecdote may serve as an illustration: On one occasion, when riding between Edinburgh and Glasgow, he was attacked by robbers. Instead of giving way to his fears, Dickson

\* Wodrow's MSS.

† Using an expression of Burgess in his funeral sermon on Robert Fleming.

boldly admonished them of their danger in regard to their souls, and concluded by earnestly exhorting them to try some other profession more safe and creditable than that in which they were engaged. Some years after this, when quietly seated in the college of Edinburgh, he was surprised by receiving the present of a pipe of wine, accompanied with a message that the gentleman who sent it requested the pleasure of drinking a glass of the wine with him next evening in his study. The request was granted; and, in the course of conversation, the gentleman, after finding that the minister retained no recollection of having seen him before, informed him that he was one of the robbers who had attacked him—that he had been seriously impressed by his admonition—and that, having adopted his advice, he had prospered in foreign trade, and now came to thank his benefactor.

But, perhaps, one of the noblest characters of the period, though less known, was Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of Edinburgh. He had formerly been a chaplain in the army of Gustavus Adolphus; and when leaving his service, that celebrated prince and warrior pronounced the following eulogium on his character: “There goes a man who, for wisdom and prudence, might be a counsellor to any king in Europe; who, for gravity, might be a moderator to any assembly in the world; and who, for his skill in military affairs, might be the general of any army.” Like many of the ministers of this period, he was connected by birth with some of the best families in the land. Majestic in his appearance, and princely in his bearing, there was something so authoritative about him, that one has said he never could look at

him without a sensation of awe. Though a resolutioner, he took an active part in endeavouring to secure the liberties of the church of Scotland after the restoration, and carried on a correspondence with James Sharp, when in London, in which the designs of that unhappy apostate were artfully covered over with high professions of regard to the presbyterian interest. Mr. Douglas, though deceived for a time by Sharp's duplicity, at length discovered his real character. We are informed, that when Sharp returned to Scotland, affecting no ambition for the prelacy, he pressed the acceptance of the see of St. Andrews upon Mr. Douglas. He told him he clearly perceived that the king was determined on introducing episcopacy, and that he knew none fitter for the primacy than Mr. Douglas, who had better accept, lest a worse should be appointed. The honest presbyterian saw into the secret soul of the hypocrite; and when he had given his own decided refusal, demanded of his former friend what he would do himself were the offer made to him. Sharp hesitated, and rose to take leave. Douglas accompanied him to the door. "James," said he, "I perceive you are clear—I see you will engage—you will be archbishop of St. Andrews: take it, then," he added, laying his hand on Sharp's shoulder, "*and the curse of God with it!*" \*

"The subject," says sir Walter Scott, relating this scene, "might suit a painter." We may add, with equal truth, that the subject affords matter of solemn warning to the Christian minister, and of serious reflection to all. "Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

\* Kirkton, p. 134.

## CHAPTER II.

Restoration of Charles—The reformation overturned by the act rescissory—Trial and martyrdom of the marquis of Argyle—Martyrdom of James Guthrie—Re-establishment of episcopacy—Treachery of Sharp—Consecration of the Scottish bishops—Ejection of the presbyterian ministers—Introduction of the curates—Execution of lord Warriston.

WE have now reached the period of the Restoration, when the church of Scotland was thrown into the furnace of persecution—when she was stripped of the glory of her reformation, and subjected, for a long series of years, like the church of ancient Israel, to captivity and bondage. The restoration of Charles took place on the 29th of May 1660. Never did a more rapid, more complete, or more melancholy change pass over the character of a people, than that which Scotland underwent at this era. “With the restoration of the king,” says bishop Burnet, “a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very profession of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overran the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the king’s health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere. Those

who had been concerned in the former transactions, thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that these brought on them, by any method that was more sure and more easy than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion—telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party, as impious and ridiculous.”\*

Charles was not long seated on the throne, when, abandoning himself to pleasure and debauchery, he proceeded to overturn the whole work of reformation, civil and ecclesiastical, which he had solemnly sworn to support. The first Scottish parliament, usually called Middleton’s parliament, from the name of the commissioner, the earl of Middleton, a dissipated and unprincipled character, sat down in January 1661. The most shameless bribery and illegal influence were employed to pack this parliament with members favourable to the designs of the ruling powers. The first step for the subversion of the civil and religious liberties of Scotland, and which laid the foundation of all the persecutions that followed, was the passing, early in the year 1661, of the act of supremacy, for securing what was termed the *royal prerogative*, in other words, for making the king supreme judge in all matters civil and ecclesiastical. To this was afterwards added the oath of allegiance, which bound the subject to acknowledge the supreme power of the king, in all matters civil or religious, and made it high treason to deny it. Wodrow has justly observed, that “slavish principles as to civil rights and liberty, still lead the van to persecution for conscience’ sake.” By these acts,

\* Burnet’s History of his Own Times, i. 130.

the servile parliament laid the civil liberties of the nation at the feet of a despot; but it is easy to see that they must have fallen with peculiar severity on the conscientious, who had always contended for the supremacy of the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only king of his church. At last, tired of annulling acts of parliament passed during the previous period of the reformation, the Scottish councillors, in the same year, passed a sweeping act, annulling the parliaments themselves. By this measure, which was called the act rescissory, all the proceedings for reformation between 1638 and 1650 were declared rebellious and treasonable; the national covenant and solemn league were condemned as unlawful oaths; the Glasgow assembly of 1638 denounced as an unlawful and seditious meeting; and the ordering of the government of the church was declared to be an inherent right of the crown. In short, all that had been done for religion and the reformation of the church during the second reformation, was completely annulled. "It was a maddening time," says Burnet, "when the men of affairs were perpetually drunk." Middleton himself seldom came sober to the house; and it is well known that this infamous act, which still stands unrepealed in our statute-book, and which no modern reformer has ever proposed to repeal, was proposed by the miserable junto at a debauch, and carried in the midst of drunken acclamations.

It was not enough, however, that the work of reformation should be buried under legal enactments; its grave must be moistened with the blood of the noblest and best of its supporters. The first victim selected was the marquis of Argyle. This nobleman

had protested against the execution of Charles I.; he was among the first who invited Charles II. to Scotland, and he had placed the crown upon his head; but all this could not atone for the active share he had taken, during the civil wars, in guiding the affairs of the nation, and opposing the court. Charles held him in mortal aversion, for the liberty he had taken in privately warning him against malignants, and for heading the presbyterians in imposing on him the covenant as the condition of their submission. Accordingly, on going up to London to congratulate the king on his restoration, Argyle was thrown into the Tower, and afterwards transported by sea to Edinburgh, to stand trial for high treason. No less than fourteen charges were brought against him, all of which he so satisfactorily disproved, that his judges were on the point of sending to the king, to state the difficulty of finding any plausible ground for his condemnation, when they were relieved from their embarrassment by an act of the basest description. A rude knocking was heard at the parliament door, and a packet was handed in, containing a number of confidential letters which had passed between Argyle and Monk, and which the latter had sent to be produced at the trial. This cold-blooded treachery sealed the doom of the marquis. Monk, who had been the active agent of Cromwell, was made duke of Albemarle; and Argyle, who had only yielded to the usurper after resistance was vain, was sentenced to be beheaded!

The marquis received his sentence with great serenity; and, on its being pronounced, said, "I had the honour to set the crown upon the king's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than



his own!" On arriving at the tolbooth, he found his excellent lady waiting for him. "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear," said he, "therefore let us make for it." The afflicted wife, throwing herself into his arms, could not refrain from expressing her indignation at the unjust sentence. "The Lord will require it!" she cried, "the Lord will require it!" "Forbear, forbear," said the marquis, seeing his friends dissolved in tears around him; "truly I pity them; they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut out God from me. I am as content to be here as I was in the Tower; was as content there as I was when at liberty; and hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all."

The marquis was constitutionally timorous; but in prison, referring to this, he desired those about him to observe that the Lord had heard his prayers, and delivered him from all his fears; and, indeed, the efforts of his friends were chiefly needed to repress his ardent longing for dissolution. The night before his execution, being engaged in settling some of his worldly affairs, his heart became so overpowered with a sense of the love of God, that he could not conceal his emotions. "I thought," said he, "to have concealed the Lord's goodness—but it will not do. I am now ordering my worldly affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and just now saying to me, *Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee.*" On repeating these words he burst into tears, and retired to the window to weep there; he then drew near the fire, and made as if he would stir it a little, to conceal his emotions—but all would not

do; and, coming up to Mr. Hutchison, his chaplain, he said, "I think His kindness overcomes me; but God is good to me, that he lets not out too much of it here, for he knows I could not bear it."

Taking leave of his friends to go to the scaffold, the noble martyr said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die as a Christian. Come away, gentlemen; he that goes first goes cleanliest." On his way out of prison he requested an interview with Mr. Guthrie, and embraced him in the most affectionate manner. "My lord," said Guthrie, "God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you; and such is my respect for your lordship, that, if I were not under sentence of death myself, I could cheerfully die for your lordship!" When on the scaffold, he showed the same composure, and spoke at some length with great pertinency. He forgave all his enemies, and said he would condemn none. "God," said he, "hath laid engagements on Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; those who were then unborn are yet engaged; and it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God. These times are like to be either very sinning or suffering times; and let Christians make their choice: there is a sad dilemma in the business, SIN OR SUFFER; and surely he that will choose the better part will choose to suffer. Others that will choose to sin will not escape suffering; they shall suffer, but perhaps not as I do (pointing to the maiden, the instrument of execution), but worse. Mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal. When I shall be singing, they shall be howling. I have no more to say but to beg the

Lord, that when I go away, he would bless every one that stayeth behind."

On approaching the maiden, Mr. Hutchison said, "My lord, now hold your grip sicker"—meaning that he should hold fast his confidence in Christ. Argyle answered, "Mr. Hutchison, you know what I said: I am not afraid to be surprised by fear." At this awful moment, his physician having touched his pulse, found it beating at its usual rate—calm and strong. He knelt down cheerfully, and having given the signal by lifting up his hand, the loaded knife of the maiden fell, and struck off his head, which was affixed to the west end of the tolbooth.

Thus fell, on the 27th of May 1661, the marquis of Argyle, whose name and memory still bear the obloquy of the cause in which he suffered. Fain would we stay our narrative, to wipe off the foul slanders that have been heaped on him. We have only room to say, and we do it on the best authority—in the words of honest Howie of Lochgoin—"That he had piety for a Christian, sense for a councillor, courage for a martyr, and a soul for a king. If ever any was, he might be said to be a true Scotsman."\*

James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, was the next victim. He was a son of the laird of Guthrie, and descended of an ancient and honourable family. "Perhaps," says Wodrow, "he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper, of any man in his time." When every one about him was excited, he remained unruffled; and it was usual with him, on such occasions, to say, "Enough of this; let us go to some other subject;

\* Scots Worthies, art. *Marquis of Argyle*.

we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage." His great crime in the eyes of the government, was in reality the same as that for which Argyle had suffered—his eminent zeal in the cause of the covenanted reformation. He had been an active promoter of the measures of the protesters; but what sealed his doom, was his having been selected in 1650 to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against the earl of Middleton, now the king's commissioner. A story is told, though with some variations, of a message having been sent to Mr. Guthrie by the king (some say by a nobleman), to delay pronouncing that sentence. The messenger arrived on Sabbath morning, as he was putting on his cloak to go to church; and the last bell having been rung, Mr. Guthrie was perplexed, not knowing how to act on such a short notice. "My heart," said his wife, "what the Lord gives you light and clearness to do, that do, without giving any positive answer to the messenger." He went, and to the messenger's astonishment, pronounced the sentence of excommunication. Though the commission of the church relaxed Middleton from it shortly after, yet it is believed he never forgave nor forgot what Mr. Guthrie did that day, and that this worthy man fell a sacrifice to his personal revenge, as well as to Sharp's ambition.

His indictment charged him with various offences, amounting, in the eyes of his adversaries, to the charge of high treason; and, among the rest, his being the author of a pamphlet, entitled "The Causes of the Lord's Wrath,"\* and his accession to the

\* For a full account of this and other works of the protesters, see Beattie's "History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth."

Westland remonstrance, formerly mentioned. Mr. Guthrie's speech in his own defence was a most eloquent and triumphant vindication; but neither the acknowledged piety of the man, the innocence of his character, nor the eloquence of his address, had any weight on his judges, who were determined that he should suffer, to strike terror into the rest, and pave the way for the innovations which they contemplated. He was condemned to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh as a traitor, on the 1st of June 1661, and thereafter his head to be struck off, and affixed on the Netherbow; his estate to be confiscated, his coat-of-arms torn and reversed, and his children declared incapable, in all time coming, to enjoy any office, dignities, possessions, lands or goods, movable or immovable, or anything within this kingdom." This dreadful doom he received with the utmost composure, saying, "My lords, let never this sentence affect you more than it does me; and let never my blood be required of the king's family."

This good man seems to have laid his account with suffering in the cause long before there was any appearance of it; for it is told of him, that on coming into Edinburgh, to subscribe the covenant, he met the executioner of the city as he was entering at the West Port, a circumstance which, incidental as it was, made such an impression on his mind, that he was heard to say, "he took the covenant with the resolution to suffer for the things contained in it, if the Lord should call him thereto." On the night before his execution, when sealing some letters, he was observed to stamp the wax crosswise, thus marring the impression. "I have no more to do," said he, "with coats-of-arms." At supper with his

friends that night, he was cheerful even to pleasantry. On his way to the scaffold, his arms being pinioned, he requested that one of them might be slackened so far as to allow him to support his tottering frame on a staff, while walking down the street to the place of execution. On the fatal ladder "he spoke an hour," says Burnet, who saw him suffer, "with the composedness of one who was delivering a sermon, rather than his last words." Referring to the covenants he said, "These sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed or dispensed by no person, party, or power upon earth, but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be so for ever hereafter; and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls since our entering thereinto. I take God to record upon my soul," he added, "I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain." He forewarned all of the wrath of God upon Scotland, and of the sufferings they might expect, if they continued faithful; and just before he was turned over, lifting the napkin from his face, he cried, "The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"\*

It would be improper to omit noticing the well-known anecdote, which is said to rest on good authority, that a considerable time after the death of Mr. Guthrie, when the earl of Middleton was passing the Netherbow, a few drops of blood fell from the head of the martyr on the carriage, and that the marks could never be effaced. But the following is better deserving of attention, as an illustration of the profound respect in which the faithful clergy of

\* Wodrow, book i., sect. iv. Burnet, vol. i., p. 181.

Scotland were then held by the people. The headless corpse of Mr. Guthrie was put into a coffin and carried into the Old Kirk aisle, where it was decently prepared for interment by a number of ladies of high respectability. Some of them having been observed to dip their napkins in the blood of the martyr, sir Archibald Primrose challenged them for doing so, representing it as a piece of popish superstition; when one of them, who was afterwards married to sir Thomas Burnet, replied, "We intend not to abuse it to superstition or idolatry, but to hold that bloody napkin up to heaven, with our address that the Lord would remember the innocent blood that is spilt." While thus employed, a genteel young man\* approached, and poured on the body a phial of rich perfume, the odour of which filled the whole church. On observing this, one of the ladies exclaimed, "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love which you have shown to the slain body of a servant of Jesus Christ!" The young man, without speaking a word, made a low bow and retired.†

\* It was afterwards discovered that this was Mr. George Stirling, who became eminent as a surgeon in Edinburgh.

† Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. iv.—In a "Tale of the Times of the Martyrs," written by the late celebrated Edward Irving, which appeared in "The Anniversary for 1829," there is an interesting account, given on the authority of a venerable old lady in Glasgow, of the manner in which James Guthrie's head was taken down from the pole to which it was affixed, and buried beside his body. According to Mr. Irving's account, this daring exploit was performed by a nephew of James Guthrie, who was affianced to the daughter of the provost of Edinburgh, a violent enemy of the covenanters, and who was obliged to flee the country in consequence of the provost seeking his life as the forfeit of his noble conduct. The tale has certainly some foundation in fact; but both the dates and persons must have been confounded by tradition; for we have every reason to believe that Guthrie's head remained on the Netherbow port for twenty-seven years, when it was taken down by Alexander Hamilton, then a student in Edinburgh, and afterwards Guthrie's successor in Stirling. (*Scots Worthies*, i. 248, *M'Gavin's edit.*)

Having thus removed out of the way two of the most active and influential supporters of presbytery, the court proceeded with its design of re-establishing episcopacy. Though Charles had sworn, only about a year before, to maintain the presbyterian discipline, he sent a letter in August 1661 to the Scottish council, in which, after reciting the inconveniences of that form of government, and asserting its inconsistency with monarchy, he says, "Wherefore we declare our firm resolution to *interpose our royal authority* for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles." A parliament was called, which, through intimidation, and various other means, was induced to approve of this resolution; and a proclamation was immediately issued, announcing the restoration of the bishops, prohibiting meetings of synods and assemblies, and forbidding all preaching against the change, on pain of imprisonment. And thus, by the mere will and mandate of the king, and without consulting the church in any form, prelacy was again established in a land which had always opposed it, and where the former attempt to plant it had been followed with the most disastrous consequences.

Nothing leaves a darker blot on the history of our country, than the ease and despatch with which this change was effected. When, in the beginning of the following year, presbyteries, and even sessions, were discharged from meeting, until authorized by the bishops, the greater part of the presbyteries, instead of making a stand for their religious liberties, tamely submitted to the proclamation; so that the presbyterians justly exposed themselves to the taunt which



an English historian casts on them, that “presbytery fell without the honour of a dissolution.” It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose, because prelacy met with so little resistance at its first introduction, that the body of the people were favourable to the change, or indifferent to their ancient polity. Many, no doubt, especially among the nobility, had become wearied of Christ’s yoke; many, too, worn out with intestine discords, were disposed to hail peace on almost any terms; and the general licentiousness of manners introduced with the restoration, contributed greatly to foster these dispositions. But it was not to such causes that prelacy was indebted for its triumph. It was brought in partly by stratagem, and partly by the force of royal proclamations, fenced with the terrors of imprisonment, confiscation, and the gibbet. The secret history of the time reveals the real source of these proclamations, in the plottings of a set of unprincipled courtiers, whose sole object was to enrich themselves by the fines and confiscations of those who had taken an active share in the previous reforming period. For this purpose, Scotland was excluded from the act of indemnity, long after its benefits had been extended to England; and our country was left at the mercy of a succession of harpies, who first preyed upon her vitals, and then upon one another.

The treachery of James Sharp has been already adverted to. To this person, who was at first minister of Crail, and afterwards promoted to the see of St. Andrews, the church of Scotland had unhappily intrusted the management of her cause at court, about the time of the restoration, and he was

sent to London for the express purpose of securing the preservation and liberty of the presbyterian establishment. While thus employed, he was secretly gained over by some of the English high church politicians, to enter into their measures for the re-establishment of prelacy, and engaged to betray the church which confided in him; expecting, as the reward of his treachery, to be made primate of all Scotland. With a deep dissimulation, seldom equalled in the history of ecclesiastical crime, he carried on a correspondence with his brethren, in which he artfully concealed the intentions of government, lulled their suspicions, and prevented them from using any means to avoid the catastrophe, all under professions of the warmest devotion to the cause of presbytery and the covenant.\* When he came down to Scotland, he practised the same deception so successfully, that his brethren never suspected his design till it was ripe for execution.

It is doubtful, however, whether all these causes combined would have succeeded in prostrating the liberties of the church, had they not been aided by the lamentable dissension between the resolutioners and protesters within her own pale. This breach remained still unhealed; and it was the policy of Sharp and others to prevent the two parties from coalescing. By their mutual jealousies they were prevented from joining in any common measure for the safety of the church. In addition to all this, most of the eminent men who had guided her coun-

\* This correspondence is preserved in the introduction to Wodrow's History, where it will stand a monument of Sharp's infamy to the latest posterity.

cils during the reforming period, were now in the dust, or sinking under the weight of years. The earl of Loudoun, the most eloquent and courageous of the champions of the covenant, died in March 1662. He knew that, next to the marquis of Argyle, none was more obnoxious than he to the present rulers, and often entreated his excellent lady to pray that he might be removed by death before the next session of parliament; and his request was granted. Many of the old ministers died from pure grief at seeing the goodly fabric which had cost Scotland so much to rear, and which was hallowed in their eyes by so many sacred associations, threatened with destruction. Among these we may notice Robert Baillie, principal of the university of Glasgow, to whose Letters we owe so much of our information regarding the preceding period. This excellent man, who was distinguished for his learning, and had done much for the advancement of the second reformation, became latterly a keen partisan on the side of the resolutioners; and his prejudice against the protesters has given a strong tinge to all his representations of them and their proceedings. But he lived to see the error into which his party had been led by their extreme loyalty. We are assured, on unquestionable authority, that "he died under a rooted aversion to prelacy in this church."\* And he himself, in the last of his Letters, expresses this sentiment in the most feeling manner: "We are in the most hard taking we have seen at any time. It is the matter of my daily grief, and I think it has brought all my bodily trouble on me, and I fear it shall do me more harm."† This was written in May

\* Wodrow, i. 123, fol.

† Baillie's Letters, ii. 462.

1662, and in July of the same year his earthly troubles were ended.

Still, however, with the exception of a few in the northern counties, the great body of the people were attached to presbyterianism; a great proportion of the nobility and gentry were on its side; and as to the ministers, they were so decidedly presbyterian, that out of all the presbyteries and synods of Scotland, not one, with the exception of *the synod of Aberdeen*, disgraced itself by petitioning in favour of prelacy. The defeat of presbytery was owing, not so much to the fainting of the standard-bearers in the day of battle, as to their want of union, and their being outmanœuvred by their opponents, who showed themselves greater adepts in policy and worldly wisdom—qualities which, however useful in their place, are not very becoming in the ministers of Christ, in whom we rather admire that simplicity of purpose which may often render them the dupes of worldly politicians, or even betray them into perilous positions. And when we consider that the system of prelacy was thus intruded on the nation, without asking the consent of a single church court, that its foundations were laid in blood, and that the country continued to struggle against it during all the twenty-eight years of its ill-omened existence, it is preposterous to allege that prelacy was ever acknowledged by the Scottish people. Not the shadow of such an acknowledgment was ever made by the church—not even such as was extorted during the reign of James VI. And without such an acknowledgment, the mere act of government, in thrusting prelacy on the nation, did not, and could not, make it the act of the church.

Whatever Erastians may say, the state could no more undo than it could create the presbyterian church of Scotland; which remained unaffected in her identity, though under a cloud, and in temporary captivity, till the revolution, when "the captive daughter of Zion shook herself from the dust, and loosed herself from the bands of her neck."

Prelacy having been established by law, it became necessary to provide Scotland with bishops. Of the old prelates, none remained but one Sydsenf, and he, it seems, was not deemed of sufficient dignity to confer episcopal ordination, a "flower," says Kirkton, "not to be found in a Scottish garden;" so that four of the ministers chosen for this office, viz., Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton, were summoned to London, where the ceremony of ordination was performed in Westminster abbey. To crown the disgrace of their defection, the English bishops insisted on their acknowledging the nullity of their presbyterian orders, by submitting to be ordained first deacons, then presbyters, and lastly, bishops. Sharp pretended at first to scruple at this degradation; but he soon submitted with the rest; on which the bishop of London observed, that "it seemed to be Scots fashion to scruple at everything, and to swallow everything." If the bishop formed his opinion of our nation from the present sample, it was very natural so to express himself; for, with the exception of Leighton, every one of them had formerly professed great opposition to that form of government in which they now assumed such a conspicuous share. Sharp, who was made archbishop of St. Andrews, it is needless to

characterize. Burnet informs us, that Fairfoul, who was made archbishop of Glasgow, was a "factious man, insinuating and crafty; but he was a better physician than a divine. His life was scarce free from scandal; and he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only sworn the covenant, but had persuaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he answered, there were some very good medicines that could not be *chewed*, but were to be *swallowed* down." Hamilton, who was made bishop of Galloway, had equally distinguished himself for his zeal in the cause of the covenant. Leighton, who was appointed to the diocese of Dunblane, was a character in every respect different from the rest. Evangelical in his doctrine, and latitudinarian in his ecclesiastical views, "he did not think that the forms of government were settled by such positive laws as were unalterable, but looked on episcopacy as the best form." The sanctity of his character, and amiableness of his manners, which have been quoted as the redeeming qualities of Scottish prelacy, were in fact its exceptions; for on these very accounts, he was disliked and suspected by Sharp and his associates, as a tool unfit for their purposes. Leighton condemned and deplored the measures which were taken for obtruding prelacy upon Scotland; and when the bishops returned to Edinburgh in a sort of triumphal procession, he left them in disgust before reaching the city, and entered it as privately as possible.\*

\* "Leighton often said to me," says Burnet, "that in the whole progress of that affair, there appeared such cross characters of an angry Providence, that how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that

On the day after the arrival of the bishops, May 8, 1662, the parliament passed an act restoring them to all their ancient prerogatives, spiritual and temporal; another restoring patronage, and ordering all entrants to take collation from the bishop; and, not to burden the reader's memory with other acts rooting out every vestige of the previous reformation, they passed the following declaration, which all persons in public trust were required to subscribe, and which became a convenient engine of persecution: "I do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful for subjects, under pretext of reformation, or any other pretext whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him, and all those gatherings, petitions, &c, that were used in the beginning and carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious. And particularly, that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the national covenant (as it was sworn and subscribed in the year 1638, and thereafter), and the other entitled a solemn league and covenant, were, and are in themselves, unlawful oaths; and that there lieth no obligation upon me, or any of the subjects, from the said oaths, to endeavour any alteration of the government in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom." It was absurd enough to require a person, not only to declare himself not

they were not like to be the men to build up his church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it (Sharp) proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean and selfish; and the earl of Middleton, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach on everything relating to religion, to see it managed by such instruments." (*History of his Own Times*, i. 201.)

bound by these covenants, but to pronounce absolution on all who had taken them. But the matter assumes a graver aspect, when it is considered that God was a party in these engagements, and that by this shameful act not only were these sacred deeds condemned by the law of the land, but the subjects were compelled to perjure themselves by formally renouncing a solemn obligation, which, if the matter of these covenants was lawful, unquestionably lay both on themselves and on the whole nation.

The spirit of the ruling party was not long confined to parliamentary enactments. The 29th of May 1662, being the anniversary of the king's restoration, was ordered to be kept as a day of public thanksgiving, or, as they profanely termed it, "a holiday to the Lord." On this day the covenants were torn in pieces at the cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman. The town of Linlithgow, at the same time, signalized itself by an act of wanton insult on these sacred bonds still more revolting. After divine service the streets were filled with bonfires, and the fountain in the centre of the town was made to flow with wine. At the cross was erected an arch upon four pillars, on one side of which appeared the figure of an old hag with the covenant in her hand, and the inscription, "A glorious reformation." On the top was another figure representing the devil, with this libel in his mouth, "Stand to the cause." On the king's health being drunk, fire was applied to the frame, and the whole was reduced to ashes, amidst the shouts of a mob inflamed with liquor. This ignominious burning of the covenants was got up by the provost and minister of the place, both of whom had been covenanters. By the more respectable class



of the inhabitants it was witnessed with horror, as a daring affront to the God of heaven.

Still, though the church courts, the official public organs of the church's voice, had been closed, the ministers were allowed to occupy their pulpits; and it was deemed intolerable by Sharp and his associates, that they should do so without acknowledging their authority. Diocesan meetings were therefore appointed in the different districts assigned to the bishops; but these, except in the north, were very ill attended. At length the parliament ordained that all ministers should wait upon these episcopal courts, on pain of being held contemnors of royal authority. To enforce this act, the earl of Middleton and his commission made a tour to the west country. The scenes of prodigality, debauchery, and profaneness which took place, during this circuit, were of such a kind as could not be rehearsed here, without exciting feelings of intense disgust. On arriving at Glasgow, Fairfoul, the archbishop, complained to Middleton, that, notwithstanding the act of parliament, not one of the ministers had owned him as their bishop, and suggested to him the propriety of passing an act and proclamation, banishing all those ministers from their manses, parishes, and dioceses, who had been admitted since 1649, when patronage was abolished, unless they obtain a presentation from the lawful patron, and collation from the bishop of the diocese before the 1st of November. This was the first step toward the persecution; and it will be observed that it commenced under pretence of enforcing the old obnoxious law of patronage. Those who had been admitted since 1649 were, of course, young persons; they were men of piety, zeal,

and popular talents; and having been admitted to their charges by the free call of the people, they were greatly esteemed and beloved. The council agreed to issue the proclamation on the 4th of October, thus giving them less than a month's warning. "Duke Hamilton told me," says Burnet, "they were all *so drunk* that day, that they were not capable of considering anything that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but executing the law, without any relenting or delay." And indeed it is difficult to conceive how any set of men in their sober senses could have adopted a course so infatuated, or so plainly fitted to alienate from any government the best men of the country, and enlist against them the best feelings of our nature. The military were ordered to pull the ministers out of their pulpits, if they should presume to go on with their functions. Sir James Lockhart of Lee alone protested against this mad step, as calculated only to augment the public odium against the bishops, and asserted that the young ministers, before they would acknowledge episcopacy, would suffer more than the loss of their stipends. The archbishop maintained that there would not be *ten* in all his diocese who would refuse to comply. Middleton, who had no idea of men throwing themselves and their families on the wide world, for the sake of a good conscience, sneered at the bare supposition. To his utter amazement, and to the unspeakable mortification of the bishops, nearly *four hundred* ministers chose to be ejected from their charges rather than comply. Turned out of their homes in the depth of winter, and deprived of all maintenance, they exhibited to their congregations a firmness of principle, which elevated and

endeared them more than ever; while the sudden and simultaneous shutting up of four hundred churches in one day, by which almost the whole of the west, and a great part of the south of Scotland, were deprived of their pastors, and a third of the ministers of the church silenced, did more to seal the doom of prelacy, than any other plan that could have been devised. "The honest people," says Kirkton, "encouraged their ministers to enter upon the course of suffering; and many in Scotland rejoiced to see their ministers give that proof of their sincerity; for there were some who affirmed that not twenty ministers in Scotland would lose their stipends for refusing to sit with a bishop."

"Scotland," says Wodrow, "was never witness to such a Sabbath as the last on which those ministers preached; and I know no parallel to it, save the 17th of August, to the presbyterians in England."\* The people were dissolved in tears, and, at intervals, as the minister proceeded, there were loud wailings and involuntary bursts of sorrow. As an instance, we may refer to the parish of Irongray, of which John Welsh was minister—a faithful and courageous champion of the covenant. An order was sent to apprehend him, which was executed by one Maxwell, a papist. The whole parish assembled to convey their minister a little on his way, and the mournful procession followed him with tears and lamentations, till he came to the water of Cluden, where he was to take horse. There he was beset by his affectionate parishioners, who clung to him on all sides, and re-

\* St. Bartholomew's day, when two thousand ministers were ejected for nonconformity—a stroke of policy from which the church of England has not recovered down to this day—and, perhaps, never will.

fused to part with him. With a heart almost broken, but resolved not to be detained, Mr. Welsh, after some of the ministers had knelt down and prayed, mounted his horse, the people still holding him. In order to extricate himself, he dashed into the water, and rode quickly away; but multitudes, both of men and women, rushed into the stream, and followed him on the other side as long as he was in sight, rending the air with their cries and lamentations.\*

Another eminent minister expelled from his charge at this time, and who distinguished himself for the boldness with which he continued to preach in the fields, was John Blackader of Troqueer. One of his sons, then a mere child, relates, with much simplicity, what happened on this occasion: "A party of the king's guard of horse, called Blew-benders, came from Dumfries to Troqueer, to search for and apprehend my father, but found him not; for what occasion I know not. So soon as the party entered the close, and came into the house, with cursing and swearing, we that were children were frightened out of our little wits, and ran up stairs, and I among them; who, when I heard them all roaring in the room below, like so many breathing devils, I had the childish curiosity to get down upon my belly, and peep through a hole in the floor above them, for to see what monsters of creatures they were; and it seems they were monsters, indeed, for cruelty; for one of them perceiving what I was doing, immediately drew his sword, and thrust it up where I was peeping, so that the mark of the point was scarce an inch from the hole, though no thanks to the murdering ruffian, who designed to run it up through my eye. Imme-

\* *Memoirs of John Blackader*, p. 105.

diately after, we were forced to pack up, bag and baggage, and remove to Glencairn, ten miles from Troqueer. We who were the children were put into cadgers' creels, where one of us cried out, coming through the Bridge-end of Dumfries, 'I'm banisht, I'm banisht!' One happened to ask, who has banished ye, my bairn? He answered, 'Bite-the-sheep has banisht me.'\*"

The next point with the bishops was to supply the vacant pulpits; but this was not so easily accomplished as the emptying of them had been. Few or none in the south could be induced to enter them, and the prelates were obliged to have recourse to the north country, where, ever since the days when James VI. summoned his "northern men" to outvote the assembly, there has been a general accommodation to despotic measures, whether it might be to obey the king, or to "please the laird." There they procured a number of raw young lads and hungry expectants, "unstudied and unbred," says Kirkton, "who had all the properties of Jeroboam's priests, miserable in the world, and unable to subsist, which made them so much long for a stipend. So they went to their churches with the same intention as a shepherd contracts for herding a flock of cattle. A gentleman in the north, it is said, cursed the presbyterian ministers, because, said he, 'since they left their churches, we cannot get a lad to keep our cows; they turn all ministers.'" "They were the worst preachers I ever heard," says bishop Burnet; "they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders and the sacred function; and were, indeed, *the dregs*

\* Memoirs of John Blackader, p. 106.

*and refuse* of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised." In short, the patrons themselves were ashamed to present such creatures, and they were generally thrust in by the bishops.

These were not the men likely to reconcile the people to the loss of their favourite pastors. We need not be surprised to hear, that in different churches attempts were made to resist their entrance; these, however, were chiefly by women and boys. At Irongray, the women, headed by one Margaret Smith, opposed the military who were guarding the curate, entrenching themselves behind the kirk-dyke, and fairly beating them off with stones. For this feat Margaret was brought into Edinburgh, and condemned to banishment; but she told her tale so innocently, that she was allowed to escape. Other women, who followed the same course in many other places, were condemned to do penance, by having papers stuck on their heads, and afterwards being severely whipped. These, Kirkton tells us, were "ordinarily the actions of the profane and ignorant, not approved by the sober and judicious presbyterians;" and we may judge how strong the feeling was against the intruders, when further informed that careless fellows thought there was no "surer way of atoning for the excesses of the last night, than by insulting a curate the next morning." It was chiefly, too, by small annoyances that they showed their contempt for the *curates*, as they called them. Some would steal the tongue of the kirk-bell; others would barricade the door, so as to oblige the intruder to climb up literally by the window. A shepherd boy, having found a

nest of ants, emptied them one day into the curate's large boots, as he was going to the pulpit; and then the sport of the mischievous urchins was to behold the reverend gentleman, after exhibiting a variety of antics, under the torture of the insects, obliged to bring his service to an abrupt conclusion.\* Another instance of the same contempt for these worthless underlings may be recorded: A curate in the west country, deeply mortified at the extreme thinness of his audience, sent a threatening message to the women, that if they did not make their appearance at the church next day, he would inform against them. The women obeyed the mandate, but each came with a child in her arms; and the curate had not long proceeded in his service, when first one child began to cry, then another, till the whole joined in the chorus, and the voice of the preacher was drowned in a universal squall. It was in vain that he stormed and cursed at the women; they told him it was his own fault, and that they could, on no account, leave their children at home.†

Matters, however, soon assumed a more serious aspect. At Edinburgh the ministers were required either to comply with the present order of things, or desist from preaching, and retire from the city. The whole of them submitted to the sentence, except one Robert Lawrie, who, being the only minister left behind, as a sort of nucleus to the new race of ministers, was designated by the people *the nest-egg*. Prosecutions were next set on foot against some of the ministers who had dared to preach against the defections of the times—among whom were Mr.

\* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, pp. 260, 261.

† Wedrow's Analecta, MS.

Donald Cargill, Mr. Thomas Wylie, Mr. M'Kail, and Mr. John Brown of Wamphray, whose names are well known in the succeeding history. Many of the ministers escaped death by a voluntary banishment.\*

The fate of Archibald Johnston, lord Warriston, who suffered about this time, deserves more than a passing notice. Besides affording a striking illustration of the instability of human greatness, it sets in a very strong light the spirit which animated the rulers of that dark period. Archibald Johnston makes his first appearance on the stage of public life in the famous Glasgow assembly of 1638, when

\* Among others banished at this time was Mr. John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, who soon afterwards died in Holland. The reader will recollect that it was he who was honoured as the chief instrument of the wonderful revival at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630. The case of this worthy man affords a striking illustration of the remark, which has been often verified, that true piety will generally lead even those who have taken no prominent share in ecclesiastical discussions, to act a conscientious part in public matters which involve religious principle. In a letter which he wrote to his parishioners, whom he was not permitted to revisit before his departure, he says: "I have often told you that, for my part, I could never make it a chief part of my work to insist upon the particular debates of the time, as being assured, that if a man drink in the knowledge and the main foundations of the Christian religion, and have the work of God's Spirit in his heart, to make him walk with God, and make conscience of his ways, such an one (except he be giddy with self-conceit) shall not readily mistake Christ's quarrel, to join either with a profane atheist party, or a fanatic atheist party; but the secret of the Lord will be with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant. And I have thought it not far from a sure argument that a course is *not approved of God*, when generally all they that are godly, and all profane men turning penitent, scunner at it, and it may be cannot tell why: and generally all the profane, at the first sight, and all that had a profession of piety, when they turn loose, embrace it, and it may be cannot tell why. There may be diversity of judgment, and sometimes sharp debates among them that are going to heaven; but certainly one spirit guides the seed of the woman, and another spirit the seed of the serpent: and blessed are they that know their Master's will, and do it; blessed are they that endure to the end."



he was chosen clerk. A profound and accomplished lawyer, an eloquent speaker, and of the most active business habits, he took a prominent share in all the subsequent proceedings of the covenanters, and was among the chief leaders in promoting the league between Scotland and England. His zeal in this cause, and his success in thwarting all the machinations of the royal party, and bringing some of them, particularly Montrose, to deserved punishment, during the civil war, exposed him to the special vengeance of the government at the restoration. Their enmity to his person on these accounts knew no bounds, though they attempted to conceal it under the pretext of an indictment, charging him with having served under Cromwell, who had made him clerk-register, and advanced him to the bench. Convinced that nothing would satisfy them but his blood, Warriston retreated to the continent, where he lived for some time in concealment. His enemies, however, with the slow but sure determination of the blood-hound, tracked him out; and at last one of their emissaries, a worthless creature of the name of Murray, usually called "crooked Murray," discovered the good old man at an exercise in which he always took much delight—at his prayers. Before this time, in addition to the infirmities of old age, he had been shamefully treated, during an attack of illness at Hamburg, by Dr. Bates, one the king's physicians, "who," says a writer that must have been acquainted with the facts, "intending to kill him, did prescribe unto him poison for physic, and then caused to draw from this melancholy patient sixty ounces of blood, whereby he was brought near unto the gates of death, and made in a manner no man, having lost his memory,

so that he could not remember what he had done or said a quarter of an hour before; in which condition he continued till his dying day." \* In this melancholy condition, he was dragged on board ship, conducted from Leith bare-headed and on foot, and lodged in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. On being first brought before the council, the poor old man, broken with disease, and bewildered with his situation, began to supplicate his judges in the most moving tones for mercy; at which Sharp and the other bishops who were present raised an inhuman laugh, and insulted the superannuated prisoner to his face. The scene had a different effect on the rest of the audience; for, says sir George Mackenzie, "it moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy; and the chancellor, reflecting upon the man's great parts, former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind." † Warriston, however, afterwards recovered his self-possession, apologized to the court, on the grounds already mentioned, for his obvious weakness, and submitted with resignation to the sentence of death. While in prison, the tenderness and spirituality of his frame, and the thankfulness with which he received any little attention, gained the hearts even of those that had formerly hated him. His great concern was that he might be supported, and not left to faint in the hour of trial. On his way to the scaffold, he frequently said to the people standing by, "Your prayers, your prayers." He delivered his last words on the scaffold

\* Preface to the Apologetical Relation, published in 1665. Burnet says, "he was so disordered in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed against him." (*Hist.*, i. 297.)

† Mackenzie's *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 134.

with the utmost composure, using a paper to aid his shattered memory. On ascending the ladder, in doing which his tottering frame was assisted by some friends in deep mourning, he cried with great fervour, "I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scare at sufferings for the sake of Christ, or stumble at anything of this kind falling out in these days, but be encouraged to suffer for him; for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While they were adjusting the rope around his neck, he added, "The Lord hath graciously comforted me." He then prayed, "Abba, Father, accept this thy poor sinful servant, coming unto thee through the merits of Jesus Christ." And crying out, "O pray, pray! praise, praise!" he was turned over, and expired without a struggle, with his hands lifted up to heaven.

Thus died Archibald Johnston, lord Warriston, July 22, 1663. We consider it due to the memory of this excellent man, to have dwelt thus long on the last scene of his life; for as there was no man who did more in his day for the advancement of the reformation, so there is none whose character has been so grossly insulted and misrepresented; while his sufferings, at the close of his eventful life, have, of late, very much in the spirit of those who inflicted them, been made the subject of cruel mockery and heartless triumph. But "the triumphing of the wicked is short;" and the time, we trust, has now come, when the attempt to revive such calumnies against our persecuted ancestors, will only prove the signal for the raising of a hundred voices to vindicate their memory.

To form a fair estimate of the character of Archi-

bald Johnston, we must view it apart from the peculiar complexion of his religious and political creed. Granting the goodness of the cause he espoused, which rests on surer grounds than the merits or demerits of its supporters, he cannot be justly charged with having acted either dishonourably or with unbecoming violence in the prosecution of his measures. The sole offence with which his enemies could charge him, was his having accepted office under the usurper: a crime, if crime it was, shared by many besides him, and which was confessed and regretted by none more cordially than himself. But Warriston belonged to a class rarely to be met with now: he was a religious politician. The standard of his policy was the word of God; his great and governing aim, the divine glory. And, on this account, his name has suffered obloquy from a quarter where all who would follow his steps may expect similar treatment, so long as society is composed, as it still is to such an alarming extent, of the godless and unbelieving.

### CHAPTER III.

Field-meetings in Fife—The bishops' drag-net—High commission court—William Guthrie of Fenwick—Oppressions of the soldiery—Rising in the west—Skirmish at Pentland—Tortures and executions—Hugh M'Kail—The executioner of Irvine.

IN our last chapter we noticed the commencement, in 1663, of those field-meetings, or *conventicles*, as they were called by their enemies, which gave so much offence to the prelates. At first these meetings were very rare, being held chiefly in the west and south country. The people, having been secretly apprized of the place of meeting, assembled in some remote sequestered glen, unarmed and unoffending, and after hearing the gospel from the lips of their beloved pastors—endeared to them the more by their having suffered for the truth which they preached—peaceably dispersed, and returned to their homes. One of these sacred “trysting-places,” celebrated for many meetings of this nature, was Glenvale, a beautiful sequestered valley in Fife, lying between West Lomond and Bishophill, and opening to the west. About the middle of the valley it expands into a fine amphitheatre on the south, capable of containing many thousand persons; on the north side is a large projecting rock, which is

said to have been occupied by the ejected ministers as a pulpit. In this splendid temple, "not made with hands," many assembled from the surrounding country, to worship the God of their fathers; and anecdotes connected with these scenes are still preserved by the older natives of the district. On one occasion, it is said they were surprised by a small party of the king's troops, who came upon them from the west, and looking down, saw the whole congregation lying in the valley below, hanging entranced on the lips of the minister, who was then in the midst of his sermon, and unconscious of the approach of the enemy. The soldiers were preparing to attack them, when they were dissuaded from the attempt by Crawford of Powmill, who observed, "Take care what ye do—I see Bilton among them" (a famous marksman); "if you meddle with them, he is certain to make some of you sleep in your shoes."\*

On another occasion, when a meeting was held in the parish of Kinglassie, a gentleman of the name of Baleddie came upon them with a few followers. But they observed him at a distance, and before his arrival, they had the minister concealed among them in disguise. When Baleddie came and found himself disappointed in his object, which was to apprehend the minister, he rode around the multitude in high wrath, cursing, and threatening to fine the whole of

\* Crawford of Powmill, though a rude, profane man, and by no means friendly to the presbyterians, sometimes interfered for their protection. A party of soldiers having one day come to apprehend a neighbour of his, a tenant at Pittendriech, the poor man, who was building a stack at the time, threw down his fork and ran to Powmill, and meeting with the laird, implored him for shelter, crying, "O laird, where shall I run?" "O never fear," replied Powmill, "run into the house, and get into my bed; they'll never think of seeking a saint in hell." (*Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 295.)

them. While thus employed, one of his aunts, who was present, a woman of determined spirit, and possessed of great influence in the country side, rose up and said, "Baleddie, begone, and do not molest these honest people, who are met peaceably to hear the gospel; or, if you do not, I will lay you by the heels." "O, aunt Mary," said Baleddie, "are *you* there?" and turning his horse's head, he rode off. After this the minister resumed his place, and the people dispersed without further molestation.\*

How long matters might have continued in this comparatively peaceful state, had these meetings been tolerated, it is hard to say. Incensed, however, at finding their curates despised and deserted, the bishops procured "an act for separation and disobedience to ecclesiastick authority," ordaining that all ministers who ventured to preach without the sanction of the bishops, should be punished as seditious persons, and that every one who absented himself from public worship in his own parish church, should be subjected to certain pains and penalties. This act, which was called the bishops' *drag-net*, was followed by the most vexatious oppressions. In the end of 1663, and beginning of the following year, troops were sent into the west, under the command of sir James Turner, a mercenary and unprincipled soldier, who had formerly fought under the banner of the covenant, but who now found a more lucrative service under the bishops, in plundering the presbyterians. The process adopted by this officer was very simple and summary. The curate, after sermon, read a roll of the parishioners, and handed over the names of the absentees to Turner, who was at once

\* Traditional.

the judge of the party, and the executioner of the sentence. Vast sums were levied under the pretext of fines for non-attendance at church; and if the tenant was unwilling or unable to pay the money on the spot, the soldiers were sent to quarter upon him, till the poor man was "eaten up;" his cattle were disposed of for a mere trifle; the bread was torn from the mouths of his children, and thrown to the officers' dogs; and whole families, reduced from comfort to beggary, were compelled to wander about the country for subsistence. Those who travelled to a distance to hear such of the presbyterian ministers as were still permitted to occupy their pulpits, met with no better treatment. A party of soldiers would sit carousing in the ale-house till the service was concluded, when they went armed to the church door, and questioned each individual, as he came out, whether he belonged to the parish. If they did not, and were unprepared to pay the fine, the men's coats and the women's plaids were taken from them; and it was no uncommon spectacle to see the soldiers returning from these expeditions on the Lord's-day, laden with spoil, as if they had been stripping the slain on the field of battle.

These oppressive measures, however, proving insufficient to suppress the practice, the bishops soon found more active work for their military assistants. In the beginning of 1664, a new court was erected by the advice of Sharp, composed of bishops and laymen, termed the *high commission court*, the chief object of which was, to carry into effect the ecclesiastical laws, and punish all who opposed the government of the church by bishops. The powers conferred on this court were so extraordinary, that the



chancellor and other noblemen became justly suspicious of the growing authority of the bishops, and after continuing for two years it was abolished. But during these two years it was not idle. Ministers were banished or imprisoned; women were publicly whipped; and even boys, after being scourged and branded, were sold as slaves, and sent to Barbadoes. Among other proclamations against the presbyterians at this time, too tedious to mention, there was one making it sedition to give charity, or collect any contributions for the support of the poor ejected ministers; and another for dragooning people to the church, by imposing fines, or quartering soldiers upon them until they complied.

As a specimen of the spirit of the times, we may notice the case of William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, and author of that excellent little treatise, "The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ." He was cousin to James Guthrie, whose martyrdom we have recorded. Affable in manners, and facetious in conversation, as well as diligent and devout in his office, Mr. Guthrie was universally beloved and respected. When he first came to Fenwick, the people were so rude and irreligious, that many of them never came to church, and did not even know the face of their pastor; and various were the expedients he tried to overcome their prejudices. Disguising himself, sometimes as a traveller, at other times as a sportsman, he would solicit from them a night's lodgings; and by the humour of his conversation, and joining in their amusements, "he gained some to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a minister's gown."\*

\* Memoirs of Mr. W. Guthrie, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1771, p. 11.

arts he succeeded in inducing them all to come to church; and the pulpit was the first place which discovered to them who it was that had allured them to the house of prayer. In one of these excursions, he peremptorily insisted on the goodman of the house performing family worship, and would not allow him to go to bed without his at least making the attempt. The man, after many ineffectual excuses, at last began, "O Lord, this man will have me to pray, but thou knowest that I cannot pray." "Stop," said Mr. Guthrie, "you have done well enough; I could not pray a better prayer myself." Having prayed with the family, he made them promise to attend church the next Sabbath, when they discovered their strange guest in the person of their parish minister; a discovery which ultimately issued in their becoming exemplary in their attendance at church.\*

Mr. Guthrie's extraordinary reputation pointed him out as a special object of dislike to the archbishop of Glasgow, who could not prevail upon him in any way to acknowledge his authority. The earl of Glencairn, then chancellor, being on a visit to the archbishop, asked him, as a particular favour, that Mr. Guthrie might be overlooked; the prelate, however, refused, saying, with a disdainful air, "That shall not be done—it cannot be; he is a ringleader

\* On one occasion, at a meeting of his brethren, Mr. Guthrie, who had been more than ordinarily gay and cheerful, was asked to pray; which he did in such a solemn and affecting manner, that the grave Mr. Durham could not help expressing his amazement, telling him that if he had laughed half so much he could not have prayed for a long time after. Mr Guthrie replied, that were it not for his laughing, his disease would soon make him sad enough. But, said Mr. Durham, "are your people not offended at your joining in their plays and sports?" "No," said the good man, "they are rather blithe to see me do it." (*Wodrow's Analecta, MS.*)

and keeper up of sedition in my diocese." The chancellor said little, but when he came down stairs, his attendants observed him agitated to such a degree that "the buttons were springing off his coat and vest." Being asked the reason, he replied, "Woes me! we have advanced these men to be bishops, and they will trample upon us all."\*

In July 1664, Mr. Guthrie was suspended; but the archbishop could not prevail on any of his curates to intimate the sentence; "there was such an awe upon their spirits," says Wodrow, "which scared them from meddling with that great man." At last one of them, the curate of Calder, was induced, by a bribe of five pounds sterling, to execute the will of the prelate. With great difficulty Mr. Guthrie prevailed on his people to refrain from violently opposing the party who were sent with the curate; for they were quite prepared to sacrifice their lives in the cause of their beloved pastor. The miserable curate who had sold himself to this work of iniquity, preached to his own party without disturbance; but, we are assured, never preached again.† "He died in a few days," it is said, "in great torment, of an iliac passion; and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. His reward of five pounds was dearly bought; it was the price of blood, the blood of souls."‡

\* Wodrow's Anal. MS., ii. 145; Hist. Account of Senators of Justice, p. 350.

† Mr. Guthrie, proceeding, no doubt, on the general ground, that Providence seldom fails to put a mark, in this world, on the instruments employed in afflicting his public servants, forewarned him that he might soon expect some judicial stroke.

‡ Scots Worthies, p. 294.

Here we cannot refrain from adverting to the decided piety of those who suffered at this period in the cause of the covenant. Without a single exception, they were men of conscience, men of prayer, many of them of deep-toned devotion; and all of them, either previous to their being singled out for suffering, or before they died, gave remarkable evidence of their being sustained and comforted by the hopes of the gospel.\* This, in the case of the ministers, had not only a vast influence in securing them the sympathies of the people, who were not blind to the contrast between them and the careless, irreligious curates who supplanted them, but even gained them the involuntary respect of their enemies. The earl of Glencairn, who died about this time, earnestly sought, on his death-bed, the services of a presbyterian pastor. The earl of Rothes, and the earl of Annandale, both bitter persecutors of the presbyterian ministers during their lives, were equally anxious to have their attendance, and actually obtained it, during their last moments. Such instances made the duke of York one day observe, that "he believed that Scotsmen, be they what they would in their lifetime, were all presbyterians at their death."†

Meanwhile, during the year 1665, the oppressions of the soldiery became perfectly intolerable, particularly in the west, where sir James Turner and sir William Bannatyne vied with each other in plundering and harassing the unhappy peasantry. A faint

\* "There was never a presbyterian troubled in his conscience on his death-bed, because he kept his covenant, and disowned bishops; but many a poor curate was sore tormented for what he had done." (*Kirkton*, p. 195.)

† Wodrow, i. 219.

idea of these exactions may be formed, when we state, that, within a few weeks, the curates and soldiers gathered upwards of 50,000 pounds Scots from the west country, purely for nonconformity. In Galloway and Dumfriesshire they levied a still larger sum, in addition to the fines imposed by the state on landed proprietors, which amounted to many hundreds of thousands.\* To crown the whole, after committing these outrages, the soldiers would compel the poor people to sign a declaration that they had been used by them with the greatest tenderness and civility!"† It seemed as if government intended to try the utmost limits to which the endurance of the people would go. In the course of five years they had seen the legal securities for their beloved reformation one after another rescinded, their civil liberties laid low, their ministers scattered, and a set of men intruded into their churches, whose practice, not to speak of their principles, made them little better than public nuisances. And now, simply because they would not consent, at the command of their rulers, to renounce their religion, they found themselves placed under a barbarous military execution; while all liberty of petitioning, or addressing the throne, for redress of their grievances, was discharged under the highest penalties. Few people in any other country would have submitted so long, under such circumstances, as they did, silently and without a murmur, still hoping that Providence would open a door of relief, and that the cry of their oppression might come up to heaven.

But oppression, long continued, will make even wise men mad. A circumstance, purely accidental,

\* See Wodrow's Lists.      † Kirkton, p. 281.

which took place in November 1666, led to a partial and ill-advised rising in the west country, which was followed by the most disastrous consequences, not only to those immediately engaged in it, but to the whole body of the presbyterians through the country. While the brutal soldiery of sir James Turner were at the height of their insolence, and a great part of the west had been laid waste by their devastations, many families, even of the best rank, being forced to hide themselves in moors and mountains—four fugitive countrymen passed through the village of Dalry, in Dumfriesshire. A party of soldiers had seized a poor old man, who could not pay his church fines, and were threatening to strip him naked, and roast him on a red-hot gridiron. The countrymen interfered, and were pleading with them to desist, when the soldiers fell upon them with their swords, and a scuffle ensued, which ended in one of the soldiers being wounded, and the rest compelled to deliver up their prisoner.\* On this the countrymen, knowing what they might expect for this act of humanity, resolved, as a first measure of security, to seize on a party of soldiers stationed in the neighbourhood. This, with the aid of some of their companions, they accomplished, one of the soldiers only being killed on attempting resistance. Subsequently they were joined by some of the gentlemen of the country, who, raising a small force, surprised sir James Turner in his bed at Dumfries, making him prisoner, and disarming his soldiers.† The news of this rising struck a terrible

\* Wodrow, i. 241; Kirkton, p. 229; Blackad. Mem., p. 136; Turner's Memoirs.

† "On arriving at Dumfries, they marched to the cross, and drank the

panic into the bishops, and those at the head of affairs in Edinburgh, who immediately ordered general Dalziel to march to Glasgow, despatched an exaggerated account to London, and issued a proclamation ordering all to lay down their arms, and submit within twenty-four hours. This, however, being without any promise of indemnity, amounted to little more than a summons to the gallows. The insurgents, therefore, only thought of increasing their numbers and fighting it out. On reaching Lanark, they were nearly three thousand horse and foot, but ill-accoutred and undisciplined. Here the leaders of the party drew up a short declaration, stating the design of their appearance in arms, which they declared to be simply "sinless self-defence," in the way of adhering to their solemn covenant, and deliverance from their manifold grievances, "the just sense of which (they say) made us choose rather to betake ourselves to the fields for self-defence, than to stay at home burdened daily with the calamities of others, and tortured with the fears of our own approaching misery." In token of their cause being a religious one, they joined in renewing the covenant, confessing the late heinous violations of it, and pledging themselves to stand to its defence. But oppressed as the presbyterians in the west had been, they were not prepared for an expedition which they regarded as premature and hopeless. The devoted little band, instead of finding new accessions as they advanced, had the mortification to see their numbers daily dropping away. Colonel Wallace, a brave and enterprising officer, who had taken the command, used king's health, a labour they might well have spared, for they had cruel thanks." (*Kirkton*, p. 232.)

all his efforts to keep them together; but on approaching Edinburgh, from which they were led to expect great support, they found the whole city in arms against them.\* Harassed with long marching in the midst of a severe winter, surrounded by their enemies behind and before, half-drowned and half-starved, "they looked," says Kirkton, "rather like dying men than soldiers going to conquer." Yet in this pitiable plight, reduced to nine hundred men, they resolved to stand their ground; and at the Pentland Hills, on a spot named Rullion Green, the conflict began by an attack of a body of horse under the command of Dalziel. This attack was nobly met; the royal troops were repelled by major Learmont, at the head of a body of the covenanters, among whom were two Irish ministers, Mr. Crookshanks and Mr. M'Cormack, who had been active in encouraging the people to this undertaking, and bravely fell in the first onset. It is said, that had they followed up their advantage, the covenanters might have gained the victory:† but their horses being untrained, and themselves spent with fatigue, superior numbers and discipline prevailed; and after a desperate conflict, they were defeated, with the loss of fifty killed, and as many taken prisoners. The rest made their escape in the darkness of the night. This skirmish was fought on the 28th of November 1666. It is allowed, even by sir James Turner, who was present, having been kept a prisoner among the presbyterians, and who has written a minute though rather disingenuous account of the whole

\* See an interesting Narrative of the Rising at Pentland, by Colonel Wallace; Mem. of Veitch and Brysson, p. 388, *et seq.*

† Wodrow, i. 251, on the information of a minister who was present.



affair, that "the rebels, for their numbers, fought desperately enough." \*

Thus ended this most unfortunate, ill-concerted, and ill-timed rising—an attempt which was disapproved of and lamented by the great body of the presbyterians, and which can only be justified by the oppressive conduct of the bishops and their underlings, clerical and military, who goaded the poor people to such a pitch of irritation, that the wonder is how they bore it so long. To brand it, however, by the odious name of rebellion, would be an abuse of terms, and a libel on the worthy men who were engaged in it, all of whom disclaimed seditious motives, or any design to overturn the government. All of them, without exception, at this period, owned the king's authority, and submitted to everything save episcopacy; and this they could not do without renouncing that covenant which, they conscientiously believed, was obligatory on themselves and on the whole land. Their simple object was to free themselves and their countrymen from the horrible oppression under which they were crushed, and to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne, to which they had no ordinary means of access. They cannot be condemned for this, without condemning the very principles upon which our ancestors acted, with more success, at the period of the revolution. And had they succeeded, there can be no doubt that,

\* At one time he tells us, that he had not "seen less of divine worship anywhere than he saw in that army of theirs." "I am sure," he says, "in my quarters my guards neither prayed nor praised for any thing I ever heard;" and yet, in the same breath, he complains of the tediousness of their graces before and after meat, which gave him even more annoyance than the scarceness and bad quality of his victuals, the main theme of his lamentations. (*Turner's Memoirs.*)

instead of being stigmatized as rebels, they would have earned the praise of patriots. But while the tyranny under which they suffered is sufficient to justify their resistance, and vindicate them from the charge of rebellion, the end for which they suffered, and the spirit in which they died, entitle them to the honour of martyrdom. This distinction is so well stated by one of themselves in his "dying testimony," and is so necessary to the right understanding of the quarrel, that it may be here introduced:— "Although the insupportable oppressions under which I and many others did groan, were enough to justify our preserving and defending of ourselves by arms, yet know that the cause was not ours, but the Lord's ; for we suffered all our grievous oppressions, not for evil doing, but because we could not in conscience acknowledge, comply with, and obey prelacy, and submit unto the ministry of ignorant, light, and profane men, who were irregularly and violently thrust upon us ; neither did we only or mainly design our civil liberties, but the liberty of the gospel, the extirpation of prelacy, the restoration of our faithful pastors, the suppression of profanity, promoting of piety, the saving of ourselves from unjust violence, until we had presented our grievances and desires ; and, in a word, the recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined work of reformation, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant, to which I declare my adherence, and through grace shall seal the same with my blood." \*

\* The Testimony of John Neilson of Corsack, who died at Edinburgh, December 14, 1666. (*Naphtali*, p. 323.) Some have blamed them because

We may conclude this brief defence of our fathers with the words of a worthy minister, who survived the dangers of this period, and lived to see the revolution: "It is easy to lie always under the sun-blinks of royal favour, and to scandalize others as enemies to the king and to authority; whereas, if themselves were but far less and shorter while crossed and crushed in their interests, as we have seen examples enough to give us a taste of this" (referring to the rebellions of the Jacobites), "they would be much more impatient, and readier to cry out against their sovereign and rulers; and, *it may be, readier to put their hand to the hilt of their sword*, than most of the presbyterians."\*

All who were engaged in, or suspected of being accessory to, this ill-fated enterprise, were treated with they made the defence of the gospel one of their declared objects; and among others, Mr. M'Gavin, in his notes to his edition of the Scots Worthies, condemns this, while, at the same time, he owns, that "in a civil and political view, they suffered enough to provoke resistance." He would have allowed them to fight for an object purely civil and political; but because religion was mixed up in the quarrel, he conceives that they ought to have suffered "with the meekness of lambs led to the slaughter," in which case, "their murderers might have become ashamed or tired of their work!" (*Scots Worthies*, p. 294.) We question much whether this is the language either of nature or of revelation. It obviously proceeds upon a fallacy. The sword of persecution can only reach religion through the side of our civil freedom; and therefore, although the presbyterians at Pentland, being religious men, professed it as their chief object to defend themselves in the enjoyment of their religion, on which they placed most value, they may be vindicated for doing so on the simple ground, that before their enemies could have laid their hands on the sacred ark of religious freedom, they must have first trampled on all their civil and natural rights as free-born Britons.—It is to be regretted that Mr. M'Gavin should have meddled with the Scots Worthies at all. He has spoiled the simplicity of Howie's style by attempting to modernize it, and done little more than betrayed his own presumption by the comments he has made on the text.

\* Patrick Simpson, minister of Renfrew, MS.—P.S. against *Hackton's Ghost*, p. 73.

the most unrelenting severity. With regard to the poor prisoners, "very quick despatch was made with them." They were crowded, like so many cattle, into a dungeon; and though they had been taken prisoners in battle, upon quarter asked and given, the greater part of them were brought to trial, and condemned as traitors and rebels.\* "It was a moving sight," says Burnet, "to see ten of these prisoners hanged upon one gibbet." They all declared their innocence of the crime of treason or rebellion. "We are condemned by men," they said, "and esteemed by many as rebels against the king, *whose authority we acknowledge*. But this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ, and particularly for our renewing the covenants, and, in pursuance thereof, defending and preserving ourselves by arms against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the prelates, and against the most unchristian and inhuman oppression and persecution that ever was enjoined and practised by unjust rulers upon *free, innocent, and peaceable subjects*."† Again, "we declare, in the presence of God, before whom we are now ready to appear, that we did not intend to rebel against the king and his just authority, *whom we acknowledge for our lawful sovereign*." "I am condemned," said another, "I shall not say how unjustly, as a rebel against man; but the Lord God of gods he knoweth, and all Israel shall know, that it

\* Out of the fifty prisoners, thirty-five were brought to the scaffold, of whom twenty were executed at Edinburgh, seven at Ayr, and the rest in different parts of the country.

† Joint Testimony of the ten who were executed December 7, 1666; Naphtali, pp. 306, 311.

is not for rebellion against God, but for endeavouring to recover the blessed work of reformation, and for renewing of the covenant, from the obligation whereof (seeing I made my vow and promise to the Lord) neither I myself nor any human authority can absolve me. And if any account this rebellion, I do plainly confess that after the way which they call heresy, I worship the God of my fathers.”\* All of them, indeed, laid their blood at the door of the prelates, and expressed their confidence that if the king only knew the cause in which they suffered, he would never consent to their death. But all access to the royal ear was carefully barred; and even on the scaffold, when, for their own vindication, they said anything reflecting on the bishops or the defection of the times, their voice was drowned by the beating of drums.

One of those who suffered was Mr. Alexander Robertson, a preacher. He was a man of great boldness and resolution, was among the first in Edinburgh who proposed joining the insurgents in the west, and it was in his chamber that the consultations were held on this subject. He acted as a captain in the army that fought at Pentland, though he, with others, attempted to dissuade colonel Wallace from persevering in the attempt, after finding that so few came forward to join them. This martyr, as well as his companions, solemnly disclaimed, in his dying speech, any rebellious purpose against the government: “I do solemnly declare, as a dying man, that I had no worse design than the restoring of the glorious work of reformation according to the covenant, and more particularly the extirpation of

\* Testimony of Neilson of Corsack, in *Naphtali*, p. 323.

prelacy, to which his majesty and all his subjects are as much obliged as I. And let that be removed, and the work of reformation be restored, and I dare die in saying, that his majesty shall not have in all his dominions more loving, loyal, and peaceable subjects, than those who, *for their non-compliance with prelacy*, are loaded with reproaches of fanaticism and rebellion.”\*

The firmness with which these sufferers endured not only an ignominious death, but the tortures which often preceded it, astonished their adversaries, and left a strong impression on the multitude. The two persons, however, who were most distinguished both for their high character and their extraordinary sufferings on this occasion, were John Neilson of Corsack, and Mr. Hugh Mackail, preacher of the gospel. Neilson was a gentleman of property, remarkable for the mildness and generosity of his disposition. He was the means of saving the life of sir James Turner; for he not only gave him quarter, but on some of the party having offered to shoot him, Corsack interfered, saying, “You shall as soon kill me, sir; for I have given him quarter.”† Mr. Mackail was a young man of twenty-six years of age; and having been licensed at the very time when prelacy was introduced, he gave mortal offence to the rulers by the first sermon he preached in Edinburgh, in which he declared that “the church of Scotland had

\* His last speech is to be found in Naphtali. I have quoted the above, however, from a copy of it in my possession, written by his own hand, and dated on the very day of his execution. It could only be for their non-compliance with prelacy that they were put to death; for they distinctly tell us they were offered their lives, if they would have subscribed the declaration acknowledging the bishops.

† Crichton's Memoirs of Blackader, p. 138.

been persecuted by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church.”\* This was the real source of their enmity against him, for he had very little to do with the rising at Pentland. Both these worthy gentlemen were subjected at their trial to the diabolical torture of the *boots*—an instrument of cruelty which had not been used in Scotland for upwards of forty years before, and the very appearance of which the people had forgotten; but the bishops had taken care that a new pair should be made for the occasion, and they were brought into frequent use during the subsequent years. This instrument was made of four pieces of narrow boards nailed together, of a competent size for the leg. Into this case, after the criminal’s leg was enclosed, wedges were driven down with a hammer, which caused intolerable pain, and frequently mangled the limb in a shocking manner, compressing the flesh, and even forcing the marrow from the bone. The two martyrs bore this horrible torture with the most surprising fortitude, though poor Corsack, the “meek and generous gentleman,” as he is described by those who knew him, was so cruelly tormented, that he shrieked enough to move a heart of stone; while the unfeeling Rothes frequently called out to the executioner to “give him the other touch.”† Mackail was treated in the same manner, and received ten or eleven strokes of the hammer,

\* Mackail was at first chaplain to sir James Stuart of Kirkfield. Wodrow describes him as “universally beloved, singularly pious, and of very considerable learning.” After giving offence by the sermon referred to, he went to the continent, where he improved himself by travelling. He seems to have had a turn for elegant literature, as appears from the Latin verses which he composed in prison.

† Wodrow, i. 228, 259, fol.

without any expression of impatience. The object of all this cruelty was to ascertain the secret causes and agents of this rebellion, as they called it; but it was in vain; torture itself could not extract more from them than what they knew; and before receiving the last stroke, Mackail solemnly protested, in the sight of God, that he could say no more, though all the joints in his body were in as great torture as that poor leg; and that, to the best of his knowledge, the rising in the west was purely accidental, arising from a discontent between the people there and sir James Turner.

The behaviour of this excellent young man in prison after condemnation, was equally remarkable for Christian fortitude, humility, and faith. His cheerfulness never forsook him. Some having asked how his shattered limb was, he replied, "The fear of my *neck* now makes me forget my leg." He prayed with and encouraged his fellow-sufferers, frequently exclaiming, "What, Lord, shall be the end of these wonders?" His appearance on the scaffold, Saturday, December 22, excited "such a lamentation, says Kirkton, "as was never known in Scotland before; not one dry cheek upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the market-place." The extreme youthfulness and delicacy of his appearance, the comeliness and composure of his countenance, struck every beholder—a thrill of mingled pity and horror ran through the crowd; and while those addicted to swearing cursed the bishops, others were fervently praying for the youthful martyr. After delivering his last speech, and on taking hold of the ladder to go up, he said, in an audible voice, "I care no more to go up this ladder, and



over it, than if I were going to my father's house." Then turning to his fellow-sufferers, he cried, "Friends, be not afraid; every step in this ladder is a degree nearer to heaven." Before being turned over, he removed the napkin from his face, saying, "I hope you perceive no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to myself; and I will tell you the reason of it: Besides the justice of my cause, this is my comfort, what was said of Lazarus when he died, that the angels did carry his soul to Abraham's bosom; so that, as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out of windows; so there is a greater and more solemn preparation of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom." He then ended with that noble burst of Christian eloquence, so much admired and so often imitated: "And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell, the world and all delights; farewell, meat and drink; farewell, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, the God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death!"

These were atrocious scenes; but they derive a darker shade from the fact, which rests on the best authority, that before these executions were finished, a letter had come down from the king, addressed to Sharp, as president of the council, discharging them from taking any more lives; and that

this letter, instead of being instantly communicated to the council, was kept back by the archbishop, till all who had been condemned were executed. From other sources, it seems probable that this letter arrived before the execution of Mackail; in which case the death of that youth must be viewed as the personal act of the infatuated Sharp, who never forgave him for that word—"a Judas in the church."\*

Though we have already dwelt sufficiently long on these details, we cannot help noticing the fate of two young gentlemen, the Gordons of Knockbreck, in Galloway, who were executed at this time. These youths, who were distinguished for piety, learning, and talents, as well as for ardent attachment to each other, had suffered much from the rapacity of the soldiers. As they were pleasant in their lives, so in their deaths they were not divided; for when on the point of being turned over, they clasped each other with affectionate ardour, and endured the pangs of death in each other's arms.

In the west country numbers were executed for the same cause. But there, so convinced were all classes of the innocence and moral worth of those who suffered, that no executioner could be prevailed upon to carry the sentence into effect. At last, one of the prisoners, bribed and dragged into service, executed his companions, but soon afterwards died himself in despair. In Irvine, the hangman, a poor simple Highlander, named William Sutherland, peremptorily refused to execute the good men merely for

\* This fact was not forgotten by those who assassinated him; for when he cried pitifully for mercy, he was told, that "as he had never showed mercy to any, so mercy he should have none himself." (*Wodrow; Kirkton*, p. 255.)

opposing the bishops, whom, he said, "he had never liked since he knew how to read his Bible." Sollicitations, promises, and threats, were all used with him, but in vain. They threatened him with the *boots*. "You may bring the boots and the spurs too," said William, "you shall not prevail." They swore they would pour melted lead on him—they would roll him in a barrel full of spikes; but the Highlander stood firm. They then put him in the stocks, and the soldiers having charged their pieces, and blindfolded him, rushed on him with frightful shouts and imprecations; but all in vain. Confounded at his fortitude, they declared "that the devil surely was in him." "If the devil be in me," said William, "he is an unnatural devil, for if he were like the rest, he would bid me take as many lives as I could; but the Spirit that is in me will not suffer me to take good men's lives." "Tell me," said one of the judges, "who put these words into your mouth?" "Even He who made Balaam's ass to speak and reprove the madness of the prophet," replied William. At length, finding that they could make nothing more of him, they allowed him to escape.

## CHAPTER IV.

General Dalziel—Anecdotes of the persecution—Mitchell's attempt to assassinate Sharp—The indulgence—The bishop's evangelists—Leighton's accommodation—Fielding-meetings—Description of a Scottish covenanters' communion.

OUR last chapter concluded with an account of the executions which followed on the defeat at Pentland. These, however, afford a very imperfect idea of the sufferings entailed on the prebyterians, particularly in the west of Scotland, in consequence of that ill-timed insurrection. The enemies of the church are seldom at a loss for want of instruments in their persecuting measures; and at this period they found one remarkably well qualified in the person of general Dalziel, who was sent with a body of troops into the west.

Thomas Dalziel of Binns was a rigid veteran, who had served under the czar of Muscovy against the Turks and Tartars, and in that barbarous warfare had become inured to blood, pillage, and torture, and hardened against all feelings of humanity. His beard, which he had never shaved since the execution of Charles I., hung down, white and bushy, almost to his girdle; and his whole appearance was as savage as his manners. Such was the bigot, who,

ignorant of everything but martial law, blinded by prejudice and heated by habitual intemperance, was commissioned to rectify the disorders which religious oppression had created, and reconcile a free people to civil and ecclesiastical bondage.

As a specimen of his doings in the west country, it may be mentioned, that a sergeant having apprehended a man named Finlay, who had acknowledged that he was accidentally at Lanark when colonel Wallace and his men passed through on their way to Pentland, brought him before Dalziel; and simply because he would not, or rather could not, give any satisfactory account of the rich whigs he had seen there, the general ordered him to be instantly taken out and shot. When the poor man was carried out, neither he nor the lieutenant who was to execute the sentence believed the general to be in earnest; and he so earnestly begged "one night's time to prepare for eternity," that the lieutenant returned to Dalziel, and entreated that he might be spared till the next day. The brutal commander repeated his order, saying to the officer, "I'll teach you, sir, to obey without scruple." The poor man was instantly shot, stripped naked, and left lying on the ground. The sergeant who had conveyed the prisoner from his own house, and who had gone to sleep, no sooner beheld this bloody spectacle next morning, than he sickened at heart, refused all sustenance, and died in a few days.\*

On another occasion, one of the *whigs*, as they were

\* This deed, which was too much for the heart of the unsophisticated soldier, is vindicated by a modern commentator on our history, who merely observes of it, that "General Dalziel was a *very strict disciplinarian in military matters.*" (*Note to Kirkton's History by Sharpe*, p. 256.)

called, being hotly pursued, ran into the house of a poor country woman, escaped by another door, and threw himself into a ditch, where he concealed himself so effectually under the water, that the soldiers could not discover his hiding-place. Incensed at missing their prey, they seized on the poor woman, who could give no other account of the matter than that she saw a man run through the house; and dragging her to head-quarters at Kilmarnock, they threw her into a dungeon full of toads and other reptiles, where the shrieks of the poor creature were heard by the whole neighbourhood, not one of whom durst come to her relief, for fear of sharing the same fate. Another woman, whom they charged with being accessory to her husband's escape in female clothes, they tortured, by binding her and putting lighted matches between her fingers for several hours, till she lost one of her hands, and died in a few days, from the effects of the barbarous treatment.

But it would occupy too much space to recount the various tortures and oppressions which were employed on the wretched tenantry. "Sir James Turner and sir William Bannatyne had, by their cruelties, driven the poor people of Galloway into despair, but they were saints compared to Tom Dalzell and his soldiers. Meantime the poor whigs either wandered in a strange land, or lurked, under dissembled names, in remote places of the country, or hid themselves in caves or coal-pits; and indeed it was a sad winter, the first time ever Scotland endured so much tyranny."\* "Dalziel acted the Muscovite too grossly," says Burnet. "He threatened to spit men, and to roast them; and he

\* Kirkton.

killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search. By this means all people were struck with such terror, that they came regularly to church; and the clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons; they were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses; and (if they were not much wronged) they rather led them into them, than checked them for them.”\*

It is very difficult for us to form an idea of the state of things from general descriptions. We shall select a particular example. A son of the Rev. John Blackader gives the following artless but graphic account of one of these scenes, which took place when he was a boy of ten years of age: “About this time (the end of winter 1666), Turner and a party of sodgers from Galloway came to search for my father, who had gone to Edinburgh. These rascally ruffians beset our house round, about two o’clock in the morning, cursing on us to open the door. Upon which we all got up, young and old, excepting my sister, with the nurse and the child at her breast. When they came in the fire was gone out: they roared out again, ‘Light a candle immediately, and on with a fire quickly, or else we’ll roast nurse and bairn and all in the fire, and mak a bra’ bleeze.’ When the candle was lighted, they drew out their

\* Burnet’s Hist., i. 349.

swords, and went to the stools and chairs, and clove them down to make the fire withall; and they made me hold the candle to them, trembling all along, and fearing every moment to be thrown quick into the fire. They then went to search the house for my father, running their swords down through the beds and bed-clothes; and among the rest they came where my sister was, then a child, and as yet fast asleep, and with their swords stabbed down through the bed, where she was lying, crying, 'Come out, rebell dog.' They made narrow search for him in all corners of the house, ransacking presses, chests, and flesh-stands. Then they went and threw down all his books from the press upon the floor, and caused poor me hold the candle all this while, till they had examined his books; and all they thought whiggish, as they termed it, (and brave judges they were!) they put into a great horse-creel and took away. Then they ordered one of their fellow-ruffians to climb up to the hen-bauks, where the cocks and hens were; and as they came to one, threw about its neck, and down to the floor w'it; and so on, till they had destroyed them all. Then they went to the meat-amry, and took out what was there; then to the meal and beef barrels, and left little or nothing there. All this I was an eye-witness to, trembling and shivering all the while, having nothing but my short shirt upon me. So soon as I was relieved of my office, I begins to think, if possible, of making my escape, rather than to be burnt quick, as I thought, and they threatened. I goes to the door, where there was a sentry on every side, standing with their swords drawn; for watches were set round to prevent escape. I approached nearer



and nearer, by small degrees, making as if I were playing myself. At last I gets out there, making still as if I were playing, till I came to the gate of the house; then, with all the speed I had (looking behind me now and then, to see if they were pursuing after me), I run the length of half-a-mile in the dark night, naked to the shirt. I got to a neighbouring town, called the Brigend of Mennihyvie; where, thinking to creep into some house to save my life, I found all the doors shut, and the people sleeping. Upon which I went to the cross of the town, and got up to the uppermost step of it; and there I sat me down, and fell fast asleep till the morning. Between five and six, a door opens, and an old woman comes out, and seeing a white thing upon the cross, comes near it; and when she found it was a little boy, cries out, 'Save us! what art thou?' With that I awaked, and answered her, 'I'm Mr. Blackader's son.' 'O my puir bairn! what brought thee here?' I answers, 'There's a hantle of fearfull men, with red coats, has burnt all our house, my breather and sister, and all the family.' 'O puir thing,' says she, 'come in and lye down in my warm bed;' which I did; and it was the sweetest bed that I ever met with."\*

All this time the *finings* were imposed with increased severity; and it enhances, in no small degree, our disgust when we are informed that the persecutors were incited as much by avarice as by cruelty, in their measures. The rising at Pentland was a rich harvest to the soldiery, and a perfect windfall to debauched and impoverished country gentlemen. These, no doubt, were actuated, in a great

\* Memoirs of Rev. J. Blackader, pp 130-133.

measure, by hostility to the principles of the presbyterians, but still more by the motive which was avowed by sir William Bannatyne, who, on one occasion, when a farmer asked him for what he was fined, honestly replied, "Because you have gear, and I must have a part of it."

The year 1667 brought a temporary respite, in consequence of a change in the administration. The duke of Lauderdale supplanted the cruel earl of Rothes in the royal favour, and, though in London, took on him the management of affairs in Scotland. Lauderdale had been once a presbyterian, and it is said retained his attachment to that form of government even after it had been subverted. He was now, however, a courtier; and being anxious to please the king, while, at the same time, he was unwilling to press matters with the presbyterians, his great policy, for some time at least, was to effect an accommodation between them and the prelatie party. Violent in his passions, coarse in his manners, and devoid of all religious principle, he was not the person best fitted for accomplishing such an object. But his measures at first showed at least a desire to do so. The standing army, much to the discontent of the officers, and of the council, who had shared the plunder between them, was disbanded; an indemnity was passed in favour of such as had been at Pentland, provided they signed a bond of peace; Turner and Bannatyne were called to account for their extortions and misdemeanours, and dismissed his majesty's service; and archbishop Sharp was disgraced, in consequence of the king having discovered his duplicity, from two letters he sent to court, one of which, directed to Lauderdale, affirmed that all was

going on well in Scotland; while the other, addressed to another nobleman, gave quite an opposite account. There was even some talk of allowing liberty to presbyterian ministers to exercise their ministry without any dependence on the bishops.

This favourable turn of affairs, however, received a considerable check by an incident which occurred the following year (1668). It is hardly possible to exaggerate the odium into which archbishop Sharp had fallen throughout Scotland. He was regarded as at once a traitor to his country, an apostate from his religion, a persecutor, a hypocrite, and a profligate. Without giving implicit credit to all the reports which were propagated against his private character, his public conduct was unquestionably enough to brand him with infamy. As abject in adversity as he was arrogant in prosperity—fawning and obsequious to those in power, insolent and supercilious to all others—grasping and ambitious, but ready to stoop to the lowest artifices for gaining his objects—it is no wonder he should have been alike despised by the nobility, whom he aped, and obnoxious to the common people, who regarded him as the prime mover of all their oppressions. The wonder is, how, in such an age, when the passions of men ran so high, without the artificial embankments, or the regular channels which, in modern times, restrain them, or afford them legitimate vent, he should have escaped so long without some personal injury. Of this, indeed, he himself professed to entertain some alarm; and at one time the provost of Edinburgh appointed a guard to secure his lodging. The soldiers employed in this duty, as if they had been tainted with the popular feeling, or ashamed of their office, determined that if

they must keep the prelate safe, he should get no sound sleep: every half hour they gave him a false alarm; one sentinel crying, *Stand!* and another, *Present, fire!* as if some were coming to assault him; till he was obliged, for the sake of rest, to retreat into the castle.\*

His apprehensions, so far as the great body of the people were concerned, were perfectly unfounded; but who can answer, in such circumstances, for the wayward conduct of individuals? One *James Mitchell*, "a weak scholar," who had been involved in the insurrection at Pentland, and had been excluded from the indemnity, took it into his head to be avenged on the archbishop, whom he regarded, not only as the instigator of the sanguinary persecutions against his brethren, but as actuated by a particular malice towards himself, and as having used every means to prevent him from obtaining mercy at the hands of government. Whatever might be his views or motives, it is certain that his enterprise was entirely his own act, projected and perpetrated without advice or concert with any other person. He seems to have been a zealous and conscientious man; though, if we may judge from this action, his zeal was neither enlightened by knowledge, nor tempered by moderation. In June 1668, having armed himself for the purpose, he watched the archbishop in Edinburgh, and on his entering his coach, discharged a pistol at him loaded with three balls. The archbishop escaped unharmed, but one of the balls struck the wrist of Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, who was in the act of entering the carriage at his back. After this, Mitchell coolly walked to his lodgings, changed his clothes, and re-

\* Kirkton, p. 254.

turning to the street, mingled with the crowd. "The cry arose, that a man was killed; the people's answer was, *It's but a bishop!* and so there was no more noise."\* Notwithstanding all the exertions of the council to discover the assassin, he could not be found till six years afterwards, when we shall have occasion to notice his fate. Honeyman lived some years after, though his wound never seems to have been properly healed. As to Sharp, we are informed that at first he took it very devoutly. Burnet says, that when he called on him he observed, with a very serious look, "My times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life!" "This," adds the bishop, "was the single expression savouring of piety that ever fell from him, in all the conversation that passed between him and me."†

This fanatical and foolhardy attempt furnished a pretext to the council for molesting the peaceable presbyterians, whom, without the slightest evidence, they charged with having been privy to the design of Mitchell. Nothing, indeed, is more characteristic of the malice that animated the rulers of these times, than the disingenuous and disgraceful policy by which, on this and many other occasions, the crime of one, or of a few individuals, was made the crime of the whole party. But if there was little public sympathy with the act, there was still less with the eagerness shown to bring the actor to justice. It was remarked as very surprising, that though a strict search was made in Edinburgh for the aggressor on the bishops—though the town was at that time full of those who were lurking in consequence of their share in the rising at Pentland—

\* Kirkton, 279.

† Burnet, i. 400.

yet few, if any, were apprehended. Among the narrow escapes which were made, none was more singular than that of Maxwell of Moncrieff, a gentleman of extensive property. On the hue and cry being raised, this gentleman betook himself for shelter to the house of his stabler, who kept an inn. The landlord told him very coldly that he had no place to put him in, but pointing to a large empty meal-barrel which stood in the public drinking room, said that if he chose, he might hide himself under that. He had hardly got into this strange receptacle, when the constable and his men came in to search the house, and sat down to drink in the very room, with the barrel at the end of their table. "I know," said one of the fellows, "there are a great many whigs in town, and may be some of them not very far off." "I would not wonder," said another of them, with an oath, and striking on the top of the barrel, "but there may be one of them under *that*." At this the rest laughed, as a good jest; and they went away, leaving the gentleman to escape, after having tasted, it may be supposed, the bitterness of death.

The year 1669 is remarkable for the famous act of *Indulgence*, granted by the king on the 7th of June, and which professed to give relief, on certain conditions, to those ministers who could not conform to the established order. It is needless here to enter into a history of this act, which, whatever might be the intentions of its original projectors (the earls of Tweeddale and Lauderdale), became in reality the occasion of a most lamentable division among the presbyterians. The two great objections which were made against it were, 1st, That it implied an acknow-

ledgment of the erastian supremacy claimed by the king and the government over the church. 2d, That it imposed restrictions on ministerial liberty, by confining the ministers within certain bounds, and forbidding, under the name of sedition, all condemnation of the late innovations in church and state. Several of the ministers, anxious to resume their labours, were induced to accept it, declaring, that they held themselves responsible for the exercise of their ministry, not to the king, but to the Lord Jesus Christ, from whom they received it; and promising to behave themselves in the exercise of it with all becoming prudence. They argued, that this acceptance was merely embracing the liberty to preach, which belonged to them of right, and no more implied a recognition of the supremacy claimed by the civil powers who granted it, than a prisoner's walking out of his cell to the liberty of which he had been unjustly deprived, implied an acknowledgment of the authority by which he had been imprisoned. They were less successful, however, in reconciling with their former vows their submission to the restrictions imposed on their ministry. We should judge charitably as to their motives, considering the circumstances; but it is much to be questioned how far their compliance was consistent with the principles of presbyterianism, and how far they could be justified in accepting of this boon, while their brethren who refused were exposed to severe hardships in consequence of their compliance. There can be no doubt that the example of those who accepted became a powerful argument with the persecutors, against all who conscientiously refused the indulgence, and who were stigmatized thenceforth on this

account, as impracticable bigots, condemned even by their own brethren.

With respect to the indulgence itself, it was neither calculated to reconcile the divisions of the country, the elements of which still raged in the form of bitter antipathies between the supporters of presbytery and episcopacy—nor was the measure agreeable to either of the parties. The bishops dreaded it as the forerunner of their downfall, and were only reconciled to it by the artifices of Sharp, who promised to have it so clogged with restrictions, from time to time, as to convert it into “a snare and a bone of contention to the presbyterians.” In this he succeeded so well, that within a few years a complete breach took place between the *indulged* and *non-indulged*, the latter of whom charged the former with defection and perjury, and became almost as much alienated from “the king’s curates,” as they called them, as from “the bishops’ curates.”

In the same spirit of accommodation, another plan was attempted, with as little success, in the following year (1670). Finding that the people, notwithstanding all the laws passed against deserting their parish churches, still preferred the services of the non-indulged presbyterians, the council resolved to send a deputation to the west, composed of the ablest and subtlest of the episcopal clergymen, to try if they could effect by reasoning and cajolery, what they had failed to do by force of arms. Leighton, now archbishop of Glasgow, took an active part in this negotiation, being anxious to employ lenient measures, with the view of uniting the presbyterians and episcopalians. The deputation consisted of six members, among whom the chief personage who figur-



ed in the debates which ensued was Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury; another was Mr. James Aird, commonly called bishop Leighton's *ape*, "because he could imitate his shrug and grimace, but never more of him;"\* the rest were obscure characters, of whom nobody had ever heard before. The common people called them "the bishops' evangelists." There never was a more complete failure than this attempt to convert the presbyterians. They could never gather a congregation, and never pretended to have made a single proselyte. The people, familiarized with the points of the controversy, were able to answer all the arguments which "the bishops' evangelists" could produce, and stood firm to their principles, unabashed by the presence of the noblemen who accompanied the deputation, and steadily refusing the offers of money by which they attempted to bribe the poorer classes to hear the curates. "The poor of the country," says Burnet, "came generally to hear us, though *not in great crowds*. We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion: upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants."† "So," says another, "they return disappointed of that senseless wyle, the like of which they never essayed, first or last, but only this once—force and cruelty being their ordinary arguments."‡

\* Kirkton, p. 294. † Hist., i. 451.

‡ Memoirs of Blackader, p. 169.

Disappointed in this object, archbishop Leighton, in the end of this year, introduced his famous *Accommodation*, the object of which was to reconcile presbyterianism with a moderate episcopacy. The meetings of presbytery were to be kept up, as they had been previous to 1638; the bishop was to be constant president or moderator, but to waive the right of putting a negative on their proceedings; in other respects, the form of episcopacy was to be maintained, and no minister was to be ordained or inducted without his presence. In short, the bishop was to govern the church, in conjunction with inferior presbyters in presbyteries and synods. It was easily seen, from the very first, that this was a mere snare to entrap the presbyterians into subjection to the bishops; it was materially the same with the old device of *constant moderator*, by which king James formerly introduced episcopacy; and submission to it, after prelacy had been so solemnly condemned and abjured by the church of Scotland, would have involved them in a shameful breach of vows, for which no example could be drawn from the practice of their fathers. Long conferences were held with the ministers on this subject, but without success; nor can we, after all that has been said about the stiffness and bigotry of the presbyterians, either wonder at or wail over the result. Such compromising measures are seldom conceived in good faith, or followed with happy consequences. Episcopalians there have been, and there are, like archbishop Leighton, with whom we would delight to live in fellowship, and for whom we "would even dare to die." But, as systems of policy, prelacy and presbytery are plainly incapable of amalgamation; the genius of the one is

directly opposed to that of the other; and any plan of accommodation must necessarily involve the sacrifice, on one side or on the other, of principles essential to their proper efficiency. Besides, the real design of the accommodation was not union, but the extinction of presbytery; and had our ancestors yielded to it, prelacy would certainly have triumphed. The motives of Leighton we are not disposed to suspect: it would appear that he was actuated by a sincere desire to produce peace: but it is equally undeniable that, with all his readiness to concede, he was a keen supporter of episcopal authority, and contemplated, as the result of his measure, its ultimate ascendancy. Burnet speaks highly in praise of the part which the archbishop and he acted in this affair; but he adds: "Thus was their treaty broke off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of Sharp, and the rest of the bishops, who now, for a while, seemed even pleased with us (that is, Leighton and Burnet), because we had all along *asserted episcopacy*, and had *pleaded for it in a high and positive strain*." How could he then find fault with the opposite party for asserting presbytery, and pleading for it in as "high and positive a strain?" And what peace could be expected from a union, in which both parties were allowed to hold such conflicting opinions? "The reproaches," says one of the presbyterian ministers employed in this conference, which was managed by them with the utmost candour and good temper—"the reproaches of *ungovernable* and *unpeaceable* may indeed be bitter unto ingenuous spirits, let be sincere lovers of the Prince of peace; and the persecution of men may possibly proceed to afflict and vex; but seeing that, through Satan's and the

world's known enmity against the Lord and all his followers, these things are, in place of the opprobrium, become rather the badge of truth, only let our conversation be as becometh the gospel, and let us stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the pure ordinances of God's house once given unto us, nothing terrified by our adversaries. There is, I confess, one temptation, which doth more speciously insinuate, and that is, the loss of the liberty of the gospel, which men may possibly, in their displeasure, abridge or totally take from us. But as this solicitude is not more praiseworthy, when devolved on our Lord and Master, than subtly deceitful, when its application is, *Spare thyself*; so let none of these things move us, neither let us reckon our lives dear unto ourselves, so that we may finish our course with joy, and the ministry which we have received of the Lord Jesus. Let, therefore, truth, simplicity, and godly sincerity be our main study, and faith and entire submission our only establishment; knowing, and on this resting, that not only our peace here shall be our portion, and the end everlasting life; but that God can as easily of our ashes raise up ministers to himself, as of stones children to Abraham."\*

The effects of the indulgence, so coolly anticipated by Sharp, soon began to appear. Before this time, field-meetings had been very rare, and were held, for the most part, in private houses or barns; now, however, they began to be held in the open fields, and were resorted to by great multitudes from all quarters. The ministers who officiated were those who had refused the indulgence, or to whom, from

\* Case of the Accommodation Examined, p. 96.

their known hostility to the prelatie government, the benefits of that act were not extended. In those times, few gentlemen rode to any distance unarmed, and as many of them brought their weapons to the field-meetings, though merely for personal defence, the bishops began to represent them as tumultuary assemblages, and “rendezvouses for rebellion.” Among the first “armed conventicles,” as they were termed, was one kept by Mr. Blackader and Mr. Dickson at Beath Hill, above Dunfermline, on the 18th of June 1670. An immense multitude had assembled. While the minister was preaching, a lieutenant of militia came up on horseback, evidently with the view of reconnoitring, and was in the act of riding off to bring up his troops, when some of the gentlemen told him very civilly to wait till the service was over. The officer began to bluster, when one of the gentlemen, drawing his pistol, told him, that unless he remained quiet, he would shoot him on the spot; so that he found himself obliged to sit peaceably on his horse, until public worship was concluded, when he was set at liberty. Exaggerated accounts of this “horrid insult” were speedily conveyed to Edinburgh; the ruling powers took the alarm, and immediately the severest edicts were passed against “conventicles.” All field-meetings were made treasonable, and in the case of the ministers, it was declared capital if any were present at them—a piece of blood-thirsty legislation, which the king is said to have condemned, and which was not, for some time at least, carried into execution.

Instead of repressing conventicles, all the efforts employed by government only seemed to augment

their number, and increase the boldness of those who frequented them. Ever since the severities exercised on those who were at Pentland, the cause of prelacy had been on the decline; the people, who were almost to a man against the indulgence, began to leave the churches empty, and follow the proscribed preachers, whom they admired for the zeal, the fidelity, and the freedom with which they delivered their message. They still disclaimed all designs except self-defence in the enjoyment of their religious privileges; but they met in such numbers and array, as to set the militia at defiance. On one occasion, a very large meeting was held within sight of the palace of archbishop Sharp. The effect of these services was very remarkable; the ministers were visibly countenanced in their labours, and instances are on record of the most abandoned characters, and even of the troopers themselves, who had come to disturb the meeting, having been suddenly struck with conviction, and brought to repentance.

In course of time they began to celebrate the communion also in the open fields; and these were indeed, to the weary wanderers, many of whom had suffered for their love to the gospel, "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." The following account of one of these communions, held at East Nisbet in the Merse, is drawn by Mr. John Blackader, who was a leading minister on the occasion which he describes, and will afford a better idea of the scenes to which we refer than any ideal picture:—

"Meantime, the communion elements had been prepared, and the people in Tcviotdale advertised. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Riddell had reached the place on

Saturday. When Mr. Blackader arrived, he found a great assembly, and still gathering from all airts. The people from the east brought reports that caused great alarm. It was rumoured that the earl of Hume, as ramp a youth as any in the country, intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and that parties of the regulars were coming to assist him. He had profanely threatened to *make their horses drink the communion wine, and trample the sacred elements under foot*. Most of the gentry there, and even the commonalty, were ill-set. Upon this we drew hastily together about seven or eight score of horse, on the Saturday, equipped with such furniture as they had. Pickets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were despatched to greater distances, to view the country and give warning in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round, to be a defence, at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act, if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarm, and prevent, in a harmless defensive way, any affront that might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord, had provided for their safety—and this was the more necessary when they had to stay three together, sojourning by *the lions' dens, and the mountains of leopards*—yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.

“ We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons of

war, or the strength of hills.—The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side (the Whittader). On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be indeed one of the days of the Son of man. There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion, and elevating the whole soul to a pure and holy frame. The communion tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae face, which was crowded from top to bottom—full as pleasant a sight as ever was seen of that sort. Each day at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers with their guards, and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in three several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries. The horsemen drew up in a body till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array behind at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them: all the three parties met a mile from the spot, and marched in a full body to the consecrated ground. The congregation being all fairly settled in their places, the guardsmen took their several stations, as formerly. These accidental volunteers seemed to have been the gift of Providence, and they secured the peace and quiet of the audience; for



from Saturday morning, when the work began, until Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies; which appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension, but the people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon. And truly the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array. We desired not the countenance of earthly kings; there was a spiritual and divine Majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was indeed the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes; and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old that separated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians—encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria—that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings or material temples. We remembered the ark of the Israelites which had sojourned for years in the desert, with no dwelling-place but the tabernacle of the plain. We thought of Abraham and the ancient patriarchs who laid their victims on the rocks for an altar, and burnt sweet incense under the shade of the green tree

“ The ordinance of the last supper, that memorial of His dying love till his second coming, was signally countenanced and backed with power and refreshing influence from above. Blessed be God, for he hath visited and confirmed his heritage when it was weary. In that day Zion put on the beauty of Sharon and Carmel; the mountains broke forth into singing, and the desert place was made to bud and blossom as the rose. Few such days were seen in the desolate church of Scotland; and few will ever witness the like. There was a rich effusion of the Spirit shed abroad in many hearts; their souls, filled with heavenly transports, seemed to breathe in a diviner element, and to burn upwards, as with the fire of a pure and holy devotion. The ministers were visibly assisted to speak home to the conscience of the hearers. It seemed as if God had touched their lips with a live coal from off his altar; for they who witnessed declared, they carried more like ambassadors from the court of heaven, than men cast in earthly mould.

“ The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through. The communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other, a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do, on such occasions. The other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddell, and Mr. Rae,

exhorted the rest in their turn; the table service was closed by Mr. Welsh with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying, to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as of all parts of the service. The communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful voice to the Rock of their salvation. It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill; the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms.

“There were two long tables, and one short, across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table. There were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day.”\*

We are unwilling to injure, by any reflections of ours, the impression which this beautiful and authentic description of a Scottish covenanters' communion is fitted to leave on the reader. But we cannot conclude the present chapter without observing how much their enemies have belied these brave, pious, and much-enduring men, when they represent them as animated by the spirit of the gloomiest bigotry and the wildest fanaticism—enemies to all civil order, and strangers to everything that can humanize and exalt mankind. We have seen how peaceful, how holy, how harmless, their intentions were; and after reading such a description from the pen of an old presbyterian minister, can we suppose they were really men of coarse and vulgar

\* Blackader's Mem., MSS. Adv. Lib.; Crichton's Memoirs of Blackader, pp. 198–206.

minds, so incapable of relishing the beauties of external nature, or entering into the finer feelings of the heart, as they have been represented? Even in a literary point of view, it is exquisitely fine, and presents a striking contrast to the rant and extravagance usually put into the mouths of the covenanters. And on contemplating such a scene as that now described, the reflection is apt to rise—Were these the men who, in a few years afterwards, were trampled on by the dragoons of the bloody Claverhouse, shot in the fields, or dragged as felons to attest, by a more ignominious death on the scaffold, how dearly they loved, and how deeply they feared, the God of their fathers? If, in after years, some were driven by oppression almost literally mad—if, hunted from mountain to moor, and from moor to mountain, they gave way to excesses, with which, in the hour of cool reflection, and in the day of peace, we cannot sympathize, these certainly cannot be traced either to the character of the men or the religion they professed; but to the ruthless violence and tyranny of their enemies, who were thus rendered responsible, not only for the blood they shed, but for those very excesses which they made the pretext for shedding it.

It may be interesting to state here, that of the five ministers who officiated at this communion, and who held frequent meetings of the same kind, four were afterwards imprisoned on the Bass rock, namely, Messrs. Blackader, Dickson, Riddell, and Rae; the other, Mr. John Welsh, though the most active at these conventicles, they could never catch. Mr. Blackader, the amiable, the undaunted, and the faithful minister who drew the above description, died in the Bass, in his seventieth year, of a dis-

temper, contracted in that damp and unwholesome prison. His only crime was, that he had preached at these conventicles, and that he would not submit to any restrictions on his ministerial freedom. And yet none of these men advocated extreme measures. They belonged to what was termed "the moderate party" among the presbyterians; and declined to take part with those who threw off all allegiance to the government and all communion with those who accepted the indulgence. When sir Robert Hamilton, who headed the small party afterwards known as Cameronians, ordered them to preach against the indulgence, Mr. Rae, in name of the rest, replied, "that he had been wrestling against Erastianism in the magistracy for many years, and he would never truckle to the worst kind of Erastianism in the common people—that he would receive no instructions from him nor any of them as to the matter of his sermons; and wished Hamilton might mind what belonged to him, and not go beyond his sphere and station."\*

\* Wodrow, vol. iii., p. 93.

## CHAPTER V.

The blinks—Trial and execution of Mitchell—Assassination of archbishop Sharp—Severe proceedings against the presbyterians—Sir George Mackenzie—Graham of Claverhouse—The Highland host—The Cess—The skirmish at Drumclog—Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

THE interval between 1669, when the indulgence was introduced, and 1679, the year immediately preceding that on which we now enter, was a period of comparative quiet to the presbyterians, who, though still molested in various ways for their nonconformity, continued, notwithstanding the severe edicts passed against them from time to time, to convene in large numbers for public worship in the open fields. Many of the landed proprietors and tenantry suffered severely from the fines imposed on them for this offence, but they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods; and the brief intervals of peace, during which they were permitted to enjoy the precious ordinances of religion, and which were emphatically termed, in rustic phrase, *the blinks*, amply compensated for the passing storms that preceded and followed them. Hitherto these meetings, or conventicles, as they were called, though held in wild and unfrequented parts of the country, and attended by some

in arms for self-defence, had been conducted with all the decorum of a worshipping assembly collected within the walls of a chapel. As we advance, however, the scene assumes a sterner aspect. Through the unrelenting violence of persecution, these decent congregations were transformed into what their persecutors had at first, either from terror or in malice, falsely represented them to be—battalions of armed men, resolved to defy opposition, and prepared to take the field against their aggressors.

Several causes concurred to produce this change. By a series of oppressive measures, the minds of the people at large had become soured against the government, and particularly against the bishops, whom they regarded as the chief instigators of all these proceedings. But certain incidents, originating in the embittered feelings of individuals, prepared for the explosion. Among these may be mentioned, the cruel treatment and execution of James Mitchell, the preacher, who, some years before, had attempted the life of archbishop Sharp. How he had contrived to elude his pursuers since that daring exploit, we are not informed; but in 1674, he was recognised at a minister's funeral, and apprehended. Sharp, it is said, retained a lively recollection of the features of the man, but there was no other proof; and though Mitchell freely confessed his accession to the rising at Pentland, he would not acknowledge that he was the person who made the attempt on the archbishop, until he obtained an assurance of his life. This was given him by the chancellor, in these solemn words: "Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be chancellor, I will save your life." Sharp, also, is said to have sworn, with

uplifted hand, that no harm should come to him, if he made a full discovery.\* Upon these assurances Mitchell made a full confession. Having thus induced him to become his own accuser, the council consulted what should be done with him. Some were for cutting off his right hand; others, alleging that he might learn to practise with his left, proposed that both hands should be amputated; others, that he should be sent to the Bass rock, now used as a place of confinement for the covenanters. Previous to this, however, it was thought necessary to make him repeat his confession in a court of judicature. On being brought up for this purpose, the judge, who was no friend to Sharp, whispered to the prisoner in passing to the bench, "Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your limbs as well as your life." Alarmed at this suggestion, and knowing that his former confession, being extrajudicial, could not be legal evidence against him, Mitchell refused to repeat or judicially subscribe it. The council pretended to take offence at this, and passed an act, in which, after stating the fact that the prisoner "did confess upon his knees that he was the person, *upon assurance given him by one of the committee as to his life, who had warrant from the lord commissioner and secret council to give the same,*" they declare that since he had retracted his confession, they likewise recalled their promise of pardon; "the meaning of which," says Burnet, "was this, that if any other evidence was brought against him, the promise should not cover him; but it was still understood, that this promise secured him from any ill effect by his own confession." †

\* Burnet's Hist, i. 176.

† *Ib.*, i. 177.



Whatever the understanding of the council might be, Mitchell was sent to the tolbooth, where he lay for two years, forgotten by all but Sharp, who could not rest in peace so long as his enemy was in life. In 1676, he was again brought before the council, to be examined by torture concerning his share in the Pentland insurrection. The firmness with which the prisoner bore this shocking and disgraceful treatment, invested his character with an importance which did not otherwise belong to it. He boldly refused to become his own accuser. "Sir," cried the president, pointing to the *boots* lying on the table before him, "we will cause a sharper thing make you confess—you see what is on the table!" "My lord," said Mitchell, "I confess that by torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the saints; but if you shall, my lord, put me to it, I here protest before God and your lordships, that nothing thus extorted from me shall be made use of against me in judgment. To be plain with you, my lords, I am so much of a Christian, that whatever your lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth I shall not deny it; but, on the other hand, I am so much of a man and a Scotsman, that I can never hold myself obliged by the law of God, nature, or the nation, to become mine own accuser." The executioner was called, and having bound the prisoner in an arm-chair, he asked which of the legs he should put in the boot. They said he might take any of them he pleased; and he was about to select the left one, when Mitchell said, "Since the judges have not determined, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause," and put his right leg in the engine. "My lords,"

he then said, "not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, I beseech you to remember, he who showeth no mercy shall have judgment without mercy. And I do entreat that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg that he may be pleased, for his Son Christ's sake, to blot out my sins, and never lay them to my charge, here or hereafter." Nine strokes were given to the wedges of the horrid instrument, and after every stroke, to the question if he had any more to say, he replied, "No more, my lord." At the ninth he fainted, through agony, and the executioner exclaimed, "Alas! my lord, he is gone, he is gone;" upon which he was carried to prison in the chair in which he had suffered.

He was afterwards sent to the Bass; and two years longer did this maimed prisoner, against whom nothing had as yet been legally proved, lie in confinement, till, Sharp being determined to have his life, he was brought to trial in January 1678. The prisoner's counsel pleaded in his behalf the promise of life which had been given him; but, to the astonishment of the whole country, it was confidently denied by Rothes, the chancellor, and the other lords of council, that any such promise had been made. Sharp, likewise, solemnly denied that he had given any such assurance, and that, too, in the face of the deposition of the person to whom he had made it. It was then proposed to examine the registers of the council, to ascertain the fact; but Lauderdale said he was sure it was not possible, and would not give himself the trouble to look for it. Mitchell was condemned to suffer death; and as soon as the court broke up, their lordships went up stairs, where, to be sure, they found the act recorded, and signed by

Roths, as president of the council. Some proposals were then made for a reprieve; but Sharp insisted that the sentence should be fulfilled, on the ground that if favour were shown to such an assassin, it would be, in effect, exposing his person to any man who would attempt to murder him." "Then," said Lauderdale, with his usual coarseness, "let Mitchell glorify God in the Grassmarket."\* And there, accordingly, he was executed on the 18th of January, submitting to his fate with the utmost heroism and resignation.†

We cannot be expected to vindicate the crime with which this person stood charged. Had it been legally proved against him, his ignominious end was no more than what the law demanded, and little more could have been said, than that this was another added to the list, if not of martyrs to the truth, at least of victims to the tyranny by which the truth was oppressed. With the exception of this one rash act, perpetrated under mistaken notions of duty, the character of the man seems to have been irreproachable, notwithstanding the aspersions of those who have attempted to vindicate the judges by blackening the reputation of the criminal.‡ But even had Mitchell been as unprincipled as they would represent him, this could never justify the shameful breach of public faith and perversion of justice manifested in his treatment.§

\* Burnet, i. 181.

† Wodrow, i. 375-377, and 510-513, fol.; Naphtali, App.

‡ We allude to Dr. Hicks, Lauderdale's chaplain, and to the writer of a scurrilous pamphlet, published after the revolution, which was filled with such notorious falsehoods, that even Hicks disclaimed it publicly, but which falsehoods have been repeated by Mr. C. K. Sharpe, in his edition of Kirkton's History. (See *Wodrow*, ii. 454.)

§ "And thus," says Fountainhall, "they hunted this poor man to

On this tale of perfidy and cruelty we would not have dwelt so long, had it not been closely connected with another deadly tragedy. We refer to the assassination of archbishop Sharp. The details of this transaction are too well known; for it has been the policy of the enemies of our presbyterian ancestors to paint it in the most hideous colours, and bring it forward on all occasions, as quite sufficient to justify all the severities they suffered, and verify all the calumnies heaped upon them. The circumstances of the case, in which the accounts on both sides materially agree, were briefly and simply these: A fellow of the name of Carmichael, a bankrupt merchant, and once a bailie in Edinburgh, had long acted in Fifeshire as a subordinate agent of Sharp, in prosecuting the nonconformists. In this office Carmichael recommended himself by his extreme

death, a prey not worthy of so much pains, trouble, and obloquy, as they incurred by it; and some of their own friends and well-wishers desired they had never dipt in it, but only kept him in perpetual imprisonment; for it made a wonderful noise in the country, who generally believed the law was stretched to get his neck stretched, and they feared preparatives; and satires and bitter verses immediately flew abroad like hornets in great swarms, which were caressed and pleasantly received, speaking much acrimony, and an almost universal discontent. He was but a simple melancholy man, and owns the fact, in the papers he left behind him, as an impulse of the Spirit of God, and justifies it from Phinehas killing Cosbi and Zimri, and from that law in Deuteronomy commanding to kill false prophets that seduced the people from the true God. *This is a dangerous principle, and asserted by no sober presbyterian.* On the scaffold they beat drums when he began to touch the chancellor. They say major Johnston undertook to stab him, if he had attempted to escape, or any had offered to rescue him. The secret council would have given him ane reprieve, *if the archbishop would have consented.*" (*Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, MS., p. 184.) This work is now in course of publication by the Bannatyne Club. All the facts stated in the text are confirmed by Fountainhall, who represents the conduct of Sharp and the council in a light still more odious than is done in the text. (*Hist. Notices*, p. 182, *et seq.* See also his *Historical Observes*, App. No. 3.)

severity, harassing, fining, torturing, and imprisoning men, women, and children. From these oppressions it was vain to seek redress; they were inflicted under the sanction of that very law to which, in other circumstances, the sufferers would have had recourse for protection; and, with their spirits fretted and chafed by the atrocities of this minion of oppression, they were driven to adopt a mode of relief which can never be vindicated, and from which they themselves would, in better times, have recoiled. On the 3d of May 1679, twelve persons, including some gentlemen of good family, met together, and resolved to rid themselves of Carmichael by putting him to death, or at least by frightening him from that part of the country.\* While watching for their victim, they were unexpectedly apprized that the archbishop himself was in the neighbourhood, and would shortly pass that way. In their excited and enthusiastic state, they looked upon this substitution as a sort of providential call upon them to free the country from one whom they justly regarded as the principal cause of all the bloodshed and oppressions of their brethren. "It seems," said they, abusing the language of scripture, "that the Lord hath delivered him into our hands." During the hurried consultation which ensued, about mid-day, in a place called Magus Moor, near St. Andrews,

\* Among these the principal persons were David Hackston of Rathillet, and John Balfour, or Burley, as he was sometimes called—both brave men—though it does not appear that Balfour was a religious character, which Hackston certainly was. James Russell, another of the conspirators, who afterwards drew up an account of the transaction, was "a man of a hot and fiery spirit," and appears to have been the chief instigator of the attack on the archbishop. The whole of them may be justly termed enthusiasts, and no fair specimen of the sober and serious portion of the presbyterian population.

the carriage of the archbishop drove up. He was on his return from Edinburgh, where he had only two days before succeeded, after a great struggle, in prevailing on the council to agree to a severe proclamation against conventicles, making it treason for any to be found at field-meetings in arms; and on the following week he was to have taken a journey to court, to use his interest for more vigorous and stringent measures against the presbyterians. The bishop was accompanied by his daughter, and no sooner saw the approach of the conspirators than he took the alarm, and ordered the coachman to drive with all possible speed. The carriage, however, was soon stopped—the servants disarmed, and the prelate sternly ordered to come out, and prepare for death. “I take God to witness,” said the leader of the party, “that it is not out of any hatred of your person, nor from any prejudice you have done, or could do to me, that I intend now to take your life; but because you have been, and still continue, an avowed opposer of the gospel and kingdom of Christ, and a murderer of his saints, whose blood you have shed like water.” He was then reminded of his perjury and cruelty, particularly in the case of James Mitchell. To all this, Sharp only replied by abject entreaties for mercy. He promised them indemnity—he offered them money—he even engaged to lay down his episcopal function, if they would spare his life. But the conspirators had gone too far to recede. They remembered his past perfidy, and paid no respect to his promises; they remembered his inhumanity, and told him that as he had shown no mercy to others, he was to expect none from them. They earnestly and repeatedly

called on him to pray, and prepare for death; and upon his refusing to do so, one of them fired upon him in the coach. The wretched man was at length compelled to come out, and on his knees he repeated his cries for mercy, appealing particularly to Hackston, who stood aloof, refusing to lay hands on him, but declining to interfere in his behalf. One only of their number pleaded for his life; the rest, after in vain attempting to prevail on him to prepare for his fate, fell upon him with their swords, and, in spite of the frantic outcries of his daughter, despatched him with numerous wounds.

It is impossible to justify this bloody and cruel action on any sound principles; and the great body of the presbyterians, though they regarded it with awe, as the judgment of Heaven, yet viewing it as the deed of man, condemned and disclaimed it. The mind revolts from contemplating such a scene, and the horror which it inspires is enhanced rather than abated by the reflection, that the wretched victim too well deserved his fate, and was hurried into eternity without manifesting any signs of repentance for his past life. From all accounts, it appears that the whole affair was unpremeditated, unthought of till within a few minutes of its execution; that it was the deed of a few desperate and hard-driven men, who acted without any concert with their brethren; and that it arose from their proceeding on the indefensible principle, that, the doors of public justice being shut, it became the duty of private individuals to execute the vengeance of God on notorious oppressors of the church. At the same time, it is impossible not to feel indignant at the attempt of government at the time to fasten this

crime on the whole body of Scottish presbyterians. In a proclamation issued on the day after the assassination of Sharp, after describing the offence in the most exaggerated terms, it is added, "Daily instances whereof we are to expect, whilst field-conventicles, those rendezvous of rebellion, and forgers of all bloody and jesuitical principles, are so frequented and followed." "These field-conventicles," says Wodrow, "were hitherto as free of any such doctrine as the churches were, and neither taught nor vindicated this attempt upon the bishop; and if we shall judge of principles from incidental actions of some in a society, we know where to lodge many murders in cold blood, for one alleged upon the frequenters of conventicles. And as in the whole of these twenty-eight years I am describing, there are but four or five instances of anything like assassinations attempted that I mind of, and *none of them ever defended* that I know of; so, in a few months' time, we shall find twenty times that number cut off, without any process or ground, by people upon the other side."\* There can be no question that the period was characterized by a striking disregard of human life. Allowances must be made for this on both sides. But when we hear the wailings of certain modern writers over the death of archbishop Sharp, and the execrations which they launch, not only against the actual perpetrators, but the whole of the presbyterians of these times, we are tempted to inquire why so much indignation should be expended on this deed, while not a drop of sympathy is allowed for the hundreds of poor people who were slain in fields, and in cold blood, by a ruthless soldiery, for



no other crime than a bare suspicion that they were whigs, or because they would not answer the ensnaring questions put to them in such a way as to please their military judges and executioners? If it is alleged that these persons were put to death at least under the sanction of law—we might answer in the words of the patriotic Lord Russel, who suffered shortly after this, that “killing by forms of law is the worst sort of murder.” And if it is because the deed assumed the form of assassination, that their sympathies for Sharp are so powerfully awakened, we are entitled to ask, why are they not prepared to manifest the same virtuous abhorrence of the same crime in all similar cases?\*

It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding all

\* Where is their sympathy for Dr. Dorislaus, who, because he had acted as assistant counsel against Charles I., was assassinated by twelve individuals under the employment of the marquis of Montrose, while he was unsuspectingly seated at table in his lodgings at the Hague? Where is their sympathy for Ascham and others, who were shortly after assassinated by the royalists? Where is their indignation at the assassination of colonel Rainsborough, with regard to which Mrs. Macaulay remarks, that Clarendon, “to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul, unmanly deed.” (*Brodie*, iv. 137, 264.) And what presbyterian writer has ever spoken of the death of archbishop Sharp in any way approaching to the following by a royalist writer, describing the assassination of captain Manning, the spy? “His treachery being discovered, he was, by his majesty’s command, sent to a strong castle. But his perfidiousness was so highly resented at court, that one of his majesty’s servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the castle gate, which, though it came far short of his desert, yet was not so well done, in sending the devil his due before his time, and wronging the hangman of his labour.” (*England’s Triumph*, p. 52.) It is Gibbon, we think, who declares he is more shocked and disgusted by reading the accounts of the execution of Servetus at Geneva, and the murder of archbishop Sharp, than by all the tales of persecution, heathen or christian. This frank acknowledgment of the infidel betrays the real truth, and leaves us no room to doubt that hatred to true piety, and not mere disgust at its perverted form, was the real source of the feeling expressed.

the efforts made by the government for apprehending the actors in the assassination of Sharp, none of those actively concerned was ever discovered. Hackston, indeed, afterwards suffered; but it was for his appearance in arms, not for his share in this transaction. The only individual executed expressly for the archbishop's death, was a poor weaver named Andrew Guillan, whose only share in the affair was that he was called out of his house to hold the horses of the actors; and even he was discovered merely by a trick of the advocate at his trial. At one of his examinations, the lawyer was aggravating the crime, and looking to Andrew, observed how shocking it was to murder the bishop when he was on his knees praying. The simple man was so struck with the falsehood of this, that, forgetting his situation, he lifted up his hands and cried out, "O dreadful! he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him." This sealed his doom. But the fact that such a deed should have been committed in open day, by such a number, and yet not one of the actual perpetrators discovered, affords a striking proof of the universal detestation into which Sharp had fallen.

If any of the presbyterians expected the fall of the archbishop to free them from persecution, they were grievously mistaken. Indeed, if we may judge from the consequences, we should say that Providence intended to teach them that it is not by such methods that his church is to look for deliverance. The death of Sharp occasioned more bloodshed than ever he had effected during his life. For several years after, the first question put to any suspected of presbyterianism, was, "Do you think the death

of archbishop Sharp was murder?" a question which many had no hesitation in answering in the affirmative, though others scrupled to answer it at all, while some boldly declared that in their opinion it could not be called murder. Those who declined answering, did so partly from being indignant at questions about a deed with which they had no concern; and partly because, though they themselves would have had no freedom to engage in it, they could not bring themselves to condemn the motives of the actors, or to rank them with common murderers.\* This, however, did not avail them; their silence was taken as consent to the murder, and they were executed accordingly. The annals of the inquisition itself may in vain be searched for intolerance equal to this—that men should be condemned to death, not for any crime they had done, but for the *thoughts* they entertained, or rather for the thoughts their judges presumed them to entertain, about a crime committed by others!

The place of Sharp at the council board was soon supplied by others animated by the same spirit, and determined to prosecute the same measures with a rancour heightened by revenge. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, who had been made king's advocate the preceding year, was a person in all points qualified to execute the designs of the prelates.

\* Sir Walter Scott's *latest* opinion as to Sharp's death is as follows:—"Such was the progress of a violent and wicked deed, committed by blinded and desperate men. It brought much scandal on the presbyterians, though unjustly; for the moderate persons of that persuasion, comprehending the most numerous, and by far the most respectable of the body, disowned so cruel an action, although they might be at the same time of opinion that the archbishop, who had been the cause of many men's violent death, merited some such conclusion to his own." (*Tales of a Grandfather*, ii. 295.)

Harsh, haughty, and tyrannical in his disposition, mean and unscrupulous in his measures, and ingenious only in glossing over their atrocity, he was the fittest instrument that could have been found to execute the cruel laws under which he attempted to hide and justify the malignity of his nature. Burnet calls him "a slight and superficial man;" a very imperfect description of one whose errors were those of the heart rather than of the head, and who is more justly characterized in the indignant lines of the author of "The Sabbath:"—

" Whose favourite art was *lying* with address,  
 Whose hollow promise helped the princely hand  
 To screw confession from the tortured lips.  
 Base hypocrite! thy character, portrayed  
 By modern history's too lenient touch,  
*Truth* loves to blazon with her real tints;  
 To limn of new thy half-forgotten name,  
 Inscribe with infamy thy time-worn tomb,  
 And make the memory hated as the man."

It may be thought strange, considering the little sympathy towards the rulers at this time, how they could succeed in procuring so many convictions. But this is easily explained. In the first place, they took special care to select the jury from such classes of society or parts of the country as were most favourable to their measures. Thus, at the trial of Mitchell, the jury was mostly composed of disbanded soldiers. Then, if any of the jurymen, as was frequently the case, showed a reluctance to convict, they were brow-beaten by the court, or threatened by the king's advocate with an *assize of error*. This relic of barbarous times was a power intrusted to the public prosecutor, to bring any of the jurymen, or a majority of them, to trial for not having de-

cided according to the law as laid down to them. Of this absurd and tyrannical engine to intimidate the jury, Mackenzie made ample use; he no sooner observed any symptoms of hesitation, or a desire to befriend the prisoners at the bar, than, with a terrific frown, he would swear that if they did not give their verdict according to law, he knew what to do with them!

The sacred seat of justice being thus polluted and converted into an engine of tyranny, the prelates found another instrument equally well adapted for their purpose in the open field. We refer to John Graham of Claverhouse, a name, the very sound of which, till of late years, sent a shudder through every Scottish breast. Later attempts to invest it with the best attributes of the hero, have only revived that infamy under which it will certainly descend to the latest posterity. We shall not attempt to describe the character of this person. The unvarnished account of the actions of his life—a life spent in the pursuit of a military renown, acquired by massacring, in cold blood, the helpless, unarmed, and unoffending peasantry of his country—will furnish the best commentary on his character, as indeed it is the only picture of the man that has been handed down to us by genuine history.

Among other schemes devised by the rulers of this period for provoking the presbyterians to rebellion, we must not omit the invasion of the Highland host, as it was called, which had taken place the preceding year. The duke of York and his friends, being anxious to find, or to create, some pretext for keeping up a standing army in England, with the view of advancing their design to restore popery, it was

agreed that a body of troops, levied in the Highlands, should be sent to quarter on the west country, where the strongest opposition had been manifested to prelacy, and where it was expected that the plundering habits of these half-cultivated mountaineers would be sure to stir up an insurrection. This nefarious design was readily acceded to by our Scottish counsellors, who hoped to divide among themselves the estates that might be confiscated. "On Valentine's day," we are told, "instead of drawing mistresses they drew estates, and great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection."\* The more surely to effect their purpose, they prepared a bond, by which all noblemen, barons, and heritors, were to hold themselves obliged, under the heaviest penalties, not only to abstain from all conventicles themselves, but to prevent their "tenants, wives, bairns, and servants," from attending them; and in the event of their contravening this order, to apprehend them and bring them to justice. Some of the Ayrshire nobles and gentry, regarding this measure as levelled at them, went up to Edinburgh to remonstrate against it; which, says Burnet, "put duke Lauderdale into such a frenzy, that, at the council table, he made bare his arms above the elbows, and swore by Jehovah he would make them enter into these bonds." Hearing that they intended to represent the state of matters to his majesty at London, an order was passed prohibiting any gentleman from leaving the country without permission from the council. Having thus made their preparations, the Highland host, to the number of eight thousand men, was mustered in January,

\* Burnet ii. 184.

1678. Composed of “the very scum of that uncivilized country,” squalid and half-clad, and carrying with them, besides the ordinary implements of war, “a good store of shackles, as if they were to lead back a vast number of slaves, and of *thumb-locks* to make their examinations with,” they descended, like locusts, into the western shires, exciting everywhere mingled disgust and alarm. Being quartered upon the lieges, they laid hands on all portable goods within their reach, and committed every species of outrage short of murder, making no distinction in their exactions between those that had taken and those that had refused the bond. At length, the rulers, finding their object defeated, and that the people bore all without showing any symptoms of insurrection, dismissed the Highlanders, after a campaign of about three months, laden with spoil. “When this goodly army returned homeward,” says Kirkton, “you would have thought, by their baggage, they had been at the sack of a besieged city; and, therefore, when they passed Stirling bridge, every man drew his sword, to show the world they had returned conquerors from their enemy’s land; but they might as well have shown the pots, pans, girdles, shoes, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were loaded.”\* Those who passed through Glasgow could not boast even of these trophies; for, on approaching the bridge, they found it blockaded by the students of the university, who compelled them to disgorge their prey, and allowed them to pass, forty at a time, as bare as they had come from their native hills.†

It will be necessary, however, to return to the west country, where the invasion of the Highland host

\* Kirkton, p. 390.

† Wodrow, ii. 413.

was succeeded by oppressions, which at length exasperated the country people to resistance. Among these we may notice the imposition of the *cess*, as it was termed, a tax raised expressly for maintaining the army intended to put down field-conventicles. A more odious tax can hardly be conceived. That they should not only be severely fined and punished for attending these meetings, but compelled to pay for the means of suppressing them, was such an outrage on the feelings of the people, that we might be prepared to hear it would be almost universally resisted. Yet the greater part submitted to the tax, contenting themselves with a protest against its use; thus declaring their readiness to suffer for religion, if they should be called to account, and at the same time avoiding even the appearance of evil, by refusing the magistrate's just right to levy cess and custom on the subjects. This, however, proved another "bone of contention;" the stricter and more rigid of the presbyterians considering that, by paying the cess, they shared in the guilt of the purpose to which it was avowedly applied. The ministers who were banished to Holland loudly inveighed against the practice; and it was no doubt very easy for them, placed at a distance from the scene of oppression, as it may be for us, who are free from all such exactions, to protest against those who yielded to them. But much may be said in behalf of those who submitted, against their will, to an imposition which they could not resist, and which, had they resisted, would have been wrested from them with the loss of all they possessed. On the other hand, the principles upon which some of the presbyterians afterwards resisted



the impost, and which are vindicated at great length in the "Hind let Loose," were founded on the tyrannical character of the governors, and necessarily led to the casting off all allegiance or submission to the civil government.

Meanwhile, the severe edicts passed against all who appeared at conventicles, had only the effect of inducing them to meet in greater numbers. On the 29th of May 1679, the day appointed for celebrating the restoration of Charles, a body of them amounting to eighty armed men, under the guidance of sir Robert Hamilton, came to Rutherglen, where they extinguished the bonfires kindled in honour of the day, and affixed a declaration to the cross, condemning all the proceedings of government since the restoration; in confirmation of which testimony, they publicly burnt at the cross all the acts which had been emitted against the work of the reformation. "as our enemies," said they, "perfidiously and blasphemously have burnt our holy covenants through several cities of these covenanted kingdoms." Without stopping to inquire how far this decisive step was consistent with prudence, we cannot fail to admire its honesty and boldness. The country, however, was not prepared for a general rising, and no due means had been taken to follow up the movement, or to meet the consequences. The government took the alarm, and Claverhouse was despatched to the west with a body of dragoons, having unlimited power to kill and destroy all whom he found in arms. On his way, he came suddenly upon the town of Hamilton, where he seized Mr. John King, chaplain to lord Cardross, with about fourteen others, and carried them away prisoners, bound two

and two, his men driving them before them like so many sheep.

On Sabbath morning, the 1st of June 1679, intelligence was brought to a large field-meeting held that day at Loudonhill, of the approach of Claverhouse and his dragoons; upon which all who were armed resolved to leave the meeting, face the soldiers, and, if possible relieve the prisoners. Accordingly, about forty horse and one hundred and fifty or two hundred foot, came up with Claverhouse and his party near Drumclog, in the parish of Evandale, about a mile east from Loudonhill.

The particulars of the skirmish which followed are well known, having furnished matter for fictitious as well as authentic narratives, by writers of opposite parties, coloured according to their principles or prejudices.\* The following are the simple facts, in which all authentic accounts agree. After a short and very warm engagement, Balfour of Burley, with some horse, and colonel Cleland, with some of the infantry, boldly crossed the morass which lay between the combatants, and attacked the dragoons of Claverhouse with such impetuosity, that they were soon put to flight, leaving about forty killed on the field. Claverhouse's horse was shot under him, and he himself narrowly escaped. Before commencing

\* A very animated and graphic account of the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge appeared some years ago in an American work, and is reprinted in the last edition of the Scots Worthies. It is said to have been taken from the lips of the laird of Torfoot, a veteran covenanter, who had emigrated to America. The laird's description of the manly prowess, the generosity, and cheerful devotion of the covenanters, presents a most striking contrast to sir Walter Scott's picture in his tale of Old Mortality. Both descriptions are highly coloured; but while the main facts are the same, there appears much more verisimilitude in the tale as told by the covenanter than in that of the novelist. The integrity of the American editor seems to be placed beyond all question.

the engagement, he had given the word, "No quarter," and ordered those who guarded King and the other persons to shoot them, in the event of his troops being worsted; but the soldiers were soon compelled to flee for their own safety, and the prisoners escaped. The dragoons taken by the covenanters received quarter, and were dismissed without harm, much to the displeasure of Hamilton, who insisted on their being dealt with as they intended to have dealt with the covenanters.

Panic-struck, and filled with rage at his defeat, Claverhouse fled from the field of Drumclog, and never slackened rein till he reached Glasgow. Thither he was pursued by Hamilton, who made an attempt to take the city; but the inhabitants not only refused to rise, but shamefully maltreated some of his soldiers, who fell wounded in their streets. At this time, sir Robert's troops amounted, according to his own account, to about six thousand horse and foot. They consisted, it is true, chiefly of raw undisciplined countrymen, ill supplied with arms or ammunition; but had they been properly managed, such was their courage and determination, that they might have kept the royal troops in check, and procured, if not victory, at least honourable terms. Unhappily, however, a spirit of disunion began to appear among their leaders, who, instead of combining against the common enemy, spent their time in hot disputes about points in which the most hearty and genuine friends of the presbyterian cause differed from each other.

These disputes referred to the indulgence; and it may appear strange that there should have been any controversy about a subject with regard to the sin-

fulness of which all of them were agreed. The question agitated was not, whether the indulgence was lawful, but whether the acceptance of it should be expressly condemned in the proclamation to be made by those who were in arms, and numbered among their causes of fasting. This was opposed by some as inexpedient, because it would hinder many from joining them who were cordial friends to presbytery; and it was proposed that this point should be reserved for the determination of a free general assembly.\* At the head of this party was Mr. John Welsh, whose expulsion from Irongray was formerly noticed, and who was not only, in his own judgment, opposed to the indulgence, but had been intercommunicated for preaching in the fields for many years. Among all the eighteen ministers present, there was not one who had accepted the indulgence, or who approved of it. Sixteen of these ministers, while they condemned the Erastianism of the indulgence, and deplored the conduct of their brethren who had accepted it, were not prepared to exclude them from their ranks, or refuse aid from them in the common cause. Though they themselves could not conscientiously submit to the restrictions, or the acknowledgments implied in that insidious measure, they were disposed to make allowances for such of their brethren as had yielded under strong temptation or plausible arguments; and they argued, that whatever ecclesiastical censure their conduct might afterwards be found to deserve, to deny them, in the meantime, the opportunity of vindicating their rights and liberties, civil and religious, by excluding them from the army, would be no less presumptuous and

\* M'Crie's Miscellaneous Writings, Review of Tales, &c., p. 437.

unjust in principle, than it was preposterous in the present circumstances of the country.

This liberal view of the subject was opposed by only two of the ministers, namely, Mr. Cargill and Mr. Douglas; but these were supported by a considerable number of the lay leaders of the army, at the head of whom was sir Robert Hamilton.\* Hamilton appears to have been a pious man, and of good intentions; but of narrow views, severe in his temper, and altogether unqualified, by want of military talents and experience, for the command which he assumed. He is charged, and apparently not without reason, with having been active in pushing Cargill, Cameron,† and some other ministers, to those extremes which produced a breach between them and their brethren, with whom they had, until of late, acted in concert.‡ This party now began to maintain that the king, by assuming an Erastian power over the church, had forfeited all right to the civil obedience of his subjects; a principle which had never been known in the church of Scotland before, and which was afterwards carried to a great extent

\* He is generally styled sir Robert in the accounts of this period. He was a gentleman of good family, being brother to sir William Hamilton of Preston, to whose title and estates he would have succeeded had he not disowned the authority of William and Mary. (*M'Crie's Mem. of Veitch, &c.*, p. 452.)

† Richard Cameron was not present at Bothwell, being at that time in Holland; but he returned to Scotland shortly after. He declared to the ministers who licensed him, "that he would be a bone of contention among them; for if ever he preached against a national sin in Scotland, it should be against the indulgence, and for separation from the indulged." (*P. Walker's Biograph. Presbyter*, i. 292.)

‡ *M'Crie's Mem. of Veitch, &c.*, Notices of James Ure, p. 452. I am sorry I cannot retract the judgment here pronounced on the character of Hamilton, the correctness of which has been challenged by some, but which is borne out by the whole of his history, and refers entirely to his public management, without any reflection either on his piety, his integrity, or his courage.

by Richard Cameron and his followers, who from him were termed Cameronians. On the present occasion, they insisted that there should be inserted in the statement of their quarrel a decided condemnation of those who had taken the benefit of the indulgence; and proceeding on a mistaken view of the principles advocated by the church of Scotland in the time of the Engagement, and by the Protesters in their contentings against the public resolutions, they refused to admit any into their ranks but those who would condemn and testify against the indulgence.\*

The violence, pertinacity, and extravagance of this party, prevailed over the more sober counsels of their brethren; and the consequence was, that several of the latter left the army in disgust. Still, however, the great body of the people remained, and though placed in the most unfavourable circumstances for meeting the enemy, they drew up with determined front at Bothwell Bridge, where they awaited their approach. The covenanters behaved with the utmost gallantry, but, overpowered by superior numbers, they soon gave way, and the royal army obtained an easy victory over troops divided and disheartened by the conduct of their leaders. The dragoons of Claverhouse, burning with revenge for their recent defeat, pursued the fugitives, and more were killed in the flight than in the field. Four hundred fell in battle; twelve hundred surrendered themselves prisoners, many of whom were reserved to suffer a more ignominious death on the scaffold.

\* M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 453; Wilson's Relation of the Rising at Bothwell Bridge, p. 13, *et seq.* This writer's account is tinged with much party prejudice, and requires to be compared with other authorities. He lays the whole blame of the failure at Bothwell on Mr. Welsh and his friends, whom he terms the *Erastian* party!

A system of indiscriminate carnage took place after the fight, on all in the neighbourhood whom the soldiers suspected of being presbyterians, whether they had been on the field or not; so that multitudes perished, of whom no account was taken, and no record has been preserved. This, however, was but "the beginning of sorrows." Scotland was placed under martial law, or rather at the mercy of military executioners; and many who never had been near the field of battle, nor taken part in the rising, were slaughtered in the fields or public roads, while engaged at their usual labour, on the bare suspicion of their being inclined to favour the cause in which their countrymen had fallen.

The conduct of the government towards the prisoners was characterized by the most disgraceful inhumanity. An act of indemnity, indeed, was passed, but with so many limitations, that the governors were left at ample liberty to select as many victims as they chose, to glut their vengeance, and appease the manes of Sharp. The two ministers, King and Kid, who had been rescued by the covenanters at Drumclog, were afterwards apprehended and brought to trial. These gentlemen proved most satisfactorily that, though found among the insurgents, they had taken no share in their proceedings; that they were, in fact, detained among them by force; that they had refused to preach to them, and so far from encouraging them to rebellion, had used every argument to persuade them to return to their former loyalty and obedience; and that they had seized the first opportunity of escaping before the battle at Bothwell Bridge.\* Notwith-

\* Petition of Messrs. John King and Kid, Wodrow, iii. 133; Burns' edit.

standing these proofs, they were first tortured with the boots, and though nothing more could be elicited from them, they were condemned to die. On the afternoon of the same day (August 14, 1679) on which the king's indemnity had been published by the magistrates of Edinburgh amidst the sound of trumpets and ringing of bells, these two innocent men were led forth to execution. As they approached the gibbet, walking hand in hand, Mr. Kid remarked to his companion with a smile, "I have often heard and read of a *kid* sacrifice." On the scaffold they behaved with a serenity and fortitude becoming the cause in which they suffered. Both of them bore faithful witness to the covenanted reformation, as attained between 1638 and 1650, testifying against the public resolutions, the act rescissory, and other defections from that cause; but solemnly disclaiming the charge of rebellion under which they suffered, and vindicating themselves from the imputation of Jesuitism with which their enemies attempted to blacken their characters. "For that clause in my indictment," said Mr. Kid, "upon which my sentence of death is founded, viz., personal presence twice or thrice with that party whom they called rebels; for my own part, I never judged them, nor called them such. I acknowledge, and do believe, there were a great many there that came in the simplicity of their own hearts, like those that followed Absalom long ago. I am as sure, on the other hand, that there was a great party there, that had nothing before them but the repairing of the Lord's fallen work, and the restoring of the breach, which is wide as the sea; and I am apt to think that such of these who were most branded



with mistakes will be found to have been most single. But for rebellion against his majesty's person or lawful authority," he added, "the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing. Loyal I have been, and wills every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." "I thank God," said Mr. King, "my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty. I have been loyal, and do recommend to all to be obedient to the higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field-meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence, I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands. That I preached up rebellion and rising in arms against authority, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design; if I could have preached Christ, and salvation in his name, that was my work; and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest) a minister of the gospel."\* Having made these solemn declarations of their principles, the two ministers were strangled to death, and their heads and arms having been cut off on another scaffold, were affixed beside the withered remains of James Guthrie.

Five of the common prisoners were then selected

\* Naphtali, pp. 427, 437, 438.

for execution, and though not one of them had been implicated in the death of Sharp, of which they were accused, though never convicted, they were sent to be executed on Magus Moor, and their bodies were hung in chains on the spot where the primate was killed. No reason can be assigned for this shameful act of the government, but that, in their rage at not discovering the real perpetrators of that outrage, they determined, in spite of all proof, to throw the odium of it on the whole body of the presbyterians.

The fate of the rest of the prisoners was hardly less deplorable. Twelve hundred were huddled together into the Greyfriars' churchyard, with no other lodging than the cold earth, and no covering to shelter them from the weather—exposed to the brutal insults of the soldiers who guarded them, and who, if any of them attempted to lift a hand or a head to relieve their posture, shot at them without mercy. In this condition they were confined for five months. A few of them contrived to make their escape over the wall; some were set free upon signing a bond, obliging themselves never again to take up arms against his majesty; and out of four hundred who remained, some died in prison, others, worn out with hunger and suffering, were freed on petitioning for liberty to sign the bond. The rest, to the number of two hundred and fifty-seven, were banished as slaves to Barbadoes. Early in the morning (November 15, 1679), these poor prisoners, many of whom were labouring under diseases produced by their barbarous confinement, were taken out of the churchyard, and, without any previous warning, were put on board a ship in Leith roads, under the command of one Paterson, a papist, who

had contracted with government to transport them. There the two hundred and fifty-seven were stowed into a place hardly capable of containing a hundred persons, so closely packed that the greater part were obliged to stand, in order to make room for their sick and dying companions to stretch themselves; many of them fainted, or were suffocated from want of air; and the seamen, as if the spirit of persecution had infected their usually generous natures, treated them with cruelty too shocking to be described. At length, the vessel was overtaken by a storm on the coast of Orkney, and foundered on the rocks. All might have easily escaped; but, after securing the crew, the inhuman captain ordered the hatches to be locked upon the prisoners. Some forty or fifty contrived to save themselves by clinging to the boards of the ship, but two hundred met with a watery grave. The wretch who was guilty of this cold-blooded murder was never called to account. But the fate of those who perished was merciful, when compared with that of their companions who escaped this martyrdom. These were banished as slaves to the plantations in Jamaica and New Jersey, where they were compelled to labour under a burning sun, in the same gang with the negroes; and of two hundred and sixty who were so disposed of at different times during the persecution, very few remained to be released from their bondage at the revolution.

The rising at Bothwell may be vindicated on the same principles as that at Pontland, and on principles somewhat different from those on which several who were actually engaged in the attempt, and suffered for it, were inclined to vindicate themselves.

Some of these excellent men now went the length of disowning the authority of the king and government altogether. They contended that, by overturning the true religion, by setting up prelacy and erastianism, by ruining the covenanted work of reformation, and by persecuting to the death its faithful adherents, Charles had perfidiously violated the conditions of his coronation oath, and forfeited all right to their allegiance. Another party, however, much more numerous, though less conspicuous, because less violent and extreme, defended their appearance in arms on other grounds. While they condemned the proceedings of the government as arbitrary and tyrannical, they were not prepared to renounce their allegiance to it in civil matters; they held, with the compilers of our Confession, that "infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him;" and though they lamented as much as their brethren the general defection of all classes from the engagements of the covenant, they could not see how this denuded the sovereign of his authority, which they were ready to acknowledge so long as he was, by the common consent of the nation, recognised as its ruler. At the same time, they considered themselves warranted to assume the attitude of self-defence, against the intolerable oppressions and illegal encroachments which had, "contrary to all law and humanity," been practised on them; and the reasons on which they justified their appearing in arms were chiefly these—that all other modes of redress had been closed against them; and that they found it necessary for the defence of the protestant religion and presbyte-

rian government, and for the preservation of his majesty's person and throne from the projects of popish adversaries. A declaration embodying these views was prepared and presented at the council of war, before the battle of Bothwell Bridge; but through the opposition of the more violent leaders, it was unhappily rejected.\* There is reason to believe that this paper contained the sentiments of the most judicious, as well as of the great majority of the suffering presbyterians; and that, had it been adopted, it might have recommended their cause more to the country at large, procured greater accessions to their numbers, and perhaps have insured success at an earlier period of the contest.

In venturing these remarks, we are far, very far, from allowing that those of the covenanters who openly cast off allegiance to Charles suffered justly. However much they might be mistaken in stating the grounds of their appearance in arms, they were perfectly justified in the eye of reason, by the monstrous tyranny under which they groaned, in making that appearance. We shall soon see that they would have suffered with equal certainty, though they had never disowned their allegiance in civil matters. It is not surprising to hear the charge of rebellion, under which they died, still repeated by the high church tory, or the Scottish jacobite; it is entirely in unison with the whole professions and practices of the party. But when the same calumny is brought against our ancestors by those who profess to be the friends of civil and religious liberty, we are entitled to regard their professions with suspicion, and to view their policy with contempt. At the bar of Heaven, the rulers of

\* This declaration is given in Wodrow's Hist., iii. 96.

that period not only stood charged with apostasy from their solemn engagements—they were waging war with the essential principles of justice, and undermining the liberties of the country. The patriot who lifts his arm prematurely to vindicate these liberties, may perish, and involve others, more feeble or less forward, in his fall. But, as in the case before us, the cry which he raised, ere his voice was stifled in death, like the alarm-shot of the faithful sentinel, for which he pays the forfeit of his life, serves to awaken the slumbering garrison; and after years of ominous silence and long-suffering, it will find its echo in the thunder of a nation's wrath against the merciless tyrants.\*

\* “They did not disown the king until they were persuaded that, by violating his oaths and engagements, he had forfeited all claim to their allegiance. And if they called Charles Stuart a tyrant, it was not until they had some reason to think him so. The presbyterians, in general, had no factious design to overturn the throne, or trample royalty contemptuously under their feet; they wished only to reduce its prerogatives within safe and reasonable limits. The allegation that the ancient leaders of our Church were republicans or democrats, needs no other refutation than referring to the standards of the Church, to her confessions and apologies, and even to the solemn league and covenant itself.” (*Crichton's Memoirs of Blackader*, p. 319.)

## CHAPTER VI.

Sketches of celebrated field-preachers—John Blackader—John Welsh—Archibald Riddel—Martyrdom of Mr. Hume—Richard Cameron—Hackston of Rathillet—The gibbites—The Society-people—Barbarities of the persecutors—Martyrdom of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie—True grounds of the sufferings of our martyrs—Martyrdom of Margaret Wilson—Military executions—John Brown of Priesthill—Westerraw and Lagg—Retaliations—Enterkin path—Patience of the sufferers—Death of persecutors.

ONE object of these Sketches being to afford the reader a correct idea of the most distinguished characters who appeared in the history of our church, as well as of the scenes in which they acted, we may take occasion here to notice some of the field-preachers, who rendered themselves the special objects of the vengeance of the government at this period. And we shall commence with those who, though neither indulged nor approving of the indulgence, did not disown the authority of government, or refuse allegiance in civil matters; but who, loyal as they were, suffered for resisting the crastian encroachments made by the civil rulers on the royal prerogatives of the King of Zion.

Among these a chief place is due to Mr. John Blackader, to whom we have had occasion already to refer. Bold in spirit, stedfast in the faith, and

dauntless in the exercise of his office, he was one of those denominated the *three first worthies*, because he, with Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple, was among the first to unfurl the banner of the covenant in the Lomonds, and preach the gospel in the fields of Galloway and Nithsdale.\* The sufferings he underwent, and the hazards he encountered in the course of his eventful life, would furnish materials for the most interesting romance. His eloquent and powerful discourses in the fields and fastnesses of Teviotdale were blessed, not only for the refreshment of the persecuted presbyterians who flocked from all quarters to hear him, but for the conversion of many of the inhabitants of these neglected districts, who, living in ignorance of the gospel, had hitherto been addicted to rapine and every species of outrage. Possessing a cultivated and well-balanced mind, warm-hearted but cool-headed and sagacious,† he lamented the excesses into which some of his brethren were driven, and used all his efforts to prevent those divisions and irritations which he foresaw would lead to the most disastrous results.‡ This excellent man, who was allied to a family of rank, though disclaiming all rebellious sentiments and practices, was at last apprehended; and because he would not bind himself to refrain from preaching wherever Providence might call him, was sent to the Bass, in the unhealthy dungeon of which, after a

\* Blackader's Sufferings, Adv. Lib.; Crichton's Memoirs, p. 314.

† "Grace formed him in the Christian hero's mould.

Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold;

Passions, to reason chained, prudence did lead;

Zeal warm'd his breast, and reason cool'd his head."

(*Epitaph on Mr. Blackader's Tomb, Memoirs, p. 310.*)

‡ See letter of Mr. Blackader to Mr. Ward, in the Appendix.



long imprisonment, he contracted a disease which terminated his useful life.

Mr. John Welsh was the son of Josias Welsh, minister of Temple-patriek in Ireland, who was designated "the cock of the north," and grandson to the celebrated John Welsh of Ayr. He was consequently, great-grandson of the illustrious reformer John Knox; and he seems to have inherited from this line of truly noble ancestry, the piety, the zeal, and the indomitable fortitude which distinguished them. He was settled in the parish of Irongray; and the reader cannot have forgotten the affecting scene which took place when he was ejected from his charge in 1662. But though compelled thus to leave the scene of his pastoral labours, Mr. Welsh did not remain idle; he was constantly engaged in preaching at field-meetings, and frequently, notwithstanding all the edicts passed against him, he returned and preached, sometimes once a week, in his old parish, and baptized all the children. Nothing is more remarkable than the escapes which this faithful and undaunted minister met with on these occasions. He was present at Pentland and at Bothwell Bridge; and at the latter place he took an active but unsuccessful part in endeavouring to allay the animosities about the indulgence, and counselling the younger and more violent leaders to adopt moderate measures. "He was," says Kirkton, "a godly, meek, humble man, and a good popular preacher; but the boldest undertaker (adventurer) that ever I knew a minister in Christ's church, old or late; for notwithstanding all the threatenings of the state, the great price of £500 set upon his head, the spite of bishops, the diligence of all blood-

hounds, he maintained his difficult task of preaching upon the mountains of Scotland many times to many thousands, for near twenty years, and yet was kept always out of his enemies' hands. It is well known that bloody Claverhouse, upon intelligence that he was lurking in some secret place, would ride forty miles in a winter night; yet when he came to the place he always missed his prey. I have known Mr. Welsh ride three days and two nights without sleep, and preach upon a mountain at midnight on one of the nights. He had for some time a dwelling-house near Tweedside; and sometimes, when Tweed was strongly frozen, he preached in the middle of the river, that either he might shun the offence of both nations, or that two kingdoms might dispute his crime.\* After all his dangers, he died peaceably in his bed in London, on the 9th of January 1681.

The intrepidity and self-possession of this worthy minister, to which, no doubt, under Providence, he owed many of his escapes, are illustrated by the following anecdote: On one occasion, being pursued with unrelenting rigour, he was quite at a loss where to flee, but depending on Scottish hospitality, he called at the house of a gentleman of known hostility to field-preachers in general, and to himself in particular, though he had never seen Mr. Welsh before. He was kindly received. In the course of conversation, Welsh was mentioned, and the difficulty of getting hold of him. "I am sent," said Welsh, "to *apprehend rebels*; I know where he is to preach to-morrow, and will give you the rebel by the hand." The gentleman, overjoyed at this news, agreed to

\* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland.

accompany his informant next morning. When they arrived, the congregation made way for the minister and his host. He desired the gentleman to sit down on the chair, at which, to his utter astonishment, his guest of the previous night stood and preached. During the sermon, the gentleman seemed much affected; and, at the close, when Mr. Welsh, according to promise, gave him his hand, he said, "You said you were sent to apprehend rebels, and I, a rebellious sinner, have been apprehended this day."

There is only one instance recorded in which Welsh spoke in a prophetic or foreboding strain; but it is one of the most remarkable we have met with. A profligate youth at the university of St. Andrews, who had come to hear Mr. Welsh preach, threw some missile at him in mockery, which struck him. Mr. Welsh paused, and before the whole multitude, which was very large, said, "I know not who has put this public affront on a servant of Jesus Christ; but be he who he may, I am persuaded there will be *more present at his death* than are hearing me preach this day!" It turned out to be a son of sir James Stamford of Newmilns, near Haddington; and, strange to say, some years after, this unhappy youth was executed for the murder of his own father.\*

As a specimen of the manner in which peaceable presbyterians who suffered at this period vindicated themselves, we might refer to the case of Mr. Archibald Riddel, brother to the laird of Riddel, who was charged, in 1680, with preaching at conventicles. Mr. Riddel denied that he had been preaching in the fields, but allowed that he had done so in pri-

\* Kirkton; Wodrow.

vate houses, while the people stood without doors. Preaching, even in private houses, without the consent of the incumbent of the parish, was now accounted high treason, as well as preaching in the fields. "Will you be content," said the lord advocate, "to engage not to preach in the fields after this?" "My lord, excuse me," said Riddel, "for I dare not come under any such engagement." "This is strange," observed the advocate, "that Mr. Riddel, who has had so much respect to authority as not to preach in the fields since the indemnity, will not, out of the same respect, be content to engage to behave hereafter as he has behaved heretofore." "My lord advocate, I can answer somewhat for the time past, but not for the time to come; I have not, since the indemnity, judged myself under a necessity to preach out of a house, but I know not but He who has called me so to preach, may, before I go out of the world, call me to preach upon tops of mountains, yea, upon the seas, and I dare not come under any engagements to disobey his calls." "If I were of Mr. Riddel's principles," said the advocate, "and did judge in my conscience that the laws of the land were contrary to the laws of God, and that I could not conform to them, I would judge it my duty rather to go out of the nation and live elsewhere, than disturb the peace of the land by acting contrary to its laws." "My lord," replied Mr. Riddel, "if I do anything contrary to the laws, I am liable to the punishment due by the law." "That is not sufficient," said the advocate; "a subject that regards the public good of the land, should, for the peace and welfare thereof, either conform to the law or go out of the land." The reply of Mr. Riddel to this reasoning, which

has been the convenient logic of persecuting governments at all times, is worthy of notice: "My lord, I doubt *that* argument would militate against Christ and his apostles as much as against us; for they both preached and acted otherwise against the laws of the land; and not only did *not* judge it their duty to go out of the land, but the apostles, on the contrary, reasoned with the rulers—*Whether it be better to obey God or man, judge ye.*" "Will you promise not to preach in the open fields?" cried the judge from the bench. "My lord, I am willing to undergo what sufferings your lordship will be pleased to inflict on me, rather than come under such an engagement."\*

Another case of the same kind is that of Alexander Hume of Hume, in 1682. This worthy gentleman, whose only real offence consisted in his having attended conventicles, was accused, without any proof, of having had intercourse with some of "the rebels;" and indeed it was part of the cruel mockery of justice then in vogue, to insert as a preamble in every indictment against the presbyterians, all the insurrections that had taken place, with the murder of archbishop Sharp, though they had nothing more to do with these acts than the judges who sat on the bench before them—a practice resembling that of the bloody inquisitors of Spain, who clothed the victims whom they condemned to the fire for heresy with cloaks, on which hideous likenesses of monsters and devils were painted, to inflame the bigotry and repress the sympathy of the spectators. It is said that a remission of Mr. Hume's sentence came down from London

\* Wodrow, iii. 198, 199.

several days before his execution, but was kept up by the earl of Perth, a bigoted papist and persecutor; and that when his lady, Isobel Hume, fell on her knees before lady Perth to entreat for her husband's life, urging that she had five small children, she was repulsed in the most insulting manner, and in terms which cannot be here repeated. On the scaffold, this pious and excellent sufferer vindicated his character from the aspersions of those who had thirsted for his blood. "The world represents me as seditious and disloyal," he said; "but God is my witness, and my own conscience, of my innocency in this matter. I am loyal, and did ever judge obedience unto lawful authority my duty, and the duty of all Christians. I was never against the king's just power and greatness; but all a Christian doth must be of faith, for what clasheth with the command of God cannot be our duty; and I wish the Lord may help the king to do his duty to the people, and the people to do their duty to the king." He then added, "My conscience bears me witness, I ever studied the good of my country. I hope I shall be no loser that I have gone so young a man off the stage of this world, seeing I am to make so blessed an exchange as to receive eternal life, the crown of glory. I bless His name he made me willing to take share with his persecuted people; for I hope I shall also share with them in their consolations. Farewell, all earthly enjoyments: farewell, my dear wife and children—dear indeed unto me, though not so dear as Christ, for whom I now suffer the loss of all things; I leave them on the tender mercies of Christ. And now, O Father, into thy hand I commend my spirit. Lord Jesus, receive my soul!" The fatal cord having been ad-

justed, he concluded by singing the last verse of the 17th psalm :—

“ But as for me, I thine own face  
In righteousness will see;  
And with thy likeness, when I wake,  
I satisfied shall be.”\*

These instances sufficiently prove that there were many among the presbyterians who suffered at this period perfectly unimpeachable in their loyalty, and whose only crime, even in the judgment of their accusers, was, that they would not, and could not, comply with the dictates of human authority when these conflicted with the divine. And they show the falsehood of the pretence set up by the persecutors, that none were condemned during this period for their religion, but simply for sedition and rebellion. It is certain that there were some who went the length of disowning Charles and his government, and did not scruple to do so in the face of their persecutors; but the examples we have given (and many more might have been added) are sufficient to prove that, even in the case of those who went this length, it was not simply because they refused allegiance to the tyrant that they were condemned to die; but that they would have suffered with equal certainty, though they had professed the utmost loyalty, provided they qualified that profession by declaring that they could not obey him in matters of religion.

At the head of those who set the authority of the government at defiance, and disowned all allegiance to the civil rulers, stood Richard Cameron. He was originally of the episcopal persuasion, but having been led to hear the gospel preached in the fields,

\* Wodrow, iii. 418-420.

he forsook the curates, and took license from the outed ministers. He entered on his labours with all the ardour of a new convert, who, tracing his first serious impressions to field-preachings, could not bring himself to think with patience of those who availed themselves of the indulgence. Finding that he could not help preaching against it, though he had come under a promise to refrain from it, he retired for a time to Holland, but returned in 1680, after the stipulated period, burning with a desire to disburden his conscience. His sermons were filled with predictions of the fall of the Stuarts, and the sufferings of Scotland which would precede it. But his course was brief; for in July of that same year, Bruce of Earlshall, a violent persecutor, came upon him and his followers with a troop of dragoons, at a meeting held in a desert place called Ayrsmoss. On seeing the enemy approach, and no way of escape, the people gathered close around their minister, when he offered up a short prayer, repeating thrice the memorable words—“*Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe!*” He then turned to his brother Michael, saying, “Come, let us fight it to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the death that I have prayed for—to die fighting against our Lord’s avowed enemies; and this is the day we will get the crown.” And there, accordingly, he died, fighting manfully back to back with his brother. The enemy, foiled in their object, which was to bring him to an ignominious end, wreaked their vengeance on the inanimate body of the hero. They cut off his head and hands, and carried them to his father, who was then confined in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, tauntingly inquiring if he knew to whom they belonged.



“ I know, I know them,” said the poor old man, taking them and affectionately kissing them; “ they are my son’s, my dear son’s. Good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days.” They were then fixed upon one of the ports of the city, the hands being placed close to the head, with the fingers upwards, as if in the posture of prayer. “ There,” said one of his persecutors, “ there’s the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting.” \*

In the same skirmish at which Cameron fell, David Hackston of Rathillet was taken prisoner. Having been one of those present, though passive, at the death of archbishop Sharp, a large reward was offered for his apprehension; and having fallen into the hands of his enemies, they determined to pour upon him all the vials of their revenge. Upon his trial, he boldly refused to own that the bishop’s death was murder; and he was the first of those who, at the bar, openly declined the king’s authority, as a usurper of the prerogatives of Jesus Christ. Being brought to the scaffold, first his right hand was struck off, and then his left; he was next drawn by a pulley to the top of the gallows, and suffered to fall with all his weight three times; while yet alive, his heart was torn out of his body, and then—but we refrain from adding more. Even at this distance of time, the flesh creeps, and the blood runs cold, at the bare recital of the cruelties perpetrated, under the sacred name of justice, on this unhappy gentleman.

Had our space permitted, we might have spoken

\* Biograph. Presbyter., i. 205; Wodrow, iii. 220.

of Donald Cargill, who was executed about the same time; Alexander Peden, and other remarkable characters of the period.\* We shall only observe regarding them, that as the persecution waxed hotter, they became more distinguished for that prophetic spirit which has furnished as much ground of profane ridicule to their enemies, as matter of superstitious veneration to some of their indiscriminate admirers. Here, also, the middle course appears to be the safest and the most rational. That they were men of God cannot be questioned, for they were men of prayer; and that they were favoured with very extraordinary pre-impressions of what was to come, which were actually verified in many instances, cannot be denied, without questioning facts which have been amply attested. But in the case of some of them, it is equally vain to deny that much must be ascribed to the workings of imagination, excited almost to frenzy by the incessant watchings, turmoils, and apprehensions of a life imbittered by persecution, and spent in lonely caves and gloomy deserts. Placed in such circumstances, they were exceedingly prone, if not to create ideal pictures of coming misery, at least to exaggerate the reality. If the remains of some of these worthies appear to us sometimes rhapsodical, and at other times even bordering on irreverent familiarity, we must remember that, not only were the younger ministers of that

\* Peden's character has been much exaggerated by friends as well as foes. Though enthusiastic, it does not appear that he was chargeable with one-half of the stories which have been told of him. Wodrow denies, on the best authority, the genuineness of the strange book, entitled Peden's Prophecies. (Vol. iv. 397.) It is certain, however, that many of his prognostications were remarkably verified. The most striking of them was his announcement of the death of Charles II. (*Walker's Biograph. Presbyter.* i. 57.)

period deprived by persecution of the advantages of a liberal education, or at least of leisure for study, but that, to appreciate their eloquence, we must have been born in the same century, and stationed on the same spot, and environed with the same perils as their hearers; and we ought not to criticise with the nicety of modern taste, productions which, homely enough as they came from the lips of the speaker, must have become still more so, after passing from mouth to mouth in the traditions of a devout but unlettered peasantry.\*

It would be equally unjust and ungenerous, however, to confound the high-toned and regulated enthusiasm of such men with the wild dreams and frantic extravagances of fanaticism. About the close of the persecution, a small sect arose, named the Gibbites or Sweet Singers, whose opinions and practices were highly extravagant and even impious. They derived that name from John Gibb, a sailor in Borrowstounness, who seems to have been labouring under insanity, but who prevailed on about thirty persons, chiefly women, to adopt his ridiculous notions. They denounced all besides themselves as backsliders, protested against all kinds of toll, custom, and tribute, and not only abstained from the use of ale, tobacco, and other excisable articles, but, that they might be placed beyond the reach of all such temptations, undertook a pilgrimage to the Pentland hills, where they remained for some days, with a resolution to sit till they saw the smoke of the desolation of Edinburgh, which their mad leader had predicted. Like all other fanatics, they soon began

\* We refer particularly to the Lives of Patrick Walker, now collected in the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, and similar works, of which the enemies of presbyterians have taken so much advantage.

to renounce the authority of Scripture, and some of them actually burnt their Bibles. Against this sect none opposed themselves more zealously than Cargill and his followers, who regarded the ravings of Gibb as an impious caricature of their principles. The duke of York and our Scottish rulers heard of them with undisguised satisfaction, as opportunely furnishing a pretext for exciting odium against the covenanters. The Gibbites, as well as the Quakers, were gently dealt with, connived at, and even encouraged, while the faithful witnesses, with whom they were identified, were persecuted without remorse.\*

The truth of history, however, requires that we should state here some of the steps taken by that party of the presbyterians usually called Society people or Cameronians. One Henry Hall of Haughhead, in Teviotdale, a gentleman who was intimate with Mr. Cargill, and had suffered great persecution, was apprehended at Queensferry, with a paper in his possession disowning the government, and containing some very strong and exceptionable sentiments. This paper, it appears, was merely a scroll drawn up by Hall and Cargill, and more like a manifesto for a general rising of the people, than fitted for a suffering and subdued handful. It was never sanctioned by any meeting; but having fallen into the hands of the governors, it was held as indicating the sentiments and designs of all the presbyterians. The *Queensferry paper*, as it was called, was thenceforth quoted and used against all suspected of presbyterianism. Shortly after this, Cameron

\* Wodrow, iii. 548, &c.; Life of D. Cargill, in Walker's *Biograph. Presbyter.*, ii. 16-21.

and Cargill, with some others, having broken off from the rest of the presbyterian ministers, published a declaration at Sanquhar, differing a little from, but in the same strain with, the Queensferry paper. The *Sanquhar declaration* openly declared war against Charles as a tyrant and usurper. This was followed up by one of the most singular scenes, perhaps, recorded in the history of the times—the *Torwood excommunication*. In a meeting held at Torwood, in Stirlingshire, in September 1680, Mr. Cargill, after divine service, pronounced, with all solemnity and formality, the highest sentence of excommunication against king Charles, the duke of York, the dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, general Dalziel, and the advocate, sir George Mackenzie; in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, casting them out of the church, and delivering them up unto Satan.\*

These proceedings, we may well believe, irritated the ruling powers more than ever; and though unshared in and unapproved of by the rest of the presbyterian ministers, they were eagerly laid hold of as pretexts for still greater severities against the whole of them. The furnace was “heated one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.” Into the history of the persecutions which followed we cannot minutely enter. It would, indeed, be a task as superfluous as disagreeable; for the subsequent period down to 1688, exhibits little more than a series of executions, civil and military, differing from

\* *Torwood Excommunication*: being the Lecture and Discourse going before, and the Afternoon Sermon following after; with the Action of Excommunication itself, Pronounced at Torwood, Sept., 1680. By that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargill. 1741.

each other only in their degrees of horror and atrocity. Conceiving that they had now at length obtained what bishop Burnet declares they had long thirsted for—a feasible pretence for laying the whole country under martial law, and fattening on the spoils of a population driven to despair by their oppressions—burning with rage, under a guilty consciousness that the charges brought against them by the society people were perfectly true—and what is equally certain, smarting under the very excommunication which they pretended to despise—they “cried Havoc! and let slip the dogs of war.” Statutes and proclamations, fiercer than ever, were levelled at the heads of ministers who preached, and all who attended, at conventicles—letters of *intercommuning* were passed against many of the most obnoxious, by which all were prohibited, under pain of death, from having any intercourse with the proscribed individuals—all suspected of these practices were dragged to the circuit courts and strictly questioned—the prisoners were tried *super inquirendis*, that is, on the evidence extorted from their own lips by insidious questions, or the application of the torture, by the boots, by the thumbkins, or by lighted matches tied between the fingers, until they burned the flesh to the bone; and upon the evidence thus procured, without a single witness to bring home the crime, many were condemned. No rank, no sex, no age, was exempted from these inquisitorial proceedings. The father was compelled, by torture, to bear evidence against the son, the son against the father, the wife against the husband, the husband against the wife; and, loyal as they might be themselves, if found guilty of sheltering, or even of speaking with an

intercommuned fugitive, even though the dearest relative, without informing against him, they were held guilty of his crime, and liable to suffer death.

The cruelties of this period, it has been justly, and not too strongly remarked, "were savage, worthy of cannibals; they were refined, worthy of fiends."\* By degrees, the whole frame of government seemed converted into one vast court of inquisition, in which the episcopal clergy of all ranks held a conspicuous place, as informers, witnesses, or judges. The infliction of death seemed to be regarded by these inquisitors as too easy a punishment; the poor victims were insulted in the court, and even struck, when awaiting their doom, on the scaffold. "When James Robertson (who was executed with two others in 1682) offered to speak upon the scaffold, he was interrupted by the ruffling of drums; and when complaining of this, Johnston, the town-major, *beat him with his cane* at the foot of the ladder, in a most barbarous manner."† Even mere children did not escape from the malignity of the persecutors. "A party of the enemy," says one who himself shared in the sufferings he describes, "came to search for some of the persecuted party. When the people of the house saw the enemy coming, they fled out of the way; but the cruel enemy got my dear brother into their hands. They examined him concerning the persecuted people where they haunted; but he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them. They flattered him, they offered him money to tell where the whigs were, but he would not speak; they held the point of a drawn sword to his naked

\* Lorimer's Hist. of Prot. Church of France, p. 324.

† Wodrow, iii. 415.

breast; they fired a pistol over his head; they set him on horseback behind one of themselves, to be taken away and hanged; they tied a cloth on his face, and set him on his knees to be shot to death; they beat him with their swords and with their fists; they kicked him several times to the ground with their feet; yet, after they had used all the cruelty they could, he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them; and although he was a comely proper child, going in ten years of age, yet they called him a vile, ugly, dumb devil, and beat him very sore, and then went on their way, leaving him lying on the ground, sore bleeding in the open fields.”\*

Nothing, however, presents the government in a more odious and despicable light than their treatment of the tender sex. The cruel usage of “comely proper children going in ten years of age” may be ascribed to the indiscriminate fury of a ruthless and unreflecting soldiery; but when we see simple unlettered females dragged from the duties of the kitchen or the farm-yard, to answer for their religious belief before learned chancellors and mitred dignitaries, and sent to expiate their errors on the scaffold, we cannot reflect on the conduct of their persecutors without feelings of mingled indignation and contempt. The trial and execution of Isabel Alison, a young unmarried woman in Perth, and another young female, Marion Harvie, may, as Wodrow has remarked, be well regarded as “a flaming proof of the iniquity of the period.” Isabel had occasionally heard Mr. Cargill and others preach in the fields; and having, in her simplicity, acknow-

\* Memoirs of the First Years of James Nisbet, Son of John Nisbet of Hardhill, written by himself, p. 70.



ledged that she held converse with some who had been declared rebels, a party of soldiers was forthwith sent to carry her to Edinburgh. When brought before the council, the most ensnaring questions were put to her, and she was induced, by threats and promises, to acknowledge that she had conversed with Rathillet, Balfour, and other characters obnoxious to the government, to express her approbation of the Sanquhar declaration, and disown the authority of her judges. Marion Harvie, it would appear, was still more humble in station than her companion. She was a servant girl, only about twenty years of age, and belonging to Borrowstounness. They had nothing to lay to her charge but what she owned, namely, her being present at field-conventicles. When interrogated as to the Sanquhar declaration, and other papers, she declared she knew nothing about them. Some of the councillors told her that "a rock, a cod, and bobbins, would set her better than these debates." "And yet," says Wodrow, "they cast them up to her, and murder her upon them." After being examined before the council, these two poor women were brought before the criminal court. "This was the constant practice at this time, the one day to bring such as fell into their hands before the council, and there engage them by captious questions into a confession of statutory crime, and next day to pannel them before the judiciary, where, if they were silent, they were asked if they would quit the testimony they had given yesterday." The answers given by these females to the interrogatories of their judges, which are recorded by themselves with great simplicity, manifest much good sense and quickness, with a mixture of

those mistaken views as to the civil government into which it was very natural for such persons to fall. Both of the women were condemned to be hanged in the Grassmarket, and the bloody sentence was executed on the 26th of January 1681. Just when they were going out to the place of execution, bishop Paterson, whose character, if we may believe the uniform testimony of the time, was stained with vices of the lowest description, had the insolence to come into the prison and interrupt their devotions. "Marion," he began, "you said you would never hear a curate; now you shall be forced to hear one before you die;" upon which he ordered one of his curates to pray. As soon as he began, she said to her fellow-prisoner, "Come, Isabel, let us sing the 23d psalm." They did so, and drowned the voice of the curate. But this was not the only circumstance calculated to disturb and annoy these humble sufferers in their dying hour. They were executed in company with five profligate women who had been found guilty of murdering their own children, and railed on by one of the episcopal functionaries, who assured them "they were on the road to damnation; while, without any evidence of their penitence, he was sending the other wicked wretches straight to heaven. However," it is added, "they were not commoved, but sang some suitable psalms on the scaffold, and prayed; and thus died with much composure and joy." Marion was remarkably supported. "Behold," she cried, "I hear my Beloved saying unto me, 'Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.' I am not come here for murder! I am about twenty years of age. At fourteen or fifteen I was a hearer of the curates and indulged, and then I was a blasphemer

and a Sabbath breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme, nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible became my delight." Upon this the major called to the executioner to cast her over, and "the murderer presently choked her."\*

If we are asked, What were the grounds of all this suffering? we would reply, in general, that the main cause in which our martyrs suffered and died, was that of the covenanted reformation. In other words, they died for approving of the various steps of reformation which the church and nation of Scotland had been led to take, during both the first and second reforming periods, and particularly between the years 1638 and 1650; they died for their adherence, not only to the protestant religion, but to presbyterianism in opposition to prelacy and independency; they died for their adherence to the Confession of Faith, and the other Westminster standards, as the standards of that uniformity agreed upon and sworn to by Scotland, England, and Ireland; they died for maintaining the continued obligation of the national covenant and the solemn league, and for condemning the sad defections from these attainments, and the glaring violations of these engagements with which all ranks and classes were chargeable. These were the main and real grounds on which they endured so much, in the forms of torture, banishment, imprisonment, and death. It is plain, that had they not held

\* Cloud of Witnesses, Scots Worthies, ii. 299-317; Wod., iii. 275, 276. Fountainhall's Histor. Observes, pp. 26, 27. This last writer observes, very coolly, "Some thought the threatening to drown them privately in the North Loch, without giving them the credit of a public suffering, would have more effectually reclaimed them nor (than) any arguments which were used." How true is it that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!"

these principles, or had they been less faithful in maintaining them, they would never have writhed under the rack, nor dyed the scaffolds and the fields with their blood. Of all the martyrs during the period of the persecution, from the first to the last—from the coroneted head of Argyle down to the courageous and devoted Renwick—from “the lyart veteran,” down to the mere child, who was hardly capable of understanding the points of quarrel, though he could deeply feel the injustice of his persecutors—not one suffered without owning this cause. Here there was no wavering, no faltering, no symptom of disunion or disagreement among the band of sufferers. With one mind and one mouth they bore their testimony to the same work, and gloried in sealing it with their blood.

It generally happens, however, that the testimony of the church is made to bear upon some single point, essentially involving the whole cause of truth, and testing the fidelity of its followers. And at this period, that point was the royal prerogatives of the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only king and head of his church. It should never be forgotten, that the overthrow of the reformation at the period of the restoration of Charles, with the scenes of bloody persecution which followed, are to be traced to the act of supremacy, by which the king was declared supreme in all matters and causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Against this gross erastian usurpation the presbyterians protested from the beginning; and as the whole series of persecuting measures afterwards adopted by the government proceeded on this impious assumption of the powers of Christ, it is easy to see how the whole contentings of the

faithful party in the land were reduced to the point of asserting His sole headship over his church. This became, with them, "the word of Christ's patience;" and nobly did they "keep it in the hour of temptation." They justly deemed it worthy of all the sufferings they could endure; and they shrank from uttering the slightest word which might compromise the truth, or indicate the least relaxation of their testimony in its behalf.

Seldom have the rulers of this world been brought to acknowledge cordially, thoroughly, and practically, that the church has a Head in heaven, to whom she is bound to pay implicit and undivided homage. And too often has the recognition of this principle, which is so honourable to Christ, and which forms the highest element in every well-constituted establishment of Christianity, been clogged with limitations, enabling the civil powers, when so disposed, to assume the spiritual prerogative, and assail the independence of the church. It is equally true, however, that this has seldom, if ever, been attempted *avowedly* in opposition to the sacred rights of the Redeemer. Those who suffer for resisting the encroachment, are uniformly represented as rebels, and charged with factious opposition to the will of the monarch, or the law of the land.

None were more sensible of the real cause for which the covenanters suffered, or felt more bitterly conscious of its importance, than those who were most active in conducting the persecution. But, with the meanness and malignity which are the invariable characteristics of the persecutor, they attempted, by various stratagems, to shift the odium from themselves to their victims, and represent them as suffer-

ing for any other cause than the true one. Among these stratagems were the "ensnaring questions" which they put to the prisoners, such as, "Was the rising at Bothwell rebellion, or not?" "Will you pray for the king?" By these questions, which they well knew many of them would not answer, or would answer in such a way as to betray their condemnation of the government, they attempted, in the absence of all evidence, to fix upon them the stigma of rebellion; while, in reality, their offence consisted in refusing to hear the curates, or having attended field-meetings. It was not uncommon to offer the poor people their lives, provided they would simply say, *God save the king*. Many refused to do this; and when we consider the construction put upon the phrase by their persecutors, we need not wonder at it; for by uttering the salutation, they meant them to acknowledge not only the civil authority, but the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king. When the prisoner at the bar asked the meaning in which they put the words, he was told they meant owning his person and government, and approving all his titles as head of the church and state. Sir George Mackenzie has had the hypocrisy to assert that none suffered during this reign who would say, *God save the king*.\* This is most certainly a falsehood, for many suffered who were quite ready to say it. But when we consider, not only that the poor people who refused to do so looked upon it as a virtual renunciation of all their principles, but that their persecutors regarded it in the same light, it is hardly possible to conceive a piece of more shocking and ingenious cruelty. This test, though really intended to elicit a renun-

\* Vindication of the Government during the Reign of Charles II.

ciation of their religious profession, was, at the same time, so plausibly worded as to make the refusal of it appear little better than mere obstinacy, and to represent those who refused it as a set of fools, dying under a frantic delusion, fitted to excite derision rather than pity. But it was like the grain of incense which the early Christians were required, by their persecutors, to let fall on the altars of the pagan deities—the slightest token, indeed, but still a token quite intelligible and well understood, of their renouncing the Christian faith. The following case will show how far these innocent sufferers were from being unwilling to use the terms prescribed, provided they were not understood in a sense completely eversive of their principles—or, in other words, meant to involve them in perjury.

Gilbert Wilson was a farmer in good circumstances in Wigtonshire. He and his wife were both conformists to prelacy; but their children having imbibed better principles, refused to hear the episcopal incumbent. For this reason, though yet scarcely of the age to make them obnoxious to the law, they were pursued, and driven to bogs, hills, and caves for shelter. At last, Gilbert's two daughters, Margaret and Agnes, the one eighteen years old, the other a mere child about thirteen, were apprehended, and both of them, by their merciless judges, were condemned to death. By going up to Edinburgh and paying a large sum of money, the father succeeded in purchasing the life of Agnes, his youngest daughter; but Margaret, along with an old woman of sixty-three, was adjudged to suffer death, by being bound to stakes planted in the sea within flood-mark, near Wigton. Margaret's relations used

all means to prevail upon her to take the oath, and promise to hear the curate; but she stood fast in her integrity, and was not to be shaken. She and her aged companion were tied to the stakes, in the presence of an immense crowd, and surrounded with soldiers. The old woman's stake being a good way beyond the other, she was the first that suffered; and while she was struggling in the water, some one asked Margaret, what she thought of her friend now. "What do I see," she replied, "but Christ in one of his members wrestling there? Think you that *we* are the sufferers? No; it is Christ in us, for he sends none a warfare upon their own charges." The water covered her while she was engaged in prayer; but before life was gone, they pulled her up till she recovered the power of speech, when she was asked by major Windram, who commanded, if she would pray for the king. She replied, that "she wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." "Dear Margaret," said one of the bystanders, deeply affected, "say *God save the king*." She answered with great steadiness, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." "Sir," they cried to the major, "she has said it! she has said it!" The major, approaching her on hearing this, offered her the *abjuration oath*, charging her instantly to swear it, otherwise to return to the water. The poor young woman, thus cruelly deluded with the hope of life, firmly replied, "I will not; I am one of Christ's children! let me go." Upon which she was again thrust into the water, and drowned.\* Thus died these two women, simply because they would not take the abjuration oath, which bound the

\* Wodrow, *Cloud of Witnesses*, &c.



swearers never to take up arms against the king on any pretext whatsoever, and called on them to "abhor, renounce, and disown," all who had done so. What possible danger the government could apprehend from old women of sixty-three, and girls of eighteen, taking up arms against the king, it is hard to say. Every feeling of humanity rises up to execrate an administration which could have recourse to such gratuitous and unmanly cruelties in support of its authority.

These, however, bad as they were, were the most decent of the proceedings of this period—they were conducted with at least the forms and the semblance of justice. The year 1684 introduced a practice more barbarous and revolting, when the common soldiers were empowered, without indictment or process, to put to death any suspicious persons they might meet with, upon their refusing to take the oaths, or answer the questions they put, to their satisfaction. To enumerate the cruelties and murders exercised under this barbarous law would be a vain attempt. The case of John Brown, the carrier, whom Claverhouse shot before his own door, and in the presence of his wife, is too well known to be more than adverted to. "Go to your prayers immediately," cried Claverhouse, "for you must die." Poor Brown prayed, then kissed his wife and children; "God bless you all," he said—"may all purchased and promised blessings be multiplied." "No more," vociferated Claverhouse: "You six there," counting six soldiers, "shoot him instantly." The men, hardened as they were, had been so much affected by Brown's prayer, that they hesitated to obey the order; upon which Claverhouse, drawing his pistol, shot him dead with

his own hand. "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" fiercely demanded the ruffian. "I ever thought much good of him," sobbed the poor widow; "and *now* more than ever." "Wretch!" said Claverhouse, "it were but just to lay thee beside him." "If you were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that far," cried the poor woman; "but how will you answer for this morning's work?"

"To *man* I can be answerable," said the remorseless Claverhouse, "and as for God, I will take *him* into my own hand!"

He then marched away, leaving the poor widow with her husband's mangled corpse! She set the children on the ground; she gathered up the scattered brains, and covering his body with her plaid, she sat down and wept over him.

The duke of York had declared "there would never be peace in Scotland till the whole of the country south of the Forth was turned into a hunting field." And in the years 1684 and 1685, there was every appearance that his threatening would be realized. During this, the hottest period of the persecution, and emphatically termed by the people *killing time*, the lives of the lieges were left at the mercy of military executioners, who scoured the country, hunting in all directions in search of fugitive presbyterians. Blood-hounds were employed to discover the retreats of "the wanderers," as they were called, who, on being found, were immediately brought out and shot, without any proof, process, or inquiry. The slightest pretext was sufficient. If the person whom they met could not produce a pass—if he made the least scruple to swallow the oath—or if,

after doing so, the soldiers should still suspect him, he was instantly deprived of life. If a countryman was seen running across the road, or walking more hastily than usual through a field, he was shot at as a suspected person.

A specimen or two of these doings may suffice.\* A lieutenant and three soldiers passing along the road, found a poor man sleeping on a bank, with a small pocket Bible lying near him. This circumstance having roused their suspicions, they awoke the man, and asked him if he would pray for the king? He replied that he would with all his heart. The lieutenant was about to let him go, when one of the soldiers said—"But, sir, will you renounce the covenant?" The man hesitated a moment; but on the question being repeated, he firmly replied: "Indeed, sir, I'll as soon renounce my baptism." Upon this, without further ceremony, they shot the poor man on the spot. On another occasion, some soldiers perceived a countryman lying in a field engaged in reading. They called to him, but the man being deaf, and not making any reply, they fired at him, on which he started to his feet. Again they cried to him, and before he could recover from his amazement, a second shot laid him dead on the field. Five of the wanderers had taken refuge in a cave near Ingliston, in the parish of Glencairn. Their place of concealment was discovered to the enemy by a base "intelligencer," who had formerly associated with them, pretending to be one of the sufferers. When the soldiers came up, they first fired into the

\* The instances here adduced are selected chiefly from Wodrow, who was at great pains to ascertain, by written attestations, the truth of the information he collected. The first is taken from Defoe's *Memoirs*.

cave, and then rushing in, brought them forth to execution. Without question put, or offer of mercy, the whole five were immediately shot, by orders of the commanding officer. One of them being observed to be still alive, a wretch drew his sword and thrust him through the body. The dying man raised himself, and, weltering in his own blood and that of his companions, cried out, with his last breath—"Though every hair of my head were a man, I would die all those deaths for Christ and his cause!"

In the bloody proceedings of this period, the names of Johnston of Westerraw, and Grierson of Lagg, vie with that of Claverhouse in infamous notoriety. Westerraw was an apostate from presbyterianism, and, like all apostates, more bitter and unrelenting in his hatred to his former brethren than the worst of their old oppressors. Claverhouse having apprehended a young man named Andrew Hislop, whose only crime was, that one of the wanderers had permission to die in his mother's house, brought him to Westerraw, on whose property the alleged crime was committed, and who, to signalize his loyalty, instantly passed sentence of death on him. Claverhouse, who seems to have had some relentions from reflecting on the murder of Brown, urged delay; but Westerraw insisting, he yielded, saying, "The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerraw; I am free of it." He then ordered the captain of a Highland company who were travelling with him, to execute the sentence. This the gentleman peremptorily refused, and drawing off his men to some distance, swore he would fight Claverhouse and his dragoons rather than comply. Claverhouse then ordered three

of his own men to do it. When they were ready to fire, they desired Andrew to draw down his cap over his eyes. "No!" said the undaunted youth, "I can look my death-bringers in the face without fear, and I have nothing whereof I am ashamed;" and holding up his Bible, and charging them to answer for what they were to do at the great day, when they would be judged by *that book*, he received the murderous fire without shrinking.

Grierson of Lagg was, if possible, a still more revolting character. The cruelties which others inflicted merely under the impulse of passion and malice, seem to have afforded this monster absolute delight. He would jeer at the victims whom he butchered in cold blood, and exult over their agonies with a kind of fiendish glee. When they requested a few moments to prepare for death, "What!" he would exclaim, with oaths and imprecations, "have you not had time enough to prepare since Bothwell?" Having been challenged by one of his companions for cruelty to one whom he knew to be a gentleman, and particularly for not allowing his dead body to be buried, Lagg answered, with an oath, "Take him if you will, and salt him in your beef-barrel!" It was quite customary with this hero and his companions, in their drunken orgies, to personate devils, and lash one another with whips, in jesting imitation of hell!

"Wonderful," says Wodrow, "were the preservations of the persecuted about this time. The soldiers frequently got their clothes and cloaks, and yet missed themselves. They would have gone by the mouths of the caves and dens in which they were lurking, and the dogs would snook and smell about

the stones under which they were hid, and yet they remained undiscovered." But the reader may be more inclined to wonder at the patience of these sufferers, and at the fact that, notwithstanding the extraordinary provocation they received, there is not one well-authenticated instance of their having taken revenge on their persecutors.\* The only instance in which they even attempted, after the defeat at Bothwell, to oppose force to force, took place at Enterkin path, where a small body of countrymen succeeded in rescuing some prisoners from a detachment of dragoons. Enterkin path is a steep and dangerous ascent on a mountain of that name in Dumfriesshire, with a tremendous precipice beneath. Along this path the dragoons were conveying to Edinburgh nine prisoners, bound together in couples upon horses, when their progress was arrested by a voice from the hill above. "It was misty," says Defoe, in his account of this affair, "as indeed it is seldom otherwise on the height of that mountain, so that nobody was seen at first; but the commanding officer, hearing somebody call, halted, and cried aloud, 'What do you want, and who are ye?' He had no sooner spoken, than twelve men came in sight upon the side of the hill above them. One of the twelve answered by giving the word of command to his men, 'Make ready!' and then calling to the officer, said, 'Sir, will you deliver up our minister?' The officer answered with an oath, 'No, sir.' At which the leader of the countrymen fired immediately, and aimed so true that he shot him through

\* Two soldiers found killed at Swine Abbey, and a curate, named Peirson, who lost his life in a scuffle, are the only cases resembling retaliation which were adduced against the covenanters at this time, and in neither of these could it be shown that the sufferers had any share.

the head, and immediately he fell from his horse; the horse, fluttering a little with the fall of the rider, fell over the precipice, rolling to the bottom, and was dashed to pieces. The rest of the twelve men were stooping to give fire upon the body, when the next commanding officer called to them to hold their hands, and desired a truce. It was apparent that the whole body was in a dreadful consternation; not a man of them durst stir, or offer to fire a shot. 'Go, sir,' said he to the minister, 'you owe your life to this d—— mountain.' 'Rather, sir,' said the minister, 'to the God that made this mountain.' When the minister was come to them, their leader called again to the officer, 'Sir, we want yet the other prisoners.' They were also delivered. 'Well, sir, but,' says the officer, 'I expect you will call off those fellows you have posted at the head of the way.' 'They belong not to us,' says the honest man; 'they are unarmed people, waiting till you pass by.' 'Say you so?' said the officer; 'had I known that, you had not gotten your men so cheap.' Says the countryman, 'An' ye are for battle; we'll quit the truce, if you like.' 'No,' says the officer, 'I think ye be brave fellows; e'en gang your gate.'\*

Such is the only instance in which the severities of this time can be said to have roused these persecuted people to forcible resistance. "The society people," indeed, who were now the special objects of the vengeance of government, being the only class who still persisted in holding field-conventicles, published, in October 1684, "A declaration anent intel-

\* Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, part iii. pp. 189-195. Defoe had either heard another version of this story, or improved on what he heard. Wodrow states that the soldiers fired first on the countrymen. (Vol. iv. p. 173.)

ligencers and informers," in which they not only declared war against Charles, but solemnly warned all who chose, "either with bloody Doeg to shed their blood, or with the flattering Ziphites to inform persecutors where they were to be found," that they would not let them pass unpunished. "Call to your remembrance," they said, "*all that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven!*" While we must disapprove of this step, as unwarranted by Scripture, and affording too much countenance to the dangerous principle of the infliction of justice by private individuals, we cannot blame its authors with much severity, when we reflect that they were deprived of the protection of law, and hunted like wild beasts in the caverns and on the mountains to which they fled for shelter. The threat was never carried into execution; and yet it gained its object, by intimidating for a while the spies and traitors who made a traffic of their blood. It was the cry of the oppressed, wrung from them by extremity—the instinctive raising of the hand to protect the head—the language of human passion, wound up to the desperate calmness of defiance, which imparts dignity to the sufferer, while it makes the persecutor pause and tremble.

Yet it would be wrong to suppose that this was a general feeling among the persecuted. On the contrary, never perhaps was the gentle, forgiving, and long-suffering spirit of the gospel more strikingly illustrated than in the sufferings of this period. "They took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance." On the scaffold they forgave their enemies, and prayed for their executioners.



Some of them carried submission even to an excess; and nothing conveys a more affecting idea of the "great fight of afflictions" they endured, than the simple fact, attested by Wodrow, that many of them, seeing their friends cut down around them in such numbers, and their own lives in such constant jeopardy, were seized by a *tædium vitæ*—a weariness of life—which made them careless of danger, and induced them even to court the crown of martyrdom. The brutal judges, aware of this, instead of sending them directly from the bar to the gibbet, would remit them to jail, scoffingly informing them that they would not be admitted to the joys of martyrdom so soon as they expected! On one occasion a poor half-witted countryman, being present at an execution, was so much horrified that he could not forbear railing aloud against the hangman, calling him "a murdering dog." He was immediately seized by the soldiers, and some time after brought before the council. Being interrogated if he had been at Bothwell Bridge, he replied "Ay, that I was!" "Had you a sword about you?" "Ay," said he, "and pistols too." A child, it is said, might have beaten this champion, and taken all from him. Some of the more humane of the councillors, perceiving his weakness, proposed to "send him away, and not trouble themselves with such a mad fellow;" but others proceeding to pose him with questions about the king's authority, which he denied point blank, the poor creature was condemned and executed.\*

But though these persecutors escaped the human vengeance which they provoked—though not one of

\* Vindication of the Presbyterians in Scotland from the malicious aspersions cast on them in a late pamphlet by sir G. Mackenzie, p. 24.

them was called to account, or suffered death, or even any personal hardship worth mentioning, at the revolution, it was remarked, that few of them escaped the judgments of Heaven. Of those who took the most active share in these bloody persecutions, very few came to an ordinary or peaceful death. The duke of Rothes was seized with such remorse on his death-bed, that, as we remarked before, he was fain to send for some of the persecuted ministers to comfort him. They came, but the wretched man was beyond the reach of consolation; their prayers were drowned in the groans he uttered under the horrors of a guilty conscience. His friends, shocked at the scene, were compelled to leave him; and the duke of Hamilton, on taking his departure, said, in tears, "We banish these men from us, and yet, when dying, we call for them: this is melancholy work!" Cruel and bloody as were the deaths of our martyred fathers, they were enviable compared with those of their murderers. Over the grave of the martyr we bend with a pleasing melancholy; for there was "hope in his death." From the death-bed of the persecutor we recoil, hopeless and horrified, and instinctively breathing the prayer, "Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men!"

## CHAPTER VII.

The Test—Trial of the earl of Argyle—Sir Hugh Campbell—Mr. William Carstairs—Baillie of Jerviswood—Hume of Polwart—Execution of Argyle—Prisoners in Dunottar castle—James' indulgence—Execution of Renwick—Character of Scottish prelacy—Alarm of the country—The revolution.

To understand the following part of our history, we must revert for a little to the famous test, enacted in August 1681. This engagement, which was in the form of a long complex oath, bound the swearer to acknowledge the supremacy of the king in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil—to renounce the covenants—to condemn all assemblies as illegal which were held without the royal sanction, and on no pretext to attempt the alteration of the government in church or state. At the same time, with glaring inconsistency, it included a profession of the true protestant religion contained in the old Scots Confession of 1567—a clause introduced, it is said, much against the will of the duke of York, whose main design in imposing the oath was to extirpate presbyterianism, and thus prepare the way for popery. He knew very well that no honest presby-

terian would submit to such an oath, and he took care, in the act enjoining it, to exempt himself and the papists from the necessity of swearing it.

Nothing gives a darker picture of the time, than the history of this self-contradictory test. Though at first proposed only for persons in public trust, it was soon converted into a general test of loyalty, and imposed on all, even the simplest rustics. Few had sufficient firmness of principle to refuse it, so much had all sense of religion been worn off from the minds of men by the numerous oaths that had been imposed, and by which conscience was debauched, and a spirit of atheism engendered. Some outcry was made against it at first; but, after all, not one of the councillors refused it, except the earl of Argyle. The prelatie clergy, with very few exceptions, and the bishops, without one exception, swallowed the oath. The divines of Aberdeen, after publishing their objections against it, which closely resembled those of the presbyterians,\* tamely submitted with the rest.

In the midst of this shameful degeneracy, the earl of Argyle, son of the marquis of Argyle, who was martyred in 1661, distinguished himself by his patriotic firmness and fidelity. When called upon, as a member of privy council, to take the test, he made the following declaration: "I take it, in as far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant

\* For example, the following is one of their exceptions: "How can I swear that I believe the king's majesty to be the only supreme governor over all persons, and in all causes, when the forementioned Confession obliges me to believe Jesus Christ to be the only head of the Church; and when I believe all ecclesiastic authority to be derived from Christ, and not from secular princes; and when I believe the king's power to be cumulative, and not destructive of the intrinsic power of the church?" &c. (*Wodrow*, iii. p. 304.)

religion; and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myself, in my station and in a lawful way, to endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church or state, not repugnant to the protestant religion and my loyalty." With this explication, he was allowed to take the test; but the duke of York, determined to get rid of this patriotic nobleman, whom he disliked for his father's sake, and for his sound protestant principles, made it the pretext of a prosecution against him for *high treason!* After a trial remarkable for the greatest mockery of justice and perversion of law which ever disgraced our civil judicature, the earl was brought in guilty, and committed to the castle. Finding that the duke of York, his inveterate enemy, was resolved on his destruction, he was induced by his friends to avail himself of the means of escape; and, on the 20th of December, about nine o'clock at night, he stole out of the castle, in the disguise of a page, holding up the train of his step-daughter, the lady Sophia Lindsay.\*

At this time, the prospect of the accession of the duke of York, his well-known devotedness to the Romish church, and the obvious tendency of his policy, filled the country with a dread of the restoration of popery. This feeling pervaded all classes, of which, perhaps, there cannot be a better proof than the fact, that it descended even to schoolboys and apprentices. On Christmas 1681, a few days after the escape of Argyle, they publicly burnt the pope in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. The students at

\* Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 167.—A minute account of the manner in which he effected his escape to Holland, with the aid of Mr. Veitch, is given in M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 127, *et. seq.*

the university having been severely punished for this the preceding year, the preparations were on this occasion conducted so quietly that none suspected the design. Having fixed a chair on the spot where the gallows stood, they tucked up his holiness in a red gown and mitre, with two keys over his arm, a crucifix in the one hand, and the test in the other; and having applied fire to the figure, "it brunt lenty at first till it came to the powder, at which he blew up in the air."\* The boys at Heriot's hospital adopted a more ingenious mode of testifying their sentiments. Finding that the dog which guarded the outer gate of the hospital held "a public office," they voted that he ought to take the test, or be hanged. They offered him the paper, which he absolutely refused; they then rubbed it over with butter, which they called "the explication of the test;" and when again presented, he licked off the butter, but rejected the paper; upon which, after a long trial, in ridicule of the absurd reasoning of the crown lawyers on Argyle's case, they found the dog guilty of *leising making*, and actually hanged him.† In Glasgow the same spirit was manifested in a different manner. The students put on favours and coloured ribbons, in token of their being protestants. For this some of their leaders were arrested, and, among others, the young marquis of Annandale, who briskly defended himself and his companions. In addressing the bishop who sat as their judge, he had called him only "sir." "William," said his regent, "you do not understand whom you are speaking to;

\* Fountainhall's Hist. Obs., p. 55.

† *Ibid.* p. 56. In this work a curious account of the trial of the dog is inserted, p. 303.

he is a greater person than yourself." "I know," said Annandale, "that the king has made him a spiritual lord; but I know likewise that my father's son is not to be compared with the son of the piper of Arbroath."\*

It has been often said, and generally supposed, that the presbyterians who suffered during this period were chiefly persons in the lower ranks of life. This, however, is an error which may easily be rectified by a glance at the annals of the persecution, and the lists of proscribed individuals. These will be found to comprehend some of the highest of the nobility, and the greater part of the gentry and substantial yeomanry of the country. The poorest classes were in general hostile to the covenanters, and too often lent themselves as informers against them.

Among the gentlemen who suffered at this period we may briefly notice sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, the Rev. William Carstairs, Robert Baillie of Jarviswood, and sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, who were all brought into trouble in consequence of being suspected of accession to the Ryehouse plot, in 1684, for their supposed share in which those illustrious patriots, lord Russel and Algernon Sidney, had suffered death. Sir Hugh Campbell was brought to trial on this charge; but finding no evidence to implicate him in the plot, they determined to ruin him by a charge of accession to the rising at Bothwell, and permitting conventicles to meet on his estate. Sir Hugh proved his innocence of these crimes beyond all doubt; but one witness remained, named Ingram, who had been heard to swear that he would be revenged on him for some supposed injury,

\* Wodrow, iii. 345.

and on whose evidence his prosecutors depended. Ingram held up his hand to take the oath. "Take heed what you are about to do," said sir Hugh, looking him steadily in the face, "and damn not your own soul by perjury; for, as I shall answer to God, I never saw you in the face before, nor spoke to you." The man was staggered by this appeal, and refused to depone the promised falsehood. A loud shout of applause proclaimed the delight of the audience at this failure of the proof. The disappointed judges were incensed; and sir George Mackenzie, the lord advocate, declared, in a passion, that "he never heard of such a *protestant roar*, except in the trial of Shaftesbury." The jury, having brought in a verdict of "Not guilty," were insulted, and threatened with imprisonment for joining in the applause; the witnesses were kept in confinement; and sir Hugh himself, though he escaped with life, was committed a prisoner to the Bass, and deprived of his estate, which was given to one of his judges.

The Rev. William Carstairs, afterwards principal of the university of Edinburgh, and well known as the confidential correspondent of king William, was suspected of the same plot; and refusing to betray any of his friends, was subjected, about the same time, to the torture of the *thumbkins*—an instrument newly introduced, which enclosed the fingers, and, by means of a screw, was made to compress the joints, so as to produce the most exquisite pain.\*

\* After the revolution, Mr. Carstairs procured the instrument by which he had been tortured, which is still in the possession of his descendants. It is said that king William, being curious to see it, inserted his royal fingers in the thumbkins; and Carstairs, at his desire, having



The minister endured this torture with the greatest fortitude, steadily refusing to answer any questions which might implicate his friends. After some time, however, worn out by rigorous confinement, he agreed to make some disclosures, upon receiving a solemn promise from government, that "nothing he said should be brought, directly or indirectly, against any man in trial." His evidence involved Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, as one who had met with others to consult what steps should be taken for the support of the protestant religion, in the event of the duke of York succeeding to the crown. To the disgrace of the government, as well as his own unspeakable distress, this evidence was not only published and hawked about the streets, but adduced by the king's advocate as "an adminicle of proof" against that worthy gentleman. Mr. Carstairs lived to take a prominent part in the revolution. He was more distinguished as a politician than as a clergyman; and from the influence he possessed over king William in the management of the civil affairs of Scotland, he was generally known at court by the name of "Cardinal Carstairs?"\*

Robert Baillie of Jerviswood was one of the most amiable and engaging characters of this dark period of our history. Gentle in disposition, and bland in manners, yet firm and faithful to his religious principles, pious and learned, he united accomplishments rarely to be found among the gentlemen of his age, with the virtues of the patriot and the martyr. At given the screw a turn, his majesty exclaimed, "Hold, hold, principal; another turn, and I would confess anything."

\* The character of this worthy and much-respected minister has suffered from the misrepresentations of it in the very *moderate* account of his life drawn up by Dr. M'Cormick, and prefixed to his state papers.

tached to the cause of liberty and protestantism, his well-tryed loyalty could not shield him from the malice of a government bent on subjecting the nation to popery and despotism. He was thrown into prison, where he contracted an illness which brought him to the gates of death. His enemies, eager to obtain possession of his property, and afraid he might die in their hands before his attainder enabled them to reach it, made sure, in the first place, of £5,000, by fining him to that amount; and when to all appearance a dying man, and unable to stand, they dragged him from his sick-bed to the bar on an impeachment of high treason. He appeared in his night-gown, attended by his sister, who administered cordials, to prevent him from sinking during the trial. His pretended crime was "intercommuning with rebels"—in other words, having harboured or conversed with fugitive presbyterians; along with which they attempted to combine a charge of accession to the Ryehouse plot, by shamefully producing against him the evidence they had procured from Carstairs.\* The evidence completely failed; even the judges were satisfied of his innocence; but the council had determined he should die. In vain he appealed to their sense of justice. "Did you not," he said, addressing Mackenzie, who acted as king's advocate, "did you not own to me privately in prison that you were satisfied of my innocence? And are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than before?" The

\* Jerviswood had been arrested on this charge in England, and was offered his life if he would consent to turn king's evidence. He replied to this, with a smile, "They who can make such a proposal to me, know neither me nor my country." (*Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain*, i. 89.)

whole audience fixed their eyes on the person thus addressed, who appeared in no small confusion, and replied, "Jerviswood, I own what you say; but my thoughts *there* were as a private man: what I say *here* is by special direction of the privy council;" and, pointing to the clerk, he added, "He knows my orders." "Well," said Jerviswood, on hearing this unprincipled avowal, "if your lordship have one conscience for yourself, and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do." Then, turning to the justice-general, he said, "My lord, I trouble your lordships no longer."

The trial concluded at one o'clock in the morning, December 24, 1684; and his sentence was, to be taken *that same day* (no time could be lost), between two and four o'clock, to the market-cross of Edinburgh, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and thereafter his head to be struck off, and his body quartered. When this doom was pronounced, he said, "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as ye are to live."

When sent back to prison, "he leaned over the bed and fell into a wonderful rapture of joy, from the assurance he had that in a few hours he should be inconceivably happy." Being asked how he was, he answered, "Never better, and in a few hours I'll be well beyond conception! They are going to send me in pieces and quarters through the country; they may hack and hew my body as they please, but I know assuredly nothing shall be lost, but all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered, and made like Christ's glorious body." On the scaffold, he behaved with the utmost serenity, though unable,

from bodily exhaustion, to go up the ladder without support. He began to say, "My faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this end"—when the drums were ordered to beat, and he resigned himself to the executioner. "Their spite against the dead body of this saint was very great; and I am told," says Wodrow, "the quarters of it lay in the thieves'-hole for three weeks, before they were placed as in the sentence."\* "And thus," says bishop Burnet, "a learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months' hard usage, was brought to such a death in a way so full, in all the steps of it, of the spirit and practice of the courts of the inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the steps taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised, in them." It is gratifying to reflect, that while the names of his persecutors have been forgotten, or are only remembered with execration, the memory of this excellent gentleman is still embalmed in the memory of Scotland, and in the hearts of all good men, and that his descendants have risen to opulence and honour in the country.†

Baillie's friend and companion in tribulation, sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, escaped from prison, and lay for a long time in a place of concealment so remarkable, that it is not surprising he should have eluded all the efforts of his pursuers. With the assistance of a faithful domestic, to whom alone the

\* Wodrow, iv. 104-112, and *Addenda*.—"Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood had his life taken from him at the cross; and everybody was sorry, though they durst not show it." (*Lady Murray's Memoirs*, p. 41.)

† Among his illustrious descendants, is the present marchioness of Breadalbane. "You have truly men of great spirits in Scotland," said Dr. Owen to a friend; "there is for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with."

secret was imparted, his wife and daughter conveyed a bed during night to the family burying-place, in a vault under ground at Polwart church, where sir Patrick remained safe during a whole month, with no light except what was admitted through a small aperture at the one end of the vault. As night approached, his noble and amiable daughter, Grisell, afterwards lady Grisell Baillie,\* repaired to this gloomy receptacle with his victuals, and remained with him till daybreak. The following interesting account of these midnight interviews is given by lady Murray, the daughter of the youthful heroine: "Lady Grisell had at that time a terror for a churchyard, especially in the dark, as is not uncommon at that age, by idle nursery stories; but when engaged by concern for her father, she stumbled over the graves every night alone without fear of any kind entering her thoughts, but for soldiers and parties in search of him, which the least noise or motion of a leaf put her in terror for. The minister's house was near the church; the first night she went, his dogs kept such a barking as put her in the utmost fear of a discovery; my grandmother (the wife of sir Patrick) sent for the minister next day, and upon pretence of a mad dog, got him to hang all his dogs. There was also difficulty of getting victuals to carry him, without the servants suspecting; the only way it was done was by stealing it off her plate at dinner into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this and other things of a like nature. Her

\* She was married to George Baillie, son of the martyred Jerviswood, between whom and lady Grisell a mutual attachment had been formed in the prison where they had been accustomed to meet while their fathers were in confinement.

father liked sheep's head; and while the children were eating their broth, she had conveyed most of one into her lap: when her brother Sandy, the late lord Marchmont, had done, he looked up with astonishment, and said, 'Mother, will you look at Grisell; while we have been eating our broth, she has ate up the whole sheep's head!' This occasioned so much mirth amongst them, that her father, at night, was greatly entertained by it, and desired Sandy might have a share of the next. His great comfort, and constant entertainment (for he had no light to read by), was repeating Buchanan's psalms, which he had by heart from beginning to end, and retained them to his dying day."\* Sir Patrick Hume ultimately escaped out of the country, and after the revolution was created earl of Marchmont, and chancellor of Scotland. The good old presbyterian retained the same composure and cheerfulness of mind till his death, which was at the age of eighty-four.

In February 1685, died Charles II., and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of York, under the title of James VII. of Scotland, and II. of England. The accession of an avowed papist to the throne, in itself a flagrant breach of the constitution, was followed by other steps paving the way for popish ascendancy. The Scottish parliament, more ready than the English to favour the projects of James, without even requiring him to take the coronation oath, vowed the most slavish submission to his will. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to avert

\* Memoirs of George Baillie of Jerviswood, and of lady Grisell Baillie, by their daughter, lady Murray of Stanhope, p. 36-33.

the catastrophe. Among these was the invasion of the earl of Argyle, the progress and issue of which are matters of civil history. The last moments of this unfortunate nobleman come more properly within our province. His whole demeanour, after his apprehension, was marked by a calm fortitude and Christian resignation becoming the son of the proto-martyr of the covenant. His last Sabbath on earth was spent with the most heavenly devotion. To his sister, the lady Lothian, who was much affected on taking farewell of him, he said, "I am now loosed from you and all earthly satisfactions, and long to be with Christ, which is far better. It seems the Lord thought me not fit to be an instrument in his work; but I die in the faith of it, that it will advance, and that the Lord will appear for it. I hear they cannot agree about the manner of my death; but I am assured of my salvation; as for my body, I care not what they do with it. Sister," he added, while his heart filled at the thought of his afflicted wife, "*be kind to my Jeanie.*" About an hour before his execution, he dined with great cheerfulness, and having been accustomed to sleep a little after meals, he lay down, and took his usual repose. An officer of state, coming to visit him at this time, would not believe that he was asleep, till the door of the apartment was softly opened, and he was permitted to look in. He instantly rushed home in a state bordering on distraction. "Argyle within an hour of eternity, and sleeping as pleasantly as a child!" His conscience smote him, when he thought how differently he would have felt in the same circumstances. On the scaffold, the earl's deportment was equally becoming. Having addressed the multitude, prayed, and for-

given his enemies, the episcopal clergyman who attended, said aloud, "This nobleman dies a protestant." Argyle stepped forward and said, "I die not only a protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." He then laid his head on the block, and saying, "Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory!" he gave the fatal sign by raising his hand, and the axe severed his head from his body.

Though the earl of Argyle had been for several years a member of the government, and in this capacity may be said, in one sense, to have participated in the guilt of their procedure, yet he seems to have been all along animated by a genuine love to liberty and religion. His unsuccessful effort to free his country from the chains of despotism, entitles him to our gratitude as a patriot; and the manner of his death ranks him in the list of our martyrs.

The unfortunate attempt of Argyle led to still greater severities against the presbyterians. The jails of Edinburgh being filled with prisoners, it was resolved, on hearing the first news of the invasion to transport a number of them to Dunottar castle, a fortified place on the east coast of Scotland, near the village of Stonehaven, the ruins of which still remain. Some of them were allowed to escape on taking the oath of supremacy. The rest, who stood faithful, to the number of one hundred and sixty-seven persons, men and women, after being driven like cattle through Fife and along the coast of Angus, were thrust promiscuously into a dark vault underground, full of mire, and with only one window looking to the sea. In this horrid situation they were pent up during the whole summer. Many of them



died from disease, and the lives of the rest were made bitter by the barbarity of their keepers. It seemed to be the policy of government to compel these poor people to forswear themselves, by pushing them to the utmost verge of human endurance; and their inflexible fidelity had only the effect, uniformly observed in the history of persecution, of inflaming the rage and malignity of their persecutors. Twenty-five of the prisoners made their escape one day down the rocks on which the castle was built; but fifteen of these, betrayed by the low people of the neighbourhood, were apprehended, and cruelly tortured. They were bound hand and foot on a form, with a fiery match betwixt every finger, six soldiers waiting on by turns to keep the matches alive. Some of them expired under this diabolical treatment, while others were shockingly mutilated, the very bones of their fingers being burnt to ashes.

Soon after this, a change took place, which gave a temporary respite to the suffering presbyterians. James, having awakened the jealousy of the nation by the dissolution of his parliaments, and the admission of papists to places of power and trust, found it necessary, for the accomplishment of his darling purpose, to ingratiate himself with the dissenters. With this view, he published, in 1687, various acts of indulgence, professedly with the view of giving "liberty of conscience," and "allaying the heats and animosities among the several professors of the Christian religion," but really in order to rescind all penal statutes and disabilities affecting the papists. In the very act of granting these indulgences, James challenged a dispensing and absolute power, directly at variance with all civil and religious liberty. "We

have thought fit to grant," said he, in one of his proclamations, "and by *our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all our subjects are to obey without reserve*, do hereby give and grant our royal toleration." Besides this unconstitutional stretch of authority, the indulgences were at first clogged with various restrictions. The toleration was only extended to "moderate presbyterians," and to such as were willing to accept of the boon, permitting them to meet in private houses, but discharging them to meet in barns or meeting-houses, and with a renewal of all the former severities against preaching in the fields. In this shape, not one of the presbyterians accepted of the indulgence. In April of the same year, however, James published his "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience," in which still farther concessions were made; and this was followed in July by a third toleration, abolishing all penal statutes against nonconformity to the religion established by law, and taking off all the former restrictions, except the prohibition of field meetings. Of the benefit of the indulgence in this form, many of the presbyterian ministers deemed it their duty to accept.

"The Cameronians," says Dr. Cook, "who had renounced their allegiance to a tyrannical sovereign, acted consistently when the indulgence was offered to them, and they boldly refused to take advantage of what had flowed from so polluted a source."\* It is impossible not to admire the heroism of these men, who ventured, in their individual capacities, to anticipate the judgment uttered in the following year by the voice of the three kingdoms. Though with

\* Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, iii. 431.

some of their principles of opposition to government we do not agree, yet it cannot be denied that the daring fidelity of this persecuted remnant, presents a striking and honourable contrast to the pusillanimity of the nation in submitting so long to a tyrant, who, by casting off all regard to the constitution, had given the signal of defiance to all the friends of civil and religious liberty. Nor can we justify the conduct of those presbyterian ministers who accepted of the indulgence, and particularly of some who went so far as to thank the king for the insidious measure, as "a gracious and surprising favour." To exercise their ministry without molestation, was no more than to resume those rights of which they had been wrongfully deprived; but to do so in the way of pledging their loyalty, without protesting against the monstrous usurpation of power from which the indulgence flowed, and the design for which it was obviously granted—the establishment of popery—was a recognition of spiritual tyranny in the act of accepting religious liberty. The readiness with which they grasped at this dangerous boon, indicated a spirit worn out by long persecution, and which manifested itself, after the revolution, in too tamely submitting to encroachments on their spiritual independence. But it is easier for us to censure them for what they did, than to say how we would have acted in the same trying circumstances. Meanwhile the ministers did all in their power to gather up the scattered fragments of their constitution. On the 30th of August 1687, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr met in a house at Glasgow, and resolved on measures for the licensing of preachers and the settlement of congregations. They were thus prepared, in some mea-

sure, for what providence intended to do for the deliverance of their beloved church.

Prelacy had now ruled over the church of Scotland for nearly twenty-eight years, during which time its reign had been traced in blood, and upheld by oppression. It is a curious fact, that during all this time no attempt was made to introduce the ceremonies of the English church. The form of worship differed very little from that practised by the presbyterians. Our prelatie clergy had no liturgy, no ceremonies, no surplice, no altars, no crossing in baptism.\* What is more remarkable, they had no confession of faith, no standard of doctrine or discipline, no rule to guide their practice, except the will of the bishops, which, again, was regulated by the will of the king. A more nondescript church, perhaps, never appeared on earth; it was neither popery, prelacy, nor presbytery, but a strange jumble of all the three—the king being pope, his council the cardinals, the bishops moderators, and the dragoons of Dalziel and Claverhouse, what Mackenzie once called them, the “ruling elders.” The king, as supreme head of the church, deposed ministers, set aside bishops, and gave directions both as to the matter and manner of preaching. In 1670, a law was actually passed condemning the practice of lecturing! The minister might preach as long as he chose, from a single verse; but was forbidden, on pain of treason, to select two or more for the purpose of exposition.

From the days of archbishop Laud, the prelatists (we deny their exclusive claim to the title of *episcopalian*s) of Scotland (with the exception

\* Sir G. Mackenzie's Vindication, p. 7.

of Leighton, who retired in disgust at their proceedings, and Charteris, with a few others, who refused the test) were not only Arminian in their doctrine, but quite prepared to symbolize and coalesce with popery, had James succeeded in his designs—not so much from conviction, as from absolute lack of all principle, and exclusive devotion to their benefices.\* Scottish prelacy, indeed, has ever betrayed a strong leaning towards popery; and as this proved its ruin at the revolution, so it is one of the most hopeful symptoms of its being destined never to rise again, that its efforts to do so, in modern times, have been marked by the same fatal predilection.† Our danger unquestionably lies in the plausible pretensions of a “moderate episcopacy.”

As the termination of its reign approached, prelacy again dipped its hands in blood. After all others had ceased to hold field-meetings, contented with the liberty they enjoyed, or unwilling to expose their people to almost certain destruction, by an unequal war with the royal forces, one individual alone continued to outbrave the government by persevering in the practice. This was Mr. James Renwick. Born of poor but pious parents, he was early devoted to the work of the ministry, and after finishing his course at the university, he went abroad, and received license in the United Provinces. In September 1683, he returned to Scotland, and joining himself to the society people, became their minister. With the ardour of youth, and the zeal of a martyr, he en-

\* See Letter of the Scots Bishops to the King, Nov. 3, 1688, in Wodrow, iv. p. 408; Cook's Hist., iii. pp. 436, 437.

† See Appendix, Note B. *Semi-Popery of Scottish Prelacy.*

tered into all the extreme measures of his party; he penned the Sanquhar declaration, and preached with great keenness against all who accepted the various indulgences and tolerations of the period. It may be easily conceived that such a character would be obnoxious to the government. Young as he was, they thirsted for his blood, and set a high price upon his head. After a variety of hair-breadth escapes, he was at last apprehended in the beginning of February 1688. When brought before the council, he boldly avowed his principles, disowning the authority of the king, and acknowledging that he taught his people that it was unlawful to pay cess, and lawful to come in arms to the field-meetings to defend themselves against the king's forces. The council, struck with his ingenuousness and extreme youth, employed various methods to induce him to qualify or retract these sentiments, but in vain. He stood firm, and was brought to the scaffold. There he displayed the same noble intrepidity of mind, mingled with a spirit of cheerful and elevated devotion. "Lord," he said, in his last prayer, "I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses to be the seed of thy church, and return again and be glorious in this land. Now, Lord, I am ready; the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herself ready." He died, February 18, 1688, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.\*

We are told that "the drums beat all the time, from his first ascending the scaffold, till he was cast over. without intermission." The government were

\* Life and Death of James Renwick, by Shields; Biograph. Presby., vol. ii.; Wodrow, iv. 445.

too conscious of the injustice of their cause, and too much afraid of the impression likely to be produced by the home truths which came from the lips of this faithful witness, to allow him to be heard. But they failed to stifle his testimony; and his death may be said to have sealed their doom. He was the last that suffered martyrdom in Scotland. God grant he may be the last that ever will!

During these twenty-eight years of persecution, it is computed that not less than eighteen thousand people suffered death, or the utmost hardships and extremities, on account of religion. Of these, about one thousand seven hundred were banished to the plantations; and of this number, two hundred were lost in shipwreck, by the carelessness, or rather, as it appears, the cruelty of the seamen. About seven hundred and fifty were banished to the northern islands, and doomed to wear out a miserable existence on these then unpeopled shores. Those in addition who suffered imprisonment, and the privations accompanying it, are computed at above two thousand eight hundred. Those killed in the several skirmishes and insurrections, are reckoned at six hundred and eighty, and those who went into voluntary banishment about seven thousand. About four hundred and ninety-eight were murdered in cold blood; three hundred and sixty-two were executed by form of law. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other privations, in prison, or in their wanderings upon the mountains, and their residence in caves, cannot be well calculated, but will certainly make up the sum total to the number above specified.\*

\* Scots Worthies, Supplement, p. 563. The above is given as the full-

But, as De Foe has beautifully remarked, “it would be endless to enumerate the names of the sufferers; and it has not been possible to come at the certain number of those ministers, or others, who died in prison and banishment—there being no record preserved of their prosecution in any court of justice; nor could any roll of their names be preserved in those times of confusion anywhere, but under the altar, and about the throne of the Lamb, where their heads are crowned, and their white robes seen, and where an exact account of their number will at last be found.”\*

The time, however, was fast approaching when this system of ecclesiastical tyranny, with the civil despotism to which it owed its existence, was doomed to fall; and when hope was at the lowest, and the cloud at the darkest, it pleased Divine Providence to send deliverance. In January 1689, the tyrant James fled from the country, and was succeeded on the throne by king William, amidst the acclamations

est summary I have met with of the sufferings of this period. The computation, though probably well-founded, is higher than that in other accounts. That given in the “Answer to Presbyterian Eloquence,” p. 26, is confessedly imperfect. In a pamphlet, entitled “Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances of the Presbyterians,” printed in 1690, pp. 33–38, the numbers are given as follows: “Banished as slaves, since 1678, seven hundred. (This does not include those banished before and after the affair at Pentland.) Slain in the several skirmishes about four hundred some odds. Executed on scaffolds, under colour of law, one hundred and forty.” This, however, does not appear to include those executed by the assizes held in different parts of the country, and by private gentlemen acting under commission. “As for the number of such as have been forced to voluntary exile to foreign countries,” this writer says, “we think it impossible to come to any reckoning of them.” Wodrow, who had the best means of information, seems to have despaired of drawing out a complete list of the numbers who suffered during the persecution.

\* Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 158.



of an emancipated people. Presbytery was restored to the church, and liberty to the nation, of Scotland; and the sufferings of a twenty-eight years' persecution were terminated by a bloodless and glorious REVOLUTION.

## CHAPTER VIII.

State of Scotland before the Revolution—Countenance shown to Popery—Riots in Edinburgh—Causes which led to the revolution—Character of James II.—Alarm of the English clergy—Conduct of the Scottish bishops—The revolution in Scotland—The Cameronians—Rabbling of the curates.

THE state of Scotland, as the hour of deliverance approached, was, in the last degree, gloomy and portentous. For some time previous to the revolution, everything promised fair for the re-establishment of popery, the darling object of the bigoted and infatuated James. The highest places of power and trust were filled by avowed papists, or men devoted to the court. The earl of Perth, who had become a convert to Romanism, was now chancellor of the kingdom. By the king's express orders, some of the Scottish prelates were turned out, and others, who promised to be more compliant, were substituted in their place. The indulgences which had been granted to the presbyterians, as we have already observed, had been too tamely submitted to by many of the ministers, who, worn out by a long course of persecution, were too glad, even at the risk of appearing to own the erastian power claimed by the monarch in dis-

pensing the crafty boon, to embrace the opportunity of a breathing time to visit their flocks and administer to them the ordinances of religion.\* The death of the heroic Renwick had deprived the Cameronians of their head, and seemed to have stifled the last voice that had dared openly to assert the cause of religious freedom. The country, overawed by an unprincipled soldiery, levied from the refuse of society, may be said to have been placed under martial law. The prisons were literally crowded with persons suspected of disaffection to the government, and all who refused on oath to renounce the covenant. To such a degree had suspicion seized on the minds of the prelatie clergy, that the slightest appearance of disrespect exposed a man to danger. Mr. Gordon, minister of the Scotch church at Campvere, who had come over to visit his friends, happening to pass the archbishop of Glasgow on the streets of Edinburgh without lifting his hat, his grace, in high wrath, thus accosted him: "What are you, sir?" "Why do you inquire?" replied Gordon. "Why do you look with so thravn a countenance?" pursued the archbishop. "My countenance is not thravn, sir," said the minister; "I look as I ordinarily used to do." "If your countenance be ordinarily so," said the archbishop, "it is a very thravn countenance!" "Sir, I have the same countenance that God has given me." "You

\* It admits of being questioned, whether the indulgences of James might not in the end have defeated their object, and proved the means of reviving, instead of destroying, the strength of presbytery. It is certain, that the Scottish parliament was opposed to them, and that the prelatie clergy dreaded they would have the effect, as they said, "of bringing back the fanatic party, then almost entirely ruined and scattered through the world." (*Balcarras Mem.*, p. 8; *Memoirs of Ker*, p. 10.)

should not look uncivilly upon gentlemen," replied the prelate, abruptly leaving him. Shortly after this strange interlude, Mr. Gordon was summoned before the chancellor, was imprisoned in the castle, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Meanwhile, popery was receiving every kind of favour and encouragement. The children of the nobility were, in some instances by force, taken from their relatives, and sent abroad to be educated in Jesuit colleges. Schools under the care of popish priests, in which the poor were educated gratuitously, were erected in different parts, particularly at Holyrood-house, where a printing press was also established for the publication of popish tracts. Romish ecclesiastics, of various shades, transported in shoals from the continent, walked about the streets in their canonicals, and Edinburgh promised fair to assume, what James boasted of having effected with the English metropolis—"the appearance of a Catholic city." At the same time, as a fair specimen of the toleration which might be expected under popish ascendancy, all attempts to enlighten the country by publications on the errors of Romanism were strictly suppressed, under pretext of their being "insulting to the king's religion." Booksellers' shops were ransacked by orders of the chancellor, and all such works were seized and committed to the flames.\* One James Glen, bolder than the rest, got himself into trouble by declaring to the macers of the court, on their coming to search his premises, that he had

\* "Feb. 8, 1688. Alexander Ogstoun, bookseller in Edinburgh, is threatened for selling *Usher's Sermons against the Papists*, and the *History of the French Prosecutions*; and all the copies are taken from him, though popish books were publicly printed and sold." (*Fountainhall's Decisions*, i. 4:6.)

one book in his shop more severe against popery than all other books in the world; and on being required to show it, producing to them a copy of the Bible.\*

This preposterous attempt to suppress public opinion produced its usual effects. Intestine dissatisfaction daily increased, and found utterance in pasquinades and riots. The following characteristic scene may be given as an illustration of the popular feeling some time before the revolution: "Feb. 1, 1688. There was a tumult and riot in the town of Edinburgh, being a convocation of the apprentices and the rabble against the avowed and public meetings for saying of mass, and other popish worship; who disturbed the chancellor's lady and others at theirskailing, by throwing dirt, and otherwise affronting them. This was taken so ill that some of the boys being apprehended, the privy council met this day, and ordained a baxter (baker) lad to be whipped through the Canongate. While the hangman is going about it, the boys again rose, beat the hangman, rescued the lad, and so continued all night making disorder. The council called in to the assistance of Graham's company, Major White's men in the castle, and likewise the king's foot guards; and the soldiers being drunk, they shot with ball among the boys, and killed a woman and a man, and Robert Mein, the postmaster's apprentice, though he was in no confluence at all; which some called a murder. Then all were commanded off the streets, and all ordained to hang out *bowets*† (lanterns); and some

\* Fountainhall, i. 398.

† "The bowets that were formerly ordered by the common council to be hung out for illuminating the streets by night, not answering, it

being apprehended, the next day a *woman* and two men were scourged; but to show how afraid they were of the common people's inclinations, they had them guarded all the way betwixt two files of musketeers and pikemen, for fear of being deforced again."\*

A minute investigation of the causes which led to the revolution does not come within our province. Historians are generally agreed in tracing that event mainly to the infatuated policy of the monarch. From the day of his coronation, when he refused to take the oath to maintain the protestant religion, to the day of his abdication, when, in his flight to France, he threw the great seal into the Thames, the administration of James II. was a medley of outrages on the constitution, and of political blunders, only to be explained by the intense bigotry, that blinded him to every other consideration save that of reviving popery. Without capacity or energy, he was consistent only in his fanaticism, and obstinate only in his infatuation.† His gloomy reign was marked by many deeds of cruelty, unredeemed by an act of clemency, or even by those warlike achievements which shed a fictitious splendour over the atrocities of other

seems, a new order was made at this time (October 1634), for a lantern and candle to be hung out at the first storey of every tenement or land, at five of the clock in the evening, to burn till ten, from the 29th of October to the 1st of March, on the penalty of five merks Scots for every omission." (*Maitland's Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 105.)

\* Fountainhall, *Decis.*, i. 399.

† In point of consistency in his religion, as well as correctness of moral conduct, James had certainly the advantage of his brother Charles II., who, though professing himself a member of the church of England, was a papist at heart, and received the rites of the Romish communion the day before his death. (*Ellis' Orig. Letters*, 2d ser. vol. iv. 76. *The Phenix*, vol. i. 566.)

despots. Had he been content to rule according to the laws of the land, and enjoy the exercise without aiming at the ascendancy of his religion, no reign promised to be more prosperous. But the sacrifices which the god of this world exacts from his slaves are often far more costly than those required from the servants of Christ. When the interests of antichrist appear to require it, the dearest ties of nature must give way; the man must risk his life, and the monarch his crown. To secure the triumph of Popery, James yielded to the ghostly advices of his confessors, and rushed blindly on his own ruin. His last indulgence, by showing too plainly his design, brought matters to a crisis.

The bishops and clergy of England were the first to sound the alarm. The popular dread of popery, never altogether extinguished since the days of bloody Mary, was revived by the prospect of its restoration. The popish controversy was resumed; and, as the natural effect, the English clergy were not only led to adopt the weapons they had formerly employed against dissent, but to abate in their hostility towards evangelical dissenters. They promised them full toleration, and even proposed "an universal blessed union of all the reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies." \* This undesigned approximation to the main object of the solemn league of 1643, brought about by the similarity of circumstances, was attended with other coincidences equally striking. We see the same stringent application of the royal supremacy, met by a similar resistance on the part of the church; we see the same claim of independence

\* Calamy's Life of Baxter, p. 365.

made by the clergy, met by the same charge of rebellion on the part of the crown. In the trial of the bishops before the court of commission, under the presidency of the infamous Jeffreys, we witness the unseemly spectacle of ecclesiastical judges summoned to appear before the civil, and shut up to deny the competency of the court. One of the bishops, desiring to know the commission by which the court sat, we hear Jeffreys bawling at the top of his voice: "What commission have you to be so impudent in court? This man ought to be kept in a dark room. Why do you suffer him without a guardian?" And "among the deputies at the bar, and probably undistinguished from the rest by the ignorant and arrogant chancellor, who looked down upon them all with like scorn, we see sir Isaac Newton, professor of mathematics in the university."\* And, in short, we feel as if we were transported back to the kirk of St. Giles in 1637, when we learn that "Sprat himself chose to officiate as dean in Westminster Abbey; where, as soon as he gave orders for reading the declaration (of indulgence), so great a murmur arose that nobody could hear it; but before it was finished, no one was left in the church but a few prebendaries, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars; and he himself could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling."†

Thus, with few exceptions, the English clergy—a class the most devoted to monarchy, and who might otherwise have kept the whole country in submission to the house of Stuart—were hopelessly alienated by an encroachment on the spiritual juris-

\* Sir James Macintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p. 138.

† Macintosh, *ib.*, p. 252.



diction of the church, so glaring that, even as men of honour, they were compelled to assume the attitude of resistance. We say compelled; for sad must have been the dilemma, and sore the struggle, before such a step could be taken by men who had been accustomed to preach the indefeasible right of kings, who had treated all that doubted with the fiercest scurrility, and had boasted of it, perhaps with reason, as the peculiar characteristic of the church of England.\* James himself was astonished to see these men lifting up the heel against him. But he forgot that though their theory may sound well, so long as it favours its supporters, it becomes a very different matter when turned against them; and that nothing tends so effectually to discover the fallacy of the argument as to feel its edge. Had his majesty been less precipitate, he might have been more fortunate; but by seeking too much, he lost both substance and shadow. The clergy became alarmed, and not being prepared to change their creed in a day, they gladly hailed any change that might save at once their consciences and their livings. Even as it was, the revolution came upon the English church entirely by surprise. The prince of Orange met at first with a very cold reception; many of the clergy "ran away at his approach, and were ashamed to make so quick a turn."† Little credit, after all, is due to their having opposed a course of policy so utterly reckless as that of James, a policy against which some of his best friends repeatedly warned him, at which even the pope is said to have been astonished, and which exposed him to the well-known taunt of the cardinal, on seeing the

\* Macintosh, *Hist. Rev.*, p. 153.† Burnet, *Hist.*, an. 1688.

dethroned monarch at Versailles:—"There goes a man who has lost three kingdoms for a mass!"

The alarm of the English clergy, in the prospect of the restoration of popery, was not without foundation. Nothing, indeed, strikes the devout student of this portion of our history with more thorough conviction, than the wonderful escape which, under the special providence of God, our country made, at the revolution, from being again brought under the dominion of the pope. Our historians have not, in general, attached sufficient weight to the accommodating genius of popery, or to the predisposing causes which operated in its favour.\* Public morals had been debauched, and religious principle undermined, by the unblushing profligacy which disgraced the reign of the second Charles. In England, the last spark of patriotism and public spirit seemed to have been quenched in the blood of Russell and Sidney. Ignorance pervaded the mass of the population, who were prepared for almost any form of religion the government chose to prescribe. The hardiest and best portion of the dissenters, through dint of persecution, had been gradually wasted away, or drained off to the New World;† while the rest, crushed in spirit, and split into congregational fragments, without any common bond of union, were incapable of acting in concert, and presented an easy conquest to the enemy. With the exception of a few presbyterians, they

\* Bruce's *Free Thoughts on Popery*, p. 316, &c.

† By the lowest computation, "in England alone, from the restoration of Charles, in 1660, to the first indulgence of James, above fifteen thousand families had been ruined, and more than five thousand persons had died in bonds for mere matters of conscience to God." (*Macintosh, Hist. Rev.*, pp. 167, 175; *Bogue and Bennet, Hist. Dissent.*, i. 106.)

tamely licked the hand of the tyrant, thankful for the "indulgence," which allowed them to preach the gospel, and careless about the encroachments of that arbitrary power which would soon have banished them and the gospel out of the land.\* When to all this we add, that James had a powerful ally in Louis XIV., whose dragoonades for the extirpation of protestantism from France he heartily applauded, and on whose assistance he confidently relied; that the other popish powers of the continent were ready to support him; and that he could boast of having already reduced Ireland to the pope—our deliverance must appear little short of a miracle. The country was saved through the infatuation of a single man—saved through the intervention of another, the prince of the pettiest state in Europe—saved in spite of the most powerful combination of enemies, who seemed smitten at the critical hour by a sudden paralysis—and saved by the instrumentality of a church which had always been the fast friend of despotism, and the leaders of which shrank in dismay from the revolution they were employed to accomplish.

At this eventful crisis of our history, which brought the real principles of men to the test, the conduct of our Scottish prelates offers a striking contrast to that of their brethren in England. While the English clergy, forgetting, in their alarm for the safety of the protestant religion, their high notions about passive obedience, were presenting a firm front to the usurpations of James, our Scotch bishops were crouching at his feet. No sooner did they hear of the proposal of the

\* Clarkson's Life of Penn.

prince of Orange to come over and deliver these realms from the gripe of popery and arbitrary power, than they addressed a letter to king James, dated November 3, 1668 (by which time the prince had sailed from Holland); in which, after addressing the tyrant in a strain of the most fulsome adulation, they assure him of their "firm and unshaken loyalty;" praying "that his enemies may be clothed with shame, and that on his royal head the crown may flourish;" not doubting, they add, "that God, in his great mercy, will still preserve and deliver your majesty, by giving you the hearts of your subjects and the necks of your enemies."\* This letter may be reckoned a genuine sample of the spirit of Scottish prelacy, from the reformation down to the present period; and "when it is recollected that it was addressed to a sovereign who had unambiguously shown his intention to subvert the freedom and the religion of Britain, and that it was meant to defeat the enterprise of a prince who had emblazoned on his banners. The protestant religion and liberties of England, there can be little hesitation as to the light in which it is to be regarded."†

But the hour of deliverance had come. On the 4th of November 1688, William, prince of Orange, landed on the shores of England. He immediately published a declaration, in which, after detailing the causes of his expedition, he announced, that neither he nor his princess (the daughter of James), intended to claim the crown, but to leave the succession to be decided by parliament, and that their sole object was to deliver the nation from the

\* Letter of the Scots bishops to the king; Wodrow, vol. iv. 468.

† Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii. 435.

threatened mischiefs of popery and arbitrary power. This declaration was received everywhere with extraordinary enthusiasm. The coincidence of the period 1688 with that of 1588, in the preceding century, which had witnessed the destruction of the Spanish Armada, contributed to enhance the expectations of all the friends of protestanism. The nation appeared to "awake" as from a troubled dream; to "shake herself from the dust" of her prostration, and, in one day, to "put on her strength" for the struggle, and "her beautiful garments," for celebrating the victory.

The news of the prince's arrival, and of the flight of James, soon reached Scotland, spreading dismay among the friends of the late government, who were quite unprepared for the event. In the absence of the regular troops, which had been ordered to England, the privy council issued hasty orders for a levy of all fencible men, from sixteen to sixty.\* The orders were answered by shouts for the prince of Orange. The metropolis became the centre of resort from all places of the kingdom, and it was quickly seen that the authority of the late king was at an end. The power of the council and the bishops dwindled into contempt. The symbols of office dropped from their hands, and they who had ruled with a rod of iron began to consult for their own safety. It is a striking illustration at once of their guilt and their cowardice, that among the last acts of their expiring power, was an attempt to obliterate, as far as possible, the remaining vestiges of their despotism. They hastened to set at liberty those whom Claverhouse had imprisoned

\* Balcarras, pp. 28, 32; Wcdrow, iv. 467.

for refusing to renounce the covenant, and to take down and bury out of sight the heads of the martyrs—some of which had remained bleaching in the sun for twenty-eight years on the gates and market-crosses of the town—lest the horrid spectacles might be appealed to as monuments of their cruelty, and “might occasion the question to be moved, by whom, and for what, they were set up there?”\*

Let it not be supposed, however, that this arose from any relenting in behalf of the presbyterians. On the contrary, up to the last moment, “till they saw the cloud hovering and the storm ready to break upon their heads,” our prelatie rulers maintained their character as persecutors. It was not till the trumpets of the prince of Orange were heard, pealing the signal of the nation’s redemption, that the sword of persecution was sheathed. The jailer heard it, and reluctantly unbarred his dungeon. The dragoons of Claverhouse heard it, when their victims were kneeling before them, with muffled faces, ready to receive the fatal shot, and their fingers were withdrawn from the trigger.† Persecutors and persecuted were alike astonished at the suddenness of the change. They were like men that dreamed. But they awakened to very opposite feelings. The persecutor slunk away, rankling with disappointed rage; while the church of Scotland, after twenty-eight years’ oppression, rose from the earth, unmuffled and unmanacled, to hail the dawn of a glorious revolution!‡

\* Sufferings and Grievances of Presbyterians in Scotland, particularly of those of them called, by nick-name, Cameronians, p. 28.

† Sufferings and Grievances, &c., p. 29.

‡ “This,” says Defoe, “puts me in mind of a brief story with-

The events which led to the establishment of the revolution in Scotland, interesting as they are, belong rather to civil than ecclesiastical history; and we may now suppose them to pass in rapid review before us. The earl of Perth, justly afraid of his personal safety, flees from Edinburgh in the disguise of a fisherman; is detected in Fife, and thrown into the jail of Kirkaldy. The administration falls into the hands of the friends of William. The castle of Edinburgh, under the duke of Gordon, a papist, still holds out for the king. The citizens of Edinburgh, being alarmed by a report that a number of papists had got into the town, and designed to burn it that night, the whole turn out of their houses into the streets—mothers are seen running with their children, “crying out they would all be murdered by the Irishes!” Finding no appearance of the enemy, the mob is easily induced to march in the direction of Holyrood-house. Irritated by the opposition of the few soldiers left to guard the palace, under captain Wallace, who fire on them, and kill some of the crowd, they burst open the gates, take reprisals on the soldiers, gut the chapel of its ornaments, popish books, and all monuments of idolatry, and make a bonfire of them. In fine,

in the compass of my own knowledge, of a gentleman who was set upon by a furious mastiff dog: the gentleman defended himself with a sword for some time, but the mastiff, after being very much wounded, got within his point and fastened on his arm. The gentleman being in great distress, and fearing every moment that he would quit his arm and fasten upon his throat, had no other way to master this great dog, but being a large heavy man, he cast himself flat down upon the dog, with his other elbow lying on the dog's breast, and thus with the weight of his body crushed the beast to death; and upon this he observed, that as the dog died gradually under him, so fast and no faster his teeth loosened in his arm; his fury ended with his life, and both ended together.” (*Mem. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 289.)

the convention of estates, summoned by William to settle the affairs of government, meet on the 14th of March, 1689, and declare, "That James VII., being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power; and hath exerted the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom; whereby he hath *forfaulted* his right to the crown, and the throne has become vacant." \*

At this period, the party which took the most prominent share in helping on the revolution, was that known by the name of Cameronians—so called from their following the principles of Richard Cameron, who was the first among the presbyterians that openly threw off his allegiance to the reigning monarch, on the ground of his open tyranny and usurpation of the rights of Jesus Christ. This class of presbyterians, who may be viewed as forming at that time a political party, as well as a religious sect, were distinguished from their brethren by making their views of civil government a religious question, and acting upon these views to the extent of openly declaring war against the tyrant on the throne. They had thus the start of the rest of the nation; and whatever may be thought of the arguments on which they rested, or of the prudence and expediency of such

\* "The Scots were as unanimous for the *dethroning* king James as the English were for *abdication* him. They were not satisfied with the soft word *abdication*; they resolved roundly that he had *forfaulted* (forfeited) *the crown*." (*Oldmixon's Memoirs*, p. 28.)



a small minority in the nation assuming the attitude of resistance, there can be no question that the political principles which they professed were adopted and acted upon by the nation at large when the tyrant was hurled from the throne at the revolution. Compared with those who tamely submitted to the will of the government, it is impossible to deny them the palm of superior courage and consistency. Composed, for the most part, of the respectable yeomen and humbler classes of society, they numbered in their ranks a few of the landed gentlemen of the country; and in the societies which they kept up for social worship and consultation, in the absence, or after the removal, of their pastors, they maintained a character for an ardent piety, and a strictness of discipline, corresponding to the high principles of their profession. "Their standing on the mountains of Scotland," says an eloquent divine, "indicated to the vigilant eye of William that the nation was ripening for a change. They expressed what others thought, uttering the indignation and groans of a spirited and oppressed people. While lord Russell, and Sidney, and other enlightened patriots in England, were plotting against Charles, from a conviction that his right was forfeited, the Cameronians in Scotland, under the same conviction, had the courage to declare war against him. Both the plotters and the warriors fell; but their blood watered the plant of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruit." \*

As this class had suffered more than any other from the persecutions of the preceding reign, we need not wonder to find them among the first to hail the

\* Charters' Sermons, p. 277.

prince of Orange as their deliverer. "Now it was seen," says Defoe, "and made plain to the world, that the suffering people in Scotland acted upon no principles of enthusiasm, blind zeal, or religious frenzy, as their enemies suggested; that they were no enemies to monarchy, civil government, order of society, and the like, as had been scandalously said; but that they kept strictly to the rule of God's word, adhered to an honest cause, and acted upon just principles."\* This is partly borne out by the public declarations, as well as actings, of the Cameronians at the present period. In one of their papers presented to king William, they say, "We have given as good evidence of our being willing to be *subjects* to king William, as we gave proof before of our being unwilling to be *slaves* to king James. Before we offered to be soldiers, we first made an offer to be subjects."† This offer was made in their petition, addressed to the meeting of the estates, in which, after beseeching them by all that is holy and just, and by the blood of their murdered brethren, to declare the crown vacant, they say, "We cry and crave that king William, now of England, may be chosen and proclaimed king of Scotland, and that the regal authority be devolved upon him, with such necessary conditions of compact as may give just and legal securities of the peace and purity of our religion, stability of our laws, privileges of our parliaments, and subjects' liberties, civil and ecclesiastic, and make our subjection both a clear duty and a comfortable happiness. And because kings are but men, mortal, mutable, and fallible, particularly we crave,

† Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 301.

‡ Sufferings and Grievances, &c., p. 41.

that he be bound in his royal oath, not only to govern according to the will and command of God, ancient laws, &c., but, above all, that he and his successors profess, and maintain the true protestant religion, abolish popery and all false religion, heresy, idolatry, and superstition; revive the penal laws against the same; re-establish and redintegrate the ancient covenanted work of reformation of this church, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, Confession of Faith, covenants, national and solemn league, upon its old foundations, as established from the year 1638 to 1650: and that he restore and confirm, by his princely sanction, the due privileges of the church, granted to her by Jesus Christ, her only head and supreme, and never assume to himself an Erastian supremacy over the church in causes ecclesiastic, or unbounded prerogative in civils above law; but as the keeper of both tables of the law of God, in a way competent to civil authority, interpose his power for the ejecting out of the church the prelates, the main instruments of the church's and nation's miseries, and from all administration of the power and trust in state such malignant enemies as have promoted the ruin thereof. *Upon these, or the like terms, we tender our allegiance to king William, and hope to give more pregnant proof of our loyalty to his majesty, in adverse as well as prosperous providences, than they have done, or can do, who profess implicit subjection to absolute authority, so long only as Providence preserves its grandeur.*"\*

It may be thought that this high profession of

\* Sufferings and Grievances, 43, 44.

loyalty is considerably qualified by the conditions on which it is tendered—conditions which seem to limit civil allegiance by religious qualifications, and some of which savour of intolerance. But it will be granted by all who are friendly to the ancient principles of the church of Scotland, that this party insisted for no more, in substance, than what it was the *duty* of the nation to exact, and of the king to grant; and that it would have been well for the country and the church had such been the terms on which the government was settled; in which case many of the calamities and corruptions which followed might have been prevented. It may be remarked, too, that though the principles laid down in this petition must have led, if carried out, to an entire change in the constitution of the English church, yet the petitioners do not directly insist on this as a condition of their allegiance, but appear to confine their demands to Scotland; and by saying, “On these, or *the like* terms,” they reserve a liberty for themselves to judge of the expediency of their continuing their allegiance to William’s government, in the event of their not obtaining the full realization of their desires—a liberty of which many of them afterwards availed themselves, though some dissented from the revolution settlement, and dissociated themselves both from church and state.

We may now advert to the share taken in public affairs by the class of presbyterians to whom we have referred. And here it may be proper to give some account of a transaction in which they were the chief actors, and which was not only eagerly improved at the time by the enemies of the revolution, but which is to this day grossly misrepresented by historians of

high church principles—we allude to what was called the *rabbling of the curates*.

Soon after the convention of estates had declared the throne vacant, and before William had been proclaimed king of Scotland, the country may be said to have been in a state of anarchy. "There was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes." It is remarkable, that during this interval, this "surcease of justice,"\* there was no insurrection against the local authorities, no lives sacrificed, no outbreaks of any importance, or leading to any serious results. When it is considered that the nation had been groaning for such a length of time under the most unprovoked oppression, it is astonishing that no reprisals were attempted on those who had been the instruments of tyranny, and that the recoil of the nation on its ancient abutments was not accompanied by any disruption of social order. In one point only the people considered themselves entitled to improve the opportunity of this interregnum. The *curates*, as they called the prelatie incumbents (for they would not allow them the name of ministers), were of all others the most obnoxious to the common people. They were the living monuments of the usurpations of prelacy. All of them had been thrust in by the bishops, under the law of patronage, against the inclinations of the people. In many cases they had acted the part of spies and informers to the government, and aided the soldiers in the harassing and bloody persecution; few of them preached the gospel, and not a few of them had disgraced their profession by their

\* "We may count it a surcease of justice from August 1688, to the 1st of November 1689." (*Fountainhall*, i. § 16.)

lives. They were regarded, therefore, in the light of hirelings and intruders, filling the place, and eating the bread, of those faithful ministers whom they had driven into the wilderness, and whose blood was to be found in their skirts. No class of men had more reason to dread retribution, now that the tyrant was deposed and the military withdrawn; and the wonder is that they did not fall sacrifices to the popular fury. Nothing, however, worthy of the name of persecution awaited them. On Christmas day, 1688, several of these curates, particularly in the west of Scotland, were ejected from their churches and manses, chiefly through the agency of those called Cameronians or Hill-men. The example was followed in different parts of the country. The plan taken for effecting these measures, displays a solemn earnestness and high feeling of conscientiousness, characteristic of the party. Regarding themselves as specially called to perform this act of justice, by the circumstances in which Providence had placed them, and even by the vows under which they lay for the extirpation of prelacy, the covenanters brought out the obnoxious incumbent to the church-yard, the cross, or some place of public resort. He was then solemnly charged with his former misconduct. Not a drop of his blood was spilt, not a sixpence worth of his property was touched,\* excepting his fringed gown (a clerical vestment, which, being worn at that time by the curates, was regarded by the people as the badge of prelacy, and was on that account, from that time till very lately, obnoxious to all presbyterians). His gown was taken from his shoulders, torn over his head, and trampled under foot. This ceremony be-

\* Sufferings and Grievances of the Presbyterians.

ing ended, the disrobed curate was paraded to the boundaries of the parish, and dismissed with an emphatic warning never to return.

The curates, it appears, were sadly alarmed on these occasions, expecting nothing else but to be murdered in cold blood. We learn this from Patrick Walker, the eccentric pedler, who published lives of Cameron, Peden, and other covenanters. Patrick candidly confesses that he himself was present at fifteen of these rabblings; and so far from being ashamed of his share in them, he records it with evident satisfaction.\* “The time of their fall was now come,” says he, “which many longed for, even for long twenty-eight years. Faintness was entered into their hearts, insomuch that the greater part of them could not speak sense, but stood trembling and sweating, though we spoke with all calmness to them. I inquired at them what made them to tremble; they that had been teachers and defenders of the prelatical principles, and active and instrumental in many of our national mischiefs? How would they tremble and sweat if they were in the Grassmarket going up the ladder, with the rope before them, and the lad with the pyoted coat at their tail! But they were speechless objects of pity.”† This rabbling, as it was called, continued till April of the year following, and during this time upwards of three hundred curates are said to have been ejected.‡ It may be easily conceived what an outcry these per-

\* “There was never any public work that I put my hand to, wherein I took so much delight.” (*Patrick Walker.*)

† Remarkable Passages in the Life of Richard Cameron, &c., *apud Biograph. Presbyteriana.*

‡ Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government, anno 1690; p. 65. London, 1693.

sons would make after recovering from their panic, and finding themselves dispossessed of their livings. The most exaggerated reports of their treatment by the rabble were transmitted by them to Edinburgh, where they were collected by Dr. Munro (himself smarting under his expulsion from the university of Edinburgh), and published under the title of "The Case of the present afflicted Episcopal clergy in Scotland truly represented." This highly-coloured caricature was sent up to London, to prejudice the presbyterian cause. That in some cases there may have been rudeness and incivility, is not to be wondered at. Walker admits, that "there were some loose men, brought up under their own wings, who were very rude, in eating, drinking, and spoiling of their houses;" and complains of this being laid in the names of the covenanters, who were entirely innocent of such transactions. But judging even from their own representations of "the case of the afflicted clergy," it appears perfectly ridiculous to dignify the annoyances and hardships of which they complain with the name of persecution. We are informed, for example, that "with tongue and hands they committed all outrages imaginable against the ministers, their wives, and children;" but when we come to learn the particulars, it only appears that, "having eat and drunk plentifully, at parting they carry the minister out of his house to the church-yard, and there expose him to the people as a condemned malefactor, gave him a strict charge never to preach more in that place; and, for the conclusion of *all this tragedy*, they caused his gown to be torn over his head in a hundred pieces!" A conclusion worthy of the *tragedy* indeed! One Mr. William Bullo of



Stobo seems to have run the greatest risk of martyrdom. "A number of the rabble," he says, "*offered to stab him;*" and on his remonstrating with them, "they said, 'You —— rogue, do you take on you to admonish us? We'll shoot you presently through the head.' 'Then,' said he, 'since you will do it, God have mercy on my soul.' Then they laid many strokes on him with the *broad* side of their drawn swords, and told him they would forbear his execution *that night.*" Of course, execution was delayed *sine die*. Another of the curates, Mr. John Little, seems to have nearly fallen a victim to a regiment of fifty women, armed with cudgels, "who," he says, "after tearing his coat off, compassed him about, four at each arm; others of them beating his head and shoulders with their fists; others of them *scratching and nipping his back.*"\* Such was "the case of the afflicted episcopal clergy of Scotland truly represented!" And such were the martyrs for whom some episcopal writers of the present day still demand our commiseration! "The moral and moderate clergy," says Wodrow, "were very civilly used; and if the profane, the firebrands and instigators of all the barbarities so fresh in the people's memories, met with some wholesome severities, it is not much to be wondered at; and considering the confusion of the time, and the hand that persons that never joined with presbyterians might have in it, it may be matter of admiration that the provoked people ran not a far greater length."† It is worthy of remark, too, that none

\* Case of the Afflicted Clergy, pp. 5, 56, 59. Mr. Little could not have been very materially damaged by this treatment, when, as he tells us, he said to the women, that "if they would let him into the kirk, he would preach a sermon to them."

† Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 208.

complained of these pretended severities but the  
outed curates themselves; nor does it appear that,  
among the whole number who were thus summarily  
turned off, any solitary individual had either excited  
an affectionate wish for his detention, or was accom-  
panied by the regret of his flock at his departure.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Cameronian guard and regiment—Colonels Cleland and Blackader—Viscount Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie—Skirmish at Dunkeld—Revolution settlement of the church of Scotland—Difficulties of William—Scottish episcopacy abolished—Factions in parliament—Earl of Craufurd's measures—Revolution settlement of the church of Scotland—Its character and defects.

No sooner was it known that the convention of estates was to meet in March 1689, than the covenanters of the west resolved on repairing in a body to Edinburgh, to aid in protecting the meeting from the apprehended attack of the Jacobites. Their assistance was far from being unnecessary; but for some time, to avoid suspicion, they were secretly lodged about the town. On the alarm being given, they issued from their lurking-places, "bearing," says a modern writer, "beneath their blue bonnets, faces either sullen with the recollection of wrongs, or beaming with expectation of revenge, and carrying under their grey plaids, for the work they were called upon, the swords and pistols which they had used against the house of Stuart at Pentland and Bothwell."\* This description of the covenanters is

\* Chambers' History of the Rebellions, Constable's Miscellany, vol. xlii. p. 33.

chargeable with the prejudice and exaggeration common to the Jacobitical school, to which the writer belongs. That these much-injured and long-suffering men complained, and had reason to complain, of the ill-judged lenity of the government at the revolution to their murderers and oppressors, is perfectly true; but to insinuate that they were actuated by a spirit of personal revenge, is inconsistent not only with their avowed intentions, but with the whole of their character and history. Two individuals, it is true, were now sitting in that convention, who had good reason to dread the vengeance of the covenanters, had such a spirit existed; and who, conscious of their misdeeds, were now trembling for their safety. These were, the infamous sir George Mackenzie, long known in Scotland by the name of "Bluidy Mackenzie," and the not less notorious Claverhouse, now viscount Dundee; who, the one by his judicial murders, and the other by his military butcheries, committed on helpless old men and women, had certainly earned no title to the tender mercies of their countrymen. Neither of them was long in making his escape. Sir George fled to England, where he soon after died miserably. Dundee, whose hand was too deeply dyed in the blood of Scotland to expect much favour from the government of William, to whom he had offered his services without success, and, fretting under the disgrace of being superseded in his command, was now plotting the restoration of the infatuated James, under whose sanguinary and bigoted rule alone he felt that his wishes could be gratified or his merits appreciated. "The wicked fleeth," it is said, "when no man pursueth." Surrounded by a Cameronian

guard, Claverhouse, no doubt, felt himself less at his ease than when boldly riding up, in the midst of his dragoons, to attack an unarmed conventicle. It is reported that he had one day a casual rencounter on the street with colonel Cleland, the gallant leader of the covenanters, who is supposed to have challenged him to single combat.\* However this may have been, he pretended that he was in daily danger of his life, and insisted on the Cameronians being dismissed. Meeting with no sympathy in the convention, and expecting as little in the civilized parts of Scotland, Claverhouse betook himself to the Highlands, where, having been denounced as a rebel, he openly raised the standard of James VII.

The sudden rising of Dundee having led to measures for the defence of the country, those of the covenanters known by the name of Cameronians, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Douglas, raised a regiment of eight hundred men, without beat of drum or expense of levy, under the command of the earl of Angus, a nobleman hardly twenty years of age, and only son of the marquis of Douglas. Such was the origin of the Cameronian regiment;† and never, perhaps, was a body of troops so organized. Composed exclusively of those holding the extreme views of the covenanters, who had disowned the tyrannical government of James, and who were almost alike inimical to the prelatical and the indulged clergy, every man in the ranks was a religious enthusiast, in the best sense of that term—fired with zeal, based on stern and uncompromising

\* Somers' Tracts, *apud* Life and Diary of Colonel Blackader, p. 17.

† This regiment is now the 26th in the British infantry, and known still by the name of "The Cameronians."

principle, and aiming not merely to free his country from civil thralldom, but mainly to restore the reign of presbytery and the covenant, and put down all their opposers. The same zeal, however, which had succeeded so well in filling up the ranks of the regiment, was not found so favourable to its unanimity or subordination. The men insisted on their right to choose their own officers; elders were appointed to superintend the moral and religious behaviour of the corps; and rules were laid down, more applicable, it must be owned, to a church than a regiment. Discussions ensued, of a kind similar to those which had divided the counsels of the covenanters at Bothwell. It was keenly debated among them, whether it was not a "sinful association" to enlist under the same banner with other regiments, composed of those who had been malignants and abettors of tyranny, or who had not cleared themselves from the scandal of unlawful engagements. Owing to their pertinacity in these unreasonable scruples, colonel Cleland, on whom the command of the regiment was devolved, very nearly lost temper, and he refused to accede to their demands, as subversive of all military discipline. But the matter was finally compromised by their agreeing on a brief general declaration, drawn up by sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, and explained by Mr. Alexander Shields, who "backed it with some persuasives, going from company to company." It was to the effect that they "appeared in his majesty's service in defence of the nation, recovery and preservation of the protestant religion, and, in particular, the work of reformation in Scotland, in opposition to popery, prelacy, and arbitrary power, in all its branches and steps, until the government of church

and state be brought back to their lustre and integrity, established in the best and purest times." These terms, it might be supposed, were sufficiently guarded; but though the majority were induced to comply with them, there were still some, including Howie of Lochgoin and sir Robert Hamilton, who continued long after to protest against "Angus' regiment" as an association with malignants.\*

The Cameronian regiment was particularly fortunate in the officers who first commanded it. Two of the most distinguished of these were, lieutenant-colonel William Cleland, and captain (afterwards colonel) Blackader. Colonel Cleland was the son of the factor of the earl of Douglas,† and lived much in the castle with Lord Angus, who had a great attachment to him. He received a liberal education in the university of St. Andrews, and distinguished himself very early in life by his poetical talents.‡ Brave, even to excess,§ chivalrous, and fond of enterprise, imbued with sound religious principle, and with what, in that age, was its inseparable adjunct, a sound hatred of civil and religious despotism, he was raised, before completing his seventeenth year, to the rank of an officer among the suffering presby-

\* Shields' Memoirs, *apud* Wodrow's *Analecta*, Ban. edit., vol. i. The Declaration of a poor, wasted, misrepresented, remnant of the suffering Anti-popish, Anti-prelatic, &c., true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland. 1692.

† Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii. p. 481, where Cleland's father is called "garner-keeper," which is misprinted "game-keeper" in Dr. Mc'Crie's *Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 108.

‡ A collection of his poems was published in 1697, containing "Hollow my Fancie," "A Mock Poem upon the Expedition of the Highland Host in 1678," &c. "These poems," says Dr. Mc'Crie, "are chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, and discover considerable talent." (*Mem. of Veitch*, &c., p. 108.) This is admitted by sir Walter Scott in his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," vol. i.

§ "Extremely brave," says the earl of Balcarras. (*Memoirs*, p. 114.)

terians. Thenceforth his career was a succession of hairbreadth escapes and adventures, of which the unhappy distractions of the times have prevented us from obtaining any definite accounts; and it is only occasionally, as he dashes on through the smoke and turmoil of battle, that we can catch a glimpse of him. The first is at a conventicle at Divan, in Fife, riding down the hill with another gentleman, to meet the military, who were advancing to disturb the meeting, when he was with difficulty prevented by Mr. Blackader from "breaking after them;" and the royal troops, alarmed at the preparation made for their reception, "fled to Cupar, without looking over their shoulder, in a dismal fear."\* His next appearance is at Drumclog, ordering his men to fall flat on the ground, as soon as the enemy presented their pieces—a manœuvre to which the success of the covenanters on that occasion was mainly ascribed. We next find him fighting with great desperation at Bothwell, after which he flies to Holland. Again he is in Scotland, along with the ill-fated expedition of Argyle, in 1685,† and is recognised by a friendly covenanter, sitting along with some brother officers, in an inn at Burntisland, waiting for a passage back to Holland, "singing and making as merry as they could, that they might not be discovered."‡ And now he is back once more to old Scotland, in company with the heroes of the revolution, to deliver her from the grasp of popery and arbitrary power. Though Cleland's name appears among the officers who sided with Robert Hamilton at Both-

\* Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader, p. 212.

† Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 284, 292.

‡ Life of James Nimmo, MS., p. 127; Memoirs of Veitch, p. 456.



well, there is reason to think that he afterwards left that party; and, though still a zealous presbyterian and covenanter, his principles did not hinder him from joining with the government at the revolution. It must be allowed, that he seems to have entertained a grudge at, and some contempt for, the Highlanders—feelings common at that time in the Lowlands of Scotland, towards a race only known for their savage appearance, and their predatory invasions on the property of their neighbours. And it is somewhat remarkable, that the last engagement in which he conquered and fell, was with those very “redshank squires,” as he calls them in his poems, whose meanness and servility, added to their cruelties and excesses, had left such a strong impression on his youthful imagination. How much is it to be regretted, that so little more is known concerning one who united in his character the gentleman, the poet, the patriot, the soldier, and the Christian!

The other officer in the Cameronian regiment whom we have noticed—lieutenant-colonel John Blackader—is better known from his published *Diary and Life*. He was the son of the famous John Blackader, one of the proscribed ministers, who, after a long persecution, died in the Bass; and he was, like his father, a stanch presbyterian, though disposed to moderate measures; a lover of the gospel and of good men, and, at the same time, a valiant and successful soldier, having served with distinguished honour, under the great duke of Marlborough, in most of his engagements. He is one among the very few who deserve the inscription that has been put on his monument—that he was “a brave

soldier and devout Christian.” As a specimen of this, the following is worthy of being recorded: At one period of his military life, colonel Blackader received a challenge, which he refused to accept. His adversary threatened to post him as a coward; to which he is said to have coolly replied, “that he was not afraid of his reputation being impaired by that.” Knowing that, at that very time, an attempt was determined on against the enemy, of a kind so very desperate that the duke of Marlborough hesitated to what officer he should assign the command, and had resolved to decide it by throwing the dice, the colonel went to him and volunteered to undertake the duty. His offer was accepted, and, by the providence of God, he came off, with great loss of men, but without any personal injury, and with the complete establishment of his character, not only as a brave man and an able officer, but also with general estimation as a consistent Christian.\*

We now return to our history. And here it may be proper to premise, that the historians of this period, down to our own times, are for the most part either avowed Jacobites, or so tinctured with Jacobite prejudices, as to give, unconsciously perhaps, a colouring to their narratives, injurious to the cause of the revolution, and the principal characters engaged in promoting it. This renders it necessary to devote more attention to this part of our subject than it would otherwise demand of us. Fired with ambition to emulate the dashing exploits of Montrose, to whose family he was related, Claverhouse had strained every nerve to collect an army, and at length found himself at the head of a large and motley band

\* Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader, p. 344.

of Highlanders and Irish. Loudly have our Jacobite writers boasted of the romantic admiration entertained for Dundee by these roving mountaineers; and loftily have they talked of their devoted loyalty to James, and their chivalrous love of war. The sober truth of history, however, compels us to divest these descriptions of the captivating air thrown over them by romance, poetry, and political partiality. As for the Highland chiefs, "it was neither out of love to king James nor hatred for king William," says general Mackay, "that made them rise—at least the wisest of them, as Lochiel of the Camerons, whose cunning engaged others that were not so much interested in his quarrel; but it was out of apprehension of the earl of Argyle's apparent restoration and favour, because he had some of his forfeited estates, and several combined Highlanders held lands of the earl's." The bravery and nobleness natural to the Highland character, and which have been elicited in later times, through the influence of education and Christianity, were then undeveloped. And to suppose that the poor serfs—"the miserable inhabitants of a Highland barony"—at the command of "a barbarous Highland chief, exercising a sway over his vassals as absolute as that of a Norman baron of the tenth century"\*—were animated with the refined and heroic sentiments which have been so largely ascribed to them, is rather too absurd for belief. Pelf and plunder, on a scale somewhat humbler, though not less harassing, than that of their masters, had, for them, more captivating charms than lofty ideas about hereditary right, or even the chivalrous sport of "glo-

\* Chambers' History of Rebellions, p. 190.

rious war." All the efforts of their leader failed to keep their thievish propensities within decent bounds. "They were marching off every night, by forties and fifties, with droves of cattle, and laden with spoils."\* In spite of all his influence, the army of Dundee, at first six thousand strong, had dwindled away, by repeated desertions, to two thousand Highlanders, and five hundred Irish, the whole force with which, according to the Jacobite statements, he encountered the army of general Mackay, at the pass of Killiecrankie.

This celebrated fight took place on the 17th of July, 1689. Mackay, the royalist general, had, no doubt, a slight advantage in point of numbers, having at the most about three thousand foot and a few companies of horse; but his army was mostly composed of raw recruits, and all of them were total strangers to the wild mode of warfare peculiar to their opponents.† The Highlanders rushed down the hill with their wonted impetuosity, barefooted and stript to the shirt, and uttering the most unearthly yells. Mackay's troops, thus assailed by what appeared to them a band of ferocious savages, were struck with a sudden panic; some of them gave way, the whole fell into confusion, and their brave general, finding it impossible to rally them, was compelled to retreat. As he spurred his charger, single-handed, through the thickest of the enemy, they made way wherever he went; upon which he remarks in his Memoirs, "that if he had had but *fifty* resolute horse, such as Colchester's, with him, he had

\* M'Pherson, p. 357.

† Life of Lieutenant-general Mackay, by John Mackay, Esq. of Rockfield, p. 42, where the gross exaggerations of Jacobite writers, as to the numbers of Mackay's troops, are fully exposed.

certainly, to all human appearance, recovered the day.\*” The whole was the work of a few minutes. Marvellous are the stories told of the prowess displayed by the Highlanders in mowing down the fugitives; but night coming on, they soon fell upon the baggage, and gave up all further thoughts of pursuit. And thus terminated the battle of Killiecrankie—if battle it can be called—in which there was no time for evolutions, no attempt at resistance, and hardly the appearance of conflict. The following sensible reflections of Mackay upon his defeat are worthy of the high name which he bore for unfeigned piety and unshaken courage: “Resolution and presence of mind in battle being certainly a singular mercy of God, he denieth and giveth it when and to whom he will; for there are seasons when the most firm and stout-hearted quake for fear. And though all sincere Christians be not resolute, it is because it is not their vocation; for I dare be bold to affirm that no sincere Christian, trusting in God for support, going about his lawful calling, shall be forsaken of him. Not that sure victory shall always attend good men, or that they shall always escape with their lives—for experience doth teach the contrary; but that God, upon whom they cast their burdens, shall so care for them, that they shall be preserved from shame and confusion; and that they have his promise (by whom are the issues against death, and innumerable means, inconceivable to us, to redress the disorder of our affairs) to support their hope in the greatest difficulties.†”

But the victory was dearly purchased by the rebels, in the death of their leader, Claverhouse, viscount

\* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 56.

† Ibid.

Dundee. He fell early in the action, pierced by a musket ball, which entered at an opening of his coat-of-mail, beneath the arm. The Jacobite writers, anxious to make the most of this, the first and the last victory achieved by their favourite hero, have persisted, down to the present day, notwithstanding the clearest evidence to the contrary, in giving the most fabulous accounts of his dying moments. According to them, after receiving his fatal wound, he was carried to a house in the neighbourhood, where, says one of them, “amidst the bustle consequent upon his victory, and the painful sensations arising from his personal condition, he commanded his mind sufficiently to write a dignified account of the battle to his royal master.” And then follows the letter in which this “dignified account” is given.\* Alas for the honour of Claverhouse, and the comfort of his admirers!—there is not a word of truth in the story. It has been proved, beyond all dispute, that Dundee fell at the commencement of the action, and died on the field; so that the letter describing the engagement, and announcing the victory, can only be regarded as a clumsy forgery.† But more humiliating still, it has been proved not only that Claverhouse expired on the spot where he fell, but that he was soon after stripped and plundered by his own party—by those very High-

\* Chambers' History of the Rebellions in Scotland.

† See this matter placed beyond all controversy in the Letters of Lord Dundee (printed by the Bannatyne Club), pp. 82-84. Balcarras, the friend of Claverhouse, confirms what we have above stated. (*Account*, pp. 105-108.) And the account given by James VII. himself shows the falsity of the story referred to, which had evidently been got up by the prelatial clergy, or some unscrupulous partisans, to serve the political purposes of the day. See Appendix to this volume, note D.—*The forged Letter of Claverhouse.*

landers who are said to have almost worshipped him! When his friends went to search for his body, says an eye-witness of the scene, "it was at first with much difficulty distinguished from the rest of the bodies that fell that day; for he, dying of his wounds in a very little time after the engagement, *his body was presently stript by his own party, and left naked among the rest in the field.*"\*

With regard to Dundee, who has been so long the idol of the Jacobites, if we except his unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the fortunes of James at Killiecrankie, it is difficult to discover what claims he had to be regarded by any party with such admiration. Let him receive his due meed of praise as a man of high spirit and unshaken fidelity to his master; let it even be granted that he showed an honesty of purpose not always exemplified by his associates, or even by the silly and infatuated prince in whose cause he fell;—still enough remains to blight his character in the eyes of impartial posterity; and every renewed attempt to vindicate his atrocities only serves to show, as in the case before us, that it were truer wisdom on the part of his admirers to let his name fall, if possible, into oblivion.

After the death of Dundee, the command of the rebel army devolved on colonel Canon, an Irish officer, who, on hearing that the Cameronian regiment were stationed in Dunkeld, remote from succour, resolved to attack them, in the hope of cutting them off to a man. "The enemy," says Mackay, "had not such

\* Proceedings in Scotland, 7th September. Life of Colonel Blackader, p. 78. Balcarras, p. 103. See also Letters of Dundee, as formerly referred to, where the evidence is collected.

prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whose opposition against all such as were not of their sentiments made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties." The shameful manner in which this valiant little band was treated, by being left in the heart of the Highlands, to brave the combined forces of the rebels, by being denied all supplies when threatened with an attack, excepting a barrel of figs sent to them instead of powder, and by having a troop actually withdrawn from them after the attack had commenced, affords too good ground for the suspicion which they afterwards expressed, "that they were sent to Dunkeld, as would seem, on design, *by some*, to be betrayed and destroyed."\* We cordially exempt general Mackay from having had any share in this shameful piece of policy, which, had it proved successful, would evidently have excited little indignation in the breasts of some, whose sympathies being all on one side, required to be kept in reserve for the massacre of Glencoe.† But their betrayers, as well as their enemies, were destined to be disappointed. Whatever may be thought of their principles, the heroic spirit of the Cameronian regiment on this occasion has extorted praise even from the most bigoted partisans, as it led them to "perform one of the most unexceptionably brilliant exploits which occurred throughout the whole of this war."‡

On Saturday night, 17th August 1689, this regiment, or rather a portion of them, amounting only to seven or eight hundred men, arrived at Dun-

\* Grievances of the Cameronians, p. 56.

† Chambers' History of the Rebellions, p. 121.

‡ Ibid.



keld, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Cleland. The next day the enemy approached, and sent a threatening message calling on them to surrender at discretion; to which the gallant colonel replied: "We are faithful subjects to king William and queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies; and if you shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve." When the morning of Wednesday dawned, it revealed the spectacle of between four and five thousand men, drawn up on the surrounding hills, which appeared literally covered with armed troops. The Cameronians seemed devoted to destruction, and some of them, despairing of success, had collected their baggage and prepared to retreat; but, encouraged by the exhortations of their pastor, and the example of their dauntless leader, they entrenched themselves behind the houses, and succeeded in boldly repelling the repeated attacks of the enemy. "Their powder was almost spent," says one account, "and their bullets had been spent long before, which they supplied by the diligence of a good number of men who were employed, all the time of the action, in cutting lead off the house (Dunkeld house), and melting it in little furrows in the ground, and cutting the pieces into slugs to serve for bullets. They agreed, that in case the enemy got over their dikes, they should retire to the house, and if they should find themselves overpowered there, to burn it and bury themselves in the ashes." \* The Highlanders fought

\* Exact Narrative of the Conflict at Dunkeld, betwixt the Earl of Angus' Regiment and the Rebels, collected from several officers of that regiment.

hard to dislodge them from their post; but at length, wearied with repeated assaults, in which they suffered much loss without gaining any advantage, they retreated from the scene of action. The Cameronians beat their drums, flourished their colours, and shouted after them with expressions of contempt and defiance; but in vain. The Highlanders could not be induced by their officers to renew the contest. "They could fight," they said, "against men, but they had no notion of fighting any more against devils." The engagement lasted from seven in the morning till eleven at night; and when all was over, the conquerors sang psalms, and offered thanksgivings to the Almighty, to whom alone they ascribed their deliverance. Comparatively few of them had fallen; but they had to deplore the loss of their youthful and valiant leader, colonel Cleland, who, in the act of urging on his men, was shot by two bullets at the same moment, one passing through his head and the other through his liver. His last act showed the spirit of the hero. Feeling himself mortally struck, he attempted to get into the house, that the soldiers might not be discouraged by the sight of his dead body; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

This victory decided the campaign, and may be said to have secured the success of the revolution in Scotland. The Cameronians offered to raise two or three other regiments in king William's service; but the offer was declined by Mackay, who considered their peculiar views inconsistent with due military subordination. It did not accord with the policy of the new government to revive

the darling object of the Cameronians—the covenanted reformation; and they, no doubt, dreaded the consequences which might have resulted from having to deal with a few more regiments animated by such a spirit, and capable of such achievements as the victory at Dunkeld. What these consequences might have been it is needless now to conjecture; but it is quite possible that, in such a case, William might not have found it so easy as he did to dictate terms to the church of Scotland—the Union might not have taken place—and the presbyterian establishment might have been placed on a basis more scriptural and more secure than that on which it stands in our day.

The prince of Orange was well apprized, in Holland, that he could expect no support from the episcopalians of Scotland, and that his best, and indeed his only friends, in that country, were the presbyterians. His “declaration for the kingdom of Scotland” gave every assurance of his readiness to redress the grievances of the presbyterians; and being himself of that persuasion, the highest expectations were formed of what he would do for the church of Scotland. Accordingly, in the Claim of Right, which was the basis of the revolution settlement, the convention of estates inserted a clause to the following effect: “That prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the reformation, they having been reformed from popery by presbyters; and therefore ought to be abolished.” That William was at first sincerely desirous to gra-

tify the presbyterians in this matter, there is little room to doubt; but on coming to the throne, he found it would not be so easy as he had been led to suppose. The difficulties with which he was environed were, it must be allowed, of no ordinary description. On the one hand, there was the church of England, at all times a powerful body, and which, as it had been mainly instrumental in bringing him over, it would be dangerous to offend, by severe measures against the Scottish episcopalians. On the other hand, the parishes of Scotland, amounting to nearly nine hundred, were occupied by prelatical incumbents; and the question was, how were these to be disposed of? If they were to be ejected at one blow from their benefices, not only would the inevitable consequence be, their entire alienation from the government, but it would be found extremely difficult to fill up their places. Of upwards of four hundred ministers who had been ejected after the restoration, to make room for prelacy, only about ninety had survived to witness the restoration of presbytery. The old race of presbyterian pastors had thus become almost extinct; and the colleges were filled with students who had studied under prelacy, and were resolved to submit to that form of government had it continued.\* Episcopalians writers have always denied, with great confidence, that prelacy was contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people at the revolution; presbyterian writers have as stoutly maintained that it was. Both may have had some foundation for their calculations. Presbytery, there can be no doubt, was the choice of the great

\* Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 269.

body of the intelligent and religious portion of the nation, especially in the south; while prelacy was more congenial to many of our gentry, and generally submitted to in the north. And if we may credit Keith's account of the proposal made to Ross, the bishop of Edinburgh, when he went up to London, immediately after the revolution, Scotland owes its presbyterian establishment neither to the good faith nor the gratitude of William, but to the infatuated attachment of the Scottish prelatists to the house of Stuart. "The bishop of London," says Ross, "directing his discourse to me, said, 'My lord, you see that the king (William) having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a-swimming with one hand. The presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him; and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. And the king bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was presbyterian; but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for episcopacy, and 'tis the trading and inferior sort that are for presbytery; wherefore he bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he'll take you by the hand, support the church and order, and throw off the presbyterians.' To this proposal the honest bishop replied, by saying, that he would not promise either for himself or his brother prelates, that they would follow the example of England; they were determined to adhere to their rightful king, James II. 'And so,' said the bishop of London, 'the

king must be excused for standing by the presbyterians.”\*

Without entirely crediting this story, there can be little doubt that the circumstances to which we have adverted must have added to the embarrassments of William, and contributed to strengthen him in his desire that Scotland would embrace at least a modified episcopacy, or some compromise between prelacy and presbytery, and thus not only unite the two contending parties, but lead to that union between England and Scotland which he regarded as of essential importance for the furtherance of his general policy. That he did attempt to gain this object is evident from the measures pursued by his commissioner, the duke of Hamilton. But he soon found that he had to contend with an opposition too powerful to be overcome.

The convention having been converted into a parliament, in which the earl of Craufurd acted as president, one of its first measures was an act passed on the 22d of July, for the abolition of episcopacy, and another carried next session for rescinding the act of supremacy, passed in the reign of Charles II. The former passed without a dissentient voice. “There was not one single person among us,” says Craufurd, “that had the confidence to urge anything for prelacy, and they were but a handful that spoke of restricting presbytery.”† This does not look like

\* Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, pp. 43, 44.

† Earl Craufurd to Lord Melville, July 6, 1689. Leven and Melville Papers, p. 145. “As it was left to the nation,” says Defoe, “by the prince of Orange, to settle religion in such a manner as was most desired by the people, not a dog wagged his tongue against the presbyterian establishment, not a mouth gave a vote for episcopacy.” (*Memoirs of Church of Scotland*, p. 299.)

very great zeal on the part of the Scottish nobility and gentry for the prelatie government. These acts afterwards received the royal sanction, but it was found impossible, on various accounts, to proceed further with the settlement of the church during this session of parliament. The delay was owing, in a great measure, to the manœuvres of the duke of Hamilton, who pressed very pertinaciously for some sort of mongrel episcopacy. But there were other causes that contributed to the delay, and the private correspondence of the principal actors brings out curious disclosures of the various motives that were at work.

The Scottish parliament was divided into three great factions; the first composed of the Jacobite party, still very strong in the country, and waiting their opportunity; the second, of the high presbyterian party, headed by sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, and denominated the Club; and the third, of the moderate presbyterians, to whom belonged lord Melville, the secretary of state, and earl Craufurd, the president of parliament. The policy of the Jacobites was to embroil matters, and keep up the discontent of the country; for which purpose they sided sometimes with the episcopalians, and at other times with the extreme section of the presbyterians. Polwart's party, or the club, was sincerely desirous to see presbytery restored to its original purity; and some of them, if not all, contended for the divine right of that form of government, and the obligation of the national covenants. The moderate party, again, were content to have the presbyterian government set up by authority, without any reference to

its divine right, or to the attainments and engagements of the second reformation.

Amidst these contending factions, each aiming at its respective designs, it was no easy matter for those at the helm of affairs to steer their way. The earl of Craufurd, an excellent old man, whose sincere piety appears in his correspondence, was extremely anxious to have his beloved presbytery established in its purity, "upon such foundations," said he, "as shall give the magistrate his full due, without parting with what is essential to that government." "I hope the Lord," says he, "in his own time, will dissipate those fogs that blind some of us, and enable us to erect a second temple, the glory of which shall outshine what was our first in our purest times. Sure I am there is a great concern for this on the spirits of many godly persons and sincere well-wishers to our king."\*

The good old president, however, finds it a most "crushing" employment to manage the refractory spirits in the parliament. "The matter of patronages is improven by some with great cunning, to mar our present establishment, and all the misfortunes of the late times, and the stretches of violent men acting beyond their principles, adduced as arguments for clogging of pure presbytery." Then the club, with their sturdy presbyterianism, demanding why their grievances were not redressed, annoy him no less on the other side. He hears reports out of doors, that the king intends to establish episcopacy, at which the Jacobites are rejoicing, while the presbyterians, were it not for fear of these same Jacobites, are ready to cast off the authority of William. "We have nothing but heats, de-

\* Leven and Melville Papers, p. 137.



bates, jealousies, and divisions amongst us." He is ready to sink under his "continual concern for stilling of members both in and without our house, and his unsuccessfulness in it." "It does exceedingly alter my health, insomuch, that if duty to my king, and faithfulness to my country, did not fix me here, I would retire to the meanest cottage, and be restricted to the narrowest diet, before I lived so much in the midst of flames as I now do." \*

But the tough old earl perseveres, and finally carries the day in spite of them all. The scheme which he adopted, regarding it apart from its intrinsic demerits, and merely as a piece of policy, was certainly ingenious. The episcopal clergy of the synod of Aberdeen, who had conformed to the government, had presented an address to parliament, craving them to call a national synod or assembly; and Hamilton, the commissioner, favoured the petition. But no; the sagacious Craufurd detected the trick. He saw that if they obtained the sanction of government to such a meeting, they would far out-number the honest presbyterians, and that the very first step they would take would be to depose them, to replace the rabbled curates, and petition for the restoration of prelacy. His first object, therefore, was, as he expresses it, to "purge the church," by ridding it of those who, on pretence of conforming to the government, really sought to undermine it; and for this purpose, he proposed to test their loyalty by issuing a proclamation against the owning of king James, and appointing public prayers for William and Mary, as king and queen of Scotland; with certification that those who refused should be deprived

\* Leven and Melville Papers, p. 156.

of their benefices. His next proposal was, that, to secure the presbyterian government without offending the prejudices of the episcopalians, they should recur to the act 1592, usually called the charter of presbytery, making no mention of the second reformation period from 1638 to 1650. The next thing was to get quit of patronage. "There will be a necessity of taking off patronages," says he; "for though those that daily pray for the king (James) were laid aside, many in this nation would present to churches such as were not of our party. Then according to the tenor of the king's declaration, such ministers as are alive would be restored to their own churches; and *after these preliminaries*, the constitution 1592 may come well in; but if we *begin* there, I should conclude our interest for the time buried."\*

From this it appears that, in the opinion of this sagacious politician, since prelacy had been abolished, and the supremacy was likely to follow, there was sufficient security, in the event of the church being purged of Jacobites, and thereafter placed under the healthier regimen of popular election, for the establishment of "pure presbytery," and for all the substantial rights of the church of Scotland. The plan, no doubt, implied the entire omission of all the acts passed in favour of presbytery during the second reforming period, together with the national covenant as sworn in 1638, and the solemn league in 1643,

\* Craufurd to Melville, July 16, 1689. Lev. and Mel. Papers, p. 172. "I am sorry that the business of patronages should be so much contended for by some few. If we design not simony, I see no advantage to any in point of interest, and it seems evidently to be a heavier yoke upon the church, and the matter of calls might be so adjusted as there needs no complaining upon that side, they being restricted to persons that are fixedly in paroches, and under the inspection and regulation of presbyteries. The same to the same, July 23, 1689," p. 187.

—thus leaving all these acts and deeds under the stigma of rebellion affixed to them by the act rescissory passed under the second Charles; but in the existing state of parties and temper of men's minds, it was deemed wholly impracticable to obtain more than a simple recognition of presbytery as it had been granted by James VI. The most industrious efforts were made by the episcopal party to poison the minds of William and his English counsellors against the presbyterians, by falsely representing them as enemies to monarchy, and as bound by the solemn league to extirpate all the supporters of episcopacy and the liturgy with fire and sword.\* Some handle, it is to be feared, was given to these accusations by the injudicious violence and language of the rabble in the west country.† At the same time, some of the treatises which had been put forth by the Cameronian party, during the persecuting period, such as Sheilds' "Hind Let Loose," the Queensferry Paper, &c., in which the principles of the covenanters had been driven, under the pressure of persecution, to an extravagant length, were republished by the prelatists, and widely circulated in England, to prejudice the public mind against

\* "King William would likewise consider how many thousands of them have and do own, that the covenant (which is again voted the standard of all pure religion) is the fundamental contract 'twixt God, king, and the people. And because king Charles II. broke it, therefore they declared that he had fallen from his right to the crown; and because king James II. never took it, that therefore he had no right to the crown; and by public proclamations declared it lawful to kill them, and all who adhered to them, &c.; and accordingly killed several of their soldiers and servants in this quarrel. From all which, the query naturally arises, What measure king William must expect if he will not take the covenant? and consequently swear to root out episcopacy in England." (*Case of the Afflicted Clergy in Scotland, 1690, p. 107.*)

† *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35.

what was called Scotch presbytery. The English clergy were becoming alarmed. What was to be done? "Let bygones be bygones," was the maxim of the earl of Craufurd. Let them give up prelacy, let them grant us our beloved presbytery, and we will say nothing of the covenants. Let them yield up what they acquired by the king-craft of James VI., and we will surrender what we acquired by the sword-craft of the Long Parliament.

His plan met the approval of Lord Melville. "As for the settlement of church government," writes his lordship to Craufurd, "I see so many difficulties in it as things presently stand, what from one party and another, that I cannot see through it. *Men must take what they can have in a cleanly way, when they cannot have all they would.* I should think it were not amiss that they should be at pains to draw up somewhat, for removing the aspersions cast on them and their way, and show what are their principles and demands, and the soberer the better. I am afraid our divisions and management may do great hurt to the public settlement, *and may endanger the bringing that on about which men seem to fear;* for it is scarce to be imagined that some men's way and procedure, if as related, can be acceptable." The threat thrown out at the close of this extract evidently refers to the establishment of episcopacy; and the danger of this was, as we have seen, by no means problematical. But suffice it here to state, that every thing went on as Craufurd and Melville had preconcerted. Many of the Jacobite clergy fell into the snare laid for them by the crafty president. They neither read his proclamation, nor prayed for William and Mary, nor kept

the day of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the nation. Some of them were discovered to be in correspondence with the exiled king, and abetting his friends in arms. Prosecutions were instituted against the delinquents before the privy council, after the adjournment of parliament; and *one hundred and seventy-nine* of them were speedily deprived of their benefices. Loud was their outcry when they felt the lash of old Craufurd. They complained of persecution, and attempted to lay the whole blame on the intolerant spirit of presbytery. The complaint and the charge were, as we have seen, alike unfounded. The presbyterian ministers were happily never consulted in the matter; and the president had always his answer ready. "I shall once more repeat, that no episcopal man since the happy revolution, whether laic or of the clergy, hath suffered by the council upon account of his opinions in church matters, but allenarly (solely) for their disowning the civil authority, and setting up for a cross interest. If I make not this good, I shall willingly forfault my credit with his majesty and all good men."\* To this, of course, it was impossible either for them, or his majesty, or any other party, to make any satisfactory reply. It is hardly necessary, at this time of day, to say a word in reply to the charge of persecution brought against his policy. "The

\* Lev. and Mel. Pap., 21st Jan. 1690, pp. 376, 377. The trials of the ejected clergy occupy a large share of the privy council records. Here was a just retribution, could these men have but seen it, for the mode in which they were accustomed to vindicate their persecution of the presbyterians. All the executions, confiscations, and sufferings inflicted on the covenanters, are vindicated by sir George Mackenzie, on the same ground which Craufurd here alleges for the ejection of the episcopal clergy—"allenarly for their disowning the civil authority;" and yet it was only a party among the covenanters who really did disown the civil authority.

observation," it has been well said, "is ill-timed. The atrocious orders issued in the two preceding reigns, under the guise of episcopacy, remain recorded and undisputed; and the equally atrocious executions of them are written in characters of blood never to be effaced. But where is to be found a single order issued by the presbyterians for persecuting the episcopalians? Which of the episcopal clergy suffered from the presbyterian authorities beyond deprivation? or which of their laity ever suffered at all? That those who openly prayed for king James, or refused to pray for William and Mary, after their recognition by parliament and the nation, should be deprived, excites neither surprise nor regret; but even many of them were continued."\*

After the administration of this purge, the parliament, which met in April 1690, proceeded to the settlement of presbytery. An act was passed formally rescinding the *act of supremacy*; that act which had been the fruitful source of all the persecutions for conscience' sake under the late unhappy reigns. This was followed by another restoring to their churches all the surviving presbyterian ministers ejected from January 1661, and ordering the removal of the prelatie incumbents who occupied their old parishes. At the same time some justice was done to those who suffered under the persecution by rescinding their fines and forfeitures; and the tyrannical laws of the late administration against conventicles and nonconformity, and its oppressive tests and oaths, and the penalties imposed on all who

\* Preface to Leven and Melville Papers, by the Hon. William Leslie Melville, p. xxx.

took the covenants, or owned their obligation, were repealed. And at length, on the 7th of June, came the important act “ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling presbyterian church government.” In this act, after repeating that prelacy is an insupportable grievance, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, the presbyterian form is characterized as “the government of Christ’s church within this nation, agreeable to the word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true piety and godliness, and the establishing of peace and tranquillity within this realm.” The act then ratifies the Confession of Faith, “now read in their presence, and voted and approved by them as the public and avowed Confession of this church;” and establishes the presbyterian form of church government as established by the act 1592, reviving that act in all its heads, excepting that part of it relating to patronages, which is hereafter to be taken into consideration; and declaring that the church government be established in the hands and exercised by those presbyterian ministers who were outed since the 1st of January 1661, and such ministers and elders as they might receive. On the 19th of July an act was passed completely abolishing patronage, and declaring that in the case of the vacancy of any parish, “the heritors of the said parish, being protestants, and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approven or disapproven by them, their reasons, if they disapproved, to be judged of by the presbytery.” And as a compensation for relinquishing the right to present, the patrons, besides being empowered to raise three hundred merks from the parish, received those teinds to

which none could show an heritable title, and which had been always considered the proper patrimony of the church. Such were the legislative enactments for the re-establishment of the presbyterian church. Its government was committed into the hands of the surviving presbyterian ministers, with such as they might assume into connection with them. And that these measures might take full effect, a meeting of the general assembly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh on the 16th of October 1690.

Much has been said both for and against the revolution settlement; and in fact it is just one of those things for and against which much may be said. Without looking to the results, and placing ourselves in the situation of our presbyterian fathers at the time, it may be regarded, in many respects, in the light in which they received it—as a great boon. Newly delivered from the fires of persecution, and anticipating nothing but the gloomy reign of popery, it was no small matter of gratitude to find themselves safe under the wing of a protestant government, and no small matter of wonder to see themselves, though reduced to ninety, recognised as the only true and lawful representatives of the church of Scotland. Such an establishment, let it come as it might, was a triumph of presbytery over prelacy, and it inflicted a stigma on the whole proceedings of the foregoing reigns. The securities obtained were no doubt valuable, so far as they went; and, as has been well observed, “these acts gave nothing to the church which she did not previously possess; they did not even pretend to restore what had been taken away; but they broke the fetters which had been forcibly imposed, and allowed the church to resume the exercise of her own



indestructible energies and inalienable rights, derived from her own divine and only Head and King." \* And certainly, had the church done her duty, the defects of her settlement might have proved less injurious. The abolition of patronage was of itself a great acquisition to the church; and though the act was faulty, both in giving the right of nomination to the heritors as such, a mere civil qualification, and in limiting the rights of the people to the mere making of objections to the choice of the heritors and elders, yet, in point of practical working, the people enjoyed substantially the right of election, and not a single instance of intrusion occurred. Nothing can be more absurd than to say that the patronage was merely transferred to the heritors and elders. The act of 1690 proposes expressly to "cass, annul, and make void, the power heretofore exercised by any patron, of presenting ministers to any kirk now vacant." It was drawn up by presbyterians, who were opposed to patronage; and all that was granted to the heritors and elders was merely a right to *propose* the man to the choice of the congregation.

The defects of the revolution settlement unhappily bear a full proportion to its advantages. The Westminster Confession was indeed ratified as the public and avowed Confession of this church; but without any reference to the act of the general assembly of 1647, by which the inherent right of the church to call her own assemblies was explicitly asserted—a fatal omission, as soon appeared, when the king claimed the power of calling and dissolving the assemblies at pleasure. Though presbytery was es-

\* Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 555.

tablished as "agreeable to the word of God," prelacy was abolished simply because it was "contrary to the inclinations of the people"—a strange compromise, and very different from the bold condemnation of prelacy in former times. Even in the manner of ratifying the Confession there was too much the appearance of enacting it, or giving it a sanction which it never had before; so unwilling were they even to seem to acknowledge anything as part of the covenanted uniformity. Nor did they ratify the Catechisms or the Directory; though it would appear that this was thought unnecessary.\*

But the main error in the whole settlement lay in the entire overlooking of the securities granted to the church during the second reforming period of her history, together with the solemn engagements come under by the whole land, and more especially by the kingdom of Scotland; and leaving the whole of the attainments of that period, with the exception of the Confession, buried under the infamous "act rescis-sory," which, standing as it does in the statute-book to this day, brands them with the charge of rebellion. Besides the dishonour thus done to the work and the

\* The only explanation I can find of this matter is in an episcopal account of that period, in which it is stated that "after the Confession had been approved, it was moved that the Catechisms might be read over also; but the Confession had worn out some three or four hours to them, and most part were wearied with it, and beginning to discover, some by looks, some by whispers, that they were no way willing at that time to hear any more such long lectures, and so it was moved by the duke of Hamilton, that the Catechism and Directory might be forborne; for, as he said, they had now voted the Confession of Faith, and that was a sufficient standard, and so they might leave the rest to the ministers, to be managed according to their discretion." His proposal, after some demur on the part of the ministers, was agreed to. (*Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government, 1690, p. 43.*) Melville's instructions contain only "the Confession of 1644."

oath of God, the church of Scotland was deprived of valuable securities which she might have pleaded in law, and which might have served to place her more effectually and decidedly above the reach of the arbitrary power of the crown.

Anxious to conciliate the episcopalians of Scotland, who were powerful as a political party, William's concessions to the presbyterians were made with a bad grace, and had all the appearance of being wrested from him by necessity. He appears to have been extremely jealous of the royal prerogative, and afraid of yielding up too much to the presbyterian clergy.\* His line of policy has been ascribed by some to the violence of the presbyterians; by others, to his love of power; and by others, again, to his favourite design of uniting the two kingdoms under one ecclesiastical government.† It may, with more justice, be traced to his educational and Erastian prejudices, which led him to regard no form of church government as of divine right, and all forms to be alike under the control of the state; to the misrepresentations of the presbyterian party, conveyed to him by the Jacobites; and, above all, to the circumstances in which he was placed, by having established episcopacy in England—a step which put it out of his power, without glaring inconsistency, to do full justice to the church of Scotland. The consequence was, the adoption of a middle course, which, while it fell short of what was due to the cause of truth, can hardly be said to have given satisfaction to any party, either in church or state. The presbyterians com-

\* This appears particularly from his instructions sent to his commissioner, and his remarks on the act 1690.

† M'Cormick's *Life of Carstares*, pp. 43, 44.

plained of it as an equivocal and partial concession of their claims ; while the episcopaliens, denounced it as an act of positive injustice, sharpened by the insult offered to their religion, as “an insupportable grievance” to the nation. None, save a few time-serving politicians, received it as a satisfactory arrangement.

The whole scheme, indeed, was one of mere expediency, and, as might have been expected from the various conflicting interests that had to be consulted in its formation, it was a piece of compromise from beginning to end. Accordingly, it was full of self-inconsistencies ; and it might be easily shown, that while, in one sense, it gave up all to the presbyterians, it was so worded, that in another sense it gave up all to the government. Such a composition of piebald and patch-work policy may have been very ingeniously adapted to the exigency of the times ; but experience has shown how dangerous it is to deal thus in the matters of God. To the radical defects of the revolution settlement we can easily trace all the subsequent corruptions and declension of the church of Scotland ; and late events have read to us an impressive commentary on the same subject, in the reckless encroachments which have been made on the constitution of that church. Above all, when we view it in the light of scriptural principle, we see no excuse that can justify so manifest a falling away from the high Christian principle and lofty views of duty which guided our rulers both in church and state during the times of the covenant. Expediency has a thousand reasons to suggest why it must have been so, and could not have been otherwise ; but Christianity, looking down from a loftier sphere, condemns

all alike for bringing themselves into circumstances where their policy, in order to be acceptable or successful, must be so anomalous and equivocal—condemns England for having receded from her engagements and setting up prelacy—and condemns Scotland for having submitted, without protest, to an establishment so far short of what the Word of God and her own pledges required. And it will not be till Christian principle obtains the ascendancy in the hearts of men and in the councils of the church and state, that we shall see the disorders introduced by human policy rectified, and the church established on a settled and safe foundation.



## APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

NOTE A, p. 184.

### EXTREMES REGARDING THE INDULGENCE.

*From Mr. John Blackader to Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Ward, Dec. 27, 1679.—  
Wodrow MSS., fol. 59, 129.*

“I MUST crave leave to repeat that I am more and more convinced, from unquestionable authority, that as there hath been indeed a grievous defection and stepping aside by complying with these indulgences, first and last, and yet like to be worse and worse; so there are some of late that have both spoken and practised so insolidly and inconsiderately (to say no worse) in venting themselves against the same, as have tended more to the strengthening of the opposite party, than to convincing and reclaiming them from their error, as is ever usual by the like practices. That holy and necessary duty of faithful and zealous bearing testimony to the truth and ways of God, and against error and sinful courses, is such a duty as needs to be managed with as much solidity, circumspection, fear, and trembling, as any I know. For herein the truth is much concerned, especially when we have to contend with such, of whom several are, and otherwise have been eminent and pious, as will not be denied in our case. I say, the carriage of some (within these two years), of whom I shall not doubt but they are pious and well-meaning, hath been such in diverse things, as have more irritate and stirred up strife than edified, whereby the former beauty and blessed success of the gospel at these meetings called conventicles, hath been observed to be much marred and eclipsed, and the indulged there-through to rest more secure, and put farther from resenting their course and practice; as others, also, who once appeared zealous against the same, have been tempted to turn cool, and some of them stoutly to plead in the behalf of that indulgence; and others, who, I hope, will be found continuing stedfast in their zeal against that course, are much weakened in what weight and authority they might have had in following those more solid means and ways they have used, and were yet intending to use more, in witnessing against that evil, being looked upon by the indulged as approvers of all the extravagant courses of others against them; and, on the other hand, they are branded as unstedfast and unfaithful cloak-ers of, and connivers at, the indulgence and indulged, because they do not insist and dwell *ad nauseam* upon this woful subject, and at the same rate they themselves do, and because they have sometimes freely admonished them to carry with more godly prudence and caution, more conducive to their intended scope. You know it hath been incident to the church in former times, and will be, so long as she is militant, and labouring with many imperfections and byassed inclinations, that in such

times of tryall she hath had, and readily will have, some that, either out of ignorance, inadvertence, or worse, do precipitate themselves upon extremes and excesses upon the right as well as the left hand. We know, and no doubt yourself also cannot but know, that there is great need, in our days also, to take heed that the way of God (which is strait and lyeth in the just mids), and that which is our good, be not evil spoken of. I will not particularly dip into these differences and debates which fell out amongst that party, before the late disaster at Hamilton (Bothwell Bridge), any farther than to tell you, that, to the best of my information and judgment which I can pass thereupon, these debates were so ill and imprudently managed, and with such furious, hot, peremptory, and needless contentions, by some few on both sides, that it will be hard to give a determinate decision which of the two had most influence on that miscarriage and sad result, wherein the Lord is to be adored in all submission; and all of us have cause to lie in the dust before him upon many accounts."

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NOTE B, p. 237.

SEMI-POPERY OF SCOTTISH PRELACY.

In ascribing to Scottish prelatists a decided leaning to the church of Rome, I have stated a truth which, there is reason to think, none of them will question, and with which few of them will be offended. It has always been the boast of this section of the episcopal church, that they approach nearer, in their forms and doctrines, to the church of Rome than any other communion. And from the days of James VI., who acknowledged the church of Rome to be his "mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions," they have certainly shown a strong disposition, as he expressed it, to "meet her in the midway." An attempt of this kind was made by William Forbes, first bishop of Edinburgh, who died in 1634, in a work which, having been published after his death, in 1653, by bishop Sydserf, with high approbation, may be fairly viewed as expressing the sentiments of the Scottish prelatists of that period. This work is entitled "*Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ Controversiarum, Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore, et Eucharistia.*" The general character of this work is thus most justly described by Dr. Irving:—"Any honest plan for promoting peace may seem to merit praise; but it is a very indifferent method of securing the peace of the protestant church, by offering to meet the papists half way. This is reforming backwards." (*Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. p. 6.) On the point of justification, the doctrine advocated by bishop Forbes is Arminianism in its grossest form. With regard to prayers for the dead, he holds the practice to be "not only lawful, but in some sort useful to the dead" (p. 256); and though, with some papists, he disclaims an expiatory purgatory, he insists there must be "some middle state, not in heaven, but in some place in the heavens known only to God, where the souls of the departed are perfecting themselves by sad sighs for the full fruition of God. The ancient practice of prayers and offerings for the dead ought not, therefore, to be discarded by protestants as altogether useless." (Pp. 266, 267.) On the intercession of angels and saints, "whatever the more rigid protestants may have taught," the bishop thinks that "the blessed martyrs and saints are pleading for the church, and their prayers are far from being useless;" there ought, therefore, to be "a calling unto, rather than a calling upon them—*advocationem potius quam invocationem.*"



(Pp. 275, 300.) "In the supper, by the admirable power of the Holy Spirit, we communicate invisibly with the substance of the body of Christ, not otherwise (*haud secus*) than if we visibly did eat and drink his flesh and blood." (P. 336.) In fine, "the sacrifice offered in the supper is not only eucharistical, but also, in a sound sense, propitiatory, and may be beneficial, not only to the living but to the dead." (P. 466.)

From this brief account of bishop Forbes' work, the reader will perceive that he and his friends were prepared to meet the papists somewhat more than mid way. It is exactly of a piece with the attempts of Thorndyke and others, in the church of England, to explain away the doctrinal articles of the church of Rome. The *altum silentium* which he maintains on the power of the pope, and other points, tells its own tale. Those who have been paying any attention to the signs of the times will not be surprised to learn that this specimen of the Puseyism of the seventeenth century, after lying in oblivion for nearly two hundred years, has been lately brought into notice by our Scottish prelatists; and that an advertisement has just appeared, announcing a new edition of the "*Considerationes*," under the auspices of a presbyter of the church of England, who assigns as his reason for republishing this work of "the first bishop of Edinburgh after the *desolation* of the church," "the revival in some of a hope, distant and slender, of healing the *mournful schism* which has, for three hundred years, rent the western church!" This is, in fact, nothing more than was to be expected from the repeated attacks lately made by that party on the character of our reformers, and the venom poured on all who attempt to follow their example. Every new step in the course of events seems to be preparing for another and a desperate—because final—struggle with the man of sin.

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#### NOTE C.

##### ANALOGY BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT TIMES.

I have not thought it necessary to do more than advert, in passing, to the numerous analogies and coincidences between the preceding history of the church of Scotland, and the present position and prospects of that church. Every reader will be able to perceive them, and must draw his own conclusions. But appearing, as this little work does, on the very eve of a crisis which threatens a renewal of the scenes we have been describing, we cannot conclude without noticing the striking parallel between the present times and those particularly of 1662, when, by the act of the privy council at Glasgow, between three and four hundred ministers were ejected from their charges for non-compliance with the law of the land re-establishing prelacy. (Vol. ii. p. 83.) It is impossible to take up any treatise written about that period, without observing, in the first place, the similarity between the arguments then used by the persecutors, and those now employed against the church. The following, from a very rare pamphlet, remarkable for its ability and moderation, which was published in 1677, entitled, "An Apology for, or Vindication of, the Oppressed and Persecuted Ministers and Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland,"\* may give some idea of what we allude to:—

\* This tract was written by Mr. Hugh Smith, minister of Eastwood, assisted by some of his brethren, and particularly by Mr. Alexander Jamieson of Govan, who, says Wodrow, "was justly reckoned one of the acutest philosophers and most solid

“But many place the demerit of these severe punishments in the disobedience of the laws establishing prelacy—the now great cry of those engaged in the present course for justifying of all enormities committed in the administration of government. *Ans.* To this we say, first, that all divines and lawyers assert, if non-obedience be separated from contempt of authority (as in many cases it may be), that the demerit of disobedience is not rigorously to be pursued with punishments.” *“Is it not a sad matter in this case, that we meet with no other thing from any, for satisfying of our consciences, and bringing us the length of cheerful obedience to this thing, but the cry, Law, law! which, in the matters of God, can be no sure bottom to our consciences, seeing we, as Christians, are under a law antecedent and superior to that of men’s?”* (Pp. 8, 9.) “We shall consider, next, some of these exceptions, most commonly used against us, with which we are publicly and privately branded, for rendering us odious and hateful to all. 1. That we refuse to give that obedience to the magistrate, his laws and commands, that, under pain of damnation, is enjoined to all subjects in the Word of God,” &c. (P. 50.) “The true state of the question is, whether a church constituted according to the rules of the Word, provided and settled with ministers regularly called and submitted to, should yield to the magistrates and prelates *violently ejecting their ministers, and thrusting in other ministers upon her, not only without, but against, her consent?*” (P. 74.) “All power of the prelates and their creatures in the church, is by law founded in, and derived from, the magistrate, and in its exercise subordinated to him (as is evident from the *Act of Restitution*, Parl. Carl. II., sess. 1). 1. They are expressly made to have a dependence upon, and subordination to, the king, as supreme to them in their church judicatories and administrations. 2. The government of the church, in its ordering and disposing, is annexed to the crown as one royal prerogative thereof. 3. The giving of church power to church officers is supposed to be the effect and deed of his laws and acts, *without which all power in the church is declared to be null and void.*” (Pp. 79, 81.) “In the *Act against unlawful Ordinations* (as they call them), the ordination of persons to the ministry by ministers of Jesus Christ that have not conformed to prelacy, is, *by the sole authority of the magistrate, made void; and all ministerial acts and church benefits depending thereon, declared to be null.*” (P. 165.)

These old acts may probably be found of some use shortly: it seems quite unnecessary to have recourse to new acts of parliament to accomplish the same work. What part the church of Scotland may be led to take, in the event of such legislation being revived, remains to be seen. Meanwhile, if the enemies of the church are to renew the acts which led to the persecution and issued in the revolution, it becomes her friends to imitate the fidelity of “the oppressed and persecuted ministers and professors of the presbyterian reformed religion in the church of Scotland,” and to avoid their mistakes. In this pamphlet there is one thing condemned and lamented in the conduct of ministers and congregations at the crisis of 1662, which deserves attention. The author, while he makes all allowances for the suddenness of the act, and the good intentions of the sufferers, says, “Yet we judge it the infirmity and sin of congregations and ministers, *that they did not cleave to one another as pastors and flocks.* We do not plead for ministers *keeping to the accessories of the ministry—as kirks, stipends, manses, glebes, &c.*, which were, by divine precept, their *right*, but not in their *power* to hold; but we assert it was sin, that they continued not in the exercise of the ministry, pastoral oversight of the flocks, and keeping up the government of the

divines at this time in Scotland.” (*Life of James Wodrow, by his son Robert Wodrow*, p. 54.)

church, we had been in the possession of; and people's not adhering to their ministers in hearing and receiving of ordinances from them, and not affording them all due encouragement and maintenance; all which was done by ministers and churches in times of sorer persecution than ours." (P. 28.)

It is our earnest prayer and hope that the church of Scotland may be enabled to act a faithful part in this time of trial, of which it may be so truly said, she ought "not to think it strange, as though some strange thing had happened to her." Her safety obviously lies in returning to the old ground occupied by the martyrs and confessors during the period which forms the latter portion of our history, from 1638 to the revolution. On no other ground can she surely, successfully, and consistently advocate or suffer for the principles which she is now endeavouring to defend. From that period down to the present, there has been a gradual declension, from which she is beginning to emerge; and, next to the success of the plots of her enemies, we should deplore her taking her stand on the profession made subsequently to the revolution.\* Let us close these sheets with the eloquent conclusion of the pamphlet which we have referred to:—

"Oh that all engaged in this war against the Lord and his Anointed, would read and consider the second psalm, and yet hearken to what is there foretold anent the issue of it, which will be sad and heavy to them that obstinately set themselves in opposition to Christ and his kingdom. Let none that side with Christ in this quarrel be afraid or ashamed to appear in its defence against all sorts of opponents; for as we have the full light and evidence of the Word of God to justify its righteousness from the reproaches of men, so we have the righteous and almighty God to take our part, who, on the account of his justice and supreme dominion, is engaged to own them that own Him in this cause. In contending for these, we contend not for honours, dignities, and the riches of this world; but only for the laws, ordinances, and servants of Christ Jesus, and that obedience and subjection to him in them that he requires of all in his Word; yea, for the royal dignities and super-eminent prerogatives of his righteous and glorious crown, which the Father hath placed on his head, giving him a name above all names—that at the name of this JESUS all knees should bow, yea, shall bow. Who need to be afraid who own such a King, and have him on their side, who in his own person overcame and triumphed over all his enemies, and yet again will do so in the persons of his weak, contemned, and persecuted servants and people? The Lord build up the walls of Jerusalem, and make her a peaceable habitation! Amen."

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Note D, p. 278.

#### THE FORGED LETTER OF CLAVERHOUSE.

That the author of the "History of the Rebellions in Scotland" should have suppressed all mention of the stripping scene, described in the text, was perhaps to be expected; but it is truly surprising that, after the publication of the evidence to which we have referred, and with which he might, at least, have made himself acquainted, he should have repeated the old legend of the letter, as gravely as if it had been a piece of history. It is

\* Since the above was written the disruption has taken place in the Church of Scotland—an event which has completely altered the position of both of the parties into which that church has been rent, in relation to the civil government. It is considered proper, however, to allow the above reflections to remain unaltered, as a record of the author's sentiments at the time they were written, which he has seen no reason to modify.

equally strange that he should have repeated, with apparent seriousness, the speech said to have been delivered by Dundee to his soldiers before the action, and which is now only considered "curious as a contemporary forgery."\* If the striking contrast which this speech affords, in its literary merits, to the authentic letters of Dundee, which are even beneath the times in point of vulgarity, did not stagger his faith in its genuineness, it might be supposed that its frequent references to "religion" and "the church of Scotland," might have led him to suspect that some more "clerical" hand than that of Claverhouse had been concerned in its concoction. But Mr. Chambers has a theory of his own on the character of Claverhouse, which serves to account for his blindness in this matter. "Dundee," says he, "was inspired with as high a degree of *religious fervour* in his bloody deeds as ever possessed the mind of the wildest enthusiast that sat for years amidst the wilds of Tweeddale." Nay more, "He had laid it down to himself that the episcopalian mode of worship was *the only one by which the Deity could properly be honoured*. It was his wish, above all things, that *the rude and licentious formula* of the presbyterians should be changed for the decent ritual of the episcopalians!"† Here is certainly a new discovery. The "bloody Claverse" was, it seems, a religious enthusiast! When he was wading to the boot-tops in the gore of a slaughtered peasantry, it was because he had "laid it down" that episcopacy was the only religion "by which the Deity could properly be honoured;" when, with his own pistol, he scattered the brains of poor John Brown, the Ayrshire carrier, in the faces of his imploring wife and wondering babes, he was giving his testimony against "the rude and licentious formula of the presbyterians," and showing, "ABOVE ALL THINGS," his pious wish that it should be exchanged for "the decent ritual of episcopacy!" Shade of Dundee! what an outrage on thy true character! In support of this desperate attempt to whitewash the Ethiopian—this miserable effort to conceal, and even to consecrate, his atrocities under the guise of religion—Mr. Chambers has not brought, and cannot bring, a tittle of evidence. Unfortunately for him, it so happens that, during the whole reign of prelacy in Scotland, the episcopalian form of worship was never introduced; and that it was not till many years after the death of Claverhouse, and even then with great difficulty, that the Scottish episcopalians could be induced to use the liturgy.‡ We are compelled, therefore, to conclude that Mr. Chambers, in trying to account for the excesses of Claverhouse, by imputing to him such a motive, was drawing from the stores of his own fancy; that the wish was father to the thought; and that, conceiving how he himself might have felt in the circumstances, he has transferred his own sentiments to the breast of his hero. He has thus, unexpectedly, perhaps, given the people of Scotland to know, that whatever Dundee may have thought, Mr. Robert Chambers deems the presbyterian worship "a rude and licentious formula," and charitably believes that "the episcopalian mode is the only one by which the Deity can properly be honoured."

\* Letters of Dundee, p. 81.

† Chambers' History of the Rebellions.

‡ "The reader will be astonished," says sir George Mackenzie, "when we inform him that *the way of worship in our church differed nothing from what the presbyterians themselves practised*." (*Vindication*, p. 9.) "In the church, as now established by law under episcopacy among us, we have *no ceremonies at all—no, not so much as any form of prayer*; no music but singing in the churches," &c. (*Memorial for the Prince of Orange*, 1688, by two persons of quality, p. 8.)

# INDEX.

|                                                                 | Vol. | Page. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Aberdeen, assembly of . . . . .                                 | I.   | 142   |
| members imprisoned and brought to trial . . . . .               | "    | 143   |
| they are banished . . . . .                                     | "    | 145   |
| citizens compelled to subscribe the covenant . . . . .          | "    | 257   |
| town of, taken by the marquis of Montrose . . . . .             | II.  | 9     |
| town of, atrocities committed by his soldiers in . . . . .      | "    | ib.   |
| town of, its attachment to prelacy . . . . .                    | "    | 84    |
| Accommodation, the, introduced by archbishop Leighton . . . . . | "    | 138   |
| its failure . . . . .                                           | "    | ib.   |
| Act of Glasgow passed . . . . .                                 | "    | 89    |
| its consequences . . . . .                                      | "    | 90    |
| Act of supremacy, nature and consequences of . . . . .          | "    | 204   |
| rescinded by parliament . . . . .                               | "    | 287   |
| Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, account of . . . . .        | I.   | 115   |
| Alison, Isabel, her trial and execution . . . . .               | II.  | 200   |
| Annandale, marquis of, his bold defence . . . . .               | "    | 222   |
| Argyle, earl of, takes the test with a qualification . . . . .  | "    | 220   |
| prosecuted, and escapes . . . . .                               | "    | 221   |
| behaviour in his last moments] . . . . .                        | "    | 231   |
| Argyle, marquis of, his character . . . . .                     | "    | 13    |
| selected for destruction . . . . .                              | "    | 71    |
| tried and sentenced . . . . .                                   | "    | 72    |
| conduct in prison . . . . .                                     | "    | 73    |
| execution . . . . .                                             | "    | 74    |
| Assembly of 1639, and its proceedings . . . . .                 | I.   | 254   |
| 1643 . . . . .                                                  | "    | 277   |
| 1643, solemn league formed between the three . . . . .          | "    | ib.   |
| kingdoms there . . . . .                                        | "    | 52    |
| 1653 dissolved by Cromwell's soldiers . . . . .                 | II.  | 52    |
| Assembly, Westminster . . . . .                                 | I.   | 285   |
| description of its sittings . . . . .                           | "    | 286   |
| its proceedings . . . . .                                       | "    | 288   |
| agrees to the Confession of Faith . . . . .                     | "    | 288   |
| and Catechisms . . . . .                                        | "    | 292   |

|                                                                                 | Vol. | Page. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Baillie of Jerviswood, his character . . . . .                                  | 11.  | 225   |
| his trial . . . . .                                                             | "    | 226   |
| his behaviour in prison . . . . .                                               | "    | 227   |
| his execution . . . . .                                                         | "    | 228   |
| Balfour of Burley, a chief actor in Sharp's murder . . . . .                    | "    | 157   |
| has a command at Drumclog . . . . .                                             | "    | 170   |
| Beaton, archbishop, procures the death of Hamilton . . . . .                    | 1.   | 21    |
| Beaton, cardinal, designs to extirpate the Scottish Protestants . . . . .       | "    | 32    |
| procures the death of Wishart . . . . .                                         | "    | 36    |
| he is assassinated . . . . .                                                    | "    | 41    |
| Bishops, English, their resistance to James VII. . . . .                        | 11.  | 247   |
| Bishops' evangelists, the . . . . .                                             | "    | 136   |
| failure of their mission . . . . .                                              | "    | 137   |
| Bishops, four Scottish, consecrated in England . . . . .                        | "    | 85    |
| Bishops' war, the . . . . .                                                     | 1.   | 244   |
| drag-net, the . . . . .                                                         | 11.  | 103   |
| Bishops, Scottish, ordained in England . . . . .                                | 1.   | 151   |
| character of those of James VI. . . . .                                         | "    | 154   |
| Black, David, prosecution of . . . . .                                          | "    | 131   |
| declines the civil jurisdiction . . . . .                                       | "    | ib.   |
| Blackader, colonel, account of . . . . .                                        | 11.  | 273   |
| Blackader, John, minister of Troqueer, ejected by the Glasgow act . . . . .     | "    | 92    |
| cruel circumstances of his ejection . . . . .                                   | "    | ib.   |
| his house visited by soldiers . . . . .                                         | "    | 127   |
| singular escape of his son . . . . .                                            | "    | 128   |
| presides at an armed conventicle . . . . .                                      | "    | 141   |
| his description of one . . . . .                                                | "    | 142   |
| dies in the Bass . . . . .                                                      | "    | 148   |
| character of . . . . .                                                          | "    | 183   |
| Blair, Robert, account of . . . . .                                             | 1.   | 179   |
| description of, by an Englishman . . . . .                                      | 11.  | 61    |
| anecdotes of . . . . .                                                          | "    | 62    |
| Blinks, the, or intervals of persecution . . . . .                              | "    | 150   |
| Bond among the reformers for protection of religion . . . . .                   | 1.   | 48    |
| Bothwell Bridge, battle of . . . . .                                            | 11.  | 174   |
| cruelties on the prisoners after the battle . . . . .                           | "    | 177   |
| rising at, vindication of . . . . .                                             | "    | 179   |
| Boyd, Robert, of Trochrig, account of . . . . .                                 | 1.   | 183   |
| Zachary, preaches against Cromwell . . . . .                                    | 11.  | 51    |
| Brown, John, shot by Claverhouse . . . . .                                      | "    | 209   |
| Bruce, Robert, preaches against the king's favour to the popish lords . . . . . | 1.   | 123   |
| remonstrates again upon the subject . . . . .                                   | "    | 129   |
| banished for doubting about the Gowrie conspiracy . . . . .                     | "    | 136   |
| his early life and studies . . . . .                                            | "    | ib.   |
| anecdotes of . . . . .                                                          | "    | 177   |
| his death . . . . .                                                             | "    | 178   |
| Bullo, William (a curate), rabbled by the mob . . . . .                         | 11.  | 265   |

INDEX.

311

|                                                                | Vol. | Page. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Calderwood, David, trial of, before James VI.                  | I.   | 161   |
| Cameron, Richard, opposed to those who accepted the indulgence | II.  | 173   |
| his followers called Cameronians                               | "    | 174   |
| account of him                                                 | "    | 191   |
| his brave conduct at Ayrsmoss                                  | "    | 192   |
| publishes the Sanquhar declaration                             | "    | 197   |
| his death                                                      | "    | ib.   |
| Cameronian regiment                                            | "    | 269   |
| its gallant conduct at Dunkeld                                 | "    | 280   |
| Cameronians, whence the name of                                | "    | 174   |
| Cameronians publish the Sanquhar declaration                   | "    | 197   |
| declare war against the king                                   | "    | 215   |
| refuse the indulgence of James VII.                            | "    | 234   |
| their conduct at the revolution                                | "    | 256   |
| their declaration to king William                              | "    | 258   |
| Campbell of Kinyeancleuch warns against Mary's blandishments   | I.   | 81    |
| protects Davidson of Prestonpans                               | "    | 98    |
| his death                                                      | "    | 99    |
| Campbell, sir Hugh, tried on a false charge                    | II.  | 223   |
| imprisoned and fined                                           | "    | 224   |
| Cargill, Donald, on the prophetic character of                 | "    | 194   |
| his share in the Queensferry paper                             | "    | 196   |
| publishes the Sanquhar declaration                             | "    | 197   |
| Carmichael, his cruelties as agent of Sharp                    | "    | 156   |
| Carstairs, principal, tortured                                 | "    | 224   |
| his influence with king William                                | "    | 225   |
| Cathkin, James, bookseller, his examination before the king    | I.   | 173   |
| Cess, oppressive, levied for the suppression of conventicles   | II.  | 168   |
| Chalmers of Gathgirth's unceremonious visit to the palace      | I.   | 52    |
| Charles I., accession of, and character                        | "    | 197   |
| coronation in Scotland                                         | "    | 198   |
| arrogant behaviour to the nobles                               | "    | 199   |
| state of parties in Scotland at his accession                  | "    | 212   |
| his treacherous instructions against the covenanters           | "    | 226   |
| invades Scotland                                               | "    | 244   |
| his treaty at Dunse Law                                        | "    | 252   |
| tries to over-reach the covenanters                            | "    | 254   |
| sanctions a meeting of assembly in 1639                        | "    | 255   |
| his rage at its proceedings                                    | "    | 261   |
| orders the earl of Loudoun to be privately executed            | "    | ib.   |
| again invades Scotland                                         | "    | 264   |
| takes refuge with the Scottish army                            | II.  | 18    |
| refuses their terms                                            | "    | 19    |
| Henderson sent to confer with him                              | "    | 20    |
| controversy with Henderson                                     | "    | 21    |
| surrendered to the English                                     | "    | 23    |
| justification of this surrender                                | "    | ib.   |
| his trial and execution                                        | "    | 31    |
| his character                                                  | "    | ib.   |
| Charles II. proclaimed king in Scotland                        | "    | 32    |
| arrives from Breda                                             | "    | 40    |
| subscribes the covenant                                        | "    | 41    |
| is defeated at Dunbar                                          | "    | 43    |
| endeavours to escape from the Scottish army                    | "    | 44    |

|                                                                               | Vol. | Page. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Charles II. his coronation at Scoon . . . . .                                 | II.  | 45    |
| undertakes an expedition into England . . . . .                               | "    | 49    |
| is defeated at Worcester . . . . .                                            | "    | ib.   |
| restored to the throne in 1660 . . . . .                                      | "    | 69    |
| restores prelacy in Scotland . . . . .                                        | "    | 80    |
| excommunicated by the Cameronians . . . . .                                   | "    | 197   |
| dies . . . . .                                                                | "    | 230   |
| Christmas-day held in Edinburgh . . . . .                                     | I.   | 170   |
| Church, Scottish, state of, at the death of Charles I. . . . .                | II.  | 33    |
| Church of Scotland, order and discipline established in . . . . .             | I.   | 74    |
| Claim of right, settlement of . . . . .                                       | II.  | 285   |
| Claverhouse— <i>see Graham</i> .                                              |      |       |
| Cleland, colonel, account of . . . . .                                        | "    | 271   |
| challenges Claverhouse to single combat . . . . .                             | "    | 268   |
| resists the Highland army at Dunkeld . . . . .                                | "    | 280   |
| his heroic death . . . . .                                                    | "    | 282   |
| Commissioners, English, attend the assembly of 1643 . . . . .                 | I.   | 278   |
| Scottish, their attendance at Westminster<br>assembly . . . . .               | "    | 287   |
| Communion, kneeling at the, arguments upon . . . . .                          | "    | 172   |
| Conventicles commence in 1663 . . . . .                                       | II.  | 101   |
| anecdotes of them . . . . .                                                   | "    | 102   |
| multiplied by the indulgence . . . . .                                        | "    | 140   |
| origin of armed conventicles . . . . .                                        | "    | 141   |
| description of one at East Nisbet . . . . .                                   | "    | 142   |
| tax levied to suppress them . . . . .                                         | "    | 168   |
| trial of Riddel for preaching at . . . . .                                    | "    | 187   |
| trial of Hume of Hume for attending . . . . .                                 | "    | 189   |
| Court of high commission, establishment of . . . . .                          | I.   | 157   |
| Covenant, national, nature of the . . . . .                                   | "    | 105   |
| solemnly subscribed at Edinburgh . . . . .                                    | "    | 209   |
| Covenanters, piety of the . . . . .                                           | II.  | 108   |
| their oppression by the military . . . . .                                    | "    | 109   |
| they rise in arms in the west . . . . .                                       | "    | 110   |
| are defeated at Rullion Green . . . . .                                       | "    | 112   |
| their resistance not rebellion . . . . .                                      | "    | 113   |
| severities against those taken at Rullion Green . . . . .                     | "    | 116   |
| persecutions they sustained from Dalziel . . . . .                            | "    | 124   |
| women tortured . . . . .                                                      | "    | 125   |
| heavy fines levied . . . . .                                                  | "    | 129   |
| their acquaintanceship with Scripture . . . . .                               | "    | 137   |
| severities increased against them after Sharp's<br>murder . . . . .           | "    | 162   |
| taxed for the suppression of their own principles . . . . .                   | "    | 168   |
| cruelties inflicted on them after the battle of<br>Bothwell Bridge . . . . .  | "    | 177   |
| banished to the plantations . . . . .                                         | "    | 178   |
| barbarities inflicted on them . . . . .                                       | "    | 199   |
| grounds on which they suffered . . . . .                                      | "    | 203   |
| soldiers commissioned to proceed against<br>them without indictment . . . . . | "    | ib.   |
| hunted with bloodhounds . . . . .                                             | "    | 210   |
| their wonderful escapes . . . . .                                             | "    | 213   |
| severities increased after the Argyle invasion . . . . .                      | "    | 232   |
| their release from persecution . . . . .                                      | "    | 253   |
| they protect the sitting of convention . . . . .                              | "    | 267   |
| Crauford, earl of, presides in the Scottish parliament . . . . .              | "    | 287   |



|                                                                       | Vol. | Page. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Craufurd, earl of, his character . . . . .                            | II.  | 239   |
| purges the church . . . . .                                           | "    | 290   |
| Cromwell, Oliver, gains a victory at Preston . . . . .                | "    | 30    |
| at Dunbar . . . . .                                                   | "    | 43    |
| at Worcester . . . . .                                                | "    | 49    |
| debates with the clergy at Edinburgh . . . . .                        | "    | 50    |
| wild behaviour of his military theologians . . . . .                  | "    | ib.   |
| his strange conduct at a meeting of ministers . . . . .               | "    | 51    |
| dissolves the general assembly . . . . .                              | "    | 52    |
| Curates, rabbling of the, at the revolution . . . . .                 | "    | 261   |
| account of it by Patrick Walker . . . . .                             | "    | 263   |
|                                                                       |      |       |
| Dalziel, general, account of . . . . .                                | "    | 124   |
| causes a man to be shot . . . . .                                     | "    | 125   |
| his cruelties . . . . .                                               | "    | 126   |
| Davidson of Prestonpans writes against regent Morton . . . . .        | I.   | 98    |
| protected by Kinycandleuch . . . . .                                  | "    | ib.   |
| excommunicates the bishop of Glasgow . . . . .                        | "    | 108   |
| preaches at the renewal of the covenant . . . . .                     | "    | 127   |
| opposes the establishment of prelates . . . . .                       | "    | 133   |
| Dickson, David, minister of Irvine, account of . . . . .              | "    | 190   |
| is moderator of the assembly of 1653 . . . . .                        | II.  | 52    |
| his death-bed opinion of the Protesters . . . . .                     | "    | 49    |
| description of him by an Englishman . . . . .                         | "    | 61    |
| his adventure with a highwayman . . . . .                             | "    | 66    |
| Discipline, First Book of, account of . . . . .                       | I.   | 74    |
| Second Book of . . . . .                                              | "    | 101   |
| Douglas, Robert, preaches at the coronation of Charles II. . . . .    | II.  | 45    |
| account of him . . . . .                                              | "    | 67    |
| his interview with Sharp . . . . .                                    | "    | 68    |
| Dun, Erskine of, instructs Stratton in religious truth . . . . .      | J.   | 24    |
| Dunavertie, executions by the covenanters at . . . . .                | II.  | 16    |
| Dunbar, George, his coolness under banishment . . . . .               | I.   | 182   |
| Duncan, Andrew, minister of Crail, account of . . . . .               | "    | 181   |
| Dunkeld, gallant affair at . . . . .                                  | II.  | 279   |
| Dunottar castle, sufferings of the prisoners in . . . . .             | "    | 232   |
| Dunse Law, encampment of the Scots at . . . . .                       | I.   | 248   |
| treaty of . . . . .                                                   | "    | 252   |
| Dury, John, banishment and triumphant return of . . . . .             | "    | 111   |
|                                                                       |      |       |
| Edinburgh, riots in, before the revolution . . . . .                  | II.  | 245   |
| Enterkin path, covenanters rescued at . . . . .                       | "    | 214   |
| Episcopacy abolished by the Scottish parliament . . . . .             | "    | 287   |
| Erastianism in the English parliament . . . . .                       | I.   | 296   |
| Erskine, lord, his affecting speech at the Glasgow assembly . . . . . | "    | 232   |
| Executioner refuses to hang the covenanters . . . . .                 | II.  | 192   |

|                                                                                                     | Vol. | Page. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, facetious humour of<br>opposes the introduc-<br>tion of Prelacy | I.   | 113   |
| Fife, synod of, latitudinarian conclusions at                                                       | "    | 133   |
| Forrest, dean Thomas, account of                                                                    | "    | 16    |
| Fraud, pious, attempted by the popish priests                                                       | "    | 46    |
|                                                                                                     |      |       |
| General assembly, first meeting of                                                                  | "    | 68    |
| Gibbites, account of                                                                                | II.  | 195   |
| Gibb, John, founds the sect of the Gibbites                                                         | "    | ib.   |
| Giles, saint, riot on his feast-day                                                                 | I.   | 44    |
| Gillespie, George, sent to the Westminster assembly                                                 | "    | 286   |
| his remarkable services there                                                                       | "    | 289   |
| account of his death                                                                                | "    | 291   |
| Gladstones, archbishop, of St. Andrews, his imperious behaviour                                     | "    | 152   |
| his character                                                                                       | "    | 155   |
| Glasgow, assembly at                                                                                | "    | 149   |
| bribery of the members of                                                                           | "    | 150   |
| tumult in, from attempts to introduce<br>the liturgy                                                | "    | 206   |
| famous assembly of                                                                                  | "    | 224   |
| its proceedings                                                                                     | "    | 225   |
| is continued, though dissolved by<br>the royal commissioner                                         | "    | 229   |
| character of its proceedings                                                                        | "    | 237   |
| Gordon, Mr., imprisoned for not lifting his hat to an arch-<br>bishop                               | II.  | 243   |
| Gordons of Knockbreck executed                                                                      | "    | 122   |
| Gowrie conspiracy                                                                                   | I.   | 134   |
| Graham of Claverhouse, commences his persecutions                                                   | II.  | 165   |
| sent to suppress the rising in the west                                                             | "    | 169   |
| defeated at Drumclog                                                                                | "    | 170   |
| flies to Glasgow                                                                                    | "    | 171   |
| murders John Brown                                                                                  | "    | 209   |
| his uncomfortable state at the<br>revolution                                                        | "    | 268   |
| collects an army in the Highlands                                                                   | "    | 274   |
| killed at Killiecrankie                                                                             | "    | 277   |
| false statements about his dying<br>moments                                                         | "    | 278   |
| the forged letter of                                                                                | "    | 307   |
| Guillan, Andrew, tried as accessory to Sharp's murder                                               | "    | 162   |
| Guthrie, James, minister of Stirling, his last interview<br>with Argyle                             | "    | 74    |
| account of him                                                                                      | "    | 75    |
| his trial                                                                                           | "    | 76    |
| execution                                                                                           | "    | 78    |
| Guthrie, William, minister at Fenwick, account of                                                   | "    | 105   |
| is suspended by the bishops                                                                         | "    | 107   |

|                                                                                        | Vol. | Page. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Hackston of Rathillet, present at Sharp's murder . . .                                 | II.  | 157   |
| refuses to share in the deed . . .                                                     | "    | 159   |
| taken prisoner at the skirmish of<br>Ayrsmoss . . . . .                                | "    | 193   |
| his cruel execution . . . . .                                                          | "    | ib.   |
| Hall, Henry, of Haugh-head, apprehended with the Queens-<br>ferry paper . . . . .      | "    | 196   |
| Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, his flattering let-<br>ter to Argyle . . . . .    | I.   | 50    |
| Hamilton, duke of, endeavours to continue episcopacy in<br>Scotland . . . . .          | II.  | 268   |
| Hamilton, marquis of, appointed royal commissioner . . .                               | I.   | 221   |
| his entry into Edinburgh . . . . .                                                     | "    | 222   |
| endeavours to gain over the cove-<br>nanters . . . . .                                 | "    | 223   |
| presides at the Glasgow assembly . . . . .                                             | "    | 225   |
| dissolves the assembly . . . . .                                                       | "    | 229   |
| conducts the invasion of Scotland . . . . .                                            | "    | 247   |
| his mother's zeal for the covenant . . . . .                                           | "    | ib.   |
| attempts the king's rescue . . . . .                                                   | II.  | 29    |
| is routed by Cromwell near Preston . . . . .                                           | "    | 30    |
| Hamilton, Patrick, account of . . . . .                                                | I.   | 20    |
| effects of his martyrdom . . . . .                                                     | "    | 23    |
| Hamilton, sir Robert, desires the indulgence to be preached<br>against . . . . .       | II.  | 149   |
| heads the rising in the west . . . . .                                                 | "    | 169   |
| attempts to take Glasgow . . . . .                                                     | "    | 171   |
| unfitness to command . . . . .                                                         | "    | 173   |
| Hampton court conference . . . . .                                                     | I.   | 139   |
| Harvie, Marion, her trial and execution . . . . .                                      | II.  | 200   |
| Headship of Christ contended for by the covenanters . . .                              | "    | 204   |
| Henderson, Alexander, minister of Leuchars, account of . .                             | I.   | 218   |
| is moderator of the Glasgow assembly . . . . .                                         | "    | 227   |
| sent to London on a treaty . . . . .                                                   | "    | 264   |
| his speech before the English parliament . . . . .                                     | "    | 276   |
| is moderator of the assembly of 1643 . . . . .                                         | "    | 277   |
| effects a religious union between the<br>three kingdoms . . . . .                      | "    | 279   |
| preaches in the church of St. Mar-<br>garet, Westminster . . . . .                     | "    | 280   |
| attends the Westminster assembly . . . . .                                             | "    | 284   |
| sent to confer with the king at New-<br>castle . . . . .                               | II.  | 20    |
| last sickness and death . . . . .                                                      | "    | 21    |
| impudent forgery published of him . . . . .                                            | "    | 22    |
| High commission court . . . . .                                                        | "    | 104   |
| abolished . . . . .                                                                    | "    | 105   |
| Highland host brought down against the covenanters . . .                               | "    | 165   |
| their proceedings in the Lowlands . . . . .                                            | "    | 167   |
| Hislop, Andrew, butchered by the soldiers . . . . .                                    | "    | 212   |
| Hume, Alexander, of Hume, tried and executed for attend-<br>ing conventicles . . . . . | "    | 189   |
| Hume, sir Patrick, of Polwart, escapes from prison . . . .                             | "    | 228   |
| his strange place of concealment . . . . .                                             | "    | 229   |
| anecdotes of . . . . .                                                                 | "    | ib.   |

|                                                                  | Vol. | Page. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Independents attend at the assembly of 1643 . . .                | I.   | 277   |
| their behaviour at the Westminster assembly . . .                | "    | 288   |
| their predominance in the English parliament . . .               | "    | 304   |
| Indulgence, act of, granted in 1669 . . .                        | II.  | 134   |
| arguments adduced for and against it . . .                       | "    | ib.   |
| designed to produce divisions . . .                              | "    | 136   |
| conventicles multiplied in consequence of it . . .               | "    | 140   |
| disputes it occasioned among the armed<br>insurgents . . .       | "    | 171   |
| Ireland, covenant subscribed in . . .                            | I.   | 295   |
| Irish massacre, the . . .                                        | "    | 269   |
| <br>                                                             |      |       |
| James V., his rebuke to the covetous prelates . . .              | "    | 72    |
| James VI., accession of . . .                                    | "    | 103   |
| triumphal entry into Edinburgh . . .                             | "    | 104   |
| subscribes the national covenant . . .                           | "    | 107   |
| made prisoner by his nobles . . .                                | "    | 110   |
| his pulpit debate with Balcanquhal . . .                         | "    | 114   |
| with a congregation in favour of his prelate . . .               | "    | 115   |
| his sentiments in favour of presbyterianism . . .                | "    | 120   |
| opposed by the ministers for favouring the<br>popish lords . . . | "    | 123   |
| opposed by Andrew Melville . . .                                 | "    | 124   |
| encroaches upon the liberty of preaching . . .                   | "    | 131   |
| introduces prelacy into the church . . .                         | "    | 132   |
| succeeds to the throne of England . . .                          | "    | 139   |
| presides at the Hampton court conference . . .                   | "    | ib.   |
| visits Scotland . . .                                            | "    | 159   |
| introduces innovations in the church . . .                       | "    | 160   |
| enraged at the Scottish bishops . . .                            | "    | 164   |
| James VII., his accession . . .                                  | II.  | 230   |
| proclaims the indulgence . . .                                   | "    | 233   |
| his flight . . .                                                 | "    | 240   |
| errors of his reign . . .                                        | "    | 246   |
| proclaimed to have forfeited his right to the<br>throne . . .    | "    | 256   |
| Jeffreys, judge, brutal conduct of, on the bench . . .           | "    | 248   |
| Johnston of Warriston, account of . . .                          | "    | 96    |
| treacherous apprehension of . . .                                | "    | 97    |
| his trial and execution . . .                                    | "    | 98    |
| his character . . .                                              | "    | 99    |
| <br>                                                             |      |       |
| Kennedy, Alexander, martyrdom of . . .                           | I.   | 26    |
| Kid, Mr., rescued by the covenanters at Drumclog . . .           | II.  | 175   |
| executed . . .                                                   | "    | 176   |
| Killiecrankie, battle of . . .                                   | "    | 276   |
| King, Mr. John, apprehended by Claverhouse . . .                 | "    | 169   |
| made prisoner at Bothwell Bridge . . .                           | "    | 175   |
| executed . . .                                                   | "    | 176   |
| arrives in Scotland . . .                                        | "    | 54    |
| preaches at Perth . . .                                          | "    | 56    |

|                                                                              | Vol. | Page. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Knox, John, preaches at St. Andrews . . . . .                                | 1.   | 59    |
| his sentiments on the liberty of the church . . . . .                        | "    | 69    |
| disappointment at its scanty endowment . . . . .                             | "    | 73    |
| preaches against the queen's mass . . . . .                                  | "    | 82    |
| interview with Mary on that occasion . . . . .                               | "    | ib    |
| second interview with the queen . . . . .                                    | "    | 85    |
| personal appearance in old age . . . . .                                     | "    | 91    |
| his death . . . . .                                                          | "    | 92    |
| character . . . . .                                                          | "    | 94    |
| vindicated from all share in Riccio's murder<br>(appendix) . . . . .         | "    | 309   |
| <br>                                                                         |      |       |
| Lagg, Grierson of, account of . . . . .                                      | 11.  | 213   |
| Lamb, Robert, martyrdom of . . . . .                                         | 1.   | 27    |
| Laud at the coronation of Charles I. in Edinburgh . . . . .                  | "    | 198   |
| prepares a liturgy for Scotland . . . . .                                    | "    | 202   |
| his interview with the king's fool . . . . .                                 | "    | 209   |
| his oppressive proceedings . . . . .                                         | "    | 266   |
| Lauderdale, duke of, obtains the management of Scottish<br>affairs . . . . . | 11.  | 130   |
| brutal conduct at Mitchell's trial . . . . .                                 | "    | 155   |
| frantic oath at the council board . . . . .                                  | "    | 166   |
| Loudoun, earl of, imprisoned, and ordered to be executed . . . . .           | 1.   | 261   |
| heroic behaviour of his countess . . . . .                                   | "    | 262   |
| pleads for the king, when the latter was prisoner . . . . .                  | 11.  | 25    |
| League, solemn, adopted by the English parliament . . . . .                  | 1.   | 279   |
| terms of the league . . . . .                                                | "    | 281   |
| condemned by parliament in 1662 . . . . .                                    | 11.  | 87    |
| Leighton, Dr. Alexander, cruelly tortured . . . . .                          | 1.   | 267   |
| Leighton consecrated bishop of Dunblane . . . . .                            | 11.  | 86    |
| his character . . . . .                                                      | "    | ib.   |
| appointed archbishop of Glasgow . . . . .                                    | "    | 136   |
| tries lenient measures with the covenanters . . . . .                        | "    | ib.   |
| tries to reconcile presbyterianism with a moderate<br>episcopacy . . . . .   | "    | 138   |
| Leslie, general, appointed to command the covenanters . . . . .              | 1.   | 245   |
| his influence with the army . . . . .                                        | "    | 250   |
| defeats Montrose at Philiphaugh . . . . .                                    | 11.  | 15    |
| Linlithgow, profane anniversary at . . . . .                                 | "    | 88    |
| Liturgy, attempt to introduce it into Scotland . . . . .                     | 1.   | 202   |
| riots in Edinburgh in consequence . . . . .                                  | "    | 203   |
| protest against its introduction . . . . .                                   | "    | 207   |
| Livingstone, John, preacher at the Kirk of Shotts . . . . .                  | "    | 193   |
| effects of his preaching . . . . .                                           | "    | 194   |
| Long parliament, character of the . . . . .                                  | "    | 272   |
| Lords of the covenant unite and arm . . . . .                                | "    | 58    |
| <br>                                                                         |      |       |
| Mackail, Hugh, his first sermon in Edinburgh . . . . .                       | 11.  | 118   |
| tortured by the boots . . . . .                                              | "    | 119   |
| behaviour on the scaffold . . . . .                                          | "    | 120   |
| his last speech . . . . .                                                    | "    | 121   |

|                                                                      | Vol. | Page. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Mackenzie, sir George, appointed king's advocate . . . . .           | II.  | 163   |
| his character . . . . .                                              | "    | ib.   |
| unjust mode of conducting trials . . . . .                           | "    | ib.   |
| iniquitous conduct at Jerviswood's trial . . . . .                   | "    | 226   |
| flies to England at the revolution . . . . .                         | "    | 268   |
| Mackay, general, commands the covenanters at Killiecrankie . . . . . | "    | 276   |
| his remarks on it . . . . .                                          | "    | 277   |
| Mary of Guise opposes the reformation . . . . .                      | I.   | 53    |
| thwarted by lord Ruthven . . . . .                                   | "    | 57    |
| Mary Stuart arrives in Scotland . . . . .                            | "    | 80    |
| her ingratiating reception of the nobles . . . . .                   | "    | 81    |
| her altercation with Knox . . . . .                                  | "    | 82    |
| quarrels his liberty in the pulpit . . . . .                         | "    | 85    |
| joins the league for the extirpation of protestantism . . . . .      | "    | 87    |
| her flight into England . . . . .                                    | "    | 88    |
| Maxwell of Moncrieff, narrow escape of . . . . .                     | II.  | 134   |
| Meetings, private, religious debate on . . . . .                     | I.   | 263   |
| Melville, Andrew, account of . . . . .                               | "    | 101   |
| his sermon against absolute power . . . . .                          | "    | 109   |
| flies to England . . . . .                                           | "    | 112   |
| his sharp remonstrance with the king . . . . .                       | "    | 124   |
| banished for a Latin epigram . . . . .                               | "    | 146   |
| Middleton's parliament . . . . .                                     | II.  | 70    |
| their mad proceedings . . . . .                                      | "    | 71    |
| Middleton, earl of, appointed commissioner . . . . .                 | "    | 70    |
| his intemperate conduct . . . . .                                    | "    | 71    |
| excommunicated by Guthrie . . . . .                                  | "    | 76    |
| blood drops from the martyr's head upon his carriage . . . . .       | "    | 78    |
| makes a tour to enforce conformity . . . . .                         | "    | 89    |
| passes the act of Glasgow . . . . .                                  | "    | ib.   |
| Military executions of the covenanters . . . . .                     | "    | 211   |
| Mill, Walter, his trial and martyrdom . . . . .                      | I.   | 45    |
| Ministers, four hundred, ejected by the Glasgow act . . . . .        | II.  | 90    |
| character of their successors . . . . .                              | "    | 93    |
| annoyances with which these curates were welcomed . . . . .          | "    | 94    |
| the ejected, banished from Edinburgh . . . . .                       | "    | 95    |
| Mitchell, James, attempts the assassination of Sharp . . . . .       | "    | 132   |
| escapes undetected . . . . .                                         | "    | 133   |
| apprehended after a long interval . . . . .                          | "    | 151   |
| confesses, on assurance of life . . . . .                            | "    | 152   |
| put to the torture . . . . .                                         | "    | 153   |
| his execution . . . . .                                              | "    | 154   |
| Moderators constant, proposed by James VI. . . . .                   | I.   | 146   |
| Monasteries, apology for their demolition . . . . .                  | "    | 61    |
| Montgomery, bishop of Glasgow, his violent conduct . . . . .         | "    | 108   |
| excommunicated . . . . .                                             | "    | ib.   |
| chased out of Edinburgh . . . . .                                    | "    | 109   |
| Montrose, marquis of, imposes the covenant on Aberdeen . . . . .     | "    | 257   |
| envious at the preference of Argyle and Leslie . . . . .             | II.  | 6     |
| joins the king's party . . . . .                                     | "    | 7     |
| his character . . . . .                                              | "    | ib.   |
| savage conduct of, at Aberdeen . . . . .                             | "    | 9     |

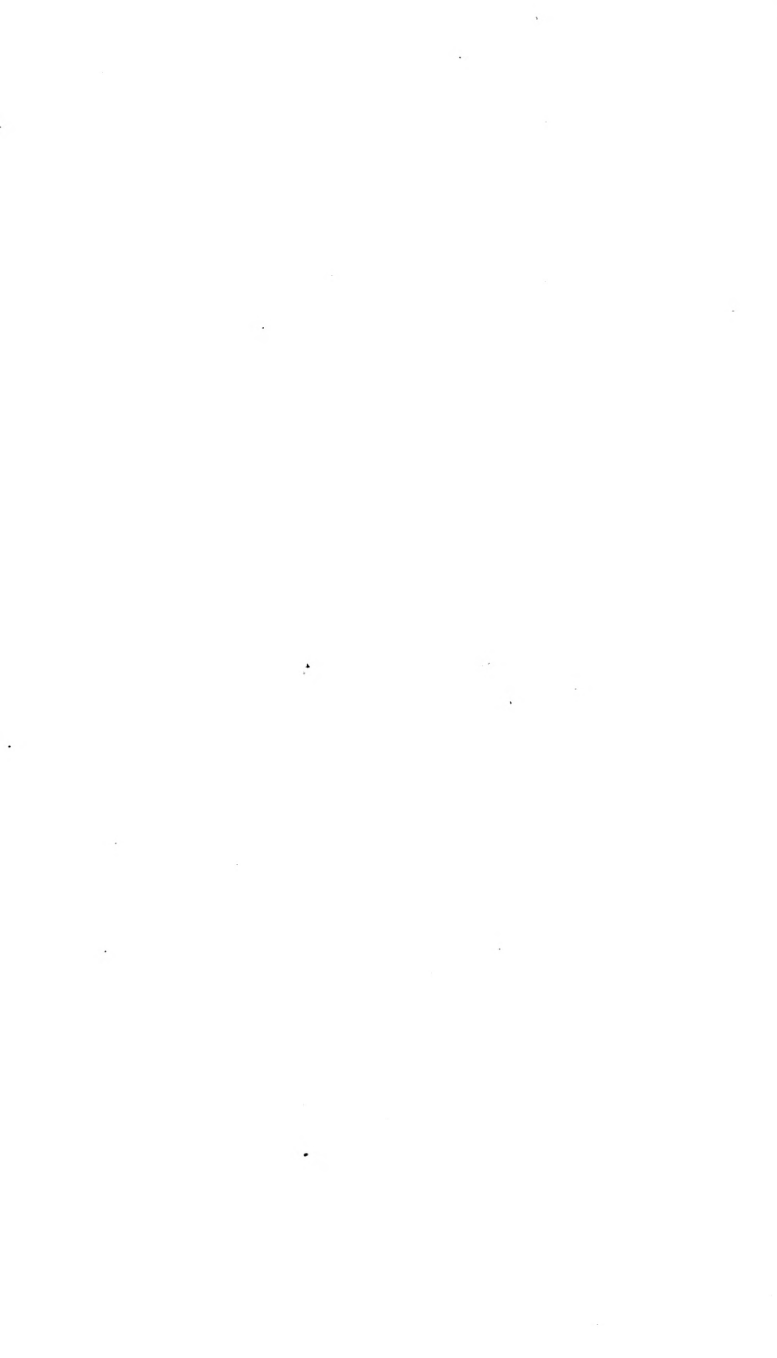
|                                                                                       | Vol. | Page.      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------|
| Montrose, ravages Argyleshire . . . . .                                               | 11.  | 12         |
| gains a victory at Inverlochy . . . . .                                               | "    | ib.        |
| his boastful hope to reduce Scotland to the king<br>defeated at Philiphaugh . . . . . | "    | 14<br>15   |
| Morton, earl of, his innovations in the church . . . . .                              | 1.   | 95         |
| Murray, earl of, his services in behalf of the reformation . . . . .                  | "    | 89         |
|                                                                                       |      |            |
| Neilson of Corsack, account of . . . . .                                              | 11.  | 118        |
| tortured by the boots . . . . .                                                       | "    | 119        |
|                                                                                       |      |            |
| Orange, prince of, lands in England . . . . .                                         | "    | 252        |
| Orkney, bishop of, wounded by James Mitchell . . . . .                                | "    | 132        |
| covenanting prisoners wrecked on the coast of . . . . .                               | "    | 179        |
|                                                                                       |      |            |
| Patenoster controversy . . . . .                                                      | 1.   | 43         |
| Patronage, history of, in the Scottish church . . . . .                               | 11.  | 35         |
| abolished by parliament in 1649 . . . . .                                             | "    | 39         |
| Peden, Alexander, on the prophetic character of . . . . .                             | "    | 194        |
| Pentland, battle of . . . . .                                                         | "    | 112        |
| Persecution, Scottish, summary of . . . . .                                           | "    | 239        |
| religious, discountenanced by the Scottish<br>reformation . . . . .                   | 1.   | 66         |
| Persecutors, relentings of, in their last moments . . . . .                           | 11.  | 168        |
| attempts of, to shift the blame on the persecuted<br>judgments on . . . . .           | "    | 205<br>217 |
| Perth, extraordinary events at the synod of . . . . .                                 | 1.   | 146        |
| five articles of . . . . .                                                            | "    | 164        |
| portents attending the meeting . . . . .                                              | "    | 169        |
| Pope burnt in effigy in Edinburgh . . . . .                                           | 11.  | 221        |
| Popery cherished before the revolution . . . . .                                      | "    | 244        |
| nature of . . . . .                                                                   | 1.   | 12         |
| abolished in Scotland . . . . .                                                       | "    | 65         |
| Popes, arrogance of . . . . .                                                         | "    | 9          |
| Popish lords conspire to overthrow protestantism in Scotland . . . . .                | "    | 123        |
| Prelacy, introduction of, by James VI. . . . .                                        | "    | 132        |
| its overthrow at the Glasgow assembly . . . . .                                       | "    | 233        |
| restored by Charles II. . . . .                                                       | 11.  | 80         |
| abolished by the Scottish parliament . . . . .                                        | "    | 287        |
| Prelatic clergy, their arrogance . . . . .                                            | "    | 243        |
| their abject subserviency to James VII. . . . .                                       | "    | 253        |
| opposed to William . . . . .                                                          | "    | 284        |
| their numbers in Scotland at the revolution . . . . .                                 | "    | 285        |
| discountenanced by William . . . . .                                                  | "    | 286        |
| out-manœuvred by the earl of Craufurd . . . . .                                       | "    | 290        |
| detected corresponding with James VII. . . . .                                        | "    | 293        |
| deprived of their benefices . . . . .                                                 | "    | 294        |
| worship, form of, in Scotland . . . . .                                               | "    | 236        |
| doctrine, character of, in Scotland . . . . .                                         | "    | 237        |

|                                                                                               | Vol. | Page. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Presbyterians, English, defence of . . . . .                                                  | I.   | 298   |
| they petition parliament against the sectaries                                                | "    | 304   |
| falsely represented to king William . . . . .                                                 | II.  | 292   |
| Presbyterianism formally restored by parliament . . . . .                                     | I.   | 121   |
| established in the three kingdoms . . . . .                                                   | "    | 293   |
| its ascendancy in England . . . . .                                                           | "    | 294   |
| decay under Erastianism . . . . .                                                             | "    | 296   |
| and sectarianism . . . . .                                                                    | "    | 302   |
| Protestantism established in Scotland . . . . .                                               | "    | 65    |
| Puritans, character of . . . . .                                                              | "    | 273   |
| form a union in religion with the Scots . . . . .                                             | "    | ib.   |
| <br>                                                                                          |      |       |
| Queensferry paper . . . . .                                                                   | II.  | 196   |
| <br>                                                                                          |      |       |
| Rae, Mr., officiates at an armed conventicle . . . . .                                        | "    | 146   |
| refuses to preach against the indulgence . . . . .                                            | "    | 149   |
| Raid of Ruthven, . . . . .                                                                    | I.   | 110   |
| Reformation, character of, at the commencement . . . . .                                      | "    | 18    |
| difference between the Scottish and English . . . . .                                         | "    | 64    |
| Religion, state of, in Scotland, during the beginning of<br>the seventeenth century . . . . . | "    | 186   |
| Renwick, James, account of . . . . .                                                          | II.  | 237   |
| pens the Sanquhar declaration . . . . .                                                       | "    | 238   |
| trial and execution of . . . . .                                                              | "    | ib.   |
| Resolutioners and Protesters, commencement of . . . . .                                       | "    | 42    |
| grounds of their controversy . . . . .                                                        | "    | 46    |
| unfortunate effects of their<br>divisions . . . . .                                           | "    | 53    |
| Restoration, dissoluteness at the . . . . .                                                   | "    | 69    |
| Revolution of 1638 . . . . .                                                                  | "    | 240   |
| causes of it . . . . .                                                                        | "    | 246   |
| Revolution settlement, benefits of the . . . . .                                              | "    | 297   |
| its defects . . . . .                                                                         | "    | 298   |
| Riddel, Archibald, his trial for preaching at conventicles . . . . .                          | "    | 187   |
| Robertson, Alexander, executed for his share in the rising<br>at Pentland . . . . .           | "    | 117   |
| Row, William, presides at the synod of Perth . . . . .                                        | I.   | 146   |
| outwits lord Scoon . . . . .                                                                  | "    | 147   |
| Russel, Jerome, martyrdom of . . . . .                                                        | "    | 26    |
| Rutherford, Samuel, description of, by an Englishman . . . . .                                | II.  | 61    |
| anecdotes of him . . . . .                                                                    | "    | 63    |
| his affecting death . . . . .                                                                 | "    | 64    |
| <br>                                                                                          |      |       |
| Sanquhar declaration, account of the . . . . .                                                | "    | 197   |
| Schools, parochial, establishment of, in Scotland . . . . .                                   | "    | 34    |
| Scoon, lord, his arrogance at the synod of Perth . . . . .                                    | I.   | 146   |
| Scotland, state of religion before the reformation in . . . . .                               | "    | 13    |
| condition of during the civil war . . . . .                                                   | II.  | 5     |
| saved by the firmness of the Scottish church . . . . .                                        | "    | 14    |
| state of, during its occupation by Cromwell . . . . .                                         | "    | 57    |



|                                                                                          | Vol. | Page. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| Scotland, state of, at the revolution . . . . .                                          | II.  | 242   |
| Scottish dialect, apology for . . . . .                                                  | I.   | 51    |
| Scrimgeour, John, minister of Kinghorn, account of . . . . .                             | "    | 184   |
| Sectaries, English, of the Commonwealth . . . . .                                        | "    | 302   |
| their extravagances in Scotland . . . . .                                                | II.  | 49    |
| Sharp, James, truckles to Cromwell . . . . .                                             | "    | 56    |
| betrays the church at the restoration . . . . .                                          | "    | 81    |
| rewarded with the archbishopric of St.<br>Andrews . . . . .                              | "    | 85    |
| erects the high commission court . . . . .                                               | "    | 104   |
| withholds the king's letter recommending<br>mercy towards the covenanters . . . . .      | "    | 121   |
| disgraced in consequence . . . . .                                                       | "    | 130   |
| his character . . . . .                                                                  | "    | 131   |
| apprehensive of assassination . . . . .                                                  | "    | ib.   |
| his life attempted by James Mitchell . . . . .                                           | "    | 132   |
| makes the act of indulgence a snare to the<br>covenanters . . . . .                      | "    | 136   |
| rejoices at the failure of Leighton's heal-<br>ing measures . . . . .                    | "    | 139   |
| behaviour on the trial of Mitchell . . . . .                                             | "    | 151   |
| killed at Magus Moor . . . . .                                                           | "    | 157   |
| persecutions and bloodshed occasioned by<br>his death . . . . .                          | "    | 162   |
| Shotts, Kirk of, revival at . . . . .                                                    | I.   | 191   |
| Simpson, Patrick, account of . . . . .                                                   | "    | 180   |
| Spotswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, character of . . . . .                            | "    | 156   |
| his arrogant behaviour at the assembly of<br>Perth . . . . .                             | "    | 168   |
| Stewarton, revival at . . . . .                                                          | "    | 189   |
| Stratton, Mr. David, account of . . . . .                                                | "    | 24    |
| Supremacy, act of . . . . .                                                              | II.  | 204   |
| Sutherland, William, executioner of Irvine, refuses to<br>hang the covenanters . . . . . | "    | 122   |
| defies the torture . . . . .                                                             | "    | 123   |
| Sweet Singers, or Gibbites, account of . . . . .                                         | "    | 195   |
|                                                                                          |      |       |
| Tables, formation of the four, against episcopacy . . . . .                              | I.   | 209   |
| Test enacted in 1631 . . . . .                                                           | II.  | 219   |
| its inconsistency . . . . .                                                              | "    | ib.   |
| Argyle, earl of, his qualification of it . . . . .                                       | "    | 220   |
| administered to a dog . . . . .                                                          | "    | 222   |
| Toleration, debates on, in the English parliament . . . . .                              | I.   | 304   |
| proclaimed by James VII. . . . .                                                         | II.  | 233   |
| Torwood excommunication, the . . . . .                                                   | "    | 197   |
| Traquair, earl of, his treacherous dealing with the<br>assembly of 1639 . . . . .        | I.   | 255   |
| Tulchan bishops, wherefore so called . . . . .                                           | "    | 96    |
| Turner, sir James, his oppressive treatment of the co-<br>vovenanters . . . . .          | II.  | 103   |
| taken prisoner by them at Dumfries . . . . .                                             | "    | 110   |
| his life saved by Neilson of Corsack . . . . .                                           | "    | 113   |

|                                                                              | Vol. | Page. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| War, defensive, for religion, remarks on . . . . .                           | 1.   | 250   |
| Welch, John, account of . . . . .                                            | "    | 175   |
| Welsh, John, minister of Irongray, ejected by the Glas-<br>gow act . . . . . | 11.  | 91    |
| preaches at the armed conventicle of East<br>Nisbet . . . . .                | "    | 142   |
| refuses to condemn those who had accepted<br>the indulgence . . . . .        | "    | 172   |
| account of him . . . . .                                                     | "    | 185   |
| Westerraw, Johnston of, a merciless persecutor . . . . .                     | "    | 212   |
| William, prince of Orange, lands in England . . . . .                        | "    | 252   |
| his cold reception on landing . . . . .                                      | "    | 249   |
| wishes a modified episcopacy . . . . .                                       | "    | 237   |
| for Scotland . . . . .                                                       | "    | 207   |
| Wilson, Margaret, sentenced to be drowned . . . . .                          | "    | 208   |
| her affecting martyrdom . . . . .                                            | "    | 208   |
| Wishart, George, his labours in Scotland . . . . .                           | 1.   | 33    |
| trial and martyrdom . . . . .                                                | "    | 36    |
| aspersions throwu upon his memory . . . . .                                  | "    | 39    |
| Witchcraft, trials for . . . . .                                             | "    | 187   |
| Worship, public, manner of conducting it in Scotland . . . . .               | "    | 233   |
|                                                                              |      |       |
| York, duke of, excommunicated at Torwood . . . . .                           | 11.  | 197   |
| his savage denunciation of Scotland . . . . .                                | "    | 210   |
| persecutes the earl of Argyle . . . . .                                      | "    | 221   |
| succeeds to the crown . . . . .                                              | "    | 230   |
| proclaims acts of indulgence . . . . .                                       | "    | 233   |
| his flight . . . . .                                                         | "    | 240   |
| errors of his reign . . . . .                                                | "    | 246   |
| declared to have forfeited his right to the<br>throne . . . . .              | "    | 256   |







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