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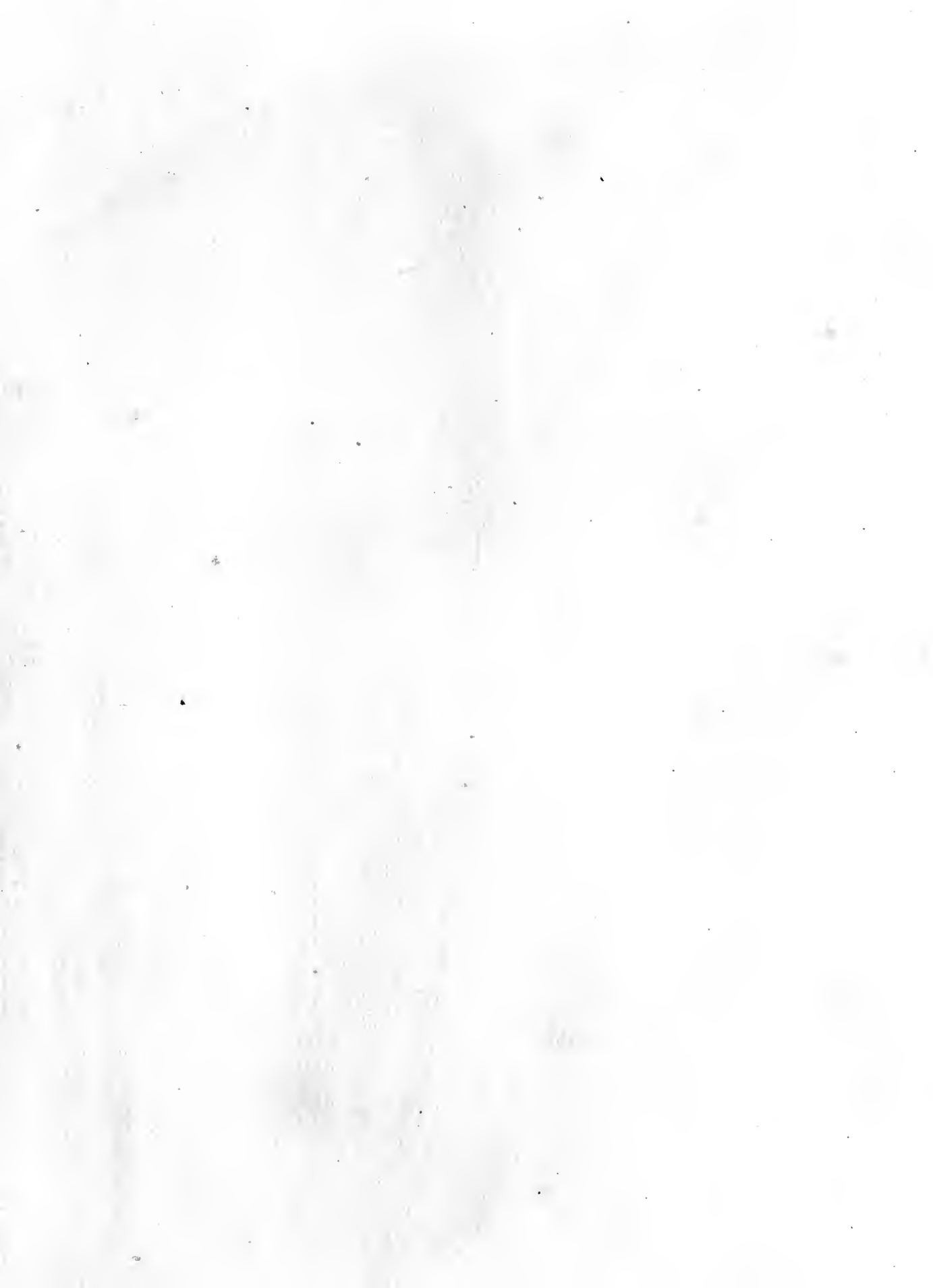


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THE  
LETTERS AND JOURNALS  
OF  
ROBERT BAILLIE, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME FIRST.



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

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

DAVID LAING, Secretary.



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JULY, M.DCCC.XLI.

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## PREFACE.

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

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

Such are the leading topics in the following series of Letters. That the Author was a faithful as well as a diligent observer of public events, may be asserted ; and his personal share in many of the important transactions

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

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

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

from his papers, or from his dictation, of course it is very varied ; and subsequent transcribers had no scruple in using a similar liberty : this will account for whatever variations may be discovered, as no attempt was made to adopt strict uniformity in this respect.

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

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

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

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

From one or other of these MSS. the work was frequently used in the course of the last century; and more especially by Stevenson, who originally contemplated to publish it entire, previous to the compilation of his own History of the Church,<sup>(4)</sup> a great portion of which is a literal transcript from it, yet not without ample acknowledgment. In noticing the vouchers for his History, he says, "But the great repository from whence I am chiefly furnished is, *The Historical Letters and Collections* of Mr. Robert Baillie, consisting of four volumes folio," &c. In fact, these Letters, to a greater or less extent, have been used by all succeeding writers respecting that period of our history, although they generally contented themselves with referring to the printed edition which appeared at Edinburgh in the year 1775, in two vols. 8vo. The name of the Editor is no where mentioned; nor can much reliance be placed on what used commonly to be stated in Edinburgh booksellers catalogues, in the early part of this century, and has been repeated by Mr. Orme,<sup>(5)</sup> that it was undertaken at the recommendation of Dr. Robertson and David Hume. On the title-page of some of the copies, the Letters are said to have been "carefully transcribed by Robert Aiken;"

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

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

but who this person was does not appear, except that we may conclude he was the same individual who is named in proposals for printing the work, dated March 17th 1775, which bear, that "Subscriptions are taken in by William Gray, front of the Exchange, Edinburgh; by *Robert Aitken, schoolmaster at Anderston*; and by all others entrusted with proposals." Had either of the learned historians above named taken a special interest in the work, it is very improbable that the services of an obscure individual in the West Country would have been required.

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

The present Edition of the Work was undertaken for the Members of The BANNATYNE CLUB; a literary Association in Edinburgh, instituted several years ago, for the purpose of preserving, in an accessible form, the more valuable remains of our National History and Literature existing in manuscript, or in printed works of great rarity. In regard however to the

acknowledged importance of this work, and as the Rules of the Club do not restrict the circulation of works so printed among the Members, when of a kind likely to interest the Public, it was resolved, although the chief expense of collating and transcribing<sup>(6)</sup> would fall upon the Club, that some arrangement should be made for having an extra impression thrown off for general sale, and for securing its publication at a moderate charge. The usual quarto size of the Club publications being less suited for that purpose, as necessarily adding to the expense, the lines of the pages have been overrun, to alter the form into royal 8vo., so that both Editions might usually correspond page for page, as well as in other respects. This plan, however, has proved the means of greatly retarding the completion of the work. As to the mode of editing, I may add, that the text has partly been given from the Manuscript belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, but chiefly from that of 1701, (which was most obligingly granted for that purpose by the Reverend THOMAS M'CRIE,) and then very carefully revised and corrected by the Author's original copy; the use of this latter MS. having been obtained three years ago for The Bannatyne Club, by the special permission of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Author, in the course of his correspondence with his cousin WILLIAM SPANG, frequently transmitted him copies of public papers, and other documents relating to the affairs of the time. Many of these he also caused to be transcribed along with his own Letters. To have inserted the whole of such extraneous matter would greatly have increased the size of

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

the work without materially adding to its value. On the other hand, either to have incorporated some of them in the text, or entirely to have omitted them, might have been equally liable to objection. The plan that has been followed, was not adopted without due deliberation. In the Appendix to each Volume is given, first, a complete List of the various Papers interspersed with his Letters, and references to works in which a very considerable portion of them have already been published; and next, a Selection of such contemporary Papers as seemed most worthy of notice. This includes from Baillie's M.S. such as either related to his own personal affairs, or to the University with which he was so long connected; but instead of swelling the work by republishing papers merely from the circumstance of their having been collected by Baillie, this Selection generally consists of Original Letters and other documents hitherto unpublished. These have been collected from a variety of sources, and chiefly refer to the state of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland during the period which each volume embraces. This Selection however is much less numerous than I could have wished, owing to the limited space. The articles in the Appendix to the present volume being mostly written by the opponents of Baillie and the Presbyterian party, that such additions may not be thought incongruous to a work like the present, I may observe, that nothing seemed so well calculated to illustrate and confirm the Author's statements, or so clearly to point out the objects which the Scotch Prelates and their adherents had in view, when the troubles commenced, than the publication of such of their Letters and Papers, between 1633 and 1639, as could be recovered.

DAVID LAING.

SIGNET LIBRARY, EDINBURGH,  
*June 1841.*



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MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOL. I.

*d*





# MEMOIR

OF THE

## LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ROBERT BAILLIE.

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ROBERT BAILLIE, the author of these Letters and Journals, was a native of Glasgow, and was born in the Saltmarket on Friday the 30th of April 1602.<sup>1</sup> His father, Thomas Baillie, was probably a merchant or tradesman in Glasgow, being described as a citizen of that place,<sup>2</sup> and was a younger son of Robert Baillie of Jerviston near Hamilton. He was thus connected with many families of distinction in the West of Scotland; as the Baillies of Jerviston were cadets of the Carphin family, and consequently a branch of the ancient family of Hoprig and Lamington,<sup>3</sup> all in the county of Lanark. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Robert Baillie of Jerviston, was married to Archibald Robertson,

<sup>1</sup> The date hitherto assigned for his birth is the year 1599. That he was not born till 1602, as above stated, we learn from the following minute memorandum of the exact day and hour of his birth, written on the fly-leaf of a note-book while he was a student at the College; viz. *Robertus Baillize natus pridie Kal. Maij hora sesquiquarta a meridie 1602 die Veneris*. This date is further confirmed by his own authority at a later period of his life. In a letter to Sharp written in August 1661, he urges his inability "in this my sixtieth yeare, and frequent infirmities," as one reason for declining a journey to London, in case he had been fixed upon to go thither on the affairs of the Church. (Vol. iii. p. 474.) The Saltmarket, a well-known street in Glasgow, which had the honour to be the birth-place of two Principals of the University, (Ib. p. 402), has, in our own days, obtained still greater celebrity from a fictitious character introduced in a work known to every one.

<sup>2</sup> In the brief notice of Baillie's Life, prefixed to the publication of his Letters in 1775.

<sup>3</sup> The Baillies of Hoprig and Lamington, (from whom the families of Carphin, Carnbrue, Jerviston, and others were all branches), have been usually considered to have been originally connected with the illustrious house of the Balliols, who were Lords of Galloway; and in the account of the Lamington family, given in Nisbet's Heraldry, (Vol. ii. App. p. 128), Sir William Baillie of Hoprig is said to have obtained the estate of Lamington, by his marriage with the eldest daughter and heiress of Sir William Wallace. But Sir George Mackenzie in his MS. Genealogies, controverts the opinion that the name of Balliol was changed to Baillie, and shews that the armorial bearings of the two families were different, and that the name of the latter was known in Scotland as early at least as 1292, when (he says) Sir John Baillie swore fealty to Edward the Third at Berwick. See also note in Chalmers's Caledonia (Vol. iii. p. 742) respecting the alleged alliance of Baillie of Hoprig and a descendant of Wallace.

a younger son of the family of Earnock,<sup>1</sup> and their son, James Robertson of Bedlay, who held for some years the office of a Regent in the University of Glasgow, afterwards became an advocate, and, when far advanced in life, was raised to the Bench. His mother, Helen Gibson, was a daughter of Henry Gibson and of Annabella Forsyth.<sup>2</sup> Another daughter was married to Archibald Fleming of Ferne, afterwards Commissary of Glasgow; and in this way might Baillie's relationship be traced to some of numerous persons, the Spangs, Forsyths, Flemings, Raes, Crichtons, and others, whom he has addressed as cousins.<sup>3</sup> This Henry Gibson, whose name appears in 1580, as Town-Clerk of Glasgow, and in 1592, as Commissary of the Diocese of Glasgow, is supposed to have been either the uncle or brother of George Gibson of Goldingstone, the founder of the Durie family, one of whom, Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, became a judge in the Supreme Civil Court, and his son, of the same name, was Lord Clerk Register, in the reign of Charles the First, and was also raised to the Bench.

Of Robert Baillie's early education, we learn from his own words that his first instructions were received under the parental roof; and that he was afterwards placed at the public school in Glasgow, of which Robert Blair, an eminent divine, was then assistant master. In 1646, when he dedicated to Blair his "Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland," he thus recalls the memory of his youthful days: "When I look back (as frequently I doe with a delightful remembrance) towards those years of my childhood and youth, wherein I did sit under your discipline, my heart blesses the goodnesse of God, who in a very rich mercy to me, did put almost the white and razed table of my spirit under your hand, after my domestick instructions which were from mine infancy, to be engraven by your labours and example with my first most sensible and remaining impressions, whether of piety, or of good letters, or of morall vertue: What little portion in any of these, it hath pleased the Lord of his high and undeserved favour to bestow upon me; I

<sup>1</sup> In George Crawford's MS. Baronage, p. 380 (MS. Advocates Library,) she is called "Elspeth Baillie, daughter of the goodman of Jerviestone near Hamilton." An account of the Robertsons of Earnock is contained in Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. App. p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> "Henry Gibson left a daughter by his wife Anabella Forsyth, daughter to Mr. David [Forsyth] of Blackhill," (Crawford's MS. Baronage, p. 348.) "Henry Gibson, Town Clerk of Glasgow in 1580, who, they say, was Durrie's brother, and had a daughter married to Archibald Fleming of Ferm, &c." (Ib. p. 198.)

<sup>3</sup> In vol. i. p. 76, Baillie speaks of Lord Alexander, eldest son of William first Earl of Stirling, as being "his near Cousin."

were ungratefull if I should not acknowledge you after my Parents, the first and principall instrument thereof. I cannot deny, that since the eleventh year of mine age to this day, in my inmost sense, I have alwayes found my selfe more in your debt, than in any other man's upon earth." The mention of the period of Baillie's life would fix the time to the year 1613; but according to Blair's own statement, after he had completed his course of Philosophy at the College at Glasgow, "under the discipline of my brother, Mr. William Blair, I was engaged (he says) to be an assistant to the aged and decayed schoolmaster of Glasgow, who had under his discipline above 300 children, the one-half whereof was committed to my charge." This must have been in 1614, as he took his degree in that year; and he further mentions, that after two years employment in teaching, he was admitted to be a Regent in the College. His admission to that office took place in March 1616; and as Baillie entered the College of Glasgow in March 1617, he would again come under the tuition of Blair, who continued to fill the office of Regent till the year 1623, when he resigned his charge; and soon after he received an invitation to become minister of a presbyterian congregation at Bangor, in Ireland.

In 1620, Baillie having completed the usual course of philosophical study, extending over four sessions, took the degree of Master of Arts, probably with some distinction, as his name stands first on the list of graduates on that occasion. As the custom then prevailed, and is so apparent in all the letters and papers of that time, of prefixing Mr. to the names of the persons mentioned, or themselves using it when signing their names, it may be noticed, that this was done by way of distinction, and that it uniformly denotes such persons to have taken the degree of A. M.

Of this interval he availed himself to gratify his thirst for knowledge by an excursion to some of the principal towns in Scotland. From some very brief notes of his journey, we learn, that after visiting some of his relations in Bothwell, Hamilton, and Cadder, he and one or two companions proceeded to Kilsyth, Stirling, and the Links of Forth; thereafter to Perth, Scone, Dundee, "where we saw the Bishop of Brechin, and Dr. Bruce." Having crossed the ferry, they came to St. Andrews, and visited "the kirk, castle, port, three colledges, abbey;" and there conversed with some of the Professors, and, at Darsie, with the Archbishop of St. Andrews. In Cupar, they dined with Mr. William Scot; thence to Falkland, Dysart and Kirk-

aldy and drank of the famous mineral spring at Kinghorn. "The shore and links, with the bulwark of Leith being seen; we see the tolbooth [of Edinburgh], kirks, castle, printers, booksellers, colleges, abbay." They also visited Roslin and other places in the vicinity of the metropolis, before returning to their native place.<sup>1</sup>

As it was Baillie's intention to devote himself to the ministry, he continued his attendance at College, with the view of completing his theological studies. From an incidental notice in 1621, we learn, that if it had been in his power, he would have spent some time at one of the foreign universities. "We live (he says,) upon conceits. Seeing I have no means to go abroad, the less God will require of me: wherefore I expect no more but to satisfy a little curiosity; yet I hope in two years to see Leyden and England, part of France (if peaceable), then to live and die in any landward church that is offerd."<sup>2</sup> At this time Robert Boyd of Trochrig, a man of very singular learning and accomplishments, was Principal of the University of Glasgow. To his posthumous commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, published in 1652, a short account of his life was prefixed by Baillie, in which mention is made of the flourishing state of the University under his superintendance; and he exclaims, what a brave time it was, when the College enjoyed such a Principal, and Regents so eminent and highly esteemed as William Blair, David Dickson, James Robertson (of Bedlay), James Sharp (of Govan), and Robert Blair. He likewise mentions his having in his youth heard the latter portion of the commentary delivered by Boyd in the course of his public lectures, to a large circle of studious or learned men; and how eagerly he listened to these prelections, with not less advantage than pleasure; and even then, he adds, after an interval of thirty years, by calling such times to remembrance it filled his mind with the most pleasing recollections.<sup>3</sup> Boyd however resigned his office as Principal before his affectionate pupil had been long under his immediate charge, or could have derived much benefit from his instructions. In one of Baillie's early note-books,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Note Book, p. 126.—The passage in the MS. is somewhat obscure, and not worth quoting.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Note Book, p. 292.—The orthography of the original is not retained, being scarcely intelligible. The following is a literal copy of the passage:—"We leiv on conceits, seing I heiv no means to go abroad, the lesse God wil requir of me, querfor I rek no mor bot to stench a litil curiositie, yit I hop in 2 ears to sie Leidan and Inglan, a peic of Franc, if peacibil, then to die and liv in onii landvart kirk that is offerit."

<sup>3</sup> "Et quedam de ultima-hujusce Operis parte, quam olim pueri non minori cum voluptate quam fructu, in frequenti doctorum virorum et studiosorum corona, solebamus tanta aviditate auscultare, ut eorum temporum recordatio non mediocri etiamnum suavitate animum perfundat." (Ad Lectorem Epistola.)

he assigns various reasons for Boyd's resignation ;<sup>1</sup> but it was mainly occasioned by his firm adherence to the cause of Presbytery, and consequently his disinclination to promote those measures of conformity to the Articles passed by an Assembly held at Perth in 1618, and confirmed by Parliament in 1621, which enjoined certain ceremonial observances in public worship, but which were then esteemed to be only preparatory to the full establishment of diocesan Episcopacy in this country. Boyd having fixed his residence in Edinburgh, was, on the 18th of October 1622, elected Principal of that University and one of the Ministers of the City. King James was so much displeased with his appointment, notwithstanding Boyd's acknowledged "gifts and peaceable disposition," that he peremptorily commanded the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh to remove him, "not only from his office, but out of your town, at the sight hereof, unless he conform totally : And, when ye have done, think not this sufficient to satisfy our wrath for disobedience to our former letter."<sup>2</sup> In Glasgow, the office of Principal having remained for one year vacant, a successor to Boyd was found in the person of John Cameron, a divine of equal learning and attainments, who was a native of Glasgow, where he had been educated, and for a short time was one of the Regents. Much of his life had been spent abroad, and he had filled a chair in several foreign Universities, having latterly been Professor of Divinity at Saumur, the chief protestant seminary in France ; but in 1620 being driven from that country by the civil troubles, Cameron sought in England a place of refuge for himself and his family ; and he resided some time in London, where he read private lectures in divinity. The high opinion which King James entertained of his learning and moderation, led to his appointment at Glasgow. He was admitted the 3d of January 1623, but not finding the situation agreeable, before a full year had elapsed, he relinquished that charge and

<sup>1</sup> Boyd was elected Principal of the College of Glasgow, 20th January 1615, and, in virtue of his office, was Minister of Govan, on the banks of the Clyde, about two miles west from Glasgow. Baillie's words are,— "The Principal is resolvit to retir himself at Lambes, 1. Becaus he is not abil for waknes of bodie, not for capacitie, to preich in Govan 1, & 2 in the Colleg. 2. Becaus he cannot liv a paedantrie lyf angrieng himself with bairns. 3. Becaus he is resolvit not to obey. 4. That he mey sie for his Wyf (a stranger) and babies, for his huse [house] is decaing, and his Brothir is far fra hev[in]g mikil sauing of his aun [own]. 5. That he mey polisch sum things he hes in hand, to gif them to the press. To quhilk the Bischop answerit, with mani protestatiuns of his respect to him. But he desyrit no mor favur then to depart peacable. He is offend[it] with the Bischop of Argil, and M. Jhams, and othirs, that laburs to dimov him." (Baillie's MS. Note Book, 1621, p. 69.)

<sup>2</sup> Boyd gave in his resignation to the Town-Council on the 31st of January 1623. He retired to his estate in Carrick ; and died on the 5th of January 1627. See Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. 1, pp. 285, 296, 297.

returned to France.<sup>1</sup> During even the brief period of his incumbency, he appears to have had no small influence in confirming his students in the doctrine of passive obedience; for when, by the course of public events, Baillie's attention had been more immediately drawn to the subject of submission to the civil power, he acknowledges that he "had drunken in, without examination, from my Master Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet, that all resistance to the Supreme Magistrate in anie case was simple unlawfull." In like manner, in 1646, in his address to Robert Blair, already referred to, he says, "I confesse, that after you, to my exceeding great grief and losse, were taken away from my head, and I came to be set at the feet of other masters, especially Mr. Cameron and Mr. Struthers, my very singular friends and excellent divines as our Nation has bred, I was gained by them to some parts of conformity, which, if the Lord's mercy had not prevented, might have led me, as many my betters, to have run on in all the errours and defections of these bad times: but thanks to his glorious name, who held me by the hand, and stopped me at the beginning and first entry of that unlucky course; who before I had put my hand to any subscription, or was engaged in any promise, or had practised any the least Ceremony in my flock, did call me to a retreat." It was not till two years after Cameron's resignation that Dr. John Strang minister of Errol, was raised to the office of Principal;<sup>2</sup> and although suspected of being in favour of conformity, he displayed great prudence and zeal in the affairs of the College, and succeeded during a period of twenty-four years to sustain the reputation and usefulness of that seminary of learning.

The distinction which probably attended Baillie during the whole course of his academical studies, may have led to his appointment as one of the Regents in the College. He was admitted to this office on the 16th of August 1625; and on that occasion he delivered an inaugural oration, *De Mente Agente*.<sup>3</sup> The Oath he subscribed on his admission is given below.<sup>4</sup> Three years later he delivered another oration,

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Cameron, in Dr. Irving's Lives of Scotch Writers, vol. i. p. 339. Edinb. 1839, 2 vol. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> The date of Strang's admission as Principal, was the 22d of February 1626.

<sup>3</sup> The date 1627 is however given in the MS., in the title: "Oratio in Academia Glasguensis comitiis habita a R. B. anno 1627, cum in Regentium numerum solemniter cooptaretur, DE MENTE AGENTE."

<sup>4</sup> The following is transcribed from the Register of the College, (vol. vii. p. 62.)—"XVII. Cal. Septem. Anno Sal. 1626.—Quo die in numerum Magistrorum Academicæ Glasguensis legitime cooptatus est M. Ro. BALLÆUS, qui hoc admissionis suæ Sacramentum præstitit: Ego Mag. ROBERTUS BALLÆUS cooptatus in numerum Magistrorum Academicæ Glasguensis, promitto sancteque juro me, favente Dei gratia, muneris mihi demandati partes (studiosæ)

*In laudem Linguae Hebraicæ*;<sup>1</sup> towards the close of which he speaks in high terms of their late Principal, Cameron, and the ardour he excited among the students in cultivating a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and other languages; and Baillie himself may at this time have imbibed that love of Oriental literature for which he was distinguished. Among the persons who were scholars, during the years he held the office of Regent, there were many young men of rank, including members of the noble families of Hamilton, Eglintoun, Glencairne, Lindsay, Stirling, and Wigton. It is probable, the education of some of these young men may have been specially entrusted to Baillie, while they were attending the classes in the University. Archibald Johnston of Warriston appears likewise to have been under his charge; and it will be observed that he frequently calls himself his master. One of his pupils, who had the greatest influence on his subsequent fortunes, was Hugh Lord Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Eglintoun; and a vacancy happening in the parish church of Kilwinning, Ayrshire, the presentation to it was given to Baillie, as a reward for his services. The date of Baillie's appointment to this benefice must have been before Autumn 1631; as James Forsyth was admitted on the 1st of September that year, as a Regent in the College, evidently to supply the vacancy occasioned by his resignation.

The older records of the parish of Kilwinning are not preserved, from which the precise time of his induction could be ascertained, but it was either at the close of the year 1631, or the beginning of 1632. For he says, "My verie good Lord, my Lord Montgomerie, in whose education, from a child, I have had some hand, out of a tender affection towards me, when I had been some years his master in the schools, brought me thence with him to be his own preacher, at his parish kirk, for term of life, shewing me alwayes so much courtesie in every thing as my heart could wish;" and in a paper written in August 1639, he refers this to some seven or eight years ago,<sup>2</sup> when, he adds, Mr. David Dickson "made, as it were, a solemne marriage"

fideliterque obitutum; et in hujus Academiæ rebus ac rationibus gerendis ac procurandis, et commodis adornamentis augendis, nihil reliqui ad summam fidem et diligentiam facturum; nec ante sexennium exactum nisi impetrata venia ab iis quorum interest stationem hanc deserturum, nec nisi consultis, et ante tres menses præmonitis Academiæ Moderatoribus, discessum. Quod si diutius hoc munere fungi contigerit, ne tum quidem ante exactum anni curriculum, et trium mensium præmonitionem, alio migraturum.—R. BAILLIE "

<sup>1</sup> "Oratio in Laudem Linguae Hebrææ, in Academiæ Comitii dum promoverenter Ordines, Anno CIJICXXIX Recitata."

<sup>2</sup> See the Supplication, and Baillie's Reasons against his Translation, in No. XLVII of Appendix, vol. ii, p. 443.

betwixt him and his parishioners. Previously to this event, he had received orders from James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, (who died in November 1632); but the date 1622 usually assigned, is undoubtedly erroneous, as Baillie had not then completed his theological studies. His immediate predecessor in that charge, we presume, was John Glassford, whose name occurs in the records of the Regality of Kilwinning, as Minister in 1619, and who is joined along with Baillie, James Fergusson, and Ralph Rogers, as the " eminent, learned, and pious men," with whom the congregation of Kilwinning had been blest since the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> The Abbey of Kilwinning, in the district of Cunningham, Ayrshire, one of the most ancient and important institutions of the kind in this country, was founded in the reign of David the First, (A. D. 1140); but this stately and imposing fabrick was in a great measure destroyed at the Reformation. In the year 1603, Hugh Earl of Eglintoun having obtained a new grant of the Abbey, with all the lands and titles belonging to it, they were erected into a temporal lordship for him and his successors. A part of the old Abbey Church had previously been repaired, and converted into a parish church; and it continued to be so used till the year 1775, when, on account of its ruinous state, it was entirely demolished.

About the time of his parochial settlement, Baillie formed an alliance of another kind, having been united in marriage with Lilius Fleming, of the family of Cardarroch, in the parish of Cadder, near Glasgow. In the latter part of the year 1633, a vacancy in one of the churches of Edinburgh was occasioned by the decease of William Struther,<sup>2</sup> a minister very highly esteemed as an eloquent preacher; and it was in contemplation to name Baillie in the list of candidates as his successor. This proposal to translate him to such a conspicuous place in the Church, might have proceeded more from personal friendship than from any celebrity which he had then attained as a preacher. The circumstance itself appears from the following letter, which he addressed to Robert Fleming, who was one of the magistrates of the city,<sup>3</sup> and who seems to have been a distant connection of his own, and also his wife's nephew.

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Fergusson's *Sermons on the Errors of Toleration*, &c. Edinburgh, 1692, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Baillie, vol. iii. p. 402. Struther, as there intimated, was a native of Glasgow, and was admitted minister of the Inner High Church in that city in 1611. About the year 1616, he was translated to Edinburgh, where he was very highly respected. His successor was Sydserrf, afterwards Bishop of Galloway.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, youngest baillie in 1633, second baillie in 1637, and first baillie in 1647.



“ FOR R. FLEMING, BAYLIE OF EDINBURGH.

December 1633.

“ MY VERIE WORTHIE AND MUCH-RESPECTED FREIND,

“ I HAVE been hearing this long time a surmise that you had a mind to have me upon the leet for your vacant place in the Ministrie. Soe long as I took it for a clatter I misreguarded it, as manie moe of that kynd ; but latelie being informed by my neighbour Mr. Da. Dickson, that you certified him there was indeed such a purpose, I thought meet to shew my mind therein to yow, whom I tak to be the principall if not the only mover in that bussiness. I truelie think myself much obleidged to your love that makes yow conceive a possibilitie of meetness in me for a place that is farr above either my yeirs, or my learning, or any gift that I have for the present. But as I doe heartily thank yow for that opinion, whilk your love hes made you conceive of me, so I hope that the same love shall not suffer you to doe me wrong, at least such a greiff and hurt as the greatest enemy I have in the world could doe me no greater. It has pleased God so to joyne my heart to my people, and theirs to me, ever since my entrie among them, that to speak of a depairture it were to break no my heart alone, but of manie hundreds that are glewed to myne. This yow ought to consider who loves me, and whom nature commandes to have regard to the just greives of the paroche of Kilwinning, and it were no more but for the sake of your dear Mother, who wes one of them. I know there is manie proud people in your Towne who thinks nothing to enslave and make subject any poore minister, or countrie paroche, to their humours, rather than to any just priviledge. Yet I think that these just greives and violent oppressions whereby God verie justlie hes begun, and is like to goe on, to punishe these proud men by the hands both of the Church and State men ; I think, the sence of what they feell themselff[es] will make them be loath to greive or oppress any of their neighbours, who did them never wrong, but oft prayed to God for their weell. Beside, I pray yow remember that my opinions in Religion, which I never mind to dissemble, neither in private nor publict, they are such as could not be tolerat by many now there. To avow and practise manie of the Englishe Ceremonies, to count these schismatiques that holds it unlawfull to communicat with Kneelers, yow know it to be verie hatefull doctrine to many there ; and yet this is my mind, and long soe hes been :

Also to preach against all points of Arminianisme and Papistrie, especiallie the doctrine of our new Cassandrian Moderators, yow know likewayes, how hatefull it is to these men who now are able, for few words, to put their brethren from their ministrie, yea cast them in the straitest prisonnes. These, therefore, be to chaarge yow, in the name of God, who is the Master and freind of everie faithfull Minister, as yow would not greive me exceedingly, who ever hes respected yow as my good freind ; as yow would not stirre up a godlie congregation to cry to God against yow, whom nature obleidged to be their freind ; as yow would not draw me, to that place wherein daylie I would have greives that my sillie weak spirit could not digest, beside the daylie danger, as times goes now, to be silenced, imprisoned, spoiled of my goods, liberties, and all that I have but God ; and [in] your Toune cheiffie, if God be posting his just vengeance upon the land, why should your love move yow to drawe me under the first thunder bolt? As yow would not occasion all these evils, let me obtest yow yet againe, in the name of my Master, at this tyme never to name me ; and if I be named by anie other, to stryve by all your might to shift me, so shall yow be sure of my best affection as one who hes delyvered me from that which I apprehended, and many moe heir who loves me, to be the greatest danger that possible could befall me.

“ I hope this my free letter yow will keep it to yourself, and with the first occasion give me an answer ; for I will be ever in suspense till, by your letter, yow have given me assurance to grant my most reasonable request.”

Fleming's answer to this letter has likewise been preserved, and is as follows :—

“ LOVING GOOD FREIND,

“ MY hearty affection to your self and my Aunt (though unacquainted) remembered : Your's I ressaved, and am sorie that any, especiallie yee, should have the occasion to be greived at your wisched presence in this place : the time hes been otherwayes : God remeed the present, and remove our sinnes, the occasion of all. As for your nameing to this place, out of that respect, in conscience to my judgment, I had to yow and your gift, yee are the first placed, and I am sorie at my heart, and many with me, that ever soe good men should be swa unwilling to be with us, especiallie now in thir pitifull dayes, wherein comfort of such men are maist requisite. Allwayes, since I perceave

your unwillingness, and your earnest desire otherwayes, persuade your self I will endeavour, to the uttermost of my power (that is but little) to effectuat your will therein for the present. Since we heard of the coming of our new erected Bishop (to be playne) we are all in a dumpe, and swa in no settled resolution: God, of his infinite mercie, grant ane happie issue, and make us all yet in tyme to repent. The trew saying in God's word is now verified on our good late Pastor and kynd countrieman, that the righteous are taken away from the evill to come. Swa leaving to be tedious, wisheing yow all health and happiness, persuade your self of me to remaine,

Your's to his power, at command,

Edinburgh, 5th December 1633.

ROBERT FLEYMING."

These letters irrespective of their personal reference to Baillie, are worthy of notice as characteristic of the spirit of the times, and indicating the low state of religion in the Church. On the one hand, Baillie avows no dislike to Conformity, although hostile to the Arminian doctrines which most of the prelatie clergy had embraced; and while apprehensive of the ends at which that party were aiming, he was also aware of their policy not to tolerate any of their brethren who would hesitate to proceed in the same reckless course with themselves. On the other hand, his correspondent, holding in the metropolis an official situation of some importance, expresses his grief and despondency at the gloomy prospects which the state of religion presented. Edinburgh had recently been erected into an Episcopal see; and the new Bishop, Dr. William Forbes, was considered in his sentiments to be not much opposed to popery.<sup>1</sup> When Charles the First was in Scotland at his Coronation, in 1633, he might have perceived, from the reluctance manifested even by his courtiers to the English Service, as performed in the Chapel Royal, how much its forms were disliked. He ought also to have considered, if the people, with all their hereditary feelings of attachment to royal authority, could never be brought, during his father's reign, to a conformity with the Perth Articles, which had reference only to external ceremonies,<sup>2</sup> it was not probable

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, vol. iii. p. 390; and Life of Forbes, in Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. ii. pp. 6-9.

<sup>2</sup> The Articles were five in number, viz.—Kneeling at the Communion; the Observance of Christmas, Easter, and three other Holydays; Private Baptism; the Private Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and Episcopal Confirmation; all in accordance with the Rites of the Church of England.

they would more readily acquiesce in still greater innovations, affecting both the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Prelacy had never been allowed as a standing office in the Church by any lawful Assembly in Scotland, but had constantly been regarded as "a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to the nation." It is nevertheless no improbable conjecture, that in the course of a few years the whole kingdom might have silently acquiesced in the proposed changes, had no coercive measures been employed for that purpose. The race of old Presbyterian Ministers would have become extinct; the Bruces, the Dicksons, and Calderwoods were in exile, or silenced and confined to remote districts, where it was supposed their influence or example would be inconsiderable; and although others of the clergy, opposed to the Perth Articles, were still allowed to exercise their ministerial functions, their number was daily lessening; nor would their places have been left vacant, as there are always "enow of such," who, for sordid motives,

Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold.

As patronage was only extended to such as were disposed to unqualified conformity, already the chief places in the Universities and the Church were fast filling up with persons so inclined, by whose instructions the rising generation would have been imbued with like sentiments; and what an open and determined line of conduct so signally failed to accomplish, might in this way have been perhaps too easily secured by mere passive forbearance.

In the meanwhile Baillie devoted himself to the duties of his own retired charge, and by assiduity and faithfulness, secured the best affections of his people; for he at least was not one of those "hirelings," to whom

The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.

If, at this time, he felt a kind of passive indifference as to the practice of particular ceremonies in public worship, he was by no means deficient in zeal for defence of the truth; as he endeavoured, by private conferences and long argumentative letters, to reclaim some of his friends from the Arminian and Popish tenets, which were fast creeping into the Church. Some of these letters, written in the years 1634 to 1636, are still preserved in manuscript, addressed to his cousin John Crichton, minister of Paisley; but in his case, without any good results, as he was finally deposed, on account of heretical doctrines, by the Assembly in December 1638. These studies,

were, however, of advantage to himself, and proved eventually the means of bringing him into a more active sphere of public employment.

In pursuance of the resolutions formed by Charles the First, for introducing hierarchical prelacy into Scotland, a book of Canons had been framed under the direction of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Court of High Commission was re-established,<sup>1</sup> conferring powers for Bishops, not only to erect local subordinate Courts, in which any one Bishop with six assessors, might proceed summarily to try cases of immorality, sedition, and other offences, but likewise to deprive, fine, and imprison all ministers, masters of schools or Universities, and others, who should preach or speak in public against the present government, or against any of the conclusions passed at the Assembly at Perth. But sufficient time was not allowed, nor had the older Prelates resolution enough, generally to establish the proposed inquisitorial Courts. The more effectually also to promote the King's intentions, by increasing their power and influence, churchmen were advanced to the highest offices of state; Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, and nine other Prelates were introduced as members of the Privy Council: and the usurping power they began to assume was a source of no small irritation to the nobility. A new Form of Public Service intended to supersede the Presbyterian forms of worship then used throughout Scotland, was in the course of preparation, and before this book had been seen or even completed, a missive letter was received from the King, which commanded "all our subjects, both ecclesiasticall and civill, to conforme themselves in the practise thairof, *it being the onlie Forme, which We, (having taken the counsell of our clergie,) think fitt to be used in God's publict worship there.*"

The Proclamation of the Service-Book, on the 21st of December 1636, in compliance with the King's missive letter to the Privy Council, was the first sound that excited general alarm over the whole kingdom; and at this precise time commences the series of Baillie's Letters and Journals. "The Proclamation of our Liturgy (he begins) is the matter of my greatest affliction. I pray you, if you can command any copy, by your money or means, let me have one, if it were but for two or three days, with this bearer. I am minded [resolved] to cast my studies for disposing of my mind

<sup>1</sup> See the Royal Warrant for establishing the Court of High Commission in Scotland, 21st October 1634, inserted in this Volume, Appendix No. IV, p. 424.

to such a course as I may be answerable to God for my carriage. However, I am greatly afraid that this apple of contention has banished peace from our poor Church hereafter for ever." His education, habits, and relationship, inclined Baillie to adhere to the dominant party in the Church; but their attempt to impose a particular form of Service which no one had seen, and without any other sanction than a royal mandate, he considered to be a just cause of alarm; yet his intentions were carefully to examine the book, and as far as conscience would permit, to give due obedience to his ecclesiastical superiors. He cannot however avoid remarking, that to impose a Book of new Canons, and to have the whole form of worship and discipline changed by a simple missive letter or Act of Privy Council, was a measure that would never have been attempted had Scotland been, as some persons alleged, merely "a pendicle of the diocese of York, instead of a separate Church and Kingdom."

But the Proclamation, it is well-known, was so far premature, that the copies of the Liturgy were not ready for distribution till nearly three months after Easter 1637, the period which had been prescribed for its practise. When it was at length published, it seemed in such portions as differed from the Book of Common Prayer, to be a restoration of the Service of the Romish Church. It was not to be wondered, therefore, that ministers and people alike, who had evinced the strongest aversion to mere ceremonial innovations, should take alarm at what appeared to be so great a change in doctrine. "Now as concerning our Kirk," so writes Samuel Rutherford at this time, from his place of confinement at Aberdeen, "our Service-Book is ordained by open proclamation and sound of trumpet to be read in all the Kirks of this Kingdom. Our Prelates are to meet this moneth for it and our Canons, and for a Reconciliation betwixt us and the Lutherians. The Professors of Aberdeen Universitie are charged to draw up the Articles of a Uniform Confession: *but Reconciliation with Popery is intended.* This is the day of Jacob's visitation; the wayes of Zion mourn; our gold is become dim; the sun is gone down upon our prophets; a dry wind, but neither to fan nor to cleanse is coming upon this land: and all our ill is coming from the multiplied transgressions of this land, and from the friends and lovers of Babel among us. . . . . If I saw a call for New England, I would follow it."<sup>1</sup>

The tumult at Edinburgh, on the 23d of July 1637, on occasion of the first using the

<sup>1</sup> Letter 51. To John Stuart, Provost of Ayr, now in Ireland, p. 118, edit. 1675.

Service-Book, was the spark which kindled a flame that spread over the whole land. According to the deliberate judgment of the Privy Council, after minute investigation, they could only report to his Majesty that this "barbarous tumult," proceeded from "a number of base and rascall people." It was an act altogether unpremeditated; but the spirit of resistance having thus openly manifested itself, supplications from every part of the Kingdom were presented to the Council, urging, that the Service enjoined was contrary to the religion then professed, and that it was introduced in a most unwarrantable manner, without the knowledge or approbation of a General Assembly, and in opposition to Acts of Parliament. The clergy, nobility, and all ranks of people, flocked to Edinburgh, with such petitions against the use of the Liturgy: being encouraged by their increasing numbers, and irritated by delays and by the evasion of their first humble requests, they became sufficiently formidable; and enlarging their demands, they at length succeeded not only in having the Service-Book withdrawn, but in restoring Presbytery in its purest form, and in relieving the Church from the thralldom of her prelatie oppressors. From this time the history of the country is that of the Church, and it exhibits a succession of events partaking more of the character of romance than of scenes in ordinary life. But the history of that period is so well known, and Baillie's Letters furnish so full and distinct an account of the more remarkable occurrences of the time, that in this Memoir it will only be necessary to allude to such events as have some relation to the Author himself.

Baillie, as we have seen, was hitherto in favour of a limited kind of Episcopacy. "Bishops (he says) I love; but pride, greed, luxury, oppression, immersion in secular affairs, was the bane of the Romish prelates, and cannot long have good success in the Reformed [Church]." It was only by slow degrees that a decided change came over his sentiments, and that he was led to co-operate with such of his brethren as had no scruples in regard to the total abolition of diocesan Episcopacy. When Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, applied to him to preach before the Synod of Glasgow in August 1637, and desired him so "to frame his sermon to incite his hearers to the obedience and practice of the Canons of our Church and Service-Book, published and established by authoritie," his reply is that of an honest and conscientious man; and when new letters came, commanding him to do so upon his canonical obedience, but

leaving the matter of his sermon to his own discretion, he resolved, he tells us, "to have spoken no syllable of any conformity, but pressed those pastoral duties which would not have pleased all." But from this dilemma he was accidentally relieved. About the same time, the prelates, for the most part, had raised "letters of horning," charging all ministers in their diocese to purchase two copies of the Service-Book, for the use of each parish, within 15 days, and the Presbytery of Irvine, of which Baillie was a member, agreed to supplicate the Privy Council to be freed from the charge. Finding such opposition to be general, this Act was suspended by the Privy Council. At the desire of his patron, Lord Montgomery, upon the entreaty of his father-in-law the Earl of Rothes, he attended a meeting of the Supplicants at Edinburgh, on the 18th of October. The nobility, gentry, and ministers, met in separate rooms for consultation. Ramsay, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, being chosen chairman of their meeting, inquired of each of the brethren, if he dissented from the Service-Book; all of them did so, we are told, "both for matter and manner of imposing it. I was posed, (Baillie continues) somewhat more narrowly, because they suspected my mind in those things. I replied, with some piece of blushing in such an auditory, the like whereof I had never spoken, that albeit I thought myself obliged in charitie to construct all that came from authoritie in the best sense that any veritie would permitt, yet I behooved to disapprove the [Service] Book, both for matter and manner; upon these reasons, which at more length I had to shew." Being urged to express his reasons, he adopted the method of proving the errors of the Service-Book by shewing, from a number of works published under Laud's authority, what were the avowed doctrines of "the book-makers." "A number of these passages (he adds) I had perqueir; so I was heard with very great applause, and ere even[ing] was too famous a man in all the toun, and intreated, that what I had said, or could say more to that purpose, I would put it in write; for that way of proceeding was counted to be very advantageous to our cause."

The renewal and solemn subscription of the National Covenant, on the last day of February 1638, forms a memorable era in the annals of our Church. Copies bearing the signatures of the leading Covenanters, Rothes, Loudoun, Cassillis, Montrose, and others of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, were sent to every part of the kingdom for local subscriptions. It might well be designated a National Covenant, from the enthu-



siasm manifested, and unprecedented unanimity that was displayed in signing it. To obviate the inconvenience of frequent meetings in great numbers, a board of commissioners from the different orders of Supplicants, under the designation of "The Tables," was instituted, who were appointed to reside in Edinburgh, to deliberate and manage all their affairs. By such means, joyned to incessant vigilance, energy, and sound judgment displayed by the Supplicants, after every attempt to overcome them or to defeat their plans had failed, the King found himself constrained to yield to their demands by withdrawing the Service-Book and Book of Canons, by abrogating the High Commission, and by giving authority to call a meeting of Parliament and a free General Assembly. Of this memorable Assembly, which met at Glasgow on the 21st November, Baillie was returned a member by the Presbytery of Irvine; and he has furnished us with a minute and interesting account of its proceedings. Although personally inclined to advocate moderate measures, he "resolved not to be a medler in anything;" and being well lodged, and having brought with him a trunk filled with books and papers, he purposed "to read, and write, and studie all incident questions." On the 1st of December he was appointed, along with Dickson, to bring before the Assembly the subject of Arminian tenets, with which most of the Prelates and their adherents were charged. "Arminianisme (he remarks) is a deep, and large, and intricat subject: our time was next meeting. Whatever I doe I would doe it in earnest; so without tyme I can doe nothing; alwayes there was no remead," and on the 4th of that month "I read to them, out of my blustered papers that which I sent you of Arminianisme. I got thanks for it, and was fasched many days in provyding copies of it to sundrie [persons]." On the 6th of that month, he seems also to have submitted some of his papérs against the Service-Book, forming the ground-work of his Parallel; but on a subsequent day, when the question of the abjuration of Episcopacy came to be discussed in the Assembly, he drew general notice upon himself, as in opposition to the votes of all the other members, "Removed and Abjured," he alone voted that it was "Removed now, but never before Abjured;" for, according to their interpretation, all kinds of prelatie government in the Church had been condemned by the Confession of Faith. He was likewise placed in a similar minority on the following day, in regard to the abjuration of the Perth Articles. The Marquis of Hamilton, as King's Commissioner, on the eighth day quitted the Assembly, in the hope of abruptly

terminating its further proceedings; but the members asserted their own inherent privileges, and continued their meetings, until having carried their several resolutions for rooting Episcopacy out of the Church, and for re-establishing Presbytery, the Assembly dissolved itself on the 20th of December 1638.

In the spring of the following year, the King's preparations for war satisfied the Covenanters of the necessity of not remaining inactive. After presenting a respectful supplication to the King, to which the only answer given, was "the pitiful Declaration," "where we are contrare to all law and reason declared, in all the churches of England, the foulest traitors and rebels that ever breathed; to remove the scruples that were still entertained by some of their adherents, as to opposing "our sweet Prince," their next care was to demonstrate the lawfulness of defence by arms. Baillie himself, who had hitherto, as he tells us, been accustomed to consider all opposition to civil authority as unlawful, was now so much convinced of its necessity, that on this head, he drew up a short paper, which was circulated in manuscript; and he also undertook to satisfy the objections of the Earl of Cassillis, who while at College had imbibed the same principles of unconditional submission with himself. When hostilities were proclaimed, and troops from various parts of the country poured into Edinburgh, Lord Eglintoun, he adds, "came away with the whole countrey at his back, and I as their preacher." The account he has preserved of the Scottish army, as they lay encamped on Dunse Law, about the 7th of June 1639, is very graphic, and exceeds in interest perhaps any passage in the whole extent of his correspondence. "It would have done you good (he says) to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy; for I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, musquets and picks, and to my boy a broad-sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my sadle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to preach and pray for the encouragement of our countreyemen, which I did to my power most cheerfullie." The troops were commanded by noblemen, the captains, for the most part, were landed proprietors, and the lieutenants, experienced soldiers, who been employed in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus; the colours, flying at the entrance of each captain's tent, bore

the Scottish arms, with the motto, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. There were some companies of Highlanders, "souple fellows, with their playds, targes, and dorlachs." But the soldiers were mostly stout young ploughmen, who encreased in courage and experience daily; "the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors dailie raised their hearts; the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances verie frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by hand clearlie divine; also Leslie his skill and fortoun made them all so resolute for battell as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; bot such was the wisdome and authoritie of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solyman.<sup>1</sup> Certainlie the obedience of our Nobles to that man's advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their Kings commands." He farther adds, "Had ye lent your eare in the morning, or especiallie at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed. . . . For myself, I never fand my mind in better temper than it was all that tyme frae I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without returne." Troops animated by such a spirit, and led by old and experienced commanders, would have proved irresistible. The royal forces were encamped at a short distance, and found they had nothing to expect but a determined resistance; but, to the satisfaction of both parties, and before any engagement took place, the pacification at Berwick, which was proclaimed on the 18th June 1639, produced a cessation of open hostilities, and the army of the Covenanters was disbanded. "Many were glad of this divine conclusion," says Baillie; and he was led

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 203, 211—214. It has been stated that "The Covenant was received by their countrymen abroad in the Swedish service; and Alexander Leslie, a distinguished officer, was invited by the Earl of Rothes to return as their future commander to Scotland."—(Laing's Scotland, vol. iii. p. 168.) Baillie indeed mentions, (vol. i, p. 111,) "that General Leslie caused a number of our commanders subscrieve the Covenant, and provided much good ammunition;" and also, (p. 191,) that the Committee at Edinburgh had the benefit of his advice, and that he called home a number of the officers of his regiments; but he himself must have returned to Scotland before any prospect existed that his services could be so required. The original passport, under the seal and signature of Charles the First, granting Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgonie permission to return to Scotland, dated the 20th March 1637 [1637-8?], is preserved among the papers of the Earl of Leven and Melville.

to hope that "this might be the comedick catastrophe of our verie fearfull-like Episcopall tragedie." But Charles, unfortunately for himself and the kingdom at large, had neither the prudence nor good faith to abide long by the terms of this pacification.

By one of the Articles of agreement, a General Assembly was appointed to be held at Edinburgh in August 1639. Baillie, from his having opposed the Assembly's declaration respecting the abjuration of Episcopacy, was not returned as a member; and when he found this "somewhat disgracefull in many mouths," he consoled himself with the reflection, that he had furthered the good of the Church to the best of his power, ever since his entry to the ministry. The neglect which he thus experienced did not lessen the esteem of his friends in Glasgow, as supplications in the name of the City and University were presented to the Assembly, to appoint him to be translated from Kilwinning, as Minister of the High Church. The Reasons urged by Baillie against this request, (which was referred to the Synod of Glasgow), may be found in another part of this work. Nor was he less urgent, when the Synod met in October or November, to reiterate his Reasons against his proposed translation; it seems without effect: but when the Magistrates and Council sent a deputation to entreat him to comply with the ordinance of the Synod, he still resisted; and by the influence of powerful friends, he succeeded for the time in being allowed to remain with his beloved flock, from whom he expressed his anxious desire never to be separated.

From what has been stated, it will be seen that Baillie had directed his studies to a careful examination of the Service-Book, and Book of Canons, in order to ascertain the avowed sentiments of the High Church party in England, and their aspiring followers in Scotland: and being deeply impressed with the conviction that the changes contemplated both in worship and doctrine would be fatal to the cause of true religion, he had too honest a mind to hesitate in acting upon his convictions. He therefore yielded the more readily, "in the midst of his very frequent and necessary distractions," to Warriston's solicitations, to publish the result of his inquiries. He could not say, with the great English poet, that by such an occupation he "was retarded from undertaking something that might be of use and honour to his country;" but being persuaded in his own mind "that a treatise of this kind was very needfull at this tyme to be published, both to show to the Churches abroad the true state of our controversies, and to waken

up the spirits of our own countrymen," he was thus drawn from his retired and peaceful duties at Kilwinning (in the words of Milton, on a similar occasion,) "to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still air of delightful studies."

The first fruit of Baillie's labours was his treatise, entitled "Autokatacrisis; the Canterburian's Self-Conviction;" which bears to have been "written in March, and printed in Aprile 1640." This publication was the chief cause of his being afterwards selected for employment in matters of public concernment. It displays considerable learning, and the subject is treated in his own peculiar mode, the margins being filled with an elaborate display of the actual words of the chief writers whom he controverts. In the month of July that year he was returned a member of the General Assembly held at Aberdeen. Soon after this period, the Scottish forces were again called into action; and having advanced into England, they obtained possession of Newcastle. On the 15th of October a letter from the Earls of Rothes and Montrose, and other members of the Council of War, contained a request that Baillie should attend the Committee with all convenient speed at Newcastle; and bring with him a number of copies of his Treatise, "with the warrands thereof, and all such papers and proofs which may serve for that purpose." This was accompanied with a letter from the Earl of Argyle, at Edinburgh, repeating the same request, and the noble writer expressed a wish to enjoy his company on his way thither if he arrived at Edinburgh before Saturday night. On these pressing invitations he set off for the camp on the 22d of October; and on this, as on a former occasion, he thought it prudent to commit to writing his "Latter Will." Both these Testaments<sup>1</sup> have been printed, as throwing some light on the state of his private affairs.

Baillie reached the camp at Newcastle on the 6th of November, and was formally nominated one of the Commissioners who were to proceed to London, under the protection of the Great Seal, for conducting the treaty with the King. The other ministers were Henderson, Blair, and Gillespie; with whom were joined three noblemen, the Earls of Rothes, Loudoun, and Dunfermline, three barons, and three burgesses. His account of their journey from Newcastle is worthy of notice, as exemplifying the ordinary mode of travelling in those days. He describes the English inns as palaces,

<sup>1</sup> The first is dated the 4th of May 1639; the other the 22d of October 1640. See Vol. I, pages 245 and 267.

and the charges for entertainment as exorbitant. They were eleven days on the road, stopping the first Sunday at Darnton (or Darlington), and the following one at Ware. At the latter place, after being informed that prayers were ended, they entered the church, and "heard the minister preach two good sermons." Next morning they rode twenty miles before sun-rise, and reached London on the 16th. That same night the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Wentworth Earl of Strafford, also reached London; and two days afterwards he was arraigned before the House of Lords, and sent to the Tower on the charge of high treason. One of the first occupations of Baillie was to draw up "The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Laud Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Strafford," which was exhibited to the House of Lords on the 17th December. It was printed at the time, and Baillie subsequently refers to it as his own performance. "Canterbury and the Lieutenant of Ireland their challenge, for the first draught and matter, was myne, though the last form, as oft all wryttes, was Mr. Henderson's."<sup>1</sup> This was speedily followed with other publications, such as his "Parallel of the Liturgy with the Mass-Book," his "Antidote to Arminianism," a "Large Supplement to the Canterburians Self-Conviction," and "The Unlawfulness of Limited Episcopacy." No portion of Baillie's Letters has attracted more notice than that which contains his detailed account of Strafford's trial. His homely details and personal descriptions are much more graphic than the voluminous report of the proceedings and speeches published by Rushworth. We cannot commend the language which he occasionally uses; as where he says, "*when we get his head*, then all things will run smooth." But after this bold unfortunate man was beheaded on the 12th of May 1641, matters did not "run smooth;" and Laud, as less worthy of notice, though the prime mover in all these unhappy contests, was allowed to linger out a much longer period before he experienced a similar fate. In a printed ballad, called "Scotland's Triumph over Rome, the Second Part," several of the leading persons of the time are mentioned, and Baillie, among the rest:—

BAYLIE is bold now with his subtile pen,  
At London, Laud to encounter, and defend  
His scrolls 'gainst England's Bishops and their minions,  
And in High Justice Court plead his opinions.

<sup>1</sup> I have not included this in the list of his publications, because it is evidently a joint production of the Scottish Commissioners, and bears at least as evident marks of Henderson's hand as of Baillie's.

The sufferings of the old Puritan ministers in the early part of Charles's reign, contributed in no small degree to alienate the people of England from any lingering attachment to Prelacy; and in the progress of civil events, the subject of the reformation of church government in England, began to be widely and openly discussed. "An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," by Bishop Hall, containing a defence of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, appeared in 1640, and gave rise to a controversy between the Prelatists and Puritans, which was carried on with great fierceness of spirit, and asperity of language. In particular, the writings under the name of "Smectymnuus," in answer to Hall's Remonstrance,<sup>1</sup> had a powerful effect, and as Calamy affirms, "gave the first deadly blow to Episcopacy." The Scottish Commissioners indirectly aided in the great contest which then took place with the hierarchical establishment; but having completed the task more immediately entrusted to them,<sup>2</sup> they returned to Scotland in the beginning of June 1641. Baillie describes their voyage as tempestuous and somewhat dangerous; more especially when sailing past the coast of Northumberland, and approaching Holy Island, "great was the fear of the whole companie; yet God brought us through that death, blessed be his name! I resolve, (he adds) if I may goe by land, never more to sail that coast."

Baillie was a member of the General Assembly that met at St. Andrews in July 1641, and he felt some alarm at the prospect of being put in nomination as Moderator. Besides the request for his translation to a parochial charge in Glasgow, he appears to have had

<sup>1</sup> In this struggle to render Episcopacy (in Baillie's words) "a poor plucked crow," Milton joined the side of the Puritans; and in coming forward with his Apology for 'Smectymnuus,' and other tracts, he may have been influenced by his regard to Thomas Young, one of the writers, who for some years had been his preceptor.

<sup>2</sup> Milton in his earliest tract, alludes to "the crooked ways of perverse and cruell men," with their "poore drifts to make a Nationall Warre of a Surplice Brable, a Tippet-scuffle, and ingage the unattainted Honour of English Knighthood, to unfurle the streaming Red Crosse, . . . for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their Fellow-subjects, that which themselves are weary of, the Skeleton of a Masse-Book; and commending "the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian pietie, the constancy of our Nobility and Commons of England"; he says, "Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firme obedience of the Nobles and People of Scotland striving against manifold provocations, nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto, be unremembered, to the shamefull conviction of all their Detractors." He then has a noble address to both Nations:—"Goe on both hand in hand O NATIONS never to be dis-united, be the Praise and the Heroick Song of all Posterity; merit this, but seeke only Vertue, not to extend your limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant lawrell out of the teares of wretched Men, but to settle the pure worship of God in his Church, and justice in the State: then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye. . . . Commit securely to true Wisdome the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and suttletie, which are but her two runnagates: joyn your invincible might to doe worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your Union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations." (Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England, p. 69, Lond. 1641, 4to.)

nearly simultaneous offers of a professorship in each of the four universities; but he strongly resisted every attempt to remove him from his much-loved people and parish. These repeated solicitations however so vexed his mind, that he devised the new mode of preventing them in future, by addressing letters to Henderson, Blair, and Johnston of Warriston, to ascertain their sentiments, whether, in order to put an end to such annoyances, he could not obtain from the next General Assembly a special act in his favour authorizing him to remain unmolested in his present charge at Kilwinning. Their answers are still preserved, and concur in assuring him that any proposal of the kind was not only unreasonable in itself, but would never be listened to. Finding thus that the Assembly which possessed uncontrolled power in such matters, might at once order him to be translated to some place less congenial to his habits than that of his birth and education, and where he still would be in the midst of his friends and relations, he, with some reluctance, in June 1642, accepted the invitation to become Dickson's colleague as joint Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

The chair to which Baillie was appointed, had only recently been instituted; as, according to the terms of the grant from the revenues of the Bishoprick of Galloway, the College was obliged to maintain a new Professor of Divinity. His admission took place on the 6th of July 1642, and on that occasion he pronounced an inaugural discourse, *De Hæreticorum Autocatacrisi*.<sup>1</sup> In accepting this office, as he entertained great scruples about relinquishing his ministerial functions, he undertook to officiate once a week, as minister of the Tron Church, without any increase of his salary as professor; but the Magistrates of Glasgow directed their treasurer to pay 100 merks "to Mr. Robert Baillie, for the transportation of his gudis to this burgh, in hope he will continue his services to the Towne."<sup>2</sup> The following minute of the Visitors of the College serves to point out the respective duties of the Principal and two Professors of Divinity, and may be compared with his own account in a letter to Spang, 2d June 1643:—

“ *Sessio 2<sup>da</sup>. September 17, 1642.*

“ The Profession of Divinitie, latelie established by the Universitie, was found most

<sup>1</sup> This discourse was afterwards printed at the end of his *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, 1663, fol.

<sup>2</sup> On the 10th December 1642, (*Memorabilia of Glasgow*, p. 122); and in the *Compteris Discharge*, 17th November 1643, is this entry, "Item, for transporting of Mr. Robert Baillie his household geir, from Kilwinning to this Burgh, £66 : 13 : 4." (*Ib.* p. 127.) It is to be observed that these sums are Scottish money, of which Twelve Pounds were only equivalent to one Pound Sterling.



necessar ; and Mr. ROBERT BAYLIE, who was received to be a Professor, is ordained to have eight hundred pounds of stipend per annum, with a convenient lodging, or a hundreth merkes yearlie to provyde one ; together also with augmentation of stipend equall to the Principall and Mr. David Dickson ; his entrie to his stipend, with the augmentation thereof, and ane hundreth merkes for his house, from the first of July 1642.

“ Anent the teaching of the course of Theologie by the Principall, and the other two Professors, it is ordained, That the Principall expone the hard places of Scripture ; goe through the commoune places of Theologie, as he was accustomed to do other yeares ; and preside to the disputis ;—that Mr. David Dickson goe through the text of Scripture, and lykewyse handle Casuall Divinitie, as he may overtak it ; and that he order the students their homilizing ;—that Mr. Robert Baylie teach the contraversies ; and lykwyse the Oriental Tongues, and Chronologie, as he may overtak. The course is to be ended in the space of four years, and the Facultie to see to the way of going about it.

“ The Principall earnestly desyred that he might be disburdened of the greatness of the weight of the affaires of the Colledge, that lay for the present upon him ; whereby he professed he was hindered exceedingly in performing the duties of his calling and profession.—The consideratione of this motione was remitted to a Committee, which was to be nominate for this and uther weightie businesses : And, in the meintyme, the Principall is desyred to go on in his part of the Profession, as his leasure may permitt, considering his present burdene ; quhilk burden the Visitors intreats him to continue under, till a way be found to disburden him, without the prejudice of the Colledge affaires.”<sup>1</sup>

It has been stated that Baillie at this time must have taken the degree of D. D.<sup>2</sup> In one place of the College Records, he indeed has signed his name *R. Baillie, Doctor et Professor SS. Theologicæ* ; which Dickson did in similar terms, while the other professors or regents also affixed the designation of their several offices ; but this designation, although in nearly synonymous terms, signified nothing more than Teacher and Professor ; the term Doctor in this sense being still employed to designate an office, not an academical degree. Had such a degree been conferred

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Reports on the Universities of Scotland : Evidence, &c. App. p. 259, vol. ii. Glasgow, 1837, fol.

<sup>2</sup> In some copies of the first edition of his Letters and Journals, he is described as Robert Baillie, D.D.

on either Baillie or his colleague, they would unquestionably have made use of it; for although, at this period the Presbyterians did not confer such degrees, the title of Dr. was uniformly given to those who received it either at some foreign University, or during the times of Episcopacy, (as in the case of Howie, Strang, Panter, Forbes, and others); while Melville, Rollock, Boyd of Trochrig, John Cameron, Adamson, Ramsay, and other Principals or Professors of Divinity at that time, neither assumed the name, or were so designated.<sup>1</sup> Thus the "Act concerning Mr. David Dickson's admission to the Profession of Theologie," 27th February 1640,<sup>2</sup> expressly states, that "the said Mr. David Dickson promises to undergo *the Office and charge of an Professor and Doctor of Theologie* within the said Colledge;" and the synonymous terms *Professor* and *Teacher* of Theology, occur likewise in the following minute of the Colledge, respecting Baillie's own appointment and emoluments:

"AT the Colledge of Glasgow, the thretteine day of Apryll the zere of God, J<sup>m</sup> VJ<sup>e</sup> fourtie-thrie zeirs; fforsamekill as Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE, lait Minister at Kilvynning, being called be the Governours, Professours and Maisters of the Universitie of Glasgow, to the professione of Theologie, hes accepted the said calling, and vndertakine the Office and charge of a Professor and Teacher of Theologie within the said Colledge; and be thir presentis oblcidges him to teache weiklie publick lectors of Theologie within the said Colledge, and to attend diligentlie vpon the studentis thairof for their instructione; Thairfor, it is aggried and condiscendit be Doctor Johnne Strang, Principall of the said Colledge, Mr. Dauid Dickson, Professor of Theologie ther and Deane of Facultie, Mr. Robert Mayne, Professor of Medecine ther, Masters Dauid Monro, Johnne Dickson, Dauid Forsyth, James Dalrymple, and William Semple, Regentis ther, with the speciall adwyse and consent of Mr. Archibald Flemyng of Catgill, Rector of the said

<sup>1</sup> The Doctor, or Interpreter of Scripture, was recognised as a distinct office in the Church, by the General Assembly, August 1574; and a petition was presented to the Regent to appoint competent salaries to such learned men as were willing to teach in Universities. It was also the title given to the Assistant masters in Grammar Schools, the Head Master being simply called the Master, or Rector. The nature of the office in the Church was discussed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in 1643, (see vol. ii. p. 110); and it was allowed to fall into disuse. A graduation of Doctors of Divinity having taken place at St. Andrews, after King James's visit, on the 29th of July 1617, Robert Howie, Peter Bruce, James Martine, Principals of the Three Colleges of St. Andrews; and also Mr. John Strang, and three other persons, "were inaugurat Doctors. This novelty, (says Calderwood) was brought in among us, without advice or consent of the Kirk."—(Hist. p. 656.)

<sup>2</sup> Records of the University of Glasgow.

Universitie; That the said Mr. Robert Baillie shal be payed zeirlie furth of the frie<sup>r</sup> rentis of the Bisschoprick of Galloway, laitlie mortified and annexed to the said Colledge, ffor his zerelie stipend, frome his entrie, q<sup>l<sup>k</sup></sup> is reckoned to be the first of July in the zeir of God J<sup>m</sup> VJ<sup>o</sup> ffourtie-twa zeirs, during his service of the said cuire, the soume of aucht hundrethe punds money of Scotland, togidder w<sup>t</sup> one hundrethe merks money zeirlie, for his house maill in Glasgow, and that at twa termes in the'zeir, Candlemas and Lambes, or within fyftene dayes thairefter, be equall portionnes; begynnand the first termes payment thairof at Candlemes last by past, in this instant zeir of God J<sup>m</sup> VJ<sup>o</sup> ffourtie-thrie zeiris, and so thereafter to be continowed in thankfull payment from his entrie foirsaid, during his serving of the cure within the said Colledge, furth of the said frie rentis of the Bischoprick of Galloway; and lykwayes it is expresslie provydit, in caise the said Mr. Robert shal continow to preach within the said burgh of Glasgow, that quhatsoever benefit or stipend he sall receave or obtaine thereby, sall be allowed be him in pairt of payment of his said stipend of aucht hundrethe punds money, and that the Colledge be releived of the payment of the sums *pro tanto*. And lykwayes it is agreed and condiscended, that in caise the Principall, the remanent Professors and Regentis of the said Colledge, and the Minister of Govan, sall bruike and receive zeirlie the severall augmentations of their stipends, q<sup>l<sup>k</sup></sup> is by and attour the quantitie of the stipends quhairin they wer in possessione befor the last Parliament, and that conforme to the report maid to his Majestie the tyme of the said last Parliament, of the necessar charges for maintenances of the said Colledge, be the Commissioners appoynted be his Ma<sup>tie</sup> for that effect, and his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s gift ratified in the Parliament following thereon, then, and in that caice, and in no otherwayes, the said Mr. Robert Baillie sall have also ane augmentatione of his stipend zeirlie, from his entrie, during the tyme of his service of the cuire, off twa hundreth punds money to be payed out of the rentis of the said Bischoprick of Galloway. In witnes quherof, thir presents be Mr. John Harbertsone, writer, and sryb to the said Universitie, ar sub<sup>t</sup> us followis:—

R. BAILLIE.

M. A. FLEMING, Rector.

JOHN STRANG, Principal.

JO. DALRYMPLE.

DAVID DICKSON.

DA. FORSYTHE.

RO. MAYNE.

W. SEMPLE,

DA. MONRO.

JO. DICKSON.

But the course of Baillie's academical instructions was speedily to be interrupted by employment of a more public kind. At the Assembly, held at St. Andrews in July 1642, there was read a letter from a number of ministers at London, "shewing their desire of Presbyterian Church-Government, and a full union with our Church." At the same time, Lord Maitland was appointed to proceed to England, as the bearer of a supplication to his Majesty, with authority to treat with the English Parliament for peace, agreeably to a request contained in their declaration, presented to the Assembly. After his return from this negotiation, a meeting of the Commission was held, to receive his Lordship's report; and Baillie says, "he delyvered to us the Parliament of England's returne, granting all our desyres, in abolishing of Bishops, and requiring some of our ministers to assist at their Synod against the 5th of November, or when it might be called. Of this we were verie glad, and blessed God." In compliance with this request, the meeting made choice of Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Baillie, as commissioners to the proposed Assembly of Divines; and upon a suggestion of Baillie's, at first disregarded, but afterwards unanimously adopted, the meeting resolved upon joining in commission with these ministers three ruling elders; and accordingly appointed the Earl of Cassillis, John Lord Maitland, and Johnston of Warriston. Each and all of the commissioners expressed their disinclination for the employment; yet, as Baillie observes, "no man was gotten excused;"<sup>1</sup> but he adds, "the miserable condition of the English affaires have yet kepted us all at home."

The great object contemplated, of settling the form of Church-Government to be established in the room of Prelacy, although delayed by the course of political events, was not forgotten. An Assembly of Divines was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 1st of July 1643, in order to consult on the settlement of the affairs of the Church, not in the usual form of Convocation, or of a free Synod, but by an ordinance of Parliament, to which certain of their own members were joined, and commissioners from Scotland were invited. Little was however done till after the meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh in the ensuing month of August. Sir Henry Vane younger, and other commissioners from the Parliament of England, accompanied with

<sup>1</sup> Robert Douglas was an exception, as his constant employment at home, or his attendance on the army, prevented his going to London.

two ministers, Marshall and Nye, having arrived in Edinburgh, they presented letters to the same purpose with a declaration of both Houses of Parliament, "shewing their care of reforming religion," and renewing "their desire of some from our Assembly to join with their Divines for that end; and withall, our Assemblie's dealing, according to their place, for help from our State to them." These solicitations, and the speeches of the Commissioners, suggested the expediency of framing some bond of union between the two nations, for mutual reformation and defence. The English commissioners at first were for a Civil League, the Scottish members for a religious Bond. A draught was submitted by Henderson of what is now known as THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which embraced both objects; which being read, was formally adopted, with great satisfaction, by the Convention of Estates, as well as by the General Assembly, on the 17th of August; and it was ordered to be transmitted to the Parliament of England for their approbation. The Assembly then renewed their Commission to the members who should assist the Assembly of English Divines. Baillie was under great apprehension of being one of the three, as a quorum, who were ordered without delay to proceed to London, to procure the ratification of the Covenant. The Commissioners set sail from Leith on the 30th of August; and by an ordinance of the House of Commons, on the 14th, and of the House of Lords on the 16th of September, Lord Maitland, Henderson, and Gillespie, and also Robert Meldrum, were admitted to the Assembly of Divines "to be present there, and to debate upon occasion." These Commissioners were accordingly introduced, and welcomed by the Prolocutor and others, to which Henderson made a suitable reply; and the same day, says Dr. Lightfoot, "after all was done, Mr. Prolocutor, at the desire of the Assembly, gave thanks to God for the sweet concurrence of us in the Covenant." The Covenant likewise passed both Houses with singular unanimity, and was solemnly sworn and subscribed on the 25th of September. When the Assembly were permitted to consider the question of the form of Church Government to be recommended, no very sanguine hopes were entertained, according to Baillie, "of their conformitie to us, *before our armie be in England*. However, (he continues) they have called earnestlie once and againe for Mr. Rutherford and me. The Commission hes convenit and sent for us. We are thus far in our way to goe aboard, God willing, one of those days. The weather is uncertaine, the way dan-

## MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

gerous, pirates and shoals not scant ; yet trusting on God, we must not stand on any hazard to serve God and our countrey." Having reached London in safety, on the 18th of November, the usual warrant was passed ; it being " Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that Mr. Robert Baily and Mr. Samuel Rutherford shall be admitted into the Assembly [of Divines], to be present there, and to debate upon occasion."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, we learn from Lightfoot's Journal, that on Monday the 20th of November, " There was read a Commission from Scotland that sent Mr. Robert Baily and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and an order from the Houses that gave them access to our Assembly ; after which, they were fetched in, and Mr. Prolocutor made a speech for their welcome." Baillie himself gives a similar account, and remarks, that without such an order in writing, " no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sitt ; and when we were brought in, Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome, after so long and hazardous a voyage, by sea and land, in so unseasonable tyme of the year. When he ended, we satt down in these places which since we have kept."

According to his usual custom, Baillie describes the appearance of the place of meeting of this memorable Assembly, with the forms of proceeding, and gives occasional notices of the chief speakers. The discussions on the various points of ecclesiastical polity submitted to their consideration, were long and tedious, however important ; and have been more fully reported by other writers.<sup>2</sup> At this time, as well as during their former mission to London, the Scottish Commissioners resided in Worcester House,<sup>3</sup> in the City, and St. Antholin's Church<sup>4</sup> was set apart for their use, the ministers preaching in their turn, for a time, at least, to very crowded audiences. " The people throngs to our sermon (he says in January 1641), as ever you saw any to Irwin [Irvine] communion ;

<sup>1</sup> Journals of the House of Lords, vol. vi. p. 306 ; and the Journals of Commons, vol. iii. p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting and valuable Journal of the Assembly of Divines, from 1st January 1643 to 31st December 1644, by Dr. John Lightfoot, is contained in the last volume of his Works, published at London 1824, 13 vols. 8vo. A similar Journal by George Gillespie, from September 1643 to October 1644, is still unpublished. See Vol. ii. p. 490, and vol. iii. p. 449 [489] of the present work. Another MS. Journal, in 3 vols. is preserved in Williams's Library, Red-Cross Street London, and has been attributed, upon satisfactory grounds, to Dr. Thomas Goodwin. (Orme's Life of Owen, p. 400.)

<sup>3</sup> This was not the house of the Earls of Worcester, which Lord Clarendon afterwards inhabited, on the site of the present Beaufort-buildings in the Strand ; but Worcester Place, the house of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Lord High Treasurer of England, also on the banks of the Thames, but nearer the Tower.

<sup>4</sup> The Church of St. Antholin or St. Anthony, which had been repaired in 1616, at considerable expense, was destroyed in the great fire in 1666, but it was afterwards rebuilt.

their crowd daylie encreases." Lord Clarendon also refers to their great popularity at that time. The Treaty being now adjourned to London, the Scottish Commissioners, he states, "came thither in great state, and were received by the King with that countenance, which he could not choose but shew to them; and were then lodged in the heart of the city, near London-Stone, in a house which used to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the Sheriffs, and was situated so near to the church of St. Antholins, that there was a way out of it into a gallery of the church. This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, (amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all matters which had reference to religion;) and to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort ... that from the first appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in the light, the church was never empty." After stating that some attended out of humour or faction; others out of curiosity, or to discover grounds for the contempt "already felt," he adds, that their exercise or style of preaching, "except to palates and appetites ridiculously corrupted, was the most insipid and flat that could be delivered upon any deliberation."<sup>1</sup> But such an opinion is equally prejudiced and unfounded; as the sermons which they preached before the Houses of Parliament, and which were printed at the time, need fear no comparison with those of the most learned English divines of that age; and, as Mr. Brodie has observed, "if we may form an estimate of their pulpit-oratory from their works, we may safely pronounce that the English did not discredit themselves by flocking to hear such preachers."<sup>2</sup>

After more than twelve months unremitting diligence in prosecuting the objects for which they had been commissioned, it was thought proper that some of their number should attend the next General Assembly to report the progress that had been already made. Baillie and George Gillespie were deputed for this purpose. They set out from London on horseback on the 6th of January 1645, and reached Newcastle on the 18th of that month "verie wearie, and fashed with a long evill way," and "the excursions of the enemy from Newark, hazardous." On Sunday the 19th, after preaching in St. Nicholas's Church, they rested that day; and next morning having resumed their jour-

<sup>1</sup> History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 331. Oxford, 1826, 8 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> History of the British Empire, vol. iii. p. 41. Edinb. 1822, 4 vols. 8vo.

ney, they arrived at Edinburgh on Wednesday evening. On Thursday, being the second day of the Assembly, Baillie made a speech, shewing with what unanimity the Parliament of England had not only abolished the Ceremonies and the Service Book which were the first grounds of complaint, but had plucked up the "root and all the branches of Episcopacie in all the King's dominions;" and were in a fair way to have Presbytery established, according to the forms of the Directory that had been prepared and approved of, as suited for both Kingdoms. "Such stories lately told," he remarked, "would have been counted fancies, dreams, meer impossibilities; yet this day we tell them as deeds done, for the great honour of God, and, we are persuaded, the joy of many a godlie soul. If any will not believe our report, let them trust their own eyes; for behold here are the warrant of our words, written and subscribed by the hands of the Clerks of the Parliament of England, and the scribes of the Assemblie there." A similar statement being made by Gillespie, each of them was heard "with great applause and contentment of all."

Baillie took advantage of this opportunity to visit his family at Glasgow, and after an absence of sixteen months, to his great joy he found "all in health and welfare." He had requested some of his friends in the Assembly "to deal for his abiding at home: but there was no remeid; both of us were ordained with diligence to goe back." They accordingly returned by sea before the end of March. Their voyage must have been stormy, as the vessel was driven to the coast of Holland, and having taken shelter in the Maese, this interruption enabled them to land, and to spend some days at Middleburg and Rotterdam, enjoying the company of Spang, and other friends.<sup>1</sup> In his first letter to his cousin after reaching London, Baillie says, "you know how graciouslie the Lord brought me throw the seas. The storme, a little before, had been so extraordinarie, that many here thought we had been cast away."

He was soon after appointed to preach on a day of public humiliation before the House of Lords in the Abbey Church, Westminster, 30th of July; and he took for his subject, as he entitled his sermon, "Errours and Induration are the great Sins

<sup>1</sup> It appears that Baillie and Gillespie were at Rotterdam on the 5th of April, the day appointed for fasting and solemn prayer, as recommended by the "Seasonable Warning" of the General Assembly; and being invited to attend a meeting of Consistory, they aided, along with John Durie and Lord Forbes, in adjusting some disputes that had arisen in the Scottish congregation, of which Alexander Petrie, the ecclesiastical historian, was minister. See Dr. Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, p. 15. Edinb. 1832, 8vo.



and the great Judgements of the Time." It was printed by order of the House, accompanied with the usual thanks "to Master Baylie for the great pains he took in his sermon." The previous year, 28th of February 1643-4, he preached on a similar occasion before the House of Commons, and his sermon, "Satan the Leader in Chief of all who resist the Reparation of Sion," was also printed, and, as might be inferred from the title, has special reference to the affairs of the Church. In the preface, he asserts that the first care of the State should be the settling of the Church; and glancing at the bitter fruits of anarchy, he enlarges on the slow progress made in the Assembly's consultations, and says, "if these points of Government, of Worship, of Doctrine, which yet are before us, be handled as these that are behind us ... this course ... cannot but hold us in hewing of our stones, more than a week of years, before we can begin to lay so much as the foundation of our building." About this time, Baillie produced his "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time." In his dedication to the Earl of Lauderdale, he speaks of his studies on this head as interrupted, "being called away from my present station by those who set me therein, upon the occasion your Lordship knows." This was to return to Scotland, along with Henderson and others, to assist in healing the dissensions which prevailed among the nobility and persons of rank, in conducting the affairs of State. But when ready to set out, their journey was postponed in consequence of Henderson's indisposition, joined with the request of the London ministers, as his presence was considered indispensable for carrying through and completing the proposed measures of uniformity in Church-government and Discipline.

But while the Assembly of Divines continued to discuss such points, the contests betwixt the Royalists and the Parliament's forces, were carried on with varying fortunes. Scotland at this time was in a very miserable condition, occasioned partly by the devastations of Montrose's followers, partly by famine and a desolating pestilence; and the consequent inability of recruiting their army in England with fresh troops and money, was attended with the most unhappy results. Baillie in one place, referring to some controverted point, "with which, we propose not to meddle in haste, untill (he adds, with quaint simplicity,) it please God to advance our Armie, *which we expect will much assist our arguments;*" and again at a later date, "had our Armie been bot one 15,000 men in England, *our advyce would have been followed quicklie in all things;* but our

lamentable posture at home, and our weakness here, makes our desyres contemptible." This delay in settling the form of Church-government was in the first instance mainly owing to the pertinacious and argumentative spirit of the Independents, who were members of Assembly and supported the principle of congregational churches; but their opposition would have been ineffectual, had not increasing numbers in the army and the House of Commons espoused similar sentiments. It is usual to assert that the first correct notions of toleration or religious liberty originated with the Independents. The Presbyterians in both kingdoms were indeed strongly opposed to allowing toleration of any sects; and it must be admitted, that the Ecclesiastical Courts, Presbyterian as well as Prelatic, when they had the power, displayed no unequivocal symptoms of inquisitorial judicatures. Had Church-government been established in both Kingdoms, in the form proposed, doubtless in such an event, the rules of discipline would have been strictly enforced, and their proceedings might, in some measure, have justified the ordinary accusations of intolerance and persecution. But when we look into the history of that period, and consider the effects of such license, in the rapid growth of heresies of all kinds, and the bitter spirit that was engendered among the various sects, it would be unjust to accuse Baillie and his friends as alone chargeable with intolerance; and he himself strives to vindicate the Presbyterians from whatever could be said to evince a persecuting spirit. The Independents, it is true, asserted the right of liberty to themselves in matters of religion, and also urged the plea of toleration of all sects however erroneous; but it is not less certain, that when the full power was in their own hands, they manifested no particular inclination to extend such liberty to their opponents; and more especially *by no means to tolerate any Preacher who shall oppose that their liberty.*<sup>1</sup>

Neither were the Malignants or Prelatists inclined to allow such measures to pass without opposition. Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, having published some calumnious attacks on his Presbyterian brethren, Henderson had been requested to write a reply to these calumnies; but before he could commence it, owing to his increasing labours and infirmities, he was called away to Newcastle, from whence, after his well-known conferences with the King, he returned to Edinburgh, and died within eight days of his arrival,

<sup>1</sup> See Baillie's *Anabaptism the true Fountaine of Independency*, &c. Lond. 1647, 4to, and Dr. M'Crie's *Miscellaneous Works*, (Review of Orme's *Life of Owen*,) pp. 507, 509. Edin. 1841, 8vo.

on the 18th of August 1646, to the irreparable loss of the Church and country. The task having been previously devolved on Baillie, he published "An Historicall Vindication of the Church of Scotland," which he dedicated to his old friend and preceptor Robert Blair. This was shortly afterwards followed, by a "Second part of his Dissuasive," also addressed to the Earl of Lauderdale, containing a further exposure of the new generation of Sectaries that had sprung up, in those days of universal toleration. In his former dedication, he exclaims, "would to God! that our controversies were brought to a happy period. . . . Your Lordship is conscious to the first designs of the noble patriots of that your Nation, it was never their mind to have trifled so much time in jangling with their Brethren of this Isle, about new and needlesse questions; but expecting a facility of settling truth and peace within these seas, *their hearts were farther abroad, their thoughts were large for the propagation, not of their own, but of Christ's kingdom, and that not so much in the light as in the heat and life thereof.*" In the second dedication he laments the "wofull spectacles of our times," by pointing at "the danger wherein not only families, but the whole fabrick of our Churches and Kingdomes doe for the present stand; while the Episcopall and Sectarian factions are doing their utmost endeavours to have all our former sufferings to be but short prologues to new very prolix, if not endless, tragedies:" the one party, he asserts, being "demented with a frantick passion towards the government and services of the Church of Rome;" the other, claiming "liberty to overthrow our Parliaments, all Kings, all Lords, and this House of Commons; to set up the individuals (as they love to speak) of the whole multitude, in the thrones of absolute sovereignty. . . . This y oak, much worse than a Turkish slavery, must be put upon our body, but a worse upon our soul," &c.; being "the reward which the Sectaries plead for, as due to their labours in the war against the common enemy." But Baillie indignantly disclaims "their great deservings," and asks "where did the most of them lurk when the heat of the day did scorch the valiant labourers of both Nations; when Ruthven, Newcastle, Rupert, Hopton, did keep the field with armies of any number or vigour; when noble Essex, at Keinton, had the King, in the prime vigour of his strength, upon his army; when Leslie, about Bawdoun, was compassed for some weeks, in the bare fields with frost and snow, with wants of all kinds, with the very gallant army of Newcastle, double in number, and much better provided than any thing that Prince Rupert could bring to Naisby?" &c. And he further asks,

when trumpeting their own praises, "what if such a piece of soldiery had fallen in their hands as Massie's defence, and Essex rescue of Gloucester; as Essex and the Londoners fought at Newbury; as David Leslie's march and medly at Philiphaugh; as Pointz enterprize near Chester?" &c.—But to look after the "swarm of heresies and sects that darkens the sun of truth, fills the air with noxious vapours, and is ready, upon a little more encrease, to fall down on the earth, for the overwhelming of the State as well as the Church," was Baillie's peculiar province rather than to settle the comparative merits of military exploits; or to expose the vauntings of the Sectarian forces at their successes, when they had no longer to contend with the full strength and vigour of the Royalists, already discomfited by other arms.

In December 1646, the three Commissioners who still remained in London, were each of them anxious to turn their steps homewards after such a protracted absence. Permission for one of their number, to be fixed by themselves, having been given, Baillie obtained his wish, as he could urge the sickness of his wife and three of his children, for the necessity of a speedy return to his charge in the College; while both Gillespie and Rutherford, having their wives and families with them in London, "in the dead of winter, could not easily get them transported." He travelled in company with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Lauderdale; and at the meeting of the Commission of Assembly held at Edinburgh, in January 1647, he presented the Confession of Faith, and the new metrical version of the Psalms.<sup>1</sup> He also attended the General Assembly in August that year, and Gillespie having then returned, their speeches on that occasion will be found in the present work. After briefly stating, "to the great satisfaction of all," the progress that had been made in the several things entrusted to their management in London, and laying before the Assembly copies of the Confession, Directory, Catechisms, and Psalms, Baillie passed a deserved encomium on his two colleagues,<sup>2</sup> Gillespie and Rutherford, and spoke in most affectionate terms of Henderson, who, having "spent his strength, and worn out his days in the service of God, and of this Church," "in his inmost sense," he esteemed, "ought to be accounted by us, and the pos-

<sup>1</sup> See the Notices of our present Metrical Version of the Psalms, in which Baillie so much interested himself, in the Appendix to vol. iii. p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> Some lines in the form of a dialogue between the author and Echo, in praise of Henderson, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Baillie, as "four Fathers in Divinity," are to be found in a scarce volume of poems entitled "*Angliæ Speculum, or England's Looking Glasse, by Captain William Mercer,*" sig. M. 2. Lond. 1646, 4to.

teritie, the fairest ornament, after John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." Of his own labours, he spoke with becoming modesty, confessing, that in the Assembly of Divines he had remained silent, following the example of others better qualified than himself for such debates. But if merely a spectator, he was not idle; he never "had too little adoe any day;" and among other occupations he made it his business to give such information to their friends both at home and abroad, as might be required. This communicative disposition sometimes indeed involved himself and others in trouble;<sup>1</sup> but so much were his conduct and labours approved of by the English Parliament, that when he took leave of the Assembly, he received from them a public testimonial of their favour. This appears to have been a silver cup, bearing a suitable inscription, which was then voted to him, and which remained in the possession of his descendants till a recent period, if it be not still preserved.<sup>2</sup>

But while the Assembly rejoiced in the progress made in their Covenanted Uniformity they had also cause of serious alarm. The increasing power and success of Cromwell, the successive defeats of the Royalists, and the inconsiderable number of the Scottish forces remaining in England, placed the balance in the hands of the Independents, and at length put an end to the hope so long and ardently cherished of seeing Presbytery established in that Kingdom, at the very time when it seemed to be on the eve of its accomplishment. That it might have been otherwise had Scotland been able to have sent proper reinforcements instead of a small number of raw and inexperienced recruits, has already been stated; nor was Baillie far wrong in his conjectures that in this way the discussions both in the Assembly and Parliament would have been brought to a speedier termination. When we consider the policy of the leading persons in Parliament, and how that the Assembly itself possessed scarcely the semblance of power,<sup>3</sup> and when to all this we add the encreasing dislike that was entertained of the Scottish nation, it can be matter of no surprise that the great object of Uniformity was defeated. But although frustrated in the object itself, happily the unwearied labours, the prayers, and the keen and searching discussions of this Assembly of Divines, during a period of four long years,

<sup>1</sup> See Papers relating to Lord Digby's intercepted letter, in the Lord Savile's business, vol. ii. pp. 281-285, 487, &c.; and his Information to Cranford, ib. p. 279, &c.; also his letter supposed to have been addressed to Christopher Love, in December 1650, vol. iii. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> In the possession, it is believed, of Madame Racchia, (daughter of General Baillie,) who resides in Turin.

<sup>3</sup> See remarks in Dr. Price's History of Protestant Non-conformity, vol. ii, p. 246, &c.

were thereby rendered neither unavailing nor of little importance; and the fruits of all their anxious deliberations are enjoyed and acknowledged at the present day. It was a pertinent remark by one of the most respected divines of our Church at that time, when, speaking in commendation of "the noble friends of Sion who have put their shoulders to the work of settling Religion and the kingdom of Christ among us," he adds, "whose labours, albeit they should have no other fruit in our time *than the right stateing of the question between us and all adversaries of the true doctrine, worship and discipline of Christ's house*, as it is set down in the Confession of Faith, in the Directory for Public Worship, and in the Rules of Government of Christ's Church drawn from Scripture warrant; yet *even that much is worth all the expense of whatsoever is bestowed, by any, or all the Lord's worthies, upon religion.*"<sup>1</sup> This country at least has now for two centuries benefited by the labours of perhaps the most learned and pious Divines ever assembled.<sup>2</sup> The shorter Catechism contains a very brief compendium of Christian doctrine, digested with admirable skill; and to their early familiarity with this Catechism, we are disposed to ascribe much of that superiority of intellectual culture which so honourably distinguishes the peasantry of Scotland. The Confession of Faith, as well as the Catechisms, with the Forms of Discipline, and of Church-government, which were completed, and ratified at the time by the Civil as well as Ecclesiastical authorities, as the public Formularies to be adopted in the religious Union of the three Kingdoms, are still the standards of our Church; and, under the blessing of Divine Providence, we believe that these have proved the chief means of preserving in purity of faith, and close adherence to revealed truth, not only the Established Church of Scotland, but the great body of Presbyterian Dissenters throughout Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in the United States, and in the British Colonies.

From this period, except on one occasion, Baillie's pursuits and employments were limited either to his duties in the University, or to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. Before his appointment as a professor, he had been one of the stated Visitors of the College of Glasgow; and in August 1643, he refers to a subsequent Visitation

<sup>1</sup> Dickson's Brief Explication of the Book of Psalms, 3d part. London, 1655. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> There is a work less known than it deserves, although the materials are unskillfully digested, entitled "Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of those eminent Divines, who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster, in the seventeenth century. By James Reid, minister of the gospel. Paisley, 1811-5, 2 vols. 8vo.

which had been of service “in getting all matters settled as we could have desired.” The minutes of these several Visitations contain a variety of particulars concerning the course of education, and the proposals made for its improvement.<sup>1</sup> On resuming his duties in 1647, after the long interruption by his residence in England, Baillie was one of the chief movers in carrying into effect the Act of the Assembly, 7th of February 1645, which contained “Overtures for advancement of Learning and good Order in Grammar Schools and Colledges,” and by which it was provided that Commissioners from all the Universities of the Kingdom “should meet and consult together for the establishment and advancement of piety, learning, and good order in the schools and Universities, and so farre as is possible, an uniformitie in doctrine and good order.” The plan of introducing a uniform and systematic course of study to be pursued in all the Colleges, seems to have been long cherished by Baillie. Several meetings of the Commissioners took place at Edinburgh, in August 1674 and July 1648, at which he attended, as we learn from the minutes of their proceedings;<sup>2</sup> but the scheme itself was never completed.

But to revert briefly to public affairs. “The Engagement” as it is called, was a secret treaty between the Royalists of the two nations to assist in delivering the King from the thraldom of the English army and Parliament; and the proposal to send an army to succour Charles the First, in June 1648, was carried by a small majority in the Estates of Parliament. Such an enterprize placed this country in a false position. Hitherto the cause for which Scotland had been contending was to secure the purity and freedom of religious worship; but by such interference the contest assumed a different character, and was in direct opposition to the spirit and tenor of the Solemn League. The expedition was strongly opposed by Argyle and others of the nobility and a great part of the nation, upon the ground either that it was a violation of the treaties with England, or that the King having refused to give an absolute assent to the Covenant, or to agree to the continuance of Presbytery in England for a longer period than three years, they could not support him on such terms. David Leslie and the most experienced officers likewise refused to act unless the Church were satisfied. The result of this unadvised and ill-conducted expedition into England<sup>3</sup> in furtherance

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary Reports on Universities, vol. ii, Glasgow, pp. 258, 261, App.

<sup>2</sup> Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. pp. 218–246. See Baillie, vol. ii. p. 464, vol. iii. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> See General Baillie's Vindication of his conduct at Preston, in vol. iii. p. 455. App.

of this plan, was not only most calamitous in itself, but was followed by still more disastrous consequences. Instead of being of service to the royal cause, it may be said to have hastened the fate of the infatuated Monarch, who, in the policy which he so unhappily pursued, for supporting the ambition of the Prelates, and maintaining his own kingly supremacy, persevered in a course that deluged the country with blood, brought ruin upon the most ancient and noble families in the land, and recklessly sacrificed the flower and gallant chivalry of England. The Scottish Presbyterians have most unjustly been accused as accessory to the death of Charles the First. Only one sentiment prevailed amongst them in abhorrence of his execution; while the spirited remonstrances to the English Parliament by the Earl of Lothian, Cheislie, and Glendining, the Scottish commissioners then at London, ought to be a sufficient vindication from such an unfounded charge. It was in fact the inalienable attachment of the Presbyterians to a monarchical government, notwithstanding the hostile attitude which they were so long compelled to maintain, that proved so ruinous to the country.

At the time of his father's execution, Prince Charles was in Holland. The Estates of Parliament, immediately upon hearing of this event, passed an Act on the 5th of February proclaiming him King; while in England, on the following day, the House of Commons declared the Monarchy and the House of Lords abolished, and a Council of State was appointed to assume the government of the nation. In pursuance of their act proclaiming him King, the Estates, on the 7th of that month, resolved to send a deputation to Holland to invite Charles to take possession of the throne of his ancestors; but the Nation being still jealously watchful of their Covenants, it was likewise concluded, that full satisfaction should previously be demanded of him for the security of religion. The persons selected as commissioners were the Earl of Cassilis, George Wynram of Liberton, and Alexander Brodie of Brodie, (both of whom were soon afterwards raised to the bench as judges in the Supreme Court), accompanied by two ministers, Robert Baillie, and James Wood of St. Andrews. On their arrival at the Hague, having obtained an audience on the 27th of March, the Earl made a speech in the name of the Parliament and Kingdom of Scotland, and Baillie one in the name of the Church. As Baillie's letters from Holland, and his speech to the King, with the detailed report by the Commissioners of their proceedings, are all included in the present work, it is here only necessary to observe, that the satisfac-



tion required was not given ; and that they returned, commending indeed “ the sweet and courteous disposition ” of their youthful monarch, but lamenting his being surrounded by “ a very evill generation, both of English and Scots here, who vomite out all their evill humour against all our proceedings. ” Spang’s letters to Baillie in March 1649, which describe his interview with William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, previously to the arrival of the Commissioners, are possessed of peculiar interest, and may excite regret that more of his correspondence has not been preserved. A pamphlet by Bishop Bramhall, called “ A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, ” contributed so much to excite prejudice against the Presbyterians, that Baillie thought himself called upon while in Holland, to devote some leisure hours to prepare an answer. This he did at considerable length ; and his work was printed at Delft, with a dedication to the Earl of Cassilis, a nobleman, as the author says, second to none in “ sincere zeal to the truth of God, and affection to the liberties of the Church and Kingdome of Scotland. ” It speedily drew from Richard Watson, an English chaplain at the Hague, a most bitter personal invective ; but this, we learn, was, for a time at least, “ carefully suppressed, by the prudence and wisdom of a most noble Prince, ” evidently referring to William Prince of Orange ; but after whose death, at the early age of 24, in November 1650, the copies that remained in the printer’s hand were brought to light and partially circulated.

The Commissioners having returned to Edinburgh in July 1649, and made reports of their proceedings both to Parliament and to the Assembly, “ their carriage ” was approved of, and hearty thanks given them “ for their great pains and travells in that employment. ” Baillie declined being again employed as one of the deputation sent to treat with the King at Breda ; and it would have been fortunate for this country had no further overtures been made, to induce him to visit Scotland in the following year. The subsequent public events, however, are well known, and need not be enlarged upon ; —the arrival of Charles in Scotland in June 1650 ; —the victory of Cromwell at Dunbar on the 3d of September ; —the coronation of Charles the Second, at Scone, on the 1st of January 1651 ; —the total rout of his forces at Worcester, in September following, which put an end to all his hopes, and forced him into an inactive and inglorious exile. About the same time, the surprise and capture of the leading nobles and members of the Committee of Estates, at Alyth, under General Monk’s direction, while besieging

Dundee,<sup>1</sup> who shipped them off in a body to London, left Scotland defenceless, and in a short space led to such a complete change in its affairs, that proclamation was made on the 6th of February 1652, that Scotland was henceforth to be governed according to the laws of England; a strict military discipline being in fact established.

During all these events Baillie was no unconcerned spectator; and on Cromwell's advance to Glasgow on the 13th of October 1650, when the magistrates and ministers had fled, and fearing that his share in inducing Charles to come to Scotland might be visited on him as an aggravated offence, he tells us, "I got to the Isle of Comray, with my Lady Montgomerie, bot left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesie, which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his sojourns that they did lesse displeasure at Glasgow nor if they had been at London, though Mr. Zacharie Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High Church." Several changes took place about this time in the Colleges to which it is necessary to advert. Principal Strang, "by great studie and violence," had been forced to resign his office; and David Dickson, in February 1650, was translated to the University of Edinburgh, as Professor of Divinity. It was then proposed to elect Patrick Gillespie as Principal, and James Durham as Professor of Divinity, but whether in the place of Dickson or Baillie, is somewhat doubtful; Durham having actually received a call to a professorship before he was appointed by the Assembly, in July 1650, to attend Charles II. as his domestic chaplain, and Baillie apparently was not promoted to be first Professor of Divinity till the 17th of January 1651,<sup>2</sup> the date of the following minute:—

<sup>1</sup> Monk's letter to Cromwell, 28th August 1651, and Col. Lidcott's to the Speaker, on the 30th of that month, describing their surprise, are printed in Cary's Memorials of the Civil War in England, vol. ii. pp. 345, 350. See also Nicol's Diary, pp. 56, 108, and Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 176, 179.

<sup>2</sup> In the Town-Council records, we find this entry, under the date 23d January 1651. "The said day, it being reported to the Provost that the Colledge hes tane course to declare Mr. James Durhame's place in this Toune and Colledge vacant, and gone about to supplie his rounge with ane other, without evin awneing the Toune therein; quhilk was verie havillie takine, and a lettre ordainit to be wrytten to Mr. James recenting it; and the Magistrates &c. to speik with the Colledge theranent." Looking at the dates, this might seem to have reference to Baillie's own appointment. We accidently learn, however, from a MS. note by him, on the 26th of January, that after his own promotion, Robert Ramsay had been chosen his colleague; which fact is further confirmed by his letter to Durham, (vol. iii. p. 150.) But this opposition of the Town Council no doubt prevented Ramsay's acceptance of the office at the time, and of course it was superseded, in the month of June that year, by his higher promotion as Principal of the University.

Soon after Ramsay's appointment to the Principality, the following resolution was agreed to by the governors of the University, in order to relieve the Principal and Professors of Divinity henceforth from having any parochial charge, or exercising their ministerial functions further "than preaching of the Word, and administering of the Sacraments:—

“ AT the Colledge of Glasgow, the seventeen day of Januarij 1651 zeirs. For so much as Mr. David Dickson, late Professour of Theologie, is transported to the Colledge of Edinburghe to exercise the said profession thair, it is agreed and condescendit be George Lockhart, Rector of the Universitie of Glasgow, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Robert Ramsay, Deane of Facultie, Maisters John Younge, William Strang, Richard Robertson, and James Veitch, Regents of the said Colledge, with the speciall advice of the remanent assessours of the said Rector and Deane of Facultie, that Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE, Professour of Theologie in the said Colledge, shall succeed to the place, stipend, and whole casualties quhilk the said Mr. David Dickson had in the said Colledge, be the agreement maid with the said Mr. David at his entrie, and be the ordinance of the Visitours of the said Colledge appointed be the Parliament and Generall Assemblie; and namelie, that he shall have payed to him yearlie for his stipend, during his service of the said cuire in the said Colledge, foure chalders victuall, and four hundred pounds money of Scotland, furth of the parsonage tithes of the parochine of Kilbryde, and two hundred pounds money foirsaid, furth of the rents of the Bishopricke of Galloway, and benefices annexed thair-

“ 27th Julij 1651.

“ The quhilk day, after incalling upone the name of God, the Moderators of the Universitie taking to their serious consideratione, that, quhairas the office of Principall and Professours of Divinitie in this Universitie is of so great weight, that the greatest parts and most diligent labours of the ablest men ar hardlie sufficient thairfoire; and in by-gane tymes, at the verie earnest desyre of some of the most able, pious, and wyse Principalls, of the Moderators, after much and long deliberatione, wer moved to liberat, for all tyme coming, the Principalls from the charge of the Ministerie, quhairunto the necessities of the Colledge, for a long tyme had tyed thame: and that none of the Professours of Divinitie hitherto haue medled farther with the Ministerie then once a-week, quhen they were disposed to preach, without intangling thameselves at all with Visitations or Discipline. Also if Principalls and Professours sould engage in the full ministerie, it might give to the Toune and their Paroches a hand in the electione and disposing of the labours of the chiefe Maisters of the Colledge, which the good and priviledges of the Universitie doe not admitt: For these and other grave Reasons, they did unanimouslie agree that no Principall nor Professour sall engage in the Ministerie, nor meddle with any part of the Ministeriall chair, except in preaching of the Word, and administrating of the Sacraments, and that so far onlie as the Moderators, efter due consideratione, sall find consistent with the discharge of all their dueties in the Colledge, and, by particulare concession, sall allow to thame; which they declair sall not be refused to any quho sall crave it, so far as hes been granted to thair Professours hitherto Mr. David Dickson and Mr. Ro. Baillie. It was also agreed, that it is free for the Colledge to choose any for the Principall and Professours of Divinities place quho is qualified, tho they be not ministers or preachers at all: And it is agreed lykeways, that this Act suld be insert in the Universities Register, and subscriyvet, to the end it may be communicat and aggried unto by everie Principall and Professour of Divinitie heirefter, befor their admissione.

GEO: LOCKHART, Rector.

R. BAILLIE.

HUGO BLARUS, Rect. Assess.

ROBERT RAMSAY, Principall.

RICH. ROBERTSON.

GEORGE YOUNG, Assess. Rect.

JO. YOUNG.”

to, quhilk are mortified to the said Colledge; and that at two termes in the yeare,— viz. the one equall half thair of at Candlemas, and the other equall half upone the first day of Julie nixt theirefter. Beginnand the first termes payment at Candlemes nixt in this instant yeare of God, J<sup>m</sup>.vj<sup>o</sup>. and fiftie one; and the nixt termes payment upon the first day of Julie nixt to cum in the said yeare, and that for his stipend in the said Colledge from the first day of Julie the yeare of God J<sup>m</sup>. vj<sup>o</sup> and fiftie, untill the first day of Julie the year of God J<sup>m</sup>. vj<sup>o</sup> fiftie one. In respect that his entrie to his Professione of Theologie in the said Colledge, was upon the first day of Julie in the yeare of God J<sup>m</sup>.vj<sup>o</sup> and fourtie two, quhairin he has continued since syne; and such like that he shall have for his dwelling dureing his said cuire the house belonging to the said Colledge, quhilk the said Mr. David Dickson laitlie possessed: But prejudice allwayes to the said Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE of anie farder augmentations of his stipend, granted or to be granted be the Commissioners of the Parliament or Generall Assemblie, hauing thair power to that effect. In witnes quhair of thir presents written be Mr. Thomas Smeton, pedell of the said Colledge, ar subscriuet as ffollowis:—

R. RAMSAY, Dean of Facultie.

GEO. LOCKHART, Rector.

ZACHARY BOYD, Vice-Chancellor.

GEO. YOUNG, Assessor.

JNO. YOUNG.

HUGO BLARUS, Assessor.

WILL. STRANG.

J. VETCHE.

RICH. ROBERTSON.”

In a letter to Dickson, the 8th of March 1651, Baillie gives the following account of his occupations:—“On Monday I dyte [dictate] Theses of the Errors of the Time; on Tuesday and Friday I dyte long lessons in Chronologie; on Thursday I have a long Hebrew lesson; Thursday before noon I wait on the Homilies, and will goe through the Directorie for preaching, prayer, sacraments, &c. Saturday is [for preparing my discourse] for Sunday. I have many letters for the publick to write every other day. I hardly enough hold up with all thir in so calamitous a time.” The prelections on Hebrew which he delivered during the session of 1650, were printed three years later in a small volume for the use of his students; and in the view of urging a more diligent and accurate knowledge of that language, he refers to the success with which it was taught at Edinburgh by Dr. Conrad Otto, a learned Jew, who had been invited to

that University as teacher of the Oriental languages. He also commends the great erudition of Dr. Alexander Colville of St. Andrews, and the acquirements and zeal of their late principal Dr. Strang. In this enumeration it is singular he should have omitted the name of John Row, Principal of King's College Aberdeen, whose Hebrew Grammar was the earliest work of the kind that had appeared in Scotland; and who in 1651, had drawn up a Praxis of the rules or precepts of the Hebrew, which he inscribed in a joint dedication to Dickson and Baillie.<sup>1</sup>

On Durham's return to Glasgow, about March 1651, he urged his claims to be admitted to the place in the College to which he had been appointed during the previous year. Baillie opposed his admission, and, as he afterwards had occasion to regret, exerted himself but too successfully to induce him to relinquish the office; "as we fear his deserting of the King will hurt his Majestie, and his coming hither increase our divisions." Durham finally accepted a call to be minister of the Inner High Church, vacated by Robert Ramsay, on his election as Principal, chiefly by Baillie's influence, on finding that his old master, Robert Blair, would not accept an invitation to that office. In his letter to Spang, 19th of July 1654, Baillie says, "I was, both before and after [Ramsay's appointment], much dealt with by these whom it concerned, to accept that place; but I ever peremptorie refused: I knew it belonged to Dr. Strang. . . I loved no changes, especially to a place of civile action; however God guided my mind to be resolute not to meddle with it." But Ramsay died on the 4th of September 1651, within little more than two months of his admission; and the office remaining vacant till 1653, the subsequent appointments by the English party, of Patrick Gillespie as Principal, and John Young as second Professor of Divinity, were sources to Baillie of much vexation and trouble. When we reflect on his long connexion with the University, his great zeal for the improvement of education, his own peculiar qualifications by his learning and acquirements, with his unwearied attention to the interests of

<sup>1</sup> This little work was probably never printed. I lately procured a MS. copy of it, carefully transcribed by the Author himself in the year 1668, "in usum M. G. M." The following is the dedication referred to:—

"M<sup>ro</sup>. DAVIDI DICKSONO et M<sup>ro</sup>. ROBERTO BALLIO, viris plurimum colendis, Edinburgi et Glasguae respective SSae Theologiae Professoribus, Mr. JOAN. ROW S. P. D.

"Vos, Fratres Reverendi in D[omino] dilectissimi, ad hoc me seriis in[cita]stis literis; efflagitationi vestrae cessi. Siquid penes me sit quo OPUS DEI promoveatur, vobis viris tantis et talibus mihi religio erit denegare. Quare Praxin hanc Praeceptorum Hebraeae Grammaticae, munusculum levidense, crasso filo, quale quale est, vobis mihi charissimis D. D. Q. Si hinc sit Deo gloria, si Theologiae studiosis proventus, ut ad arcana Sacrae paginae adyta facilius pateat aditus, quod in votis habui, habeo. Valete. Datum Abredae, an. Christogonias 1651."

the Colloge, and the esteem and respect in which he was so generally held, it is matter of regret that his election to the Principality had not taken place at this time, instead of being deferred to the closing period of his life. He had also often "a weary heart these tymes bygone, for many a crosse accident both private and public." "After a long decaying and sickness, my most gracious and virtuous companion was removed, June 7th 1653. . . . Since, the Lord hes guided my family and six children weel as I could have expected or wished." About the same time he published two or three small treatises; and was employed in enlarging his work on Scripture Chronology.

But it is again necessary to revert to political events, in order to point out the origin of those unhappy disputes which prevailed in the Church, and which occupy such a conspicuous place in the later portion of Baillie's correspondence. When Parliament met in January 1649, in order to manifest their renewed adherance to their covenanted principles, an act was passed on the 23d, called "The Act of Classes," from its dividing into four separate classes, according to their degrees of malignancy, the persons connected with the "late unlawfull Engagement," and opposed to the Covenant, who should not be entrusted with power. When Charles the Second found no other means left for attaining possession of the throne, he at length gave an insincere consent to the several demands of the Scottish Commissioners at Breda; and he arrived in this country, in June 1650, to occasion still greater dissensions. His personal conduct and manners were but little suited to the strict and severe habits of the people with whom he had to associate; but being desirous to satisfy the Church, for the better advancing of his own ends, he came under the most solemn engagements and formally renounced popery and prelacy, and declared he "would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant." Similar oaths and protestations were again taken at his Coronation in his public and solemn renewal of the Covenant. After the defeat at Dunbar, and Cromwell's continued successes, the state of the country had suggested the necessity of reinforcing the army by the admission on certain terms of persons who had been incapacitated by the Act of Classes. Such a proposal, however, was strongly opposed, and gave rise to the "Western Remonstrance," which condemned any approach to a junction with the Malignant party. When the Commission of the Assembly met at Perth, on the 14th December 1650, the following Query by the Parliament as to the admission of Malignants into the army was propounded, viz. :—"What persons are to be

admitted to ryse in armes, and joyne with the forces of the kingdome, and in what capacitie, for defence thereof, against the armie of Sectaries, who (contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties,) have most unjustly invaded, and are destroying the kingdome?" The answer was favourable, for the employment of those persons who had been incapacitated by the Act of Classes, but were able to aid in defence of the country, with the exception of such as were excommunicated and forfeited, or professed enemies to the Covenant and cause of God. This was the first Resolution. It was followed by a second Query, relating to admission to offices of the State and Judicatories, as proposed by the King to the Parliament, and transmitted to the Commission on the 19th of March 1651, viz. "Whether or not it be sinfull and unlawfull, for the more effectuall prosecution of the Publick Resolutions, for the defence of the cause, of the King, and Kingdome, to admit such persons to be members of the Committee of Estates, who are now debarred from the publick trust, they being such as have satisfied the Kirk for the offences for which they were excluded, and are since admitted to enter into Covenant with us?" The obvious import of this question was to obtain an answer, however qualified, that should serve as an excuse for rescinding the Act of Classes, and thus secure, by their outward formal professions of repentance, the admission of such a number of the malignant party into power as might be sufficient to control the management of public affairs. The answer given to this Query formed the second Resolution, and was of an undecided and compromising character. Douglas, Baillie, and their friends, although opposed to the Engagement, were of opinion, that the laws in regard to such persons were too stringent, and ought to be relaxed; and the Estates of Parliament, acting upon their advice, on the 2d of June repealed the Act of Classes, having previously, as it was declared, by their act on the last of May, "provyded for the security of religion, work of reformation, and persons who have been stedfast in the Covenant." But these Resolutions were vehemently opposed by an encreasing party, of whom the most active were James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie in the Church, and Argyle, Warriston, and Cheisly, in the State. In July 1651, a meeting of Assembly took place at St. Andrews, whence it was transferred to Dundee; and it was intimated that all who were not satisfied with these Public Resolutions should be cited, as liable to censure. This, it is alleged, was virtually prejudging the questions in dispute; and it gave occasion

for those who were opposed to the Resolutions, to protest not only against inflicting such censure, but boldly to deny the lawfulness, constitution, and proceedings of the Assembly itself. The Assembly however disregarded such protestations, and passed a sentence of deposition against Guthrie and other two of the leading protesters.

Such was the origin of those disputes that rent the Church by a spirit of division during so many years, and hence the names of the two contending parties; Douglas, Baillie, Dickson, and the more moderate of the Clergy being known as *Resolutioners*; the others, or the minority, as *Remonstrants* or *Protesters*. Even at this distance of time, it is not easy to form a dispassionate judgment of the matters in dispute, or at least few persons will be found to give an unqualified approbation of the conduct of either party. That in the first instance the Resolutioners acted too much on the false principle of expediency, is so very evident, that it cannot be denied. They were so greatly alarmed with the dangers threatened by the sectarian forces that had invaded their country, and they were so blinded in their attachment to the King, that they failed to perceive the still greater evils and dangers that would result either from disunion among themselves, or from co-operation with persons who were opposed to the religious principles for which they were contending. On the other hand, the Protesters must be considered as having originated this disunion by their proceedings after the defeat at Dunbar, in forming a party and raising forces in the West, and by their refusing to act along with David Leslie against the common enemy, while their Remonstrance only increased the necessity of having recourse to an alliance with those known as malignants. If therefore they can be said to have adhered more rigidly to the letter of their Covenant-engagements, they evinced an uncalled for degree of puritanical strictness, under circumstances of very peculiar exigency, and manifested a strong desire to usurp a tyrannical authority over their brethren. It was now that the loss of such a man as Alexander Henderson was felt,—one who by signal prudence, judgment, and decision, might have healed such divisions. Durham and Blair were solicitous to accomplish this, but without effect, notwithstanding their personal influence. From what Baillie states of his own conduct at this time, it is impossible to vindicate him, in his anxious endeavours to defeat the overtures proposed for reconciling the two parties, by preventing the proposed conference for that purpose. But all his anxieties and managing interference might have been spared, as from the overbearing tone and manner as-



sumed by the Protesters, it was clear that no kind of agreement was practicable, unless accompanied with the abject humiliation of one party. Had the Protesters displayed any thing approaching to a mild and conciliatory spirit, opportunities would not have been wanting to have accomplished such a union. The original cause of contention had been removed by the utter extinction of a malignant party in the State, under the strict military discipline exercised by the English Sectaries; and men who professed the same doctrines, and who were actuated by the same fidelity and zeal in the discharge of their ministerial duties, ought to have exhibited greater Christian forbearance towards each other. But the assumption of political power by the Church, was doubtless the actual cause of all their contentions; and the same desires still remaining in force, were the true obstacles to their reunion. This was the more to be lamented, as the Church had then attained the position and influence for which her best friends had so faithfully and nobly contended. Unfettered by patronage or the interference of civil authority in ecclesiastical matters, supported and encouraged by the State, which had passed such acts as might contribute to the advancement of religion, freed from error and heretical doctrines, the parishes in general filled with zealous and faithful ministers, parochial schools established in all parts, under the superintendance of presbyteries, combining religious instruction with useful learning, and the very name of schism or dissent being unknown, all ranks professing their sincere attachment to the presbyterian forms of worship; it might have been expected that the Church, with enlarged views, would have pursued her career in a sphere of increasing usefulness, and proved still more eminently, than under persecutions and manifold difficulties, that she has ever been a blessing to the land.

It was the evident policy of Cromwell, while every thing else underwent a change, to leave the Church very much to its own guidance. The General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 20th of July 1653, was indeed peremptorily dismissed at the time of meeting by a military force; and no subsequent permission was granted for holding any other Assembly. In other respects, the ordinary meetings of Presbyteries and Synods were allowed to be held unmolested. The College of Justice had been superseded, and the administration of Justice in Civil affairs entrusted to Commissioners, who presided weekly in rotation. To some of their number others were added as a Committee for the Visitation of Universities, and for filling up vacancies in parishes.

The several places of strength throughout the country were garrisoned with English troops ; and the whole kingdom was laid prostrate at the feet of Cromwell. Baillie pathetically laments the state to which the country had been reduced ; most of the nobility dead, imprisoned, or in exile ; their estates forfeited or overburdened with debt ; the civil judicatories in the hands of English soldiers ; the garrisons filled with their troops ; the clergy divided among themselves to the manifest prejudice of the interests of religion ; and the people groaning under a heavy taxation. Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that affairs in general were then conducted with great impartiality and success ; that a stop was put to lawless depredations ; and that the country itself began to prosper under its new rulers.

There are few events in Baillie's life, at this period, that call for special notice. It has already been stated that Patrick Gillespie was promoted to the office of Principal of the University of Glasgow. To his admission Baillie was decidedly opposed, and protested against it, not only because his appointment had been informal, but likewise because he was a person who lay under the censure of the Church, and who in point of learning was not possessed of the qualifications necessary for the office. In other matters connected with the internal administration of the College he was also far from being satisfied ; and in order to secure his own tranquillity, he purposely avoided taking any share in their proceedings. He also tells us, that by absenting himself for three years from the meetings of Presbytery or Synod, he had enjoyed more peace than he was wont to have. On the 1st of October 1656, he consulted his own domestic happiness in his marriage with Helen Strang,<sup>1</sup> widow of Robert Wilkie, one of the ministers of Glasgow, and daughter of Principal Strang. His eldest daughter, by his first marriage, Lilius—whom he mentions in his earlier letters, as his " little Lillie"—was married about the same time " to a very good young man," William Ecoles, younger of Kildonan, who entered the ministry, and became minister of Ayr. But he had occasion to lament the bereavement of his eldest son, Robert,<sup>2</sup> when about 22 years of age, and after he completed his education at the University. He is de-

<sup>1</sup> The Town-Council of Glasgow, on the 10th of March 1658, " appoynts ane seat to be made in the Laich Kirk, for Mr. Robert Baillie and his wyfe."

<sup>2</sup> See conclusion of letter to Spang, in June 1658, vol. iii, p. 372.—At page 286, Baillie takes notice of his son's desire to be appointed " Bibliothecar" to the College in 1655 ; and the unfair methods taken to intrude another person in his stead, after he had received the presentation.

scribed as a youth of very sweet and amiable disposition. "The rest of my children (he says) thrive, and are well, and these are spurs in my side to mind God's service."

Although Scotland remained during the Commonwealth in a state of comparative tranquillity, the contests of the two great parties in the Church still continued, widening more and more, and extending to all inferior ecclesiastical judicatories. It was now a struggle which party, by undermining the other, should obtain the mastery, and secure the greatest share of political influence and power. The Protesters were more especially favoured by Cromwell, as several of them had accepted the Tender acknowledging his authority and that of the Commonwealth, while many of their opponents, including Baillie, still continued publicly to pray for the King. The more effectually to secure this superiority, Patrick Gillespie and two of his friends resolved to proceed to London, and exert their personal influence with the Protector, to obtain power for an equal number on both sides to erect themselves into a Committee for visiting, purging, and planting Churches throughout the land. The Resolutioners adopted a similar course, and in August 1656, they employed James Sharp, minister of Crail, who now appears more conspicuously on the stage, as the confidential agent and representative of the Church. His Instructions, printed in the Appendix to this work, are worthy of attention. It is admitted on all hands that he displayed no common sagacity and skill in thwarting the views of the Protesters; against whom he afterwards manifested the most implacable hatred. The letters of this period, preserved by Baillie, are sufficient to explain the course pursued by both parties, and to shew the deep interest he felt individually in supporting the Resolutioners, and encouraging such of his friends as took a more active share in these disputes. It is however always to be kept in view that he displays very strong prejudices, and that in all his statements he is too much disposed to represent the sentiments and conduct of the Protesters in the least favourable point of view. It is indeed painful to reflect how completely these unhappy dissensions estranged the oldest and most intimate friends. In their incessant desires for obtaining from the English the power "to purge and plant" the "corrupt" Church at their own discretion, as the godly party, Baillie accuses his opponents of a readiness to yield too much to the civil power, and thus to introduce a kind of Erastianism. But the indifference of the English themselves, joined to their avowed sentiments of toleration, saved the Protesters from any such

gross dereliction of their professed principles ; while their party continued to receive fresh accessions in most of the young men who entered into the office of the ministry at this time.<sup>1</sup>

The Restoration of Charles the Second, 30th May 1660, was the event hailed by Baillie and his friends as promising to rescue their beloved Church from its thralldom. In such expectations they were misled by various causes. By the representations of Sharp, who accompanied Monk to London, and from thence to Holland, to invite Charles to the British throne, they were artfully persuaded that it was as unnecessary to insist for any guarantee or stipulations from his Majesty for their security, as it would be useless to trouble him with petitions or addresses. The King's known aversion to the Protesting party had no little influence in strengthening such persuasions ; they had also Monk's professions that " Scotland hath been always dear to me," and " as for Presbytery, what I declare to the world, (which was both my conscience and reason,) *I adjudge it to be the best expedient to heal the bleeding divisions of these poore nations ;*" and again " *that the welfare of your Church shall be a great part of my care.*" They likewise relied on the hearty concurrence of Lauderdale, Glencairne, and other courtiers. But above all, on receiving the letter addressed by Charles to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to be communicated to other Presbyteries, dated the 10th of August, they trusted to his Majesty's promise that a free General Assembly would be called, and the Church secured in its former privileges ; as it was accompanied with this express assurance, WE DOE ALSO RESOLVE TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, AS IT IS SETTLED BY LAW, [viz. in 1649,] WITHOUT VIOLATION. No wonder such assurances completely deceived them, and made the Presbyterians continue in their false security. In a letter to James Wood, dated from London the 29th of May 1660, Sharp mentions his gracious reception at Breda, where he " came very seasonably," and his having " an opportunity to give a full account of all the late transactions, and of the condition of our church and nation. He was pleased to admit me five or six times to private conferences, in which he did express a great affection to Scotland, and a resolution to restore us to our former

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of these disputes, from 1649 to 1660, the reader will find much valuable information in a little work recently published by the Rev. James Beattie, the " History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth." Edinb. 1842, 12mo.

liberties. I wondered to hear him speak of all the passages as to persons and things while he was in Scotland, with as full a remembrance and exact knowledge as if they had been recently acted, and he had lately come thence. . . . However he may be influenced as to the settling of Religion in England, (which I fear, through the prejudice of this people against that uniformity which was Covenanted for, will not be such as we wish,) *yet what the Lord hath wrought in Scotland will be preserved and not altered by his Majesty.*" In writing to Lauderdale, on the 12th of September, Sharp says, among other effects produced by the King's letter, "the pulpits (were) sounding with thanksgivings and rejoycings to *find our lawful King declaring his Resolution to preserve and countenance the government of this Church.*" He then alludes "to that calummie spread by Mrs. Gillespy, upon her returne, of your Lordship, and believed in the West, and by Mr. Blair in Fife, *that you had turned a fixed friend to the Episcopale party in England, and they had all assurances from you, and confidence in you, that you would set up Prelacy in this Kirk.* I HAVE ASSERTED, IT WAS A MALICIOUS LYE: and, as Mr. Blair is now turned to be a great royalist, so he doth disbelieve the report.<sup>1</sup>" The clergy in Scotland were well aware of the aversion to Presbytery entertained by the chief advisers at Court, but they knew little of the King's true character, nurtured and brought up in the arts of dissimulation, and solicitous only for enjoying his own absolute authority, and the indulgence of his selfish and licentious inclinations. When Sharp set out for London at the end of April 1661, he had assured Baillie it was not "*in order to a change in the Church.*" So reluctant indeed was he to listen to the reports which began to prevail in regard to Sharp's deceitful conduct, that so late as the 29th of August, he says to him, "*you shall deceive us notablie, and doe us a very evident evill turne before I believe it.*" But he deceived others much less credulous than "worthy Mr. Baily," in a most notable manner, at a period which exhibited, in so many lamentable instances, the fruits of political subserviency and insincere professions. Had the Church not been rent asunder by two contending parties, it is more than probable that any plan for overturning the whole platform of Presbytery would have never been adopted. It appears evident that Charles entertained no such design for several months after the Restoration; and we

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Archbishop Sharp to the Duke of Lauderdale, transcribed from originals in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq. for the Bannatyne Club.

may conclude that Lauderdale, as Secretary of State for Scotland, yielded with great reluctance to the proposed change; although, to his indelible shame, he was at length brought to sacrifice all his old principles and solemn professions at the shrine of worldly ambition. In a letter to Robert Douglas, dated at Whitehall on the 23d of October 1660, he writes as follows: "As to the concerns of our Mother Kirk, I can onely promise my faithfull indeavours in what may be for her good; and indeed it is no small comfort to me, in serving my master, to finde *That his Majestie is so fixt in his resolution, not to alter any thing in the Government of that Church*; OF THIS YOU MAY BE CONFIDENT, *though I dare not answer, but some would be willing enough to have it otherwise*: I dare not doubt of the honest Ministers continuing in giving constant testimonies of their duety to the King, (and your letter confirms me in these hopes,) and they doing their duety, I DARE ANSWER FOR THE KING, *having of late had full contentment in discoursing with his Majestie on that subject*. His Majestie hath told me that he intends to call a Generall Assembly, and I have drawn a proclamation for that purpose, but the day is not yet resolved on. The proclamation shall, I thinke, come down with my Lord Treasurer, who sayes he will take journey this week." With all his faults, Lauderdale can never be accused of hypocritical duplicity<sup>1</sup>; and, it is but charitable to believe, that till this period, at least, he was quite sincere in his professions of attachment to the Church. Whether the change that took place might not in a great measure be attributed to the designing conduct of Sharp, it would be out of place here to inquire<sup>2</sup>: but Baillie's

<sup>1</sup> Baillie dedicated to the Earl of Lauderdale, in 1645 and 1647, the two parts of his *Dissnasive*; and in a letter addressed to his Lordship, under an assumed name, (vol. iii. p. 23), he says, in a jocular manner, "When I come to paint you *the third time*, I shall put a ray on your brow longer than any of *Moyes horns*." In the same letter he speaks of sending him a small Hebrew Bible, and refers to a bargain for a copy of the works of St. Chrysostom. It may therefore not be out of place to remark, that his Lordship appears to have been possessed of more than ordinary learning. In 1677, David Fergusson published an "Analysis critico-practica Cantici Canticoorum," with the Hebrew text, and explanations of every word, which he dedicated to John then Duke of Lauderdale, and adds to his several titles, "*In Eλληνισμωδιis, præcipue vero in Lingua Hebræa versatissimo*." During his long confinement in England, Lauderdale employed some of his leisure hours in literary pursuits, and translated into English a work by Moyes Amyraud, a celebrated French divine, which is entitled "A Treatise concerning Religion, in refutation of the opinion which accounts all indifferent." Lond. 1660, 12mo, pp. [xxiv] and 539. No indication of the translator is given in the book itself, his Lordship having more important secular matters to look after; but it is ascribed to him in a work called "Account of Scots Divines," by Laurence Charteris, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, who died in the year 1701.

<sup>2</sup> The subject has been carefully investigated by the industrious historian Wodrow, in the introduction to his *History*, where it is elucidated by a series of extracts from Sharp's own letters. The additional letters that have been discovered since Wodrow's time, tend only to confirm the fact that Sharp all along had been acting most treacherously towards those by whom he was confidentially employed.

letters of remonstrance, addressed to Lauderdale and Sharp, in the year 1660 and 1661, at the very time he was acknowledging obligations to them for his advancement in the College, will always vindicate his memory from any charge of timidity or of a time-serving and wavering disposition, by bearing witness to his open, manly and pointed reproofs and warnings against their apprehended apostacy.

This brings us to the closing period of Baillie's life. Patrick Gillespie was deprived of his office as Principal of the University, for having unjustly intruded himself, in the times of the late Usurpation; and Baillie was promoted to it on the 23d of January 1661.<sup>1</sup> For this preferment he was indebted chiefly to the friendship of Lauderdale. Although not anxious for this office, which he tells us, he might have had many years before, he distinctly says to Sharp, "that since Dr. Strang's death, the first place in our House is no lesse than my due and just deserving, and whoever meddles with it, without my consent, is injurious." He then refers to the exertions made to procure the place to his colleague John Young, and adds, "I could ever have lived rather with Mr. Gillespie than with him; and if he should be the man, I think I would leave the House, and go to a country church. From time to time I have had ingratitude and displeasures from him that hardlie I can bear long." In Sharp's unpublished correspondence, occur one or two passages relating to this appointment. On the 17th of September 1660, in a letter to Lauderdale, he says,—“Mr. Baily, I hear, hath wreat to your Lordship, he cannot be induced to embrace that Principal's place. The most even of his friends, and those in Glasgow, think it would requyr a man of a more active and resolut temper, by whose authority the ministry of the West, for the most part corrupted, might be reduced and kept in order.” On the 12th of the following month, also from Edinburgh, he writes,—“This other inclosit is from honest Mr. Baily, who I sent for to give me a meeting heer: it will give your Lordship the account of his own mind and desires. I find he is not unpersuadable; but some are of the opinion that the West-countray requyres a person of more acrimony and weight than they suppose to be in him: they speak of Mr. Will. Colvin; but Mr. Douglas and I think it were hard to give occasion of grief to so good a man; and therefor, if the

<sup>1</sup> This is the date of the Royal Warrant for his presentation, (vol. iii, p. 422,) a delay of four months having occurred from his actual nomination to the office, (ib. p. 411.) The usual Oath, which Baillie must have taken at his admission as Principal, is not contained in the Records of the University.

presentation wer sent down with a blank for the person, Mr. Baily might be induced to have it filled up with his own name, or, without any grudging, he might consent to Mr. William Colvin: but this I leave intirely to your Lordship's disposall." And again, on the 5th of February 1661, he adds,—“ I shall immediatly send an express to Mr. Baily, who must own an infinit obligation *to this speciall act of favour to himself,*<sup>1</sup> which speaks also to others, that your noble friendship, wher it is once given, is worthy to be trusted to and dependit upon. You have redeemed that honest worthy man [from] the height of injustice and contempt designed against him.” If these passages are compared with those addressed to Baillie himself, it may possibly be thought the gratitude expressed for Sharp's services in this matter, was fully commensurate to the obligations conferred.

Baillie was not privileged to enjoy much peace or satisfaction in this new office. His predecessor had involved the College funds to a considerable extent, by “ his vain gloriositie” in enlarging the building, by his encreasing the number of bursers, and also by claiming large sums as due to himself. Being of a restless, active, persevering spirit, it was not likely he would patiently suffer the affront of being ejected; and in various ways, he occasioned Baillie no small annoyance, insomuch that it “ does oft take my meat and sleep from me.” It has been alleged that Gillespie, to secure his place and emoluments, had expressed his willingness to lend his aid in establishing Episcopacy. In the mean while Baillie set himself very industriously to bring the affairs of the University to a better state, and solicited Lauderdale, with much pertinacity, to assist in relieving the College from its manifold burdens, by obtaining a grant from the King for that purpose. But although the buildings were left unfinished,—the place burdened with debt,—with scarcely sufficient available means to support the establishment, these might in time have been remedied; but he himself had fallen into a feeble and declining state of health, from which he never recovered. Much of this bodily weakness he attributes to the changes that seemed inevitable. All that he and his friends had been contending for during a period of twenty-four years, was threatened to be overturned: this prospect pressed heavily on his mind, and affected him in a similar manner with Henderson, at the close of his life; for, he repeatedly says, these changes were “ hastening him to his grave;”

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are underlined in the original.



and in the last letter he wrote, he is forced reluctantly to confess that Sharp, in his character of agent for the Church, “*piece by piece, in so cunning a way, has trepanned us.*” Parliament assembled on the 1st of January 1661. On the 9th of February, the whole Parliamentary proceedings in the year 1649, by which Presbytery had been established on its surest foundation, were declared illegal; and still more effectually to accomplish the proposed revolution in the Church, a few weeks later, the Act Rescissory was passed, repealing in a similar manner the whole acts and proceedings of the preceding Parliaments from 1640 to 1648, thus, by one resolution, “pulling downe all our Laws at once, which concerned our Church since 1633.” “My Lord,” says Baillie to Lauderdale, shortly after the passing of this extreme measure, “My Lord, ye are the Nobleman of the world I esteem most and love best: I think I may say and write to you what I like. *If you have gone with your heart to forsake your Covenant, to countenance the introduction of Bishops and Books, and strengthening the King by your advyce in these things, I THINK YOU A PRIME TRANSGRESSOR, and lyable among the first to answer to God for that great sin,* and opening a door, which in haste will not be closed, for persecution of a multitude of the best persons and most loyall subjects that are in all the three Dominions . . . I will continue to pray for you, doe what you will.”

In the new state of affairs, the first step was to gratify Sharp's ambition, by his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews. At the same time, Andrew Fairfoull, minister of Dunse, was preferred to the See of Glasgow; Robert Leighton, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, became Bishop of Dunkeld, and James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan, Bishop of Galloway. These four were consecrated at London on the 15th of December; but previous to this solemnity they slavishly submitted to be re-ordained presbyters, although, under similar circumstances, in the year 1610, the validity of presbyterian ordination was sustained and acknowledged by the English prelates, at the consecration of Spottiswood and two other ministers from Scotland. On the 19th of April 1662, Fairfoull made his public entry into Glasgow,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by the Earl of Glencairne, Lord Chancellor, and

<sup>1</sup> In the Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 18, may be seen a full account of the Archbishop's progress from Edinburgh on the 18th of April 1662, of his entry into Glasgow on the 19th, and the proceedings of the two following days. (Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. iii. p. 630.) But the Archbishop did not long enjoy his dignified situation, having died at Edinburgh, in November following.

by several of the nobility, and a great number of gentlemen from the neighbouring country. He was received with all due solemnity by the citizens and magistrates; and Baillie says "he preached on the Sunday soberly and well." He further tells us that "some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the Colledge on Monday morning. Against this I reasoned much; but was over-voted, to our great and needlesse charge: two hundred pound payed not our charge." Baillie, who was confined by indisposition, likewise informs us that John Young, Professor of Divinity, "made to the Bishop a speech of welcome, beside my knowledge. The Chancellor, my noble kind schollar, brought all in to see me in my chamber, where I gave them sack and ale the best of the town. The Bishop was very courteous to me: I excused my not using of his styles, and professed my utter difference from his way." According to one authority,<sup>1</sup> Baillie at a former period of his life had received an offer of a Bishopric, which he absolutely refused, and when he was visited, during his last sickness, by the new Archbishop, is reported to have spoken as follows:—"Mr. Andrew, I will not call you my Lord; King Charles would have made me one of these Lords; but I do not find in the New Testament, that Christ has any Lords in his house." If any proof however were required of his consistent opposition to prelacy, it is furnished by Wodrow the historian. His father, James Wodrow, a man of great modesty and learning, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, after the Revolution, had been educated under Baillie, from whom he received much encouragement and kindness, and he "retained to his dying day the highest value for his memory." When leaving the College for the summer vacation, Wodrow being desirous to study the controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters, requested his master's advice what books he should read on that subject. Baillie said to him, "*Jacobe*, I am too much engaged personally in that debate to give you either my judgement on the whole, or to direct you to particular authors on the one side and the other." But taking him into his closet, he gave him the whole pamphlets that had passed on both sides, in print and manuscript, arranged in their proper order, and said, "There is the whole that I know in that affair; take these home to the country with you, and read them

<sup>1</sup> Notice of Baillie's Life, prefixed to the transcript of his Letters and Journals belonging to the Church of Scotland, and inserted in the printed copy, Edinb. 1775, vol. i. p. vi.

carefully ; and look to the Lord for his guiding you to determine yourself aright upon the whole." On a later occasion, Wodrow visiting the Principal about a month or six weeks before his death, after some other conversation, said, " Now, Sir, Prelacy seems to be hastening upon us in this Church, and I do not know what changes may be before I see you again ;" and therefore begged his opinion and advice in that matter ; (and it was the last time ever he saw him.) Mr. Baillie answered, "*Jacobe*, I will not deal with you in this as I remember I did in the debate 'twixt Resolutioners and Protesters, but will tell you my opinion most sincerely in that matter. I have now for upwards of twenty years observed affairs in the Church of Scotland narrowly. I have had occasion particularly to dip into that controversy, and consider it exactly, and to know the spring of affairs since the last change in Church and State ; and after my utmost pondering and trial, I am persuaded that Prelacy is disagreeable to the word of God, contrary to the practice of the primitive and purest times of Christianity, and contrary to the real interests of these Nations ; and though it be coming in, it will be but like a land-flood." My father added, when he told me this, " Yet it was a flood of twenty-eight years continuance."<sup>1</sup>

In Baillie's latest letter, which was addressed to Spang in May 1662, or within three months of his death, he describes his general weakness, and the nature of the complaints that had confined him to his chamber for six weeks ; and it forms an appropriate termination of his correspondence. One of his special desires, he says, was to see completed a work in Latin, being his lectures on Scripture History and Chronology, delivered in the College during the year 1650 and subsequent sessions, which he had greatly enlarged, and sent over to Holland to be printed, under Spang's superintendance ; and he entreats his cousin to hasten its publication,<sup>2</sup> that it might not be a posthumous work. He purposed to have dedicated it to the Earl of Lauderdale, as a renewed mark of friendship and gratitude ; but no notice being taken of his request, he was forced to conclude, that such an address at that peculiar time would not prove acceptable. In the same letter he has briefly alluded to the posture of public affairs, and the state of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Life of James Wodrow, A. M. Professor of Divinity, written by his Son, Robert Wodrow, A. M. pp. 29, 31, Edinb. 1828, 12mo.—Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 128, fol. edit. ; vol. i. p. 288, 8vo. edit.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow relates that " Mr. John Young had compendized his Chronology, (I think before it was printed), and was designing to have published it, till Mr. Bailey threatened to disgrace him."—(Analecta, vol. i. p. 166.)

By the Resciatory Act, which was passed on the 28th of March 1661, it was declared that the settling of church-government belonged to his Majesty. As his previous declaration, in August 1660, contained an express assurance, that the Church should be preserved as by law established, recourse was had to this miserable evasion, that the laws by which Presbytery had been established were now annulled; and that his Majesty was pleased, by an Act of Privy Council, on the 6th of September 1661, to interpose "his Royal authority for restoring of this Church to its right government by Bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, and *as it now stands settled by law.*" Baillie alluding to this change, says, "The guyse now is, the Bishops will trouble no man, but the State will punish seditious ministers. *We are in the most hard taking we have seen at any time.*" The State indeed began to interpose its authority, by imposing fines, by imprisonments, and by ejecting from office many of those who had been most active and zealous, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, under the Protector. But examples of severer punishment were also required, in order to satisfy the thirst for revenge for all the hardships, restrictions, and sufferings the Royalists had undergone. The Earl of Middleton, Lord Commissioner, had not forgotten his excommunication, and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, by whom it was intimated, became his victim. The blood and disgraceful execution of Montrose seemed to demand expiation, and no other would serve this purpose than his great and able rival the Marquis of Argyle, although not chargeable with half the compliances under the Commonwealth, with General Monk, who was created Duke of Albemarle, and who with peculiar baseness transmitted some of Argyle's private letters to insure his condemnation. Not satisfied with the forfeiture of Johnstone of Warriston, who might well have been suffered to drag out in exile a few years, in a state of mind and body greatly enfeebled, he was hunted out, and brought back to Edinburgh to undergo an ignominious death. The monument erected to Henderson's memory in the Greyfriars Churchyard, was ordered by Parliament to be defaced, but, as the inscription on it truly affirms, *Ipsæ sibi monumentum in animis bonorum reliquit.* The Solemn League and Covenants were abjured, and treated with ignominy in both kingdoms, being publicly burnt by the hangman; and the oaths by which they were imposed, declared to be unlawful, as if such acts of indignity or any public ordinance could supersede their continued obligation with persons who had solemnly and conscientiously sworn to

their observance. Lay-patronage was again restored, and it was enacted, that no minister, admitted subsequently to the year 1649, should possess any legal right to his stipend, unless he applied for, and obtained a new presentation from the lawful patron, and collation from the Bishop of the Diocese. Few persons however came forward to make such a degrading application; and recourse being had to the Privy Council to enforce the rule, an order was passed at Glasgow on the 1st of October 1662, declaring every such parish vacant, and enjoining all recusant ministers, with their families, to remove beyond the bounds of their respective presbyteries, before the 1st day of November next, who refused compliance with the terms of the Act. This iniquitous proceeding was concluded at the instance of the Archbishop of Glasgow, who assured Middleton there would not be ten in his Diocese, (the great stronghold of the Protesters), who, under the dread of such a penalty, would hesitate to comply. The result was indeed little anticipated. It was imagined that most of the leading Protesters having been silenced or removed, no serious opposition would be made, either by the clergy or people generally, to the new modelling of the Church. But it has been computed, that nearly four hundred ministers, or about one-half of all the incumbents in Scotland at that time, voluntarily sacrificed every worldly prospect and comfort, subjecting themselves and their families to unexpected want, by resigning their benefices rather than forsake their covenanted principles, by any act acknowledging and submitting to the usurpation of Bishops.<sup>1</sup>

But it is not necessary to enter upon that dark and calamitous period; for, as "the righteous is taken away from the evil to come," so it was with Baillie and other eminent friends of the Church. He died at Glasgow towards the end of August 1662, in the 61st year of his age. No notice can be discovered of the place of his interment, or of any monument or inscription to his memory. Neither is any portrait of him known.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the ministers who thus manifested the sincerity of their professions, it must be acknowledged that by far the greater number belonged to the party of Protesters, most of whom were young men, and had, within a few years, entered upon the work of the Ministry. But it should also be considered, that the Act was purposely framed not to include such men as Robert Douglas and the leading Resolutioners, who had received ordination previously to the time fixed, and they thus enjoyed at least a temporary respite or indulgence, in the hope of their ultimate conformity.

<sup>2</sup> There is no portrait of Baillie belonging to the University. It is highly probable that one was at Carnbroe, the property of his last male descendant, General Matthew Baillie; but after his death, the various family reliques were unfortunately dispersed, and cannot now be traced.

He has however left behind him, in this Collection of LETTERS AND JOURNALS, an enduring memorial. From a passage in a letter to the Earl of Glencairne, Lord Chancellor, in 1661, he refers to an intention he had of writing a detailed history of that period. "Since God has put your Lordship, for the present, in the chief place of authority in our land and credit with his Majesty, be not content to lye by, but, as you would be faithfull to your Prince, Countrey, and Mother-Church, to which three after God ye are most oblidged, lend us now a lift; that, *in the true account I may readilie give to the world and posteritie of what is past among us these thirty-six years*, your Lordship's just character may be with the fairest of all, as I wish and hope it shall." Had Baillie accomplished this purpose, he might indeed have presented a fuller and more connected narrative, but divested probably of the very circumstances which now contribute to enhance the value of his Letters and Journals. Of the information which these Letters furnish, copious use has been made by writers of very opposite sentiments, who all concur, even while charging the author with narrow-minded bigotry and sectarian exclusiveness, in acknowledging their importance and value, as throwing much light on the spirit and policy of the Presbyterians, and as illustrating the history of that most memorable period.

In regard to Baillie's qualifications for sustaining the literary reputation of his country, it is not necessary to enlarge. It will be seen that he maintained a friendly intercourse with several eminent scholars and divines on the continent; that he took a lively interest in promoting works of learning, more especially of biblical and oriental literature, both at home and abroad; and that he enjoyed the personal friendship not only of the leading men of his own country, but also of England. An Episcopal writer near his own time, thus mentions him among the "learned men and writers" belonging to Glasgow: "Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity, and afterwards Principal, a learned and modest man: though he published some very violent writings, yet those flowed rather from the instigation of other persons, than his own inclinations. He has left a great evidence of his diligence and learning in his *Opus Chronologicum*."<sup>1</sup> The industrious historian Wodrow, who attributes his death

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland, (by Thomas Middleton,) p. 36, Lond. 1677, 4to. The same words are repeated in more than one work. See Moodie's *Scotia Indiculum*, &c. p. 214, Lond. 1682, 12mo. M'Ure's History of Glasgow, p. 227, Glasgow, 1736, 8vo.

to grief at the introduction of Prelacy, in his estimate of his literary character, says : " Mr. Robert Baillie may most justly be reckoned among the great men of this time, and was an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid judgment, that vast variety of languages he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style which might become the Augustan age ; but I need not enlarge on his character, his works do praise him in the gates."<sup>1</sup> His knowledge of languages is probably overrated. In like manner Dr. Irving, who styles Baillie " one of the most learned men among the Scotch Presbyterians of the seventeenth century," has remarked, " This commendation of his Latinity, may admit of some abatement ; for although he evidently possessed a very familiar knowledge of the language, his Latin style cannot safely be said to reach the standard of ancient purity and elegance."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Brodie thus honourably associates the name of Baillie, with that of his party. " The clergy, on whom they greatly depended, were profound scholars, and no despicable politicians. Nothing can be more misplaced than the ridicule which has been so profusely levelled at that body. They proved themselves ambitious ; but, to be satisfied of their talents, and to admire their knowledge, it is only necessary to peruse their works. The writings of Baillie, even his familiar letters, breathe a manliness of spirit, and evince intelligence and erudition, that must for ever rescue from contempt, a class of which he did not conceive himself entitled to rank as the head."<sup>3</sup>

But it is unnecessary to quote the words of the various writers who have incidentally mentioned Baillie in terms of commendation.<sup>4</sup> Of his own writings, he seems to have formed a very modest estimate.<sup>5</sup> Of these, whether printed or manuscript,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 128, fol. edit. ; vol. i. p. 288, 8vo edit. by Rev. Dr. Burns of Paisley, Glasgow, 1838, 4 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. ii. p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> History of the British Empire, vol. ii. p. 506.

<sup>4</sup> In the second edition of the Biographia Britannica, Dr. Kippis has inserted an account of Baillie's life ; and similar notices are contained in other biographical works, in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, in Chambers's Scottish Biography, in the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, and in Dr. Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. iii. pp. 478, 479.—In Baillie's Animadversions on a pamphlet by Tombes, the English Anabaptist, he says, " I think you much mistaken, while you suppose that the pamphlets of this unhappy time, and among the rest your's and mine, will ever be looked upon by after ages ; Dream not that such papers as ours will so long escape the teeth of the blatts and mothes, the chops of pottingars, and baser uses : such high conceits of our writings beseeem not ourselves, unless with crowes and apes, our own brood be too beautiful in our eyes, most because our owne."

a full and minute list is subjoined to this Memoir, accompanied with a copy of his Last Will and Testament. This Appendix also contains Notices of his Family and Descendants, and an account of his cousin William Spang, to whom so many of his letters were addressed.

In conclusion, it may be observed, that this series of Letters furnishes ample materials for judging of Baillie's personal character and dispositions. If from several of his private communications, he appears to have been somewhat credulous, and of a sensitive disposition, cherishing aristocratic notions, and actuated by strong party-feelings and prejudices, inseparable from ordinary humanity, his Letters at the same time abound with the most convincing proofs of his warm attachment to his personal friends, his unwillingness to injure any of his opponents, and his readiness on all occasions to avow errors in judgment; while they bear witness to his innate modesty, his fervent piety, his firm adherence to covenanted religion, and his ardent love of learning, and above all, to his own unimpeachable integrity. Such a man could not fail to be esteemed in all the private relations of life. His native City and its University, with which he was so long and intimately associated, may well boast of him, as one of their chief ornaments during the seventeenth century. And, as the Church of Scotland should ever cherish the memory of those faithful and devoted ministers belonging to her Communion who have, in times of peril or difficulty, asserted her inalienable rights as a Christian Church, so, among the number of those kindred spirits, who have "obtained a good report, through faith," in bearing their testimony to the truth, an honourable place ought unquestionably to be assigned to ROBERT BAILLIE.

D. L.

EDINBURGH, AUGUST 1842.



# APPENDIX

TO THE

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF ROBERT BAILLIE.



## APPENDIX TO THE MEMOIR.

### No. I.

#### THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

AUGUST MDCLXII.

THE TESTAMENT TESTAMENTAR AND INVENTAR of the goodis, geir, debtis, and soums of money quhilkis pertein to vmquhile MASTER ROBERT BAILLIE, Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow, within the City therof, the tyme of his deceis, wha deceist in the moneth of August last bypast J<sup>m</sup>. VI<sup>o</sup>. thriescoir twa zeiris, ffaithfully maid and givin vp be his awin mouth, in swa far as concerns the vpgiveing of the first artickle of the debtis awand, in nominatione of his executouris, tutouris testamentaris to his bairns, and legacies underwryttin; and partly maid and givin vp be Mr. Hendry Bayllie, only lawfull sone to the defunct, and Helen Strang, relict of the defunct, only conjunct executouris testamentaris nominat be him, in swa far as concerns the vpgyveing of the inventar of the defunctis goodis and geir remanent debtis awand in, and debtis awand out; as the Defunctis Testament and Letter-will of the dait eftir specifiet, in the self at mair lenth maks mentione.

INVENTAR.—Item, the Defunct had the tyme of his deceis forsaid, perteing and belonging to him as his awin proper the goodis and geir vnderwryttin of the pryces followeing, viz. in the first the defunctis haill bookis estimat worth II<sup>m</sup>. lib. Item, of ready lyand money, I<sup>o</sup>. xx. lib. Item, the insicht and plenisching of the defunctis hous, in vtencillis and domicillis, with the abulziementis of the defunctis body, estimat (by and attour the air-schip) worth ij<sup>o</sup>. lib.

Summa of the Inventar, . . . . . Ij<sup>m</sup>.ijj<sup>o</sup>.xx. lib.

DEBTIS AWAND IN.—Item, ther was awand to the Defunct the tyme of his deceis forsaid, the soums of money followeing, be the persons vnderwrytten, viz. In the first, be the executouris of vmquhile Doctor John Strang, Principall of the College of Glasgow, his father in law, be his Testament, iij<sup>o</sup>.xxxij lib. vi s. viij d. Item, be the Laird of Luss and his cautioners, be ther band, half ane zeiris annuelrent, of sevin thousand merkis preceeding the term of Whitsonday, 1662 zeiris instant, i<sup>o</sup>.xl. lib. Item, be the Laird of Cors-hill and his cawtioners, be band, for half a zeiris annuelrent of twa thousand merkis, preceeding the said term of Whitsonday last bypast, xl. lib. Item, be the Laird of Coning-hameheid, for a zeir and ane half zeiris annuelrent, of the principall soume of twelf thousand and fyve hundreth merkis, preceeding the said term of Whitsonday term last bypast, vij<sup>o</sup>.l. lib. Item, be the Lord Cochran and Sir Adam Blair of Lochwood, for ane zeiris annuelrent, preceeding the said term of Whitsonday last bypast, of twa thousand merkis principall soume, lxxx. lib. Item, be the aforsaid Laird of Luss, for half ane zeiris annuelrent, of ffyve thousand merkis principall soume preceeding the said term, quhilk soume was contractit and assignit be the said Helen Strang to the defunct, i<sup>o</sup>. lib.

Item, be the Laird of Blaire, for half ane zeiris annualrent, preceeding the said term, of wther fyve thousand merkis principall soume, i<sup>o</sup>. lib. Item, mair be him restand of preceeding zeiris annualrents of the said soume, attour the said half zeiris annualrent, lxvi. lib. xiiij s. iv d. Item, be the Colledge of Glasgow, of stipend four chalders of meell, pryce of the boll therof vij lib. vi s. viij d. inde iij<sup>o</sup>. lxix. lib. vi s. viij d.; with twa chalders of beir, pryce of the boll therof viij lib. inde ij<sup>o</sup>. lvi. lib. and vii<sup>o</sup>. xxxiiij lib. vi<sup>o</sup>. viij d. of silver. Item, mair be the said Colledge for ilk quarter of four quarters boording of the defunct, quhilk the said Colledge was in vse to pay to the defunct for his table, at xlviij lib. the quarter, inde i<sup>o</sup>.lxxxxij lib.

Summa of the Debtis in,	Iij <sup>m</sup> .ij <sup>o</sup> .lx. lib. xiiij s. iv d.
Summa of the Inventar and Debtis,	V <sup>m</sup> v <sup>o</sup> .lxxx. lib. xiiij s. iv d.

DEBTIS AWAND OUT.—Item, ther was awand be the Defunct, the tyme of his deceis, the soumes of money efter specifeit, to the persons efter mentionat, viz.—In the first, to Margaret Porter, of fie and bounteth the said zeir, xxviiij. lib. Item, to Catherin Scott for half a zeiris fie, the said zeir, viij. lib. Item, to Agnes Clerk, for half a zeiris fie, the said zeir, viij. lib. x s; and to Jonet Buchannen, of fie, the said zeir, vij. lib.

Summa of the Debtis out.	liij. lib.
Restis frie geir debtis deduceit,	V <sup>m</sup> .vi <sup>o</sup> .xxviiij. lib. xiiij. iv d.
To be dividit in thrie partis. Deidis part is,	i <sup>m</sup> .v <sup>o</sup> .ix. lib. xis. i d. ob.

Quota be compositioun, xxxvij lib. xvs. vi d.

#### FOLLOWIS THE DEIDIS LETTER-WILL AND LEGACIES.

AT GLASGOW, the aughtein day of August 1662 zeiris.—The quhilk day Mr. ROBERT BAYLLIE, Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow, being seikly and infirm of body, but off perfynt memory, knowing nothing mor certan then death, and nothing mor vncertan then the tym and hour of caus, he maks his Testament and Letter-will as followes Quhairin he recommendis his soull to God, trusting only to be saved throw the merits of Jesus Chryst, his Redeimer and Saviour, and earnestly desyreing God to pardoune his many sins from his bairn age, and in Chrystis blood to mack him cleane and acceptable in his sight. And as for his worldly affairis, he, be thir presentis, nominats, macks, and constitutis Master Hendry Bayllie, his only sone, and Helen Strang, his beloved spous, his only executouris and vniversall intromittouris with his hail goodis, geir, debtis, and soums of money quhatsumevir belonging to him, with full power to them to give vp inventar therof, debtis awand in and out. Item, he leives in legacie to the said Helen Strang, his spous, ffyve hundreth merkis Scottis that is zit resting to him by vmq<sup>o</sup> Doctor Strang's Testament, and the second silver tanker; Togidder with all the insyecht plennisching and houshold stuff schoe brought with hir at hir marriage, conform to ane inventar therof, subscrivit with his hand, of the dait the aughtein day of Junij 1662 zeiris instant; Togidder also with the hail rest of the insyecht and plennisching of his hous by the airschip, onyways made or bought, since hir coming to his house, that shoe pleisis to tack. Item, he leives in legacie to Helen Bayllie, his dochter, the silver pottinger; and to Elspeth Bayllie, his other dochter, the leist silver tass. Item, he leives in legacie to the persons following the particular soums followeing, viz. to Agnes Clerk, nyne pundis Scotis; to Catherin Scott, aught pund; to Margaret Porter, vij lib; to Bessie M'Alpin, viij lib; to Jo<sup>a</sup> Graham, ten pund; to Jo<sup>a</sup> Dinn, ten pundis; to Jonet Donald, ten markis; to Christen Herriot, ten merkis; to Jo<sup>o</sup>. Wallace, fyve merkis; to Richard Bayllie, twenty merkis; and to [a blank in the MS.] fyve merkis. Item, he leivs to the Colledge the bookis followeing, viz. Aristotle's workis in Greik and Latin, twa volums; Item, Buxtouris [Buxtorff's] Dictionary; Item, Lucian's workis in Greik and Latin, in folio, ane volum. Item, he leivs to the said

Helen Strang, his spouse, Mr. James Durham's twa volums; Item, all Mr. James Fergusson and Mr. Alexander Nisbitis workis; togidder with als many of his awin English bookis as schoe desyris. Item, his debtis and legacies being payit, he leivs the haill rest of his third part of his haill goodis, geir, and debtis to the said Master Henry Bayllie, his sone, with his haill remanent bookis, except ane quarter therof, quhilk he leivs to Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Eckles, his sone-in-law. Item, in caice the said Master Hendry, his sone, depart this mortall lyff before his lawfull mariage, then and in that cais he leivs and ordains his portion naturall and legacie to fall and belong to his four sisters, viz. to Lillias Baillie, his eldest sister, ane thousand merkis Scottis, and to Helen, Elspeth, and Mary Bayllies, his wther sisters, to ilk ane of them two thousand merkis. Item, if any of the saidis Helen, Elspeth, or Mary Baillies depart this lyfe befor ther lawfull mariage, then and in that cais, he leivs and ordains ther haill portiouus quhatsumevir to fall and belong to the said Mr. Hendry Bayllie, if he be on lyf. And in cais Mar<sup>t</sup> Bayllie, his yongest dochter, depart this lyf befor hir mariage, or at leist befor schoe be of the age of twelf zeiris complet, then and in that cais, he leivs and ordains hir haill portiouus quhatsumevir of ten thousand merkis, provydit be him to her in his contract of mariage with hir mother, the ane half therof to fall and belong to the said Mr. Hendry, his sone, and the other half therof to hir four sisters, Lillias, Helen, Elspeth, and Mary Bayllies, proportionally amangst them. Item, he nominatis and constitutis the said Master Hendry, his sone, tutor-testamentar to the said Mary Bayllie, his yongest sister, during hir pupillarity, and als nominatis and constitutis the said Helen Strang, his spous, tutrix-testamentar to the said Margaret Bayllie, hir dochter, dureing hir pupillarity. And last, he ordains and appointis all his children to honour and reverence his said Spous as ther mother, and in nothing to give hir offens; desyreing them all to obey and fulfill this his letter-will, as they wold desyre his speciall blessing; quhilk he accordingly lives them, and prays the Lord to bliss them all in lyf and death. IN WITNES quherof, thir presentis, wryttin by Mr. Jo<sup>n</sup> Herbertson, notar in Glasgow, and subscrivit with his hand as followes. Att day, yeir, and place forsaid, befor thir witnessis, James Cuthbert, porter to the said Colledge, and the said Mr. Jo<sup>n</sup> Herbertson, wryter heirof.

*Sic subscribitur*, R. BAILLIE.

James Curbett, witness. Mr. J. Herbertson, witness.

I, MR. W<sup>m</sup> FLEMING of Ferm, Commiss<sup>r</sup> of Glasgow, be the tenour heirof, ratify, approve, and confirm this present Testament and Inventar, in swa far as the samin is leillily and treuly maid and givin vp, nothing omittit furth therof, nor sett within the just availl therin conteinit; and give and committ full power of intromission with the goodis, geir, and debtis abovewryttin, to the saidis executouris testamentaris above nominat allenerly, with power to them to call and persew therfor, if neid beis, becaus they have maid faith, as vse is, and fund cation as law will, as an act maid thervpon at lenth beiris. Att Glasgow, the sextin day of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1662 zeiris.

The quhilk day compeirit personally Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Eckles, minister at Air, and of his awin consent actit and obleist himself as cawtioner and soverty for Mr. Hary Bayllie, and Helen Strang, executouris confirmit to vmqhile Mr. Robert Bayllie, that the goodis, geir, debtis, and souns of money conteinit in the defunctis confirmit Testament, sal be furthcomand to all parties haveand entres as law will; and the saidis executouris oblis themself, conjunctly and seuerally, to releive ther said cawtioner of his ca<sup>v</sup> above-specificit, and of all danger theranent, as also to releive otheris executouris. Quhervpon they askit actis. Befor thir witnessis, W<sup>m</sup> Selkrig, wryter in Glasgow, James Cuthbert, porter in the Colledge, and James Lees, mer<sup>t</sup>.

*Sic subscribitur*, WILL. ECCLES, HELEN STRANG, MR. HENRY BAYLLIE.

W. Selkrig, witness. Ja. Lees, witness.

## No. II.

## LIST OF BAILLIE'S PRINTED WORKS.

## I.—THE CANTERBURIANS SELF-CONVICTION. 1640.

1. "LADENSIVM ἈΤΤΟΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ, The Canturburians Self-Conviction: or, An evident demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and tyrannie of that faction, by their owne confessions; with a postscript to the Personat Jesuite Lysimachus Nicanor, a prime Canturburian. Written in March, and printed [at Edinburgh] in Aprile, 1640." 4to. *Collation*, title, 10 leaves not paged of "Summa Caputum," and the Preface; pp. 128, (page 115-122 being erroneously repeated as 107-114,) with a leaf "Escapes of the Printer;" and "A Postscript for the personat Iesuit Lysimachus Nicanor;" pp. 28.

2. "LADENSIVM ἈΤΤΟΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ, The Canturburians Self-Conviction, &c." 1640-41. Reprinted under the above title, at Amsterdam, as appears from the subsequent edition. It contains the same number of leaves as the previous edition, (except the leaf of Errata, which is omitted, although these corrections were not attended to,) but printed with a smaller type, and in a more illegible form; and the preface, which in the original copy is Italic type, in this reprint is in Roman character.

3. "LADENSIVM ἈΤΤΟΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ, The Canturburians Self-Conviction, &c. (as above.) The third Edition augmented by the Author, with a large Supplement. And corrected in Typographicke faults, not these onely which in a huge number did escape through negligence and ignorance that Printer at Amsterdam, but these also, which in the very first Edition were but too many. Helped also in sundry materiall Passages, wherein the Author hath received better information. [London,] printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1641. 4to." *Collation*, title, ten leaves, and pp. 131, followed by a separate title, "A LARGE Supplement of the Canturburian Self-conviction. Opening to the World, yet more of the wicked Mysteries of that Faction from their own Writs. Imprinted, 1641." This portion contains pp. 80, (erroneously marked 70, while there are no pages 39-40, 49-50,) besides the title, and a leaf of Errata; with "A Postscript for the personate Iesuite Lysimachus Nicanor;" pp. 37, separately numbered.

4. In some copies of this edition the preceding title was cancelled, and the following substituted:—"THE LIFE of William now Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Examined. Wherein his principall Actions, or Deviations in matters of Doctrine and Discipline (since he came to that Sea of Canturbury) are traced, and set downe, as they were taken from good hands, by Mr. Robert Bayley, a Learned Pastor of the Kirk of Scotland, and one of the late Commissioners sent from that Nation. Very fitting for all judicious men to reade, and examine, that they may be the better able to censure him for those things wherein he hath done amisse. Reade and Judge. London, printed for N. B. in the Yeare of Grace 1643." No other alteration was made, the above title to the "Large Supplement," dated 1641, being still retained.

## 2.—PARALLEL OF THE LITURGY AND MASS-BOOK. 1641.

1. "A PARALLEL or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse-Book, the Breviarie, the Ceremoniall, and other Romish Rituals. Wherein is clearly and shortly

demonstrated, not only that the Liturgie is taken for the most part word by word out of these Antichristian Writts; but also that not one of the most abominable passages of the Masse can in reason be refused by any who cordially imbrace the Liturgie as now it stands, and is commented by the Prime of our Clergie. All made good from the Testimonies of the most famous and learned Liturgick Writers, both Romish and English,—By R. B. K. [Robert Baillie, Kilwinning.] Seene and allowed. London, printed by Thomas Paine, and are to be sold at the Castle, in Cornhill, 1641.

Other copies instead of this imprint, have simply, “Printed in the Yeare 1641:” 4to. *Collation*, title, 5 leaves of preface, and pp. 95. At page 85 is “A Compend of the preceding Treatise, in a Speech at the Generall Assembly of Glasgow, 1638.”

2. This treatise was republished after the Restoration, without the author’s permission or knowledge: See his letter to Lord Lauderdale, 9th September 1661, (vol. iii. p. 478.) In one thing, however, he was mistaken, in asserting that nothing was reprinted “but the title-page alone, by some cheating printer there, to make some old copies of the first and only impression sell. However, believe me, I know no more of that cheater’s deed than the child unborn; nor know I at all who is the man.” Baillie was probably misled in this assertion by seeing a copy with the altered title of 1641; but the edition that was complained of, bears this title:—“A PARALLEL of the Liturgy with the Mass-Book, the Breviary, the Ceremonial, and other Romish Rituals. Wherein is clearly and shortly demonstrated, not only that the LITURGY is taken for the most part word for word out of these Antichristian Writts; but also that not one of the most Abominable passages of the Mass can in reason be refused by any who cordially imbrace the Liturgy, as now it stands, and is commented by the Prime of our Clergy. All made good from the Testimonies of the most famous and learned Liturgick Writers, both Romish and English. By that Reverend and faithful Preacher of God’s Word, ROBERT BAYLY, late of Glasco in Scotland. Printed in the year, 1661.” 4to. *Collation*, title, 4 leaves, and pp. 80. At p. 73 is “A Compend of the preceding Treatise, in a speech at the Generall Assembly of Glasgow, 1638.”

Some remarks on Baillie’s Parallel are subjoined to a tract entitled, “Beaten Oyle for the Lamps of the Sanctuarie;” or the Great Controversy concerning Set Prayers, and our Liturgy examined.” By Laurence Womock, afterwards Bishop of St. Davids. Lond. 1641, 4to.

### 3.—ANTIDOTE AGAINST ARMINIANISM. 1641.

1. “AN ANTIDOTE against Arminianisme; or a plain and brief discourse wherein the state of the Question in all the five infamous Articles of *Arminius* is set downe, and the Orthodox Tenets confirmed by cleere scripturall grounds. Framed of purpose for the capacity of the more simple sort of People. By R. B. K. [Robert Baillie, Kilwinning.] London, printed for Sa. Gellibrand, M.DC.XLI.” 12<sup>o</sup>. *Collation*, title, 7 leaves “To the æquitable Reader,” and pp. 114. This little volume was intended to serve as a short and simple manual of such controversies.—The author says, “In its first birth it was a speech delivered upon a short warning in the Generall Assembly of Glasgow, 1638, and there not mislikt. Since that time, it hath not increased much in stature.”

2. A number of copies of this little volume remaining unsold in the publisher’s hands, it was brought out with a new title in 1652 as follows:—“A SCOTCH ANTIDOTE against the English Infection of Arminianism. Which little Book may bé (through

God's blessing) very useful to preserve those that are yet *sound in the faith*, from the Infection of Mr. John Goodwin's *great Book*. By ROBERT BAILLIE, Minister of the Gospel at Glasgow. London, printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Ball in Paul's Church-yard, 1652." The changes made, consist in six leaves at the beginning being reprinted, in order to omit the first three leaves of the text. The address "To the *Æquitable Reader*" is preserved unchanged; but the Antidote itself, instead of commencing on page 1, with "The Coherence of this Antidote with the former Self-conviction" [of the *Canterburians*], begins on page 7, with "Who Arminius was;" and ending, like the original copies, on page 114.

#### 4.—UNLAWFULNESS OF LIMITED EPISCOPACY. 1641.

While the Scotch Commissioners were in London, at Strafford's Trial, there was published anonymously,—“THE VNLAVFULLNES and Danger of Limited Prelacie, or Perpetuall Presidencie in the Church, briefly discovered. (3 John 9, &c.) Printed in the yeare, 1641.” 4to, 12 leaves. From what Baillie states (vol. ii. p. 40,) the author of this tract appears to have been Alexander Henderson. Soon after a reply to it appeared as “A MODEST Advertisement concerning the present Controversie about Church-Government; wherein the maine Grounds of that Booke, intituled, *The Unlawfulnessse and Danger of Limited Prelacie*, are calmly examined. London, printed for Robert Bostock, Anno 1641.” 4to, 11 leaves. A MS. note on the title of a copy in the British Museum, ascribes this tract to Dr. Morley, who became Bishop of Winchester; but Baillie, who was no doubt well informed on this head, has ascribed it to Dr. Eglington or Aglionby, (vol. ii. p. 40.)

To this pamphlet Baillie speedily published a rejoinder, under this title:—“THE VNLAWFULNESSE and Danger of limited Episcopacie. Whereunto is subioyned a short reply to the Modest advertiser and calme examiner of that Treatise. As also The Question of Episcopacie discussed from Scripture and Fathers. By Robert Bailly. Pastor of Killwunning in Scotland. London, printed for Thomas Vnderhill, at the Bible in Wood-street: 1641.” 4to. *Collation*, title, and pp. 47.

Baillie's tract seems originally to have appeared anonymously: at least in some copies his name is omitted. One of these in the Glasgow University Library, (A. H. 13, 6,) has on the title-page written in Baillie's hand, “For his much belov'd Brother, M. G. Yong.” The leaf after the title contains the following address:—

“To the equitable Reader.—Some moneths ago there came out, from a learned and very judicious hand, a small treatise to prove the unlawfulnessse and danger of limited Prelacy. Shortly thereafter, there appeared in answer to this, a modest Advertisement, and calme Examination, which was sent enclosed in a letter, from a Bishop of prime place, to a Stationer for the press, written whether by the Bishop himself, or a friend of his acquaintance, a Doctor of good esteeme, I do not know. Some very few days after the first appearance of this answer, the reply following was readie, albeit till now it could not get the benefit of a presse. I confess the Reply is not suitable to the great worth of the first Treatise, but if it do sufficiently retund with cleere reason, all that the Answerer has opposed, it attains its end. of this performance be thou the judge, unto thy discretion I freely permit the pronouncing of the sentence. I could wish from thy hands but one not very unreasonable favour, that thou mightest be pleased to call for, & compare all the three Writs which are al but short, that thou wouldst lay together in every passage, first, what the Authour did say, Secondly, what the Bishop or Doctor does answer, and thirdly, what



is here replied. This little labour will enable thee from due consideration to make they equitable decree in the court of thy conscience, according to which thou mayst cheerfully proceed, first, to thy hearty desires, and thereafter, as thy calling permits, to thy best endeavours, either for the holding up or pulling down this much agitate estate of Bishops. Farewell."

On the last page is this notice:—"The Stationer to the buying Reader.—Loving Reader, bee pleased to take notice that the question of Episcopacie discussed from Scripture and Fathers, promised upon the title of this Book, was intended by the Reverend Author to be joynd to this Reply, but some weighty cause having brought this to publike view first, and by itselife, I thought good (after the printing of the said title, in service both to him and thee) to give notice of it. I rest, Yours, T. V."

It appears that Baillie, on leaving London, had left various papers in the Printer's hands, (vol. i. p. 357); but he himself for some time was ignorant whether or not they had been published, and it seems almost certain, that "The Question of Episcopacy discussed from Scripture and Fathers," never was printed. There are one or two English tracts of the time under nearly a similar title; but no copy of Baillie's treatise can be discovered in any collection.

In the Bodleian Library there is a volume of Baillie's collected tracts, presented by the Author to Selden in 1644; and no doubt had this "Question of Episcopacy" been actually printed, it would not have been omitted. The volume contains his Sermon 1644, the Canterburians Self Conviction, 1641, the Large Supplement, 1641, the Parallel, 1641, and the Unlawfullness of Limited Episcopacy, with the following inscription,—“For the most lernd, his noble friend, MR. SELDEN, in testimony of his high respect.  
R. BAILLIE.”

Apr. 18, 1644.

Τὸ μέλλον ἀίματον.

This Greek motto, "The future (*is*) unseen," also occurs on a copy of his Sermon 1644, in the Editor's possession, but the first line of the inscription has been cut off by the binder, which contained the name of the person to whom it was presented "in testimony of my grit affection and respect,  
R. BAILLIE."

##### 5.—SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. 1644.

"SATAN, the Leader in chief to all who resist the Reparation of Sion. As it was cleared in a Sermon [on Zech. 3. 1, 2,] to the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, Febr. 28, 1643. By ROBERT BAYLIE, Minister at Glasgow. Published by order of the House of Commons. (Micah 6. 9, and 7. 8, 9.) London, printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brasen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1643." 4to, pp. [XII.] and 54.

The Epistle Dedicatory, signed Robert Bayly, is thus addressed, "For the Right Worshipfull, his much honoured friend, M. Rous, one of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons." Prefixed is the order, "That Mr. Rous does from this House give thanks unto Master Robert Baylie, for the great paines he took in the Sermon, . . . and to desire him to print his Sermon." It is dated 1643, according to the English mode of reckoning at the time, but the year was 1643-4.

##### 6.—SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS. 1645.

"ERROURS and Induration, are the Great Sins and the Great Judgements of the

Time. Preached in a Sermon [on Isaiah 63. 17.] before the Right Honourable House of Peers, in the Abbey-Church at Westminster, July 30, 1645, the day of the Monethly Fast: By ROBERT BAYLIE, Minister at Glasgow. (1, Thess. 12. 10, 11, 12.—Math. 7. 15.—Math. 15. 14.) London, printed by R. Raworth, for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brasen-Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1645." 4to. *Collation*, pp. [1X.], 44, and leaf not paged, containing this notice :

"Die Jovis, 31 Julij 1645.—Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That Master Baylie, who preached yesterday before the Lords of Parliament in the Abbey-Church Westminster, it being the day of the Publike Fast, is hereby thanked for the great pains he took in his Sermon, and desired to print and publish the same; which is to be printed by none but such as shall be authorised by the said Master Baylie.

*Joh. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum.*

"I do appoint Samuel Gellibrand to print my Sermon.

ROBERT BAYLIE."

#### 7.—DISSUASIVE FROM THE ERRORS OF THE TIME. 1645.

1. "A DISSUASIVE from the Errours of the Time: Wherein the Tenets of the principall Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together in one Map, for the most part, in the words of their own Authours, and their maine principles are examined by the Touch-stone of the Holy Scriptures. By ROBERT BAYLIE Minister at Glasgow. (Jer. 3; Jude v. 3.) Published by Authority. London, printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brasen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1645." 4to. *Collation*, pp. [xxiv.] 1 to 96, and 101 to 252.

This work has a dedication, "For the Right Honourable the Earle of Lauderdale, Lord Metelane," dated "Londone, Novemb. 19, 1645."

2. The work was so well received, that on the 15th January following, the Author writes, "I thank God my Dissuasive hes done no evill here...The whole first impression is sold; the second I expect to-morrow." There is no difference however between the two impressions except that the date is changed from 1645 to 1646.

In 1648, a large volume was published as "A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, &c." by Mr. Thomas Hooker and Mr. John Cotton. The latter entitles his portion, "The Way of Congregational Churches cleared: In two Treatises; in the former, from the Historical Aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie, in his book, called A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time: In the latter, &c. By Mr. John Cotton . . now Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New England." Lond. 1648, 4to.

#### 8.—HISTORICAL VINDICATION. 1646.

"AN HISTORICALL VINDICATION of the Government of the Church of Scotland, from the manifold base calumnies which the most Malignant of the Prelats did invent of old, and now lately have been published with great industry in two Pamphlets at London. The one intituled *Issachars burden*, &c. written and published at Oxford by John Maxwell, a Scottish Prelate, excommunicate by the Church of Scotland, and declared an unpardonable Incendiary by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The other falsely intituled A Declaration made by King James in Scotland, concerning Church-Government and Presbyteries; but indeed written by Patrick Adamson, pre-

tended Archbishop of St. Andrews, contrary to his own conscience, as himself on his Death-bed did confesse and subscribe before many-Witnesses in a write hereunto annexed. By ROBERT BAYLIE Minister at Glasgow. Published according to Order. London, printed for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brasen-Serpent in Pauls-Churchyard, 1646." 4to, *Collation* pp. [xvi.], 79 and 56.

The Epistle Dedicatory, "For his Reverend and welbeloved Brother, Mr. Robert Blaire, Minister of St. Andrewes," is dated "Worcester-House, July 29th, 1646. This work is divided into two parts; the first with the title "The Unloading of Issachar's Burthen," contains pp. 79; the second, or "An Answer to the Declaration," pp. 56.

#### 9.—SECOND PART OF THE DISSUASIVE. 1647.

"ANABAPTISME, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme, and the most of the other Errours, which for the time doe trouble the Church of England, Unsealed. Also the Questions of Pædobaptisme and Dipping handled from Scripture. In a Second Part of *The Dissuasive from the Errors of the time*. By Robert Baillie, Minister at Glasgow. (Zach. 13 2; 2 Pet. 2, 1, 2.) London, printed by M. F. for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1647." 4to, *Collation*, pp. [xxxii.] and 191, the last 10 pages of Contents, &c. not being numbered.

It has an Epistle prefixed, "For the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, Viscount Metellan, Lord Thirleston and Bolton," dated "Worcester House, the 28th Decemb. 1646."

#### 10.—ANSWER TO BISHOP BRAMHALL'S WARNING. 1649.

1. "A REVIEW of Doctor Bramble, late Bishop of Londenderry, his Faire Warning against the Scotese Discipline. By R. B. G. [Robert Baillie, Glasgow]. Printed at Delf, by Michiel Stael, dwelling at the Turf-Market, 1649." 4to, pp. [viii] and 91.

This treatise was in reply to "A Faire Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, as being of all others most Injurious to the Civil Magistrate, most Oppressive to the Subject, most Pernicious to both. By Dr. John Bromwell, Lord Bishop of London-Derrie, in Ireland. Printed in the year 1649." 4to, pp. 36. Some copies of this edition omit the author's name (Bramhall, vulgarly pronounced Bramble) in the title-page; and it afterwards reprinted. It was this tract to which Baillie refers in his letters from the Hague, as so much calculated to prejudice the King against the Presbyterians.

Prefixed to Baillie's Review, is a letter "For the Right Honourable the noble and potent Lord John Earle of Cassils, Lord Kennedy, &c. one of his Majestie's privie counsel, and Lord Iustice generall of Scotland;" dated from the "Hague this <sup>28th May</sup> 7th Junie 1649." A note at the end contains a list of Errata, stating that these and many others were occasioned by "the Author's absence from the presse the whole time of the impression, and the Printer's unacquaintance with the English language."

2. Baillie's treatise was republished, with greater typographical correctness, (probably at London, although bearing Delph on the title-page,) as follows:—

"A REVIEW of the seditious pamphlet lately published in Holland by Dr. Bramhall, pretended Bishop of London-Derry; entitled, His faire Warning against the Scots Discipline. In which, His malicious and most lying Reports, to the great scandall of

that Government, are fully and clearly refuted. As also, The Solemne League and Covenant of the three Nations justified and maintained. By Robert Baylie, Minister at Glasgow, and one of the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, attending the King at the Hague. Printed at Delph, by Mich. Stait, dwelling at the Turf-Market, 1649." 4to. *Collation*, pp. [VIII.] and 71, erroneously marked 64.

Baillie's Review of Bramhall's pamphlet drew forth a very long and bitter reply, entitled "ΑΚΟΛΟΥΤΕΟΣ or a Second Faire Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, in vindication of the First, (which the R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God, the L<sup>d</sup> Bishop of London-Derrie, published A<sup>o</sup> 1649.) against a schismatical and seditious Reviewer, R. B. G. one of the bold Commissioners from the Rebellious Kirke in Scotland, to his Sacred Majestie K. Charles the Second, when at the Hage, By Ri. Watson, Chaplane to the R<sup>t</sup> Ho<sup>b</sup>le the Lord Hopton. Hagh, printed by Samuel Broun, English Bookeseller. 1651." 4to. *Collation*, pp. [xx.], 204, and 4 leaves of the table. Prefixed is a very scurrilous letter against Baillie, addressed to Watson from his "unfained, affectionate friend, brother, fellow sufferer, and servant, Rob. Creighton," dated from "Utrecht, in the very Ides of December 1650."

3. After the Restoration, some copies of these tracts remaining unsold in the publisher's hands, they were bound together, with a new title-page, as—"THREE TREATISES concerning the Scottish Discipline. 1. A Fair Warning to take heed of the same: By the Right Reverend Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derrie. 2. A Review of Dr. Bramble, late Bishop of London-Derry, his Fair Warning, &c. By R. B. G. 3. A Second Fair Warning, in Vindication of the First, against the Seditious Reviewer: By Ri. Watson, Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord Hopton. To which [third treatise] is prefixed, A Letter written by the Reverend Dean of St. Burien, Dr. Creighton. Hagh: printed by Samuel Broun, English Book-seller, 1661."

#### 11.—PRAXIS GRAMMATICÆ HEBRÆÆ. 1653.

"APPENDIX PRACTICA ad Ioannis Buxtorfii Epitomen Grammaticæ Hebrææ. In gratiam Tyronum qui in sacri textus penetralia, absque longis ambagibus, & profundiori scrutinio manuduci desiderant. Una cum Quæstionibus aliquot Hebraicis Grammaticæ usum demonstrantibus, in collatione cum Originali, Versionum Chaldaicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ cum vulgatæ tum Tremellii ac interlinearis Montani; etiam Gallicæ Bezae, Italicæ Deodati, Belgicæ Dordracenorum, & Anglicanæ tam veteris quam novæ, in textibus aliquot illustribus; ubi Interpretes cum longissime a seinvicem, Sæpe tamen parum aut nihil ab Hebræo descendere videntur. Prælecta Studiosis Linguae Sanctæ in Academia Glasguensi. Anno 1650, hora locoque solitis. Edinburgi, excudebat Andreas Anderson, 1653." Small 8vo. *Collation*, pp. [xvi.] and 112, followed by the "Quæstiones Hebraicæ, pp. 48."

#### 12.—CATECHESIS ELENCTICA ERRORUM. 1654.

"CATECHESIS Elenctica Errorum qui hodie vexant Ecclesiam, ex nudis sacrae Scripturae testimoniis, in brevibus ac claris Quæstionibus ac Responsionibus proposita. In gratiam studiosæ Juventutis Academiae Glasguensis. *Imprimatur*, Edw. Calamy. Londini, excudebat Thomas Maxey, impensis Sa. Gellibrand, Bibliopolae Londinensis, 1654." Small 12mo, pp. [xvi.] 175.

This Catechism is dedicated, "Reverendo clarissimoque viro D. Davidi Dicksono, Sacrae Theologiæ in Academia Edinburgena Professori, Salutem.

(Signed) Tuus in Christo Frater, R. BAILIE."

Glasguae, 4 Cal. Sextilis 1653.

In the dedication, he says, "Ista autem tibi (Reverende Frater) inscribo, non tantum ut meorum studiorum tibi rationem redderem, prout a puero semper consuevi, sed ut cum gaudio perciperes eandem in Academia Glasguana orthodoxiam ad hunc diem perseverare, ringente licet et contra nitente magna cum arte, tum vi Satanæ quam tu nobis discedens commissisti, et ut perpetuo frueremur (pro tuo virili) egregie sategisti."

### 13.—THE DISSUASIVE VINDICATED. 1655.

"THE DISSUASIVE from the Errors of the Time, Vindicated from the Exceptions of Mr. COTTON and Mr. TOMBES. By ROBERT BAILY, Minister at Glasgow. London, printed by Evan Tyler for Samuel Gellibrand, at the Golden Ball in Pauls Churchyard, 1655." 4to. *Collation*, pp. 88, (pages 32-34 being omitted), besides 2 leaves of Errata and "The Preface, Apologizing for the Authours long silence."

The work by Cotton to which this Vindication refers, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," 1648, has already been noticed. Baillie in the Second part of his *Dissuasive*, pp. 91-2, having made some observations on Tombes's Exercise and Apology for his Two Treatises concerning Infant Baptism, Tombes, whom Baillie calls "a learned and very bold man," felt aggrieved by these remarks, and failing to receive any private redress, to what Baillie calls "a long and very bitter letter," he presented a complaint to the Synod or Assembly, or as Baillie describes it, "a printed process of false accusations before the Provincial Synod of Glasgow, and the Generall Assembly of Scotland, my true Superiors and very proper Judges," which constrained Baillie to break "the bonds of his resolved silence" to all his opponents. Before this answer appeared, some reference to Baillie's former Treatise, occurs in the 19th, 20th, and 31st chapters of Tombes's "Antipædobaptisme, the Second Part," 1654, 4to, at the end of which, among his other publications, he includes, "An Addition to the Apology, in a Letter to Mr. Robert Baillie of Scotland." This is not mentioned in the enumeration of his works, given in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (vol. iii. p. 1063,)—but a copy of it is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and to the kindness of the REV. DR. BLISS, I am indebted for the following notice of this very curious tract. The title is:—

"An Addition to the Apology for the two Treatises concerning Infant-Baptisme, published December 15, 1645. In which the Author is Vindicated from 21 unjust Criminations in the 92 page of the Book of Mr. Robert Baillie, Minister of Glasgow, intituled Anabaptisme. And sundry materiall points concerning the Covenant, Infants interest in it, and Baptisme by it, Baptism by an unbaptised person, Dipping, Erastianism, and Church-Government, are argued, in a letter (now enlarged) sent in September 1647 to him, by JOHN TOMBES, B. D. London, printed by Hen. Hills, for Hen. Crips, and Lodowick Lloid, in Popes-head Alley, T. Brewster, and G. Moule, at the three Bibles at the west end of Pauls, 1652." 4to.

*Collation*, title, (back of which is pasted Errata;) dedication,—"To the Right Honourable Bulstrode Whitlock Serjeant-at-Law, John Lisle, Esq., Richard Keble Serjeant-at-Law, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England; Major-Generall Thomas Harrison, Edmund Prideaux, Esq., Attorney-General for the State." 1 leaf, "To the Reverend the Moderator and Commissioners in the next Nationall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, or the next Provincial Assembly unto which Glasgow in the Kingdome of Scotland belongs; the Complaint of JOHN TOMBES, Presbyter," and "To the Reverend Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Professor at St. Andrews in Scotland."

1 leaf. The Contents, 1 leaf. "To the Reverend and Worthy Master Robert Bayly, Minister at Glasgow in Scotland," pp. 1-38.

The only parts of the tract which have special reference to Baillie personally, (the whole of course relates to, and opposes his arguments, assertions, and doctrines,) is the Petition to the Moderator and Commissioners, and a portion of the concluding section. I transcribe both.

"To the Reverend, the Moderator and Commissioners in the next General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, or the next Provincial Assembly unto which Glasgow in the Kingdome of Scotland belongs; the Complaint of JOHN TOMBES, Presbyter, humbly sheweth,

"That in pursuance of the Solemne Covenant taken by me, to endeavour reformation in God's worship, according to the word of God; I published Two Treatises about Infant-Baptisme at London, December 15, 1645, and an Apology for them in August 1646, and that in the year 1647, a book intituled Anabaptisme was published at London, by Robert Bayly, Minister of Glasgow; wherein I was wronged by many grievous false accusations: concerning which I have (as near as I could) followed the rule of Christ, Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17, as may be perceived by the close of the letter to Mr. Bayly himself. For after I had advertised him by Mr. Henry Scudder, of the injury he had done me, I wrote to him July 22, 1647, which letter was delivered to Mr. Samuel Rutherford Sept. 17, 1647, with Directions how to send back. And in the year 1649, I wrote a letter to Mr. Rutherford, to certify me what became of my writing delivered to him? with desire to know what Mr. Bayly would do to right me; yet after so long waiting, I find no remorse or righting of me made by the said Mr. ROBERT BAYLY: And therefore I do devolve the matter into your hands, being taken for the Church, to which such complaints should be made, according to the rule, Mat. 18. 17. and do expect to have right done by you to him and me, as to a Fellow-Christian—Presbyter—and Covenanter with you, as is meet in such a cause concerning the truth of God, and innocency of your Brother. And forasmuch as the charge against him and proof may be evidently seen in this letter to him, and his and my writings, (which [if you please to take notice of,] you may easily come by;) I presume you will not expect my personal appearance before you to pursue this Complaint; but of yourselves examine the matter, as I conceive the rule of Christ binds you; besides the engagements towards a Fellow-Covenanter in the sixth article of the Solemne League and Covenant, and permit your fellow-servant to attend the work of Christ, in the place where he is seated; who shall pray for your welfare; and continue

Your Brother and Fellow-Servant in Christ,

London, Sept. 24, 1650.

JOHN TOMBES."

"The conclusion requiring reparation of the wrong done to me by Mr. Baillie.

"Now Sir, I referre it to your self to judge whether any Author, Papist or Protestant, have in so small a compasse as one page of a leafe in 4<sup>to</sup>, and some few lines in another so wronged his adversary, as you have done me in so many false accusations, tending to beget prejudice against my writing, and hatred against my person. Which I take the worse from you as being done not onely to a fellow-Christian, and a fellow-Protestant, but also to a fellow-Minister of the Gospel, whose life and labours are not very obscure; yea to a fellow-Covenanter, and one with whom you ate bread at his and others invitation, out of the desire I had to hold amity with you, and the Churches from whence you came.

"Bewdley in Worcestershire, July 22, 1647."

## 15.—OPUS HISTORICUM ET CHRONOLOGICUM. 1663.

1. "OPERIS HISTORICI et Chronologici Libri Duo; In quibus Historia Sacra et Profana compendiose deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, a creatione Mundi ad CONSTANTINUM MAGNUM, et quæstiones ac dubia Chronologica, quæ ex utroque Testamento moveri solent, breviter & perspicue explicantur & vindicantur. Sacræ Theologiæ Studiosis dictati in Academia Glasguensi Anno cDc L. & aliquot sequentibus. Per D. ROBERTUM BAILLIUM, SS. Theologiæ ibidem Professorem primarium. Una, cum tribus Diatribis ibidem dictatis, quarum prima est de Hæreticorum autocatacrisi; Secunda, An quicquid in Deo est, Deus sit; Tertia de Prædestinatione. Amstelodami, apud Joannem Janssonium. Anno cDc Lxiii." Folio, *Collation*, pp. [xx.] 307 & 155.

The dedication by the publisher, "Sereniss. &c. Principi, Frederico Guilielmo, Dei gratia Marchioni Brandenburgico, &c." is dated "Amstel. xvi Novembris 1662. Sereniss Celsitudinis. tuæ cultor humillimus Joannes Janssonius." This is followed by "Judicia Virorum clariss. de Auctore et ejus Opere Historico-Chronologica,—" 1st, by Gisbertus Voetius, S. T. P.; 2d, Joannes Hoornbeeck, T. P., addressed to William Spang; and 3d, by Georgius Hornius.

2. The copies remaining unsold were republished with new title pages, and the addition of an Index. An engraved title bears, "ROBERTI BAILLII opus Historicum et Chronologicum. Amstelodami, apud Johannem à Someren. Anno 1668. W. Jansen Binneman sculp." This is followed by a printed title, "Operis Historici et Chronologici Libri Duo; In quibus, &c. (as above, the words "ex utroque Testamento," being changed to "ex V. & N. Testamento;" and the two lines "Sacræ Theologiæ Studiosis, &c." omitted). Una, cum tribus Diatribis, quarum &c. (as above). Per D. ROBERTUM BA[I]LLIUM, SS. Theologiæ ibidem Professorem primarium in Academia Glasguensi. Accedit nunc primum Index Generalis tum locorum S. Scripturæ quam Rerum & Verborum locupletissimus. Amstelodami, apud Joannem à Sommeren, Anno cDc Lxviii." This new Index occupies six leaves.

3. Another edition of the work was published at Basel, in 1669, folio; and in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, an edition of the Three Dissertations subjoined to the work, is said to have been printed at Amsterdam, 1664, 8vo.

## 16.—LETTERS AND JOURNALS. 1775.

1. "LETTERS AND JOURNALS, written by the deceased MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, Principal of the University of Glasgow. Carefully transcribed by Robert Aiken. Containing an impartial account of public transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastic, and Military, both in England and Scotland, from 1637 to 1662; a period, perhaps, the most remarkable that is to be met with in the British History. With an account of the Author's Life prefixed: and a Glossary, annexed. Vol. I. (and II.) Edinburgh: printed for W. Gray, Edinburgh; and J. Buckland, and G. Keith, London. MDCCLXXV."

2. The above title, in many of the copies, was cancelled, and the following substituted:—

"LETTERS AND JOURNALS: containing an impartial account of Public Transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, in England and Scotland, from the beginning of the Civil Wars, in 1637, to the year 1662: a period, perhaps, the most remarkable

and interesting in the British History. Now first published from the MSS. of ROBERT BAILLIE, D. D. Principal of the University of Glasgow, who was actively concerned in those transactions. With the Life of the Author, and a Glossary. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. (and II.) Edinburgh: printed for William Creech and William Gray. Sold, in London, by J. Buckland, G. Keith, and Messrs. Dillies. MDCCCLXXV." 2 vols. 8vo, *Collation*. pp. viii. 456 and 466.

See page ix. of the preface, for some notice of this edition.

In addition to the above works, various tracts have been ascribed to Baillie, either under erroneous titles, or such as were circulated only in manuscript. Among these are "Queries anent the Service Book," in 1638; "The Question of Episcopacy discussed from Scripture and the Fathers," in 1641; and a "Reply to the Modest Enquirer," 1651, this last being evidently his "Unlawfulness of Limited Episcopacy," 1641, quoted under a different title, and a mistaken date.

But Baillie assisted in the publication of the writings of others, more especially of two of his predecessors.

1. He appears to have had some concern in completing the posthumous work by Robert Boyd of Trochrig, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and, for a short time, of Edinburgh, entitled "Roberti Bodii a Trochoregia Scoti S S. Theologiae in Academiis Salmuriana, Glascuana, et Edinburgena Professoris eximii, in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Prelectiones supra CC." &c. Londini, 1652, folio. Prefixed to the work is a preface or dedication by the author's son, John Boyd of Trochrig; this is followed by Dr. Andrew Rivet's "Epistola de Vita, Scriptis, Moribus, et foelici exitu Roberti Bodii," &c. addressed to William Spang, and "Ad Lectorem Epistola," signed R. B. and dated "Glasgae, Idibus Sextilis, 1651." This last, containing some recollections of Boyd, was written by Baillie; and the Author's son refers to these communications in the following terms:—"De Auctore ad aliorum provocho judicia. Doctissimo Riveto, cujus nomen in Ecclesiis usque adeo celebre est, ut intime cognitus, ita arctissimo amoris nexu conjunctissimus. ROBERTUM BALLIOLUM, virum doctum pariter, et modestum, discipulum habuit, qui multa et ipse observare, et ab aliis observata ab ipsismet haurire poterat, utpote qui jam in Academia Glasceusi Theologiae Professoris munere fungitur. Horum Epistolas legat qui scire volet Quis et Qualis fuerit ROBERTUS BODIUS."

2. To the posthumous Commentary on the Book of the Revelations, by James Durham, Lond. 1658, folio, Baillie furnished a short commendatory Epistle. This will be found reprinted in the present work, vol. iii. p. 583.

3. Baillie acted as literary executor to Dr. Strang, in the publication of his posthumous writings. Of this learned divine, the best account is contained in Chambers's Biographical Dictionary; but a brief outline of his life may be here given.

JOHN STRANG, born in 1584, was a native of Irvine, of which parish his father was minister. In early life he was brought up by his stepfather, Robert Wilkie, then minister of Kilmarnock; and when 12 years of age, was sent to St. Leonards College, St. Andrews, where he was placed under the care of his kinsman, Principal Wilkie. In due time (in 1613), he became minister of Errol; in 1617, he had the degree of D.D. conferred on him at St. Andrews, at the time of King James's visit to Scotland; and, in 1626, he was translated to Glasgow as Principal of the College.



His conduct at the General Assembly in 1638, exposed him to the suspicion of the Presbyterian party; but through the influence of his friends, both on that and subsequent occasions, he escaped censure, when his orthodoxy, in some points, was unjustly called in question. He was induced, however, to resign his office as Principal, (retaining his salary), on the 19th April 1650, and devoted the latter period of his life to revising his works for the press. He died at Edinburgh, on the 20th June 1654, in the 78th year of his age, (*vide* vol. iii. p. 251.)

His Testament is dated 21st March 1654; and he names "Mr. Robert Baillie, Professor of Theologie in the College of Glasgow," as one of the advisers to his executors; and adds, "I recommend to the said Mr. Baillie the care of revising and printing my treatises, *De Judice Controversiarum et Perfectione Scripturæ*; Item, *De Providentia seu Voluntate Dei circa Peccatum*; and for that effect I lieve to him the soume of one thousand pundis to advance the printing thereof;" and should this sum be insufficient, his executors were enjoined to supply the deficiency.

Of these works the first published was entitled "De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa Peccatum, libri IV." Amstelodami, 1657, 4to. The MS. was sent by Baillie to Spang, and was edited by Alexander Morus. A considerable delay occurred in the publication of his other work, which contained a Life of the Author, written by Baillie in 1657, but not published till twelve months after his death: viz. "Tractatus de Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturæ, cum Autoris Vita, et Opusculis Variis." Roterodami, 1663, 4to.

It will be observed, from Baillie's own Testament (p. lxxxviii.) that 500 merks of the money that had been left to him by Dr. Strang was still unpaid; and in the interim, having married one of his daughters, for his second wife, Baillie leaves this sum to her as a special bequest.

### No. III.

#### LIST OF BAILLIE'S MANUSCRIPTS.

##### I.—LETTERS AND JOURNALS. 1637-1662.

1. As stated in the Preface, the Original MS. forms 3 vols. 4to., in the possession of the Church of Scotland, having been purchased by order of the General Assembly in 1737. The six leaves at the beginning of the First Volume are lost, and cannot be supplied from any of the transcripts. Fol. 7 commences with the fragment of a letter, dated August 1636, and the volume ends on fol. 380, with the letter dated 26th July 1643. The Second Volume contains 280 leaves, and ends with October 1647. The Third Volume contains 303 leaves, and ends with May 1662. There are at the end of this volume a number of blank leaves, some of which are occupied by various detached notices gleaned from the MS. itself, (but with references to the pages of the transcript in 1701,) in the handwriting of the Author's grandson.

2. The first complete transcript of this MS. was apparently the copy that was made, under the direction of the Author's grandson, in the year 1701, and which, as has been elsewhere stated, remained for more than a century in the possession of the family. It is now the property of the Rev. Thomas M'Crie, Edinburgh. This copy is in 4 volumes folio, the first vol. being bound in two parts; and is slightly injured with damp.

3. From this transcript in 1701, a similar copy in 4 volumes folio, was made between

1720 and 1730 for the Rev. Robert Wodrow; and was purchased for the sum of £10 from his executors, for the Library of the Church, by authority of the General Assembly, 17th May 1740.

4. From the same transcript, another copy in 3 vols. folio, was made for the Library of the University of Glasgow. From the College Records, 19th April 1768, and 17th of May 1769, various sums were ordered to be paid to Robert Aitken for transcribing it; and he evidently was the same person whose name appears on the title-page of some copies of the printed edition of the Letters in 1775.

5. The copy of the first volume, in folio, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was probably also made from the transcript in 1701.

6. According to a description of the Harl. MS. No. 6004, folio, pp. 212, obligingly communicated by Sir Frederick Madden, it appears that the volume contains only partial selections or extracts, rather than copies of entire letters; and was no doubt made from the 1st volume of the 4to MS. previous to the complete transcript in 1701.

The Original MS., as already stated, is unfortunately imperfect at the beginning, wanting the first six leaves. On the last page, the author's grandson has commenced a partial index as follows:—

“To Mr. Spang, 1636, [fol.] 1.—To Mr. A. Cunningham, 2.—To Robert Liviston, *ibid.*—[To] Mr. Jo. Bell, 3.—[To] Mr. Spang, *ib.* 5.—Elizabeth, *ib.*—S<sup>r</sup>. Ja. —Mr. W. , 7.—Mr. Spang, *ib.*—The Archbishop of Glasgow, 11, &c.”

The difficulty of decyphering Baillie's own hand, in which the earlier letters probably were copied, no doubt occasioned these blanks in the names, and prevented the earlier leaves from being copied by the transcriber in 1701. The following is a fragment of the letter marked as to “Sir Ja. (blank.)” The references it contains to a work by Archbishop Usher, entitled “*Gotteschalci et Prædestinationæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ, Historia,*” &c. Dublinii, 1631, 4to, suggest the probability that this letter was addressed to Sir James Fullerton, at Dublin. The next letter to “Mr. W.” is that to Mr. William Wilkie, of which a facsimile is given at page 1 of this edition.

#### FRAGMENT OF A LETTER IN BAILLIE'S MS. fol. 7.

he speks so much to his honoure and comendation of his story as does greatlie further the fore of insinuation which that book hes without so great a testimonie from so divin a mouth, this autoritie is laid first in our dish by our adversares when we would but mute against Vossius. It's treu his “*Goddescalculus*” does evinc the errour of Vossius in his manifold calumnies of that poor man and all the race of the imaginarie predestinarians. Also that heer and ther Vossius other aberrationes ar pointit at in that treatis, but shall it be aneugh when you have putt in our hand ane intoxicat cup with great comendatione of the win[e] therein, to point at a stern or tuo of black venome souming heer and ther, at the syds and in the mids. I verily think that the mor then ordinarie favour and honor which that grit Divin did sheu to that man, sine it hes not movit him to retreat to this hour any passage of his book, which yit by his own seld promise I heir he was oblidget to doe, but contrariwayes hes confirmit greatly these louers of his errours. Thir favours and honours, I say, being so abusit ar treu obligations to move if not to inforce that primat of our worthyes

to imploy in *Causa Dei*, as some hunder yeirs sine it is rightly stilit, thes singular endeuments which God hes putt within, with ane great store of outward most fitt materialls, which much labour hes laid to his hand without. Reddily his late retyretnes from state affaires mor then one could be permittit to his place, is a benefit sent to him by God through the handes of his small freinds, for this intention that the houres of his laser being increasit, they mey be imployit in this or the lik task. If he could not be movit to resume the hole historie of Pelagius, nor yit to oppose expressly in any severall booke the whole errours of Vossius, yit glad would I be if in some of his neu treatises by occasion he would cleir the mind of antiquitie in thir tu points at leist, the regeneration of baptisit infants, and the perseveranc of the regenerat, if antiquitie be clearly against us in thes points, as in my small lecture it is not, yit if it be as Vossius would have it, without doubt it were our good to knou it certainly, that we might heer, as in some other quæstiones, leave antiquitie in a Catholick corruption, and stand by sole scripture our best ground. This was the passage of our conference which I intreatit you to remember, and you were willing by my lettre to be holden in mynd of. If you could be pleisit to remonstrat this matter in your own language and rasunes, which ar of a farr other strain and persuasive efficacie then any thing I can say, I would be hopfull of your successe, and upon it I could weel assur you had done a servie which would tend to the glory of God, to the good of his Church, to the honour and farder reputation (if farder mey be then alreddie is purchasit) of that most eminent and great man, and also, which I hope to you is not a simple nothing, to my verie great joy and contentment.

This is your humble and verie much obligit servant,  
Kilwinnin, Ag. 29, 1636.

R. BAILLIE.

## II.—ADVERSARIA AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

I. A volume, small 8vo. pp. 309, in the possession of the Rev. Thomas M'Crie, Edinburgh. From the dates in several parts of the volume, it appears to have been written while Baillie was a student at Glasgow, in the years 1620, 1621, and 1622. A great portion of it consists of Latin extracts, Notes of lectures and sermons, written very neatly indeed, but in a hand not easily legible; while the words are so contracted, and miscellaneous notices are introduced without any break, and in such an uncouth orthography, as often to be quite unintelligible.

II. A thick volume in folio, also in Mr. M'Crie's possession, neatly written, and containing the following articles, several of which, it will be observed, are transcribed into Baillie's collection of Letters and Journals: (See vol. ii, pp. 427†, 428).

1. "A CONFERENCE BY LETTERS with a Canterburian Minister anent the Arminian tenet of the Saints Apostasie."—The First letter is dated Glasgow, 28th May 1634. The Second letter, Kilwinning, 10th of Julie 1634.—Another Second letter, Kilwinning, 1st of Januar 1635, p. 15.—The Third letter, Kilwinning, 9th of June 1635, p. 33.—"My Fourt letter was marginall nots on the reply to my thrid letter," p. 53.—"The Fift letter, continuing and ordering the Conference," is dated Kilwinning, 22d Sept. 1635, p. 56.—"The Sixt letter, concerning the nature of Heresie and self-condemnation," has no date, p. 58.—"The Seventh letter, persewing the former purpose of Hæresie and self-condemnation," p. 62. It has no date, and begins with "Ane Apologie for my prolixitie,"—"my ordinar fault," and ends on page 67.

2. "Diatriba proœmialis in publicis Academiæ comitiis recitata, cum *Theologiæ professionem* auspicares, de Hæreticorum Autocatacrisi." In the MS. Baillie has altered

the two words in italics to *Theologicas Prelectiones*, and added the date, Anno 1642. Jul. 6. p. 68.—

3. “The mater, and the verie words of the Eighth letter, almost without change, were turnt into “*Diatriba de Dei simplicitate, num quicquid in Deo est, Deus sit, contra Vorstium et Socinianos.*” p. 76.—“This nixt letter is anent the head of Predestination.” p. 96, and ends on p. 135. “So I rest your loving freind, R. BAYLIE.”

Kilwinnin, Jul. 4, 1637.

4. These two dissertations are printed along with his “*Opus Historicum et Chronologicum,*” 1663, as “*Diatriba Prima*” and “*Secunda.*”

5. “*Duorum studiosorum de Geniculatione, quam vocant, per literas Collatio.*” p. 137.

“A Peaceable Consideration of a Paper against Kneeling;” p. 152. and at p. 157. “The Reasons of the Paper Ansuered.”—“A Freindlie Conference betuixt two Ministers, D. and B. anent the posture of Communicants in the act of receiving the holie Elements of the Lord’s Supper.” p. 158.—“The Second Reply for the former Five Reasouns.” p. 185.—“The first letter of B. to D.” [in regard to Kneeling,] is dated Nov. 24, 1634. p. 202.—“The second letter of B. to D.” has no date. p. 204. “The third letter of B. to D.” dated 12th Decr. p. 205.—“The fourt letter of B. to D.” is signed “The Lord be with you, most loving Brother, your Brother, R. BAILLIE.” Jan. 2, [1635.] p. 206.—“The fift letter of B. to D.” also signed R. BAILLIE. p. 209.

6. “An Ansvuer to ten Arguments for the necessitie of Table Gesture in the act of Receiving.” p. 210.—These Arguments, Replies, Answers to the Replies, &c. are continued to page 373. The last 3 pages, containing “A Consideration of your Ansvuer to my last replie for my fyve Arguments,” is signed “Your Brother, R. BAILLIE. Kilw. Feb. 8, 1636.”

7. “Letter to Mr. John Rae.” June 14, 1643; but at the end p. 375, dated Glasgow, June 9, 1643.

Your loving Cousin, R. BAYLIE.

Another letter, “For Mr. John Rae,” without date. p. 379. and letters “For Mr. James Forsyth.” March 8, 1643. p. 381. and—“For the same.” April 11. p. 382.

8. “The summe of my Conference yesterday with three or four yeomen of my flock who refused to sing the Conclusion.” p. 385.

9. “*Commentariolus de præcipuis Pontificiorum Erroribus.*” Præfatio, et cap. 1, ad cap. 17. p. 389.

10. “*Parergeticorum Diatriba secunda, de Congregationum Independentia, seu de Presbyteriorum et Synodorum auctoritate.*” p. 431.

11. “*Theses a Sacræ Theologiæ studiosis diebus lunæ hora locoque solitis discutiendæ. De primariis Sectariorum erroribus, Independentia, Brounismo, Anabaptismo, Chiliasmo, Antinomia, Socinianismo, Erastianismo, Familiastis, Quærentibus, Antiscripturariis, Atheis, &c.*” p. 445. No year is specified. These Theses are classed under 19 heads.

12. “*Tractatus de formali causa Justificationis, seu potius de Justitia Christi imputata et Hominis in hærente. Lib. 1. Contra Pontificios.*” p. 459. This Treatise breaks off at page 497, at the end of chapter 7. The catch-word of that page being “cap. 8.”

At the other end of the volume, on reversing it, are :—

13. “*ORATIO in Academiæ Glasguensis Comitiiis habita, à R. B. anno 1627. cum in Regentium numerum solenniter cooptaretur.—DE MENTE AGENTE.*” p. 1.

14. “*Ex primariis Philosophiæ partibus Thesium Sylloge, de quibus cum bono Deo respondere conabimur, dignissimis viris Dominis Academiæ moderatoribus, quando et ubi ipsorum dignitatibus convenire videbitur.—THESES LOGICÆ,—Theses Metaphysicæ, &c.*” p. 10.

15. "ORATIO in Laudem Linguae Hebraeae, in Academia Comitii dum promoverentur Ordines, anno MDCCXXIX, Recitata." p. 23, and ends on p. 30.

On some of the blank leaves are inserted—"At Carnbrue, July 22, 1708, A list of R. B's books," consisting of 76 numbers in folio, 93 in 4to, 100 in 8vo., and 138 in 8vo. and infra. Also a List of Books lent, dated at Carnbrue, August 26, 1710.

III. A similar Volume is preserved in the University Library of Glasgow. It is in quarto, and contains:—

1. "ORATIO in Academia Glasguensis comitiis habita, a R. B. anno 1627, cum in Regentium numerum solenniter cooptaretur.—DE MENTE AGENTE," pp. 22.

2. "OPUSCULI HISTORICI ET CHRONOLOGICI Libri Duo, In quibus Historia Sacra et Profana compendiose deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, a Creatione ad mortem Joannis Evangelistae, et Questiones ac Dubia Chronologica, quae ex utroque Testamento moveri solent, breviter et perspicue explicantur, Praelecti Sacrae Theologiae studiosis in Academia Glasguensi, Anno 1650, et aliquot sequentibus," pp. 23 to 695.

It will be apparent from the title that this portion of the volume is the same with Baillie's posthumous work, "Opus Historicum et Chronologicum:" See p. xcix.

3. "THESES a Sacrae Theologiae studiosis diebus lunae hora locoque solitis discutiendae. De primariis Sectariorum erroribus, Independentia, Brounismo, Anabaptismo, Chiliasmo, Antinomia, Socinianismo, Erastianismo, Familiastis, Quaerentibus, Anti-Scripturariis, Atheis," &c.

4. "Ex Primariis Philosophiae partibus Thesium Sylloge de quibus cum bono Deo respondere conabimur dignissimis viris Dominis Academiae moderatoribus quando et ubi ipsorum dignitatibus convenire videbitur."

On reversing the volume, we find—

5. "Parergeticorum Diatriba Tertia: Contra Vorstium et Socinianos, Dei Simplicitem, Divinorum Attributorum primum, evertentes." pp. 1-56. This is printed at the end of the "Opus Chronologicum," as "Diatriba Secunda, De Dei Simplicitate."

6. "Parergeticorum Diatriba Quarta: De Episcopatu." pp. 57-171.

IV. "COMMENTARIOLUS de praecipuis Pontificiorum Erroribus, (cap. i—xv)—Parergeticorum Diatriba." 4to. pp. 82, in the University Library of Edinburgh, AC. a. 6. This treatise is contained in the preceding No. II. of Adversaria.

V. "A DISCOURSE ANENT EPISCOPACIE, intended for the late Generall Assemblée, proving from Scripture and Antiquitie this Office as hitherto it hath been taken and used in the Kirk of Scotland, and yet is required, to be unlawfull; and answering the chiefe Scriptures and passages of Fathers that commonly are produced to the contrair; shewing also that Episcopacie, howsoever limited, is so inconvenient for us, that by no means we ought to give our assent to the Reduction thereof."

This paper is perhaps the same with "The Question of Episcopacy discussed," which Baillie left for publication at London, in 1641. See pp. xcii.-xciii. It is preserved in the Advocates Library, Wodr. MSS. 4to, vol. xxxi. No. 5, and consists of 30 pages neatly written, (in the hand, I believe, of Charles Lumisden, son of the minister of Duddingston) with a few slight corrections in Baillie's own hand. It begins,— "Among all the Questions to be determined in the present Synode, there is none of greater consequence in the estimation of all men, than that of Episcopacie; in all other articles there is some hope of mutuall condescending for the satisfaction of all," &c. Various passages in Greek and Latin are cited from the Fathers.

## III.—LECTURES AND SERMONS. 1637-1652.

There are two volumes in 4to, closely written, and wholly in Baillie's own hand, in the Rev. Mr. M'Crie's possession. Both volumes are much injured by damp. They consist of Notes of Sermons and Discourses. The First volume, dated between August 1637 and June 1639, contains 166 leaves at the one end, and 118 leaves at the other end of the book, as numbered by Baillie. The Second volume extends from January 1648 to June 1652, on 475 leaves, an intermediate volume being lost. In the latter volume, while marking the date of delivering each Discourse after the text, he has occasionally made incidental allusions to passing events, or to matters in reference to himself. These notes, however, are so brief, and his own wretched orthography and handwriting are so peculiar, as often to be scarcely intelligible; Mr. Meek, however, with equal patience and ingenuity succeeded in decyphering them; and from his transcript the following notices are selected, as being those that refer to matters of public importance, or that furnish dates in regard to some local or personal events.

## 1648.

4. b. Heb. xi. 9.—March 26, 1648.—Eftir my 7 weeks absenc in Edinburgh at the Commission and Parliament.
8. b. Heb. xi. 11.—Glasgou, Apr. 16.—I preacht not the Sunday befor, being much distemperit befor & eftir my Sinod sermon with cold & weekness, & greif for the publict jarrings.
- 76 Fast, May 28, generall, for the danger of religion and countrie: Also the sojurs cam to Glasgou to force us to put out men. Notes on Ps. 80; rep[eated] in Glasgou 1650, Sept. 27.
- 82 Joel 2, 17. Fast, July 1, Sunday; rep[eated at] Ed<sup>r</sup>., [in Mr. Robert] Douglas' church, at the Assembly.
- 118 b. Hos. 5. Fast befor the renewing of the Covenant, Thursday, Dec. 14, 1648.

## 1649.

- 89 b. Thanksgiving for deliveranc of Glasgou from suord and pest, Thursday, Feb. 1, 1649, Ps. 107 notit on.
- 126 Hos. 12. Apr. 1 1649, Hag. [at the Hague,] in our hous, first Sunday.
- 127 Hos. 13. Hag. Ap. 8, 1649.
- 128 Hos. 14. Hag. Wednesday, Apr. 11.
- 102 b. Ps. 85, notit on. Saturday, 23 June, præparation to the Communion last [day] Glasgou, eftir my return from Holland; also befor the Parlam.
- 213 Amos 9, 5. Dec. 30, 1649, that day I preacht not for a fortnight, being unweel with cold and other distempers.

## 1650.

- 213 b. Obadia. Feb. 24, eftir my return from Edinburg, when Mr. David [Dickson] removit, and I fred, by my brethreen, from Holland.
- 192-221 Jona 3. Apr. 7. [March 31.] Fast for the treatie at Breda.
- 195 [At the end.] The lectour was on Jona 3, p. 221, being utterly onable to speek for horsnes, all remedies usit, I venturt on God, and he helpit me through all my matter gratusly, blissit be his name! On Saterdag, a sermon only against a declining: little or nothing to the purpose in hand. Fornoon I stayit in, no sermon heir in Blackfriars. I gott my personall sins confessit at large, especially my preid and grace to intreat for and belive pardone, all the publict sins as I concevit them. The King hertily prayit for, and the Treatie, the Colledge, Principall, myself and familie; the Lord good, blissit be his name!

- 197 b. Communion last day, Laigh Church. The first day, my Wyf deliverit of Mary, May 5, I preacht all day in Blackfriars.
- 256 Heb. 12 19. May 27, 1650, eftir Ja. Graham's hangeing.
- 316 b. Ps. 79, 8. Sunday Sept. 8. Our army defeat at Dunbar, Sept. 3. Tuysday.
- 295 Ps. 102. notit on v. 19. Sunday, Sept. 8. After the defeat of our army on Tuysday morning at Broksmuth, Sept. 3, sad weeping in my chalmer and familie; prayers divers tymes, yit herdnes and stupiditie much recurring. Feirs for neu divisions by the Association. excluding D[avid] Lesly, and all who be for, and going on for the ruining of the Army gathering again at Stirling. Mr. David [Dickson] for taking in all, but would not apeir; went to Inerary no Stirling; thought Lesly onfit, but no tratour.
- 318 Ps. 79, 8. Sept. 15. Sunday, General Fast eftir the defeat of our Army; Cromweel being reddy to merch from Edinburgh to Glasgow or Stirling, to hinder our levies.
- 296 Notit Ps. 83. Sunday Sept. 15, 1650. Crumweel reddy to merch from Edinburgh to Glasgow, to stay the levies.
- 320 Ps. 79, 8. Sept. 22, 1650. Crumweel gone from Stirling, hovering at Lithgou, wither to go to Glasgow.
- 297 b. Ps. 83. 9. Sept. 23. Crumweel risen from Stirling; hovering at Lithgou; we in feir of cuming to Glasgow.
- 322 Jer. 10, 23. Sept. 29. Crumweel said to be resolvit for Glasgow. Our Stat & Kirk advysing in Stirling wither to admit of Ingagers, & to join the West's Association with the forces at Stirling.
- 325 Jer. 10, 24. Sunday Oct. 6, 1650. Crumweel recrutit at Edinburgh; we yit sparit.
327. Jer. 10, 25. Oct. 27. Returnit from Cumrey, to & from which I & my sone graciously convoyit. I fand all myn in peic. The English in Glasgow. No considerable hurt; extraordinarily civill by God's mercie. Strachan in a hands with a treatie; Mr. Patrick with a remonstranc from the Army. Middleton fell on Sr J<sup>r</sup> Broun and excommunicat: Craford & Lauderdaill acceptit the Act of Indemnity. Whally to meet Stanford's forces at Carlil: amasit at the Remonstrance, and feirit knaverie of the most.
- 338 b. Jer. 14, 19. Nov. 10, 1650. Strachan laid down. Middleton acceptit indemnity. Remonstranc not subscrivit. Randevous at Partik, for Stirling, callit by Car to Douglas. Argil doutit if for the Rem[onstrance].
- 333 b. Jer. 14, 19. Nov. 17, 1650. Strachan laid down. Remonstranc at Stirling. I sent for by A. Ker. Parliament at Perth on the 20.

## 1651.

- 335 b. Jer. 14, 19.—Jan. 19, [1651].—Remonstranc condemnit by Church and State. Strachan excommunicat, King crounit, Comission allouit a generall receiving to the Army. Gutrie from Stirling, Gilesy from Glasgow, Cant from Aberdeen, sent dissents. Castle of Edinburgh betrayit. Eftir 8 weeks silenc I returnit from S. Johnston.
- 338 Jer. 14, 19.—Jan. 26, [1651].—All in quietnes befor a storme, but eftir grit din for our election of Mr. R. Ramsey Professor; Comissar [Lockhart], slidery; M. Zach. [Boyd] a reid [bending] with any wind; [George] Yong, oak.
- 339 b. Jer. 14, 21. Feb. 2, 1651. Eftir conferenc at Dumbartan with Argil, Dik [Dickson], &c.
- 341 b. Jer. 14, 21.—Dumbartan jurney had given such a cold and flux, that all the former week I keptit in; also busy on my Chronologie, and the enemie in toun,

- in their way to Stirling, till Saturday, so I preachit non on Sunday. This week vexit with Mr. Patrik about Mr. J. Duram's busines and his papers against the Comission, yit helpit in all by God, thought ill lookit on by the faction for my protestation.
- 345 Jer. 14, 22, Mart. 2, 1651. The King at Aberdeen to help the ministers retardment. A motion among people in the West feirit, through the papers & preachings & action of som. Highlands lying still.
- 347 b. Jer. 17, 12, Mart. 9. King going on with his Northern levies: and we in grit peic expecting shortly a grit storme.
- 370 Jer. 17, 12, 1651, Mart. 16. King bak at Perth, army gathering but slouly. A word of Crumweel's death, Sabath, March 9, when I within praying for the King, and against him.
- 370 b. Jer. 17, 13, Mart. 23, 1651. King in Parliament. Rumours of Crumweel's miserabill dath continuig. Gentilmen on Clid taken.
- 372 b. Jer. 17, 13, Mart. 30, 1651. All my letters ansuerit from Perth. Kirk warnings against dividers of Kirk and State ample. Midleton ready on a march. Parliament jangling. Crumweel yet hangit himself as Judas in Lon[don?]
- 374 Jer. 17, 13, Apr. 6, 1651. Eglintoun taken at Dumbarton. Sinod rent by Mr. P[atrick]. Argil protestit against the councill. Duram violent for his place. Mr. Zacharie [Boyd] diing. We threatenit to be taken.
- 376 Jer. 17, 14, Apr. 13, 1651. King bak from Stirling to Perth, on the discovery of his desing on Hamiltoun. Argil did not sitt in the comittie, non of his men sturring; grit feir of treachery.
- 378 Apr. 20, 1651. Crumweel at Hamiltoun, on his way to Glasgow. A good ansuer from Douglas. Argil suspectit: Divisions yit grouing, and feires. Jer. 17, 13.
366. Eph. 2. 20. Apr. 27. The former Sunday I preachit no. Crumweel in Glasgow; herd befor no[o]n, Mr. R[obert] R[amsay]; eftirnoon, Mr. J. Carsters and Mr. Ja. Duram. Conferenc on Wednesday. Armies both making reddy.
- 380 Jer. 17. 17. May 4, 1651. Crumweel away from Glasgow towards Edinburgh, by Carnwath. Tumult betuix Councel and Commonalitie on Wednesday.
- 301 b. Jer. 17. 17. May 11, 1651. Foot coming to a leger at Stirling. On the agreement of our Counsell with the Commonalitie to my power; speks with M. Ja. Duram, Jo. Gram, and Jo. Bell.
- 228 b. Ps. 32, notit, June 8, 1651. Leaguer at Stirling; Classit men in Parliament. Fast indictit for tuo Sundayes following. Ramsey callit to be Principall.
- 232 Jer. 13, 16, 17. Being sent to Perth for Mr. R. Ramsay's call [to be Principal], at my going, the table fell on my legs, and my wyfes, to our pain but no grit hurt. Befor my return Rob. fell in a dangerous fever. I settled to Mr. Ja. Duram 200 p[ound]. I was no evill instrument in our Remonstranc of dissatisfaction for the Comittie of Estates, and desires for deiling tenderly with the Westerne Remonstrantes: delt in both with Laderdaill and the Duke, and yit with Mr. Blair and Douglas, that they sould not be injurious. Was grivit with the King's journey to Dumferling. Whill within a myl of Glasgow, I am thinking of the difficultie of taking up God, a Infinit Spirit, and the goodnes of God, who had given us the Sun and Moon, to fessen our week scatterit thoughts on him; whil I am thinking on the man Christ in his thron of glory in Heaven, among angels and saintes, my hors falles and bruisis my arme and legg sore, so that I could not preach as I purposit; this, with Rob's danger, and the Army's hazard, being shortly to march, humblit my spirit. Chancelor[s] vyle scandall with Major Jo[h]nston's wyfe, on Wednesday befor fast. Jun. 29, 1651.



- 236 Jer. 13, 16, 17. Jul. 6. After the armies had skirmisit at Lerber bridg. Mr. Wil. Strang died on Sat. morning painles.
- 239 Ez. 9. 6. Jul. 13. Crumweel having liftit from Torewood, came on Saturday to Lithgou, at night to Shots, on Sunday at eleven to Shet[1]stoun; all our Kirks brak up. Mr. R. R. and his being hardly escapit: I stayit, but keepit in. Mr. Pat. preachit efter noon, and on Monunday, ill and offensivly. Crumweel put his tents round about our toun; ludgit in Minto's, distroyit barbarously cornes and yeardes; oversau plunder. No man troublit me. The King came to Kilsyth, so Crumweel merchit bak on Saterdag, to our joy.
- 261 b. Heb. 12. 22. 23. Agust 1651. I a herd jurney home from Dundy, Amos 7. 5. Generall Assembly deposit M. P. Gillespy. King in Ingland, English in Stirling, S. Johnston, Bruntiland; Craford, Glencarn, Balcarras, Mershell, intrustit; Argil, Chanceler, Lothian, Calender, Lithgou, lying by; Kintal, Ogilbie, Athol, reddy. Hudge feires and dangers.
- 267 b. Agust 31, 1651. No more word from the King. Munk befor Dundie. M. R[obert] Ramsey diing gratusly. Fast for the King. Ps. 40. 11.
271. Sept. 7, 1651. M. R[amsay] deid on the Thursday at night. Generall [Leslie, Earl of Leven] Mershell, Ogilby, Craford, M. R. Douglas, Smith, Hamiltoun, Lae [Law], Sharp, Pitillo, And. Ker, prisoners. King at London; strang mixtur. M. P. Gil. wyf diing. Ps. 40. 12.
- 274 b. Sept. 14, 1651. Dundy taken by storme; levies in the South scatterit. Mr. P. Scarp [Scharp] buried? A grit word of the King's totall rout at Worster. M. Ja. Duram callit to Ramsey's place.
- 276 b. Jhon. 14. 1. September 21, 1651. King defait, Duk [Hamilton], Laderdail, etc. taken.
- 279 Jo. 14. 2. Sept. 28. King lurking; Duk Ham. deid. Sequestrators cuming. Pat. Gil. and Rutherford in Glasgow, about the calling of ane Assembly. Our greives and dangers grit, and to men disperat.
- 418 Jo. 14 17. Nov. 2, 1651. Buckingham, and we hope the King, in Holland. Frequent meetings in Glasgow, and Fasts, for agreing with the English.
- 473 b. Dec. 9, 1651. Needles[s] to conferr sinc no good at S. Andros, & Mr. Dik no come; yit willing to heir what shall be offerit, & eftir a 14 night tell our mynd: To knou if they will stand to ther Commission, and will hinder, wher they have pouer, opposits to be chosen ministers, elders, magistrates? If they will alou ingaging & actin onder the English? Give over praying for the King, and against our oppression? Advyse with Bell & Fergushill, what about Principal & Professour? what about the English? If silent; if they will keep a Commission? if they will separat? if keep a Synod? whou to keep Irwin & Air Presbitery right? what about admissions.
- At meeting agre to trouble so feu as may be; & non without a formall process, to be agreit on in the nixt Assembly. No jurisdiction for hurt in Comittee for visitation, if controversie about the King, first & last, might be laid asid. If baptisme and prayers, why not communions to Magistrats & to Elderships. The shamfull abus of base elders to be helpit. If a feu will not be reulit, brek off with them in tyme and ther adherents: the longer the worse. Sie whou other, Colin, Ramsey, Drummond, can be accommodat. If D. Strang's put in.
- 428 Jo. 14, 20. Dec. 14, 1651. In our conferenc I grauntit to[o] much, and almost intanglit to lay all asid, but all farder conferenc, referit to Mr. J. Wood.

## No. IV.

ACCOUNT OF MR. WILLIAM SPANG, MINISTER OF THE SCOTISH CHURCH AT CAMPVERE,  
AND AFTERWARDS OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT MIDDLEBURG, IN ZEALAND.

The name of SPANG is so intimately connected with that of his cousin, ROBERT BAILLIE, that some account of his life may be deemed a suitable addition to this work. The name itself is very uncommon, and deserves some consideration, from the connection with the noble family of Knox, Earls of Ranfurly. But Baillie's cousin was himself a man eminent as a scholar and divine, and merits a much fuller notice than I am able to present.

The family of Spang towards the close of the sixteenth century were burgesses and citizens in Glasgow of some distinction. King James the Sixth, by a charter under the Privy Seal, dated at Holyroodhouse, 30th November 1599, erected the Physicians and Surgeons into a Faculty or Corporation, and by the 5th regulation, William Spang, Apothecary in Glasgow, was appointed one of the Visitors; it being enacted, "That no maner of person sell any druggs, in the city of Glasgow, except the same be sighted by the saids Visitors, and by William Spang, apothecary, under the pain of confiscation of the druggs." (Charter printed in M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 289, edit. 1737, 8vo. Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 361. Glasg. 1777, 8vo.) In 1605 and 1606, William Spang was Deacon and Visitor of the Incorporatiou of Surgeons and Barbers in Glasgow. (Cleland's Annals, vol. i. p. 454); and he probably died about 1608.

In George Crawford's MS. Genealogical Collections, it is stated that "this Mr. William Spang married Christian Hamilton, of the house of Silvertonhill, then an ancient family of the name of Hamilton, and Barons of a good estate in the shyre of Lanark, and in the royalty of Glasgow: they were Lords of the barony of Provend: they were come of an immediate son of the noble and illustrious house of Hamilton. His son was Andrew Spang, who was bred to trade, and thereby acquired a great stock and estate in money. His wife was Mary Buchanan." (vol. ii. pp. 137, 138.) From two passages in Baillie's Letters, it appears that Andrew Spang was alive in January 1637 (vol. i. p. 10), but was dead in October 1638: for he says, "The last tyme I was in Glasgow, as my custom alwayes is, I went and saw your Mother, when I fand your Father was flitted; and not only by her, but sundrie of my friends, I was assured of his most christian and comfortable carriage and discourse to his very last, to the great contentment and joy of all: yea, and I could not wish to die with more faith. Your Mother also had good courage and health." (vol. i. p. 109.) Mrs. Spang was alive in March 1648. (vol. iii. p. 32.)

In what manner the Spangs and Baillies were related I have not been able to ascertain; but I am inclined to think that a mistake has been committed in naming Andrew Spang's wife, Mary Buchanan instead of Gibson. If so, it is most probable, she was a daughter of Henry Gibson, consequently she would be Baillie's aunt, and William Spang, his cousin-german. That Baillie was related to Spang, on the mother's side, may be inferred, not only from the visits he paid to Spang's mother, who resided in Glasgow, but from the mention he makes of the death of Nanny Gibson, whom he styles "our cousine," (vol. iii. p. 436.)

The family of Andrew Spang consisted of at least two sons and two daughters. The elder son, Andrew, was in the army. According to Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, by Archdall, the father of Colonel Spang was "Monsieur Spang, a Danish gentleman, who came to England in the suit of Queen Anne, consort to King James VI." (vol.

vii. p. 198.) "He and his sons, (it is added, but with equal inaccuracy,) returned to Denmark; the elder served in Sweden as a Colonel of horse, and died Governor of Elbing; and the second, who was a divine at Delph in Holland, was eminent in the commonwealth of learning, and wrote a history of the Civil Wars in Britain." What is here stated respecting Colonel Spang's service abroad, may be quite correct; but his brother William was never settled at Delph or Delft, and it is doubtful if he ever visited Denmark. That Baillie's cousin was brother of the Colonel, appears from the fact that, on the 25th of May 1655, "Mr. William Spang, Minister at Middleburgh in Zeland, obtained a service as nearest agnett, that is, kinsman on the father's syd, to Hannibal Spang, son to Collonell Andrew Spang. (Inquis. Return. de Tutela, no. 121.) And on the same day, Hannibal Spang was served heir of Andrew Spang, merchant burges of Glasgow, his guidisir [or grandfather.]—(Inquis. Generales, no. 4021.)

Of the daughters of Andrew Spang, Margaret was married to Robert Caldwell, and her sons William and John, are no doubt the nephews of William Spang, who are mentioned by Baillie, vol. iii. p. 382; and some of the family appear in the lists of the magistrates of Glasgow. An eik or addition to her Testament occurs in the Glasgow Commissariat Records, 11th August 1655.

The other daughter, Elizabeth Spang, was married to Thomas Knox, merchant in Glasgow, son of Mark Knox of Ranfurly, by Isobel Lyon, and became mother of Thomas Knox of Dungannon, in Ireland, who died at an advanced age, after the year 1728. This "Bessie or Elizabeth Spang, daughter of Andrew Spang, a merchant of reputation, and a man of great wealth in the city of Glasgow: it's reported (adds Crawford) to the honour of her memory, that she was a woman of consummate prudence, industry, and virtue." The succession of the family to the honours of an Irish Peerage may be found in Lodge (vol. vii. 198), under the title Knox, Lord Welles.

WILLIAM SPANG, second son of Andrew Spang, was born at Glasgow, about the year 1607. He received the chief part of his education in his native city, having entered the College as a student of Philosophy in May 1622. In 1625, on completing his course, he took the degree of A. M.; and with the view no doubt of prosecuting his studies in divinity, he came to Edinburgh, where he appears to have had some relations settled as medical practitioners. There was a John Spang put in nomination as deacon of chirurgions, in 1633; and from the Kirk-session Records of St. Cuthberts, we find that a Mr. William Spang and Catherine Baillie had a son baptised James, on the 30th January 1620. This William Spang was probably the younger Spang's uncle; and the connexion may have had some influence in procuring for him an appointment (the date of which is not recorded) as a Doctor or Teacher in the High School. This office he held till the beginning of 1630; as on the 19th of February that year, the town-council admitted "Mr. Archibald Newton to be Doctor of the Hie School, in place of Mr. William Spang, now elected minister of Campheir," (Records, vol. xiv. p. 152.) Mr. John Forret, minister of the Scottish Church at Campvere, who had recently returned from a visit to Scotland, died in September 1629. A petition from the resident Scottish inhabitants "at their Staple Port in the town of Campheir," regretting the want of a pastor, and intreating to have "their Kirk plantit," was addressed to the Convention of Royal Boroughs; and the Commissioners at a meeting on the 27th of January 1630, "understanding of the literature, qualificatioun, and abilitie of Mr. William Spang, student in Divinitie," gave him the presentation, with a stipend of 800 guildings (about £67 sterling) with a free house, and "twenty pundis Flemish for making of his chairgis in transportation." (Register of the Conventions, vol. v. f. 236.) At a general meeting of the Convention, 8th July 1630, the proceedings regarding Spang were approved of; and a

further sum of thirty pounds Flemish for his expenses, was granted, (ib. f. 248, 249.) On the 12th of February, the town-council of Edinburgh appointed two of their number to act with other commissioners from the Boroughs, who were "to deale with the richt reverend Father in God the Archebishope of Sanctandroes,"—"for ressaiveing of Mr. William Spang in Sanctandroes to be minister at Campveir." (Council Records, vol. xiv. f. 152. See also 16th April and 5th May 1630, fol. 160 & 162.)

Spang, after his settlement in Holland, kept up his intercourse with his friends in this country; but very few of his letters are known to be preserved. In September 1638, he addressed a long letter to Mr. Henry Rollock, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, vindicating himself from the calumnies to which Baillie alludes, that had been circulated against his cousin as "a favourer of the unhappy novations obtrudet upon our Church, yea, and inclinable to Poperie in gross." The original forms No. 55 in Wodrow's MSS. vol. LXVI, folio. I regret, however, that owing to its great length, this letter cannot be here inserted. It is signed,

*W Spang*

It was chiefly from Baillie's communications that Spang wrote an account of the affairs in Scotland, in 1637 and 1638, which was printed under the following title:—

"Brevis et fidelis Narratio Motuum in Regno et Ecclesia Scotica, excerpta ex scriptis utriusque partis scitu dignissimis. Per Irinæum Philalethen.—Dantisci, Anno 1640." 4to. 35 leaves, not paged.

The narrative in this treatise ends with October 1638. It was republished, as "HISTORIA MOTUUM IN REGNO SCOTIÆ," with a Continuation to near the close of the year 1640. It has the following title:—

"Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiæ Gestarum Historia, seu verius Commentarius, causas, occasiones, progressus horum motuum breviter et perspicue proponens, simul cum synopsi concordiæ, quantum hactenus inita est. Excerptus ex scriptis utriusque partis scitu dignissimis, quorum primaria in Latinum sermonem nunc primum fideliter translata inseruntur. Per Irinæum Philalethen, Eleutherium.—Dantisci, Anno Domini 1641," small 8vo. pp. 576.

On the 30th March 1640, Baillie refers to the first of these publications, which he calls "a storie in Latine," and says to Warriston,—“In my mynd, you would do well to cause Mr. H. Rollock, at least thank *the Young Man* for his paines, and encourage him to put it to the presse: it will doe us good over sea.” In October 1641, the General Assembly passed an act, "ordaining Mr. Robert Baillie to write to Mr. William Spang, minister at Campvere, and Kirk-session thereof, willing them to send their minister and a ruling elder, instructed with a commission to the next General Assembly to be holden at St. Andrews the last Wednesday of July 1642." A letter to the same effect, addressed to Spang by Johnstone of Warriston, Clerk of the Assembly, is inserted in Yair's Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands, p. 231. London, 1776, 8vo.

Spang appears to have been married after his settlement in Holland. Baillie, in a letter to him, in January 1637, says, he had sent him "half-a-gallon of our Glasgow water; I will intreat you drink my service to your wife, assuring her that I did wish her all prosperitie," and "that she may have confidence of a long and vigorous life to her husband, who was born and brought up in so happie a citie where such livelie waters runnes in everie street." His wife died in the summer of 1647, (vol. iii. p. 16.) In 1652, a vacancy having occurred in the English congregation at Middleburg, in Zealand, among those nominated, 29th September, to supply the place, we find the names of *Mr. Baily in Scotland*, Mr. Colvin residing at Utrecht, Mr. Patrick Forbes a minister to a regiment, with nine others; and that of Spang was afterwards added. On

the 2d of October, Robert Paget, minister at Dort, and William Spang at Campvere, were alone put in nomination when the latter was unanimously chosen; and on the 10th November, "This being the Lord's day, Mr. Max. Teeling, [Teelinck, minister of the Dutch Church at Middleburg,] after preaching from Hebr. xiii. 17, established Mr. William Spang as pastor, whose subject in the afternoon, was Romans xv. 20." (MS. Records.) Having again married, before September 1649, (vol. iii. p. 101,) he had several children; mention being made of three daughters in September 1656 (vol. iii. p. 325,) while the names of three of his children occur in the Register of Baptisms, which also furnishes his wife's name, Anna Meese. The children were Buscardina, baptized the 4th of April 1655; William, in November 1657; and Andrew, 29th of March 1660. During Spang's incumbency, the English Church at Middleburg, was placed on the same footing as the Dutch Reformed Church in Zealand, by having the minister's stipend paid out of the public purse. He died on the 17th, and was buried on the 25th of June 1664. There is no monument erected to his memory.

Spang rendered various services to polite literature. In particular, he acted as the editor of Dr. Arthur Johnstone's Latin Poems, printed in a small volume at Middleburg in 1642. The General Assembly on more than one occasion acknowledged the obligations under which the Church lay to him for his valuable services. He is commended for his learning by Dr. Andrew Rivet, in the life of Boyd of Trochrig, prefixed to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, 1652; and by Hoornbeek, Professor of Theology at Leyden, in Baillie's posthumous work on Scripture Chronology. In an unpublished biographical work by John Quick, author of "*Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*," &c. 1692, who for a short time was minister of the same congregation at Middleburg, he refers to Spang, and says of his "*Historia Motuum*," &c. "It is a piece of good and clean Latine; but he discovers himself in it, a most zealous champion of presbytery."

It may be added, that his son, William Spang, noticed as born in 1657, studied at the University of Utrecht, for the ministry. Two Latin theological dissertations by him, in 1681, in which, in reference to Middleburg, the place of his birth, he is styled *Mediob. Zelandus*, were printed at the time; the latter being dedicated to John Caldwell one of the magistrates and a merchant in Glasgow, and to Thomas Knox, merchant in Belfast, "*consanguineis suis intimis*." He was elected minister of the English Church at Middleburg, but did not long survive, as appears from the following notices; for which, as well as for many of the preceding particulars, I am indebted to the REV. WILLIAM STEVEN, D. D., late of Rotterdam, now of George Heriot's Hospital, and author of "The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam: To which are subjoined, Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands." Edin. 1833, 8vo.

1682 July 12. Mr. Wm. Spang proponent (probationer,) presently travelling in Holland, was unanimously elected Minister at Middleburg, *nemine contradicente*.

— July 16. Approved of by Classis—and will pitch upon a day for the needfull proposition and examination.

1682 August 23. This Lord's day, Mr. Snipe of Campvere, after sermon, published 3d proclamation of the elected minister. "The minister came down from the pulpit, and Mr. Spang kneeling before him, he laid his hands upon his head, ordaining him to be a minister of the Gospel, and confirming him in the pastoral charge of this congregation." In the afternoon Mr. Spang preached from 2 Cor. v. 20.

1683 May 6th. Mr. Spang died this day, and was buried on the 13th of May. Dr. John Gribius, an elder, and also his brother-in-law, was requested to arrange Mr. Spang's papers.

## No. V.

## NOTICES OF PRINCIPAL BAILLIE'S FAMILY.

THE accompanying Genealogical Table will exhibit the relationship of ROBERT BAILLIE, with several of the persons or families whom he mentions in the course of his correspondence. But a more detailed notice of his own descendents may be expected in this work.

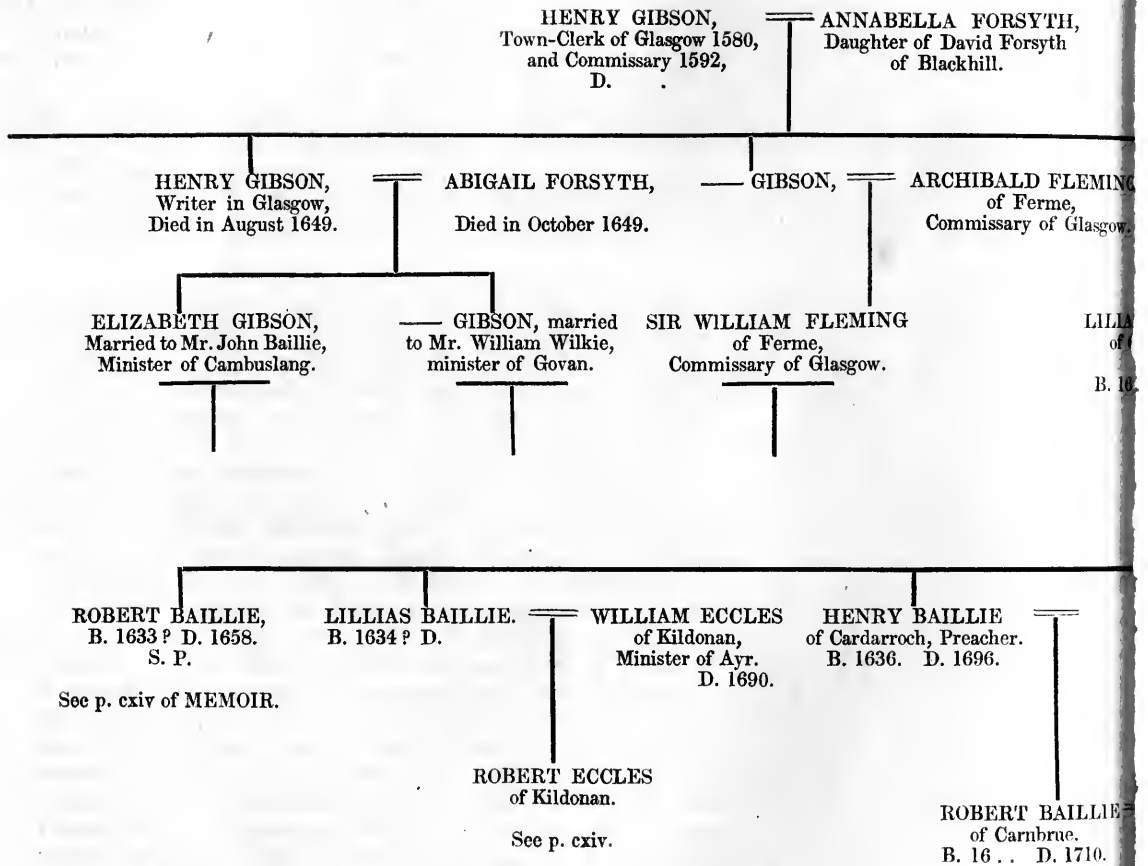
From the preceding Memoir, it will appear that Baillie was twice married. His first wife was LILIAS FLEMING, of the family of Fleming of Cardarroch, in Lanarkshire. She died on the 7th of June 1653. Their children were two sons and five daughters, one of whom died in infancy.

I. ROBERT BAILLIE was probably the eldest of the family; and if so, may have been born in the year 1633. When Baillie was in England, in 1640, he writes to his wife,—“put Rob to the School; teach him and Harie both some little beginnings of God's feare; have a care of my little Lillie.” He was educated at the College of Glasgow, having entered the 5th class in 1648; and having taken the degree of A. M., he continued to pursue his studies for the ministry. In 1654 he was anxious to obtain the appointment as Librarian in the College: “Our Bibliothecarie's place was but an honorarie attendance, without more charge; the benefite of it is, the dyet with the Regents, a good chamber, and some twelve pieces a-year,” (vol. iii. p. 286); but through the influence of Gillespie, then Principal of the College, his desires were frustrated. Robert died unmarried, when about 25 years of age, on the 25th of May 1658, to his father's “very sore and just grief: All who knew him (he adds) bore witness of his pietie, wisdom, and learning, above many his fellows.” (ib. p. 374.)

II. LILIAS BAILLIE was probably the second child, and born in 1634 or 1635. She is occasionally mentioned in these Letters; and was married in the year 1656 or the beginning of 1657, to “a very good young man,” Mr. William Eccles, younger of Kildonan, who soon after became minister of Ayr. After the Restoration he was ejected from his charge by the Act of Glasgow, in October 1662. In 1669 he took the Indulgence, and we find his name mentioned as minister of the second charge in Paisley that year; but with the other Indulged ministers he was deprived of his license by the Privy Council, on the 30th January 1684. On the 20th February 1668, he was served heir of his father, John Eccles of Kildonan, Ayrshire; and obtained charters under the Great Seal, of the lands, 3d August 1669, and 2d December 1671. Having survived the Revolution 1688, when Presbytery was finally re-established, and the Episcopal minister of Ayr, Mr. Alexander Gregorie having been ejected, Eccles was restored to his former charge, after an interval of 26 years. He died in 1694, leaving an only son, Robert Eccles of Kildonnan, who had a similar grant of the lands, 8th March 1695. He married Agnes, sister of Hugh Cathcart of Carleton; but dying without issue, he was succeeded by his cousin-german, Dr. William Eccles, a physician of some eminence in Edinburgh; who died in October 1723. The subsequent history of the family may be found in Douglas's Baronage, pp. 436-438.

III. HENRY BAILLIE, was born in the year 1636, as he is mentioned in November 1638, as then two years of age, (vol. i. p. 110.) Like his brother, he was educated at the College of Glasgow, being also intended by his father for the ministry. But in 1653, he changed his views, and resolved to adopt some mercantile employment,

# PEDIGREE

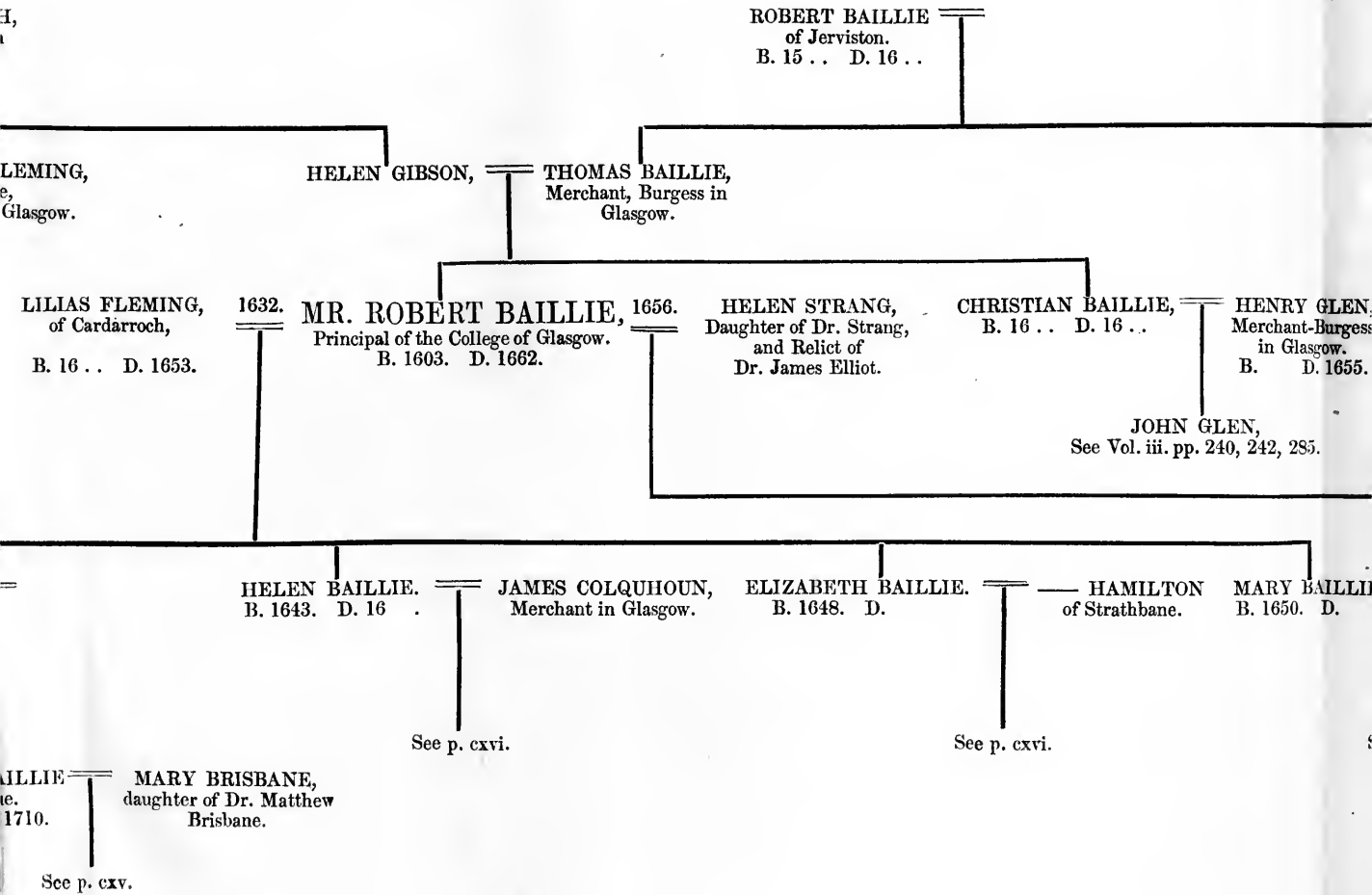


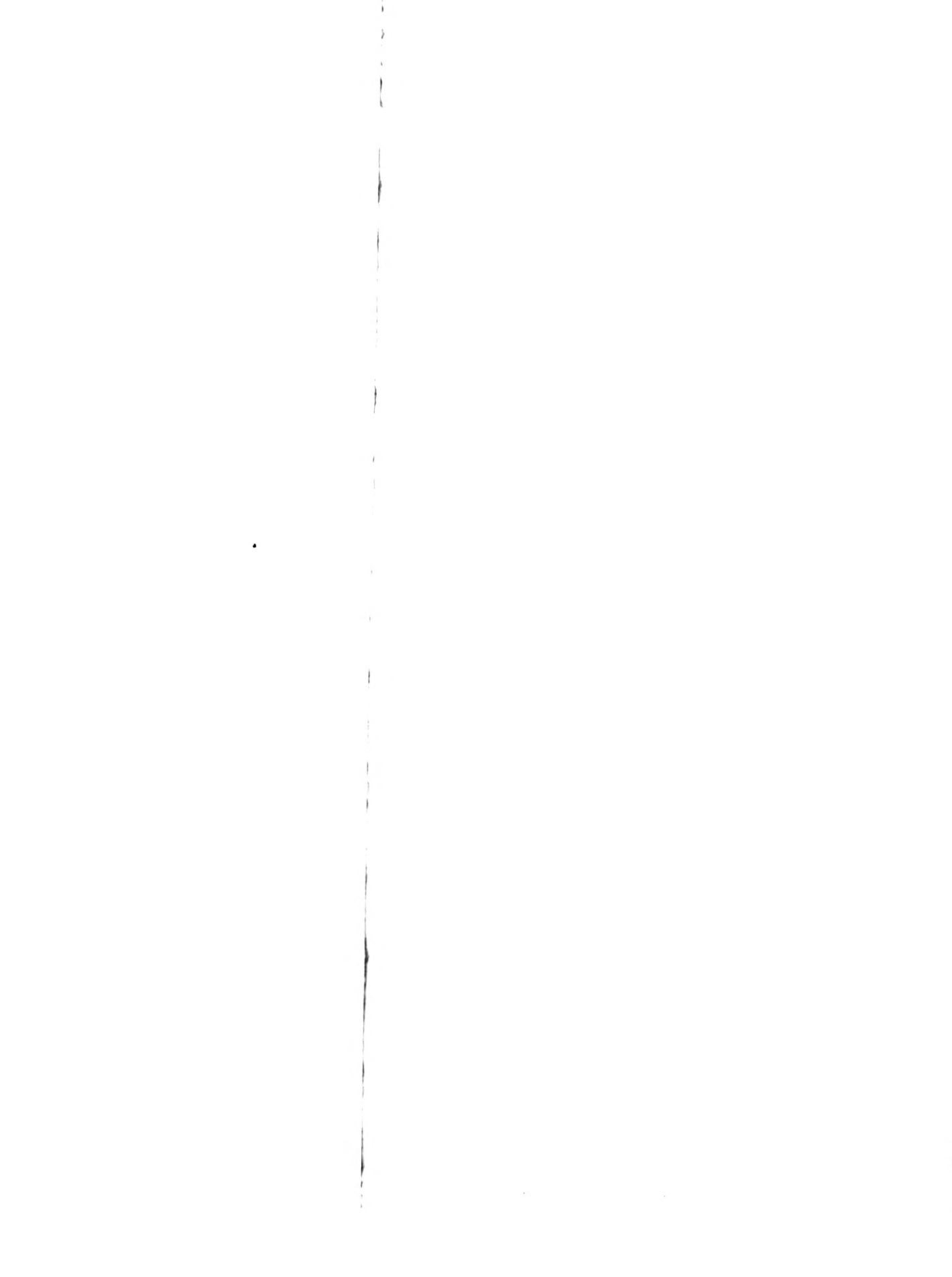
See p. cxiv of MEMOIR.





GENEALOGY OF MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.





GLASGOW.

ELIZABETH BAILLIE,      ARCHIBALD ROBERTOUN,  
Third son of John Robertoun  
of Earnock.

HENRY GLEN,  
Merchant-Burgess  
in Glasgow.  
B.      D. 1655.

JAMES ROBERTOUN  
of Bedlay, Advocate,  
and a Senator of the  
College of Justice.  
B.      D. 1664.

GLEN,  
p. 240, 242, 285.

MARY BAILLIE.  
B. 1650.    D.

WALTER BUCHANAN  
of Orchard, Lanarkshire.

MARGARET BAILLIE.  
B. 1657.    D.

JOHN WALKINSHAW  
of Barrowfield.  
B.      D.

See p. cxviii of MEMOIR.

Sec p. cxvi.

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(vol. iii. p. 252;) and for this purpose his father sent him to Holland, where he remained for upwards of twelve months. He returned in December 1655, (ib. p. 294,) and reverting to his original purpose, he resumed his attendance at College, and took his degree of A. M. in the year 1656. Before passing his trials as a preacher, in order "to see some more of the world, and to fitt him to speak in publick," he accepted an appointment to reside as chaplain in the family of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, in 1659, (ib. pp. 382, 392); and in 1661, Baillie informs Spang, (with whom his son had been boarded, while in Holland.)—"My boy Harrie is now a preacher: God hes given him a good and sweet gift; I hope he shall doe well." (ib. p. 472). The changes in the Church that took place after the Restoration of Charles the Second, may have been the means of preventing Baillie from obtaining any permanent living; and it is supposed he spent some time in the North of Ireland, where one of his sisters was settled. In right of his mother he must have succeeded to the property of Cardarroch, from his being so designated in one of the deeds, to be noticed in briefly stating the succession of his family.

HENRY BAILLIE was married about the year 1672, and died before September 1696; but I am unable to state the name of his wife, and whether he left any family besides one son;—

(I.) ROBERT BAILLIE, was served heir, as only surviving son of his father, who is styled "quondam Magister Hendricus Baillie, Studens Divinitatis in Academia Glasguensi." This service took place on the 4th September 1696, in the presence of some of his relations, including Archibald Robertoun of Bedlay, William Walkinshaw of Scotstoun, Mr. Matthew Brisbane, Doctor of Medicine in Glasgow, James Colquhoun and William Knox, merchants in Glasgow. In 1699, Robert Baillie married Mary daughter of Dr. Matthew Brisbane. In the Contract of Marriage dated 8th April that year, he is styled "Robert Baylie, only lawful son to umquhill Mr. Harey Baylie, preacher of the Gospel," and it bears to be with "the special advyce and consent of Mr. Francis Montgomerie of Giffen, William Baillie of Lamentone, John Crawford of Milntone, Mr. John Tran, one of the Regents of the College of Glasgow, and James Colquhoun, late balzie ther, his lawfull curators." One of the witnesses was John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield. In 1706, Baillie purchased the lands of Carnbrue, in the parish of Bothwell, which had given the designation to a family of the same name for at least upwards of two centuries, as appears from the title-deeds, (which were most obligingly put into my hands by Andrew Clason, Esq. Writer to the Signet.) It was by purchase therefore, and not inheritance, that this property came into the possession of Principal Baillie's grandson; and on the 19th December 1706, was executed a Disposition by Alexander Baillie of Carnbrue, with consent of Margaret Baillie his daughter, and Alexander Baillie, younger of Castlecarray her husband, in favour of Robert Baillie, lawfull son to the deceast Mr. Harry Baillie of Carrdarroch." This Robert died at an early period of life, leaving one son;—

(II.) MATTHEW BAILLIE, Esq. On the 12th February 1711, Mrs. Mary Brisbane or Baillie was appointed Tutrix Dative to her son Matthew Baillie, "filium legitimum quondam Roberti Baillie de Carnbrue." He died at Carnbrue on the 1st October 1752, (Scots Magazine,) and was succeeded by his son;—

(III.) HENRY BAILLIE, Esq. who married Anne Munro; by whom he had one son, and a daughter Mary Baillie. He died at Carnbrue on the 2d September 1771, and Mrs. Baillie, at Edinburgh, on the 22d March 1786, (Scots Magazine.) His son,—

(IV.) MATTHEW BAILLIE, attained the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army. He was twice married. The contract of marriage with his first wife Agnes Ramsay, second daughter of William Ramsay of Barnton, Esq. was dated 26th December 1792; but a separation took place sometime before January 1803. His second wife was Elizabeth Boyes; by whom he had four daughters who survived him. He died at Nice in Piedmont, on the 3d of May 1825, having sold the estate of Carnbrue a short time before his death. The eldest daughter, Anne Baillie, married Paul Racchia, now Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers in the service of the King of Sardinia, and they reside at Turin. The second daughter is also married. The youngest died a few months after her father.

IV. BAILLIE'S next child was a daughter, born on the 20th of May 1641, the news of whose birth was communicated to him, on his return from England. (vol. i, p. 353.) There is no reason to doubt that it was this "very pretty child," whom he mentions as his youngest daughter, who died about June or July 1642. (vol. ii. p. 38.)

V. HELEN BAILLIE, was born in September 1643, as we may infer, from what he mentioned in vol. ii. p. 97, compared with what he says, in 1650, vol. iii. p. 436. After her father's death, she was married to James Colquhoun, a merchant burgher, and one of the magistrates of Glasgow. His name occurs as treasurer in 1658, and one of the baillies in 1659, 1662, 1663, 1670, 1674, and 1679. The name also appears in some of the deeds relating to Baillie's grandson in 1696 and 1699; but he might have been a son of that name; as no attempt has been made to trace the descent of the family.

VI. ELSPETH or ELIZABETH BAILLIE, the next daughter, was born before March 1648, (vol. iii. p. 41.) After her father's death, she is said to have married a Mr. Hamilton of Strathbane, in the North of Ireland; but nothing is known respecting the family.

VII. MARY BAILLIE, the youngest daughter, was born in May 1650 (*supra*, p. cvii.) She was married, some years after her father's death, to Walter Buchanan of Orchard, in the parish of Hamilton. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information respecting them.

It may however be noticed, that one of Baillie's grand-daughters must have been married to a person of the name of Chalmers, as appears from the following entry in the Faculty Minutes of the College of Glasgow:—"Decr. 29, 1714. Upon a representation of the necessitous circumstances of Mr. John Chalmers, great-grandson to the late Mr. Baillie, sometime Principal here, the Faculty allows twelve pounds Scots to be given him." We are not called upon to commend the liberality of the Faculty, in holding a special meeting to consider the case of this poor man, and voting him the sum equal to twenty shillings sterling; but the vote itself is sufficient to shew that the young man's personal character was not disreputable.

We now come to the second branch of Baillie's family. His first wife, LILIAS FLEMING, as elsewhere stated, died, after a lingering illness, on the 7th of June 1653. His cousin Spang having recommended him to marry again, he writes to him towards the end of 1655, as follows:—"For marriage, I dare not yet meddle with it, till I see what the Lord will do, with my great hazard . . . praying for the King. If in this I were secure, it's like I would follow your example in a second marriage, albeit I know not yet the partie; but I trust in this the Lord will be mercifull to me." (vol. iii. p. 287.)

On the 1st October 1656, Baillie married HELEN STRANG, one of the daughters of Dr. John Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow, (*supra* pp. c. ci.) It has hitherto been stated, (and I have fallen into the same error, at p. lxxi of the Memoir, and in a foot-note to vol. iii. p. 368,) that she was the widow of Mr. Robert Wilkie, one of the ministers of Glasgow. On examining Dr. Strang's Testament, dated 21st March 1654, we find that his surviving family consisted of four daughters, namely (1) HELEN, relict of Dr. James Eliot. (2.) ELIZABETH, wife of Mr. David Fletcher, at that time minister of Melrose; who conformed to Episcopacy, and was advanced to the Bishoprick of Argyle 1662; but who continued to officiate as minister of Melrose till his death, in 1665. (3.) MARGARET, wife of Mr. William Fergusson, younger of Ketloch, in Dumfriesshire, whose name appears in Wodrow among the sufferers under Episcopacy; and (4.) NICOLAS, who appears from her Testament, recorded 7th September 1676, to have died unmarried. Dr. Strang had a son William Strang, who was a regent in the College of Glasgow, but he predeceased his father, in July 1651. (*supra*, p. cix.)

Dr. James Eliot was admitted colleague to Robert Wilkie, as minister of the Blackfriars Church, Glasgow, in 1633. His name occurs in the list of members of the High Commission, October 1634, (vol. i. p. 426;) and he was elected Dean of Faculty in the University of Glasgow, 23d April 1635. In December that year he was translated to be second minister of the North-east parish of Edinburgh; and the Council on the 6th January 1636, directed 500 merks to pay the said Doctor for his translation. (Council Records, vol. xiv. pp. 362, 363.) But his compliance with the Bishops in using the Service-Book, and in joining with some of his brethren in declining the authority of the General Assembly 1638, rendered him very unpopular. The Assembly not being able to take up his case, he and these other ministers of the city were referred to a special commission, by an act on the 3d December; and Baillie alludes to his own endeavours in his behalf. "The love I had to poore Dr. Eliot, who had not indeed declyned the Assemblie, made me both plead myself and stir up Mr. R. Meldrum and Eliezer Borthwick, his friends, to deal with Rothies and others, that the committee of Edinburgh should have power at farthest but to suspend and transport him, without deposition." (vol. i. p. 150.) This Commission had suspended him; but at the Assembly 1639, when the reports were given in of their proceedings, 26th August, "Mr. John Row, and Mr. John Ker, who were appoynted to take notice of Doctor Eliot's case, reported, that they thought him to be a humble and modest man, penitent for any thing he has done, and submissive to the constitutions of the Kirk. The Assembly declares him to be capable of the ministrie, and to be provydit at the first occasion." (Peterkin's Records, p. 261.) On the 27th September 1639, the Town Council ordained the Kirk Treasurer "to pay Dr. Eliot his bygone stipends to Beltan last." (Council Records, vol. xv. p. 103.) He appears to have gone to England, and to have obtained some living there; being evidently the person to whom Baillie refers, in a letter from London, to George Young at Glasgow 1st December 1646, when he says, "Commend me to the Principal: his daughter and her children are at their Church in the countrie. The extreme foulness of the weather has kept her Husband yet here: all are in good health." (vol. ii. p. 412.) He probably died about 1652.

By Dr. Eliot, her first husband, Helen Strang had at least one son and two daughters: (1.) A son mentioned in Dr. Strang's testament, as he bequeaths one-sixth part of his books "to John Eliot, my oye" (grandson); and again, "I leave to the said John Eliot, my golden ringe, quherin my stampe is engraven in with the first letters of my name and armes." (2.) The eldest daughter was married in 1656 to ——— Blair, minister near Linlithgow. He was son of Hew Blair, minister of Glasgow, (vol. iii. p.

368.) Another daughter, Christian Elliott, towards the end of 1660, married Mr. Robert Watson younger, minister of Cardross, (ib. p. 436.) Robert Watson, minister of Cardross, was dead in 1671, his Testament being recorded 31st October 1671, in the Commissary Records of Hamilton and Campsie. His relict was "Cirstane Elliott," and his executors-dative David and Margaret Watson.

By Robert Baillie, her second husband, Helen Strang had an only child ;—

VIII. MARGARET BAILLIE, born the 15th of July 1657, (vol. iii. p. 368.) From her father's testament it appears that she inherited a much larger portion than any children of the first marriage. This young lady must have married at an early period, probably about 1676. Her husband was John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, Renfrewshire, descended from a younger brother of Walkinshaw of that ilk, in the reign of James the Sixth. There were, however, so many persons of the name during the 17th and early part of the following century, and so many intermarriages took place in these families, that it is not easy to point out precisely the relative connections ; but after many inquiries, I imagine, the following may be considered as indicating the branch of the family with which Baillie's daughter was allied.

JOHN WALKINSHAW of Barrowfield seems to have been the person who was one of the magistrates of Glasgow for several years, between 1655 and 1673, being one of the baillies in 1655, 1658, 1660, 1665, 1668, and 1673 ; and dean of guild in 1666, 1667, 1771, and 1672 ; and he appears to have had at least three sons ;—

(1.) JOHN, the eldest son, the husband, as I suppose, of Margaret Baillie ; and it was no doubt this John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield who was served heir of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, his father, the 10th March 1693. (Inquis. Return. Lanark. 422.)

The son or grandson of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, is said to have involved himself by his Jacobite principles ; and to have been the person who, being taken prisoner, and confined in the Castle of Stirling, after the Rebellion in 1745, made his escape by his wife exchanging clothes with him. Miss Catharine Walkinshaw, who obtained so much notoriety as the mistress of Prince Charles Edward, has been described as one of his daughters. But, as already mentioned, there is great difficulty in identifying the different branches of the Walkinshaws, at this period. It is certain, however, that Catherine Walkinshaw, who lived abroad from the year 1754 to the time of her death, had a daughter to Prince Charles, and that he left the bulk of his property in the French funds to this daughter, who was legitimated in 1787, and whom he created Duchess of Albany ; but she died at Bologna, 18th November 1789, when about 23 years of age, and her property was inherited by the Cardinal of York. The names of other daughters of John Walkinshaw, who formed alliances in this country, are mentioned in the Appendix to a volume entitled "The Cochrane Correspondence," pp. 111, 145, Glasg. 1836. 4to.

(2.) JAMES, second son of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, and merchant in Glasgow. In 1683, Gavin Walkinshaw of that ilk alienated his lands to James, who died in 1708. His son and heir assumed the title of John Walkinshaw of Walkinshaw, and married Elizabeth Boyd. Their son John Walkinshaw of that ilk, married Margaret Walkinshaw, daughter of ——— Walkinshaw of Barrowfield ; while a second son William, married another daughter ; and their grandson James alienated the property of Walkinshaw to William Millar in 1769. (Crawfurd's Renfrewshire, by Semple.)

(3.) WILLIAM WALKINSHAW of Scotstoun, is also styled a son of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield. He married Marion, daughter of Thomas Crawfurd of Cartsburn ;



and acquired, in 1691, the lands of Scotstoun, in the county and parish of Renfrew, although situated on the North side of the Clyde. George Crawford, in his Description of Renfrewshire, 1710, in mentioning the proprietor of Scotstoun, says, "by whom this place is so much improved, by a very handsome house, well furnished, and adorned with curious orchards and gardens, stately avenues, and large enclosures, sheltered with a great deal of beautiful planting: So that it has become one of the sweetest seats upon the river of Clyde in this shire." William Walkinshaw was a merchant in Glasgow, and a partner with Crawford and Corbet, "in the trade of manufacturing hemp into cordage, ropes, &c." He died in June 1715, leaving an only son and heir, John Walkinshaw; who, having engaged in the Rebellion that year, before he was seized in possession of the lands of Scotstoun, escaped abroad, but still continuing to draw money from the business of Crawford and Corbet, as his father's successor in that concern, although he had been specially included in the act of attainder. At a subsequent date some questions having arisen, both as to the money he had drawn from that business, and his right to the lands of Scotstoun, occasioned a protracted litigation, which was finally decided upon appeal to the House of Lords, 9th June 1737; the decision being in favour of his creditors, and the property came into the possession of the family of Oswald.

It seems however to be certain, that MARGARET BAILLIE, by her husband, JOHN WALKINSHAW of Barrowfield, had two daughters; some of whose descendants during the last century attained the highest distinction at the Scottish Bar.

- (I.) One of the daughters married George Home of Kames, in Berwickshire, who was served heir of his father, Henry Home of Kames, 6th October 1692. Their son, was Henry Home, born in 1696, so well known by his philosophical and juridical writings, and a Senator of the College of Justice, under the title of Lord Kames. The family is now represented by his Lordship's grandson, Henry Home Drummond of Blair-Drummond, Esq. Member of Parliament for the County of Perth.
- (II.) The other daughter married Campbell of Succoth. John Campbell, Writer (Scriba) in Edinburgh, was served heir of William Campbell of Sockoth, his father, 7th April 1665. It was probably his son who married Miss Walkinshaw; unless Archibald Campbell, who passed Writer to the Signet in 1728, might have been the son, not grandson of John. Archibald Campbell, who became one of the Principal Clerks of Session, and died at an advanced age in 1790, was the father of Sir Ilay Campbell, Lord President of the Court of Session, who died 28th March 1823, in the 89th year of his age. The family is now represented by Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth, Baronet, who also had a seat on the Bench from 1809 to 1825; when he retired.

It only remains to add, that the BAILLIES OF JERVISTON (a small property in the neighbourhood of Hamilton), from whom PRINCIPAL BAILLIE was descended, are not to be confounded with the BAILLIES OF JERVISWOOD, in Roxburghshire,—a family so distinguished, before the Revolution, by their sufferings for the cause of civil liberty, and their attachment to Presbytery. But among the persons who have claimed kindred with Principal Baillie, may be mentioned DR. JAMES BAILLIE, minister of the Kirk of Shotts, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, who died 28th April 1778. By his wife, the sister of the two celebrated anatomists, Dr. William, and John Hunter, he left a son, DR. MATTHEW BAILLIE, the eminent physician in London, who died 23d September 1823; and two daughters, one of whom is the present distinguished authoress of the "Plays on the Passions," and "Metrical Legends," MRS. JOANNA BAILLIE.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

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### MEMOIR.

Page xxii.—At the end of l. 6, *the* is omitted; and among other typographical errors, overlooked in the list at the end of Vol. III may be noticed *Academia*, for *Academicæ*, note 3, p. xxvi.

Ib. p. xxix, note 3.—Robert Fleming appears as a benefactor to the College of Edinburgh, by contributing to the building of two chambers in 1644. (Crawford's Hist. of the University, p. 152.)—It may be added that in the "Inventorie of the voluntar contributions," for the advancement of the Library and fabric of the College of Glasgow, in 1630, "Mr. Robert Baillie, Regent," subscribed 100 merks.

Ib. p. xlvi.—It is, I believe, a mistake to have said that either Baillie or Dickson ever actually signed their names in the manner alleged; as the Records of the College have been examined by a learned friend, and no such instance could be discovered. The assertion of their having done so, seems to have proceeded upon Principal Dunlop's MS. List of Masters, Principals, &c. in which they are so designated, the term Doctor having been taken from the minutes of their several appointments, as noticed in the Memoir, but in a sense unquestionably synonymous with Teacher.

Ib. p. li.—It is undoubtedly a mistake to assert that Worcester House, in the Strand, had not been occupied by the Scottish Commissioners during their long residence in London, from the end of 1643 to 1647. The passage where Lord Clarendon speaks of crowds resorting to their public sermons, ought in all probability to be applicable only to the year 1640 and 1641, when the Commissioners resided in the city. The anonymous author of "*Motus Britannici*," (p. 60. Rotterdam, 1647, 8vo.) says, it was for the mutual convenience of themselves and their friends, with whom they had frequent and familiar intercourse, that the Scottish Commissioners changed their place of residence, (about 1645):—"Hac de causa migrarunt Scoti ex Urbe, ubi antea sedem tenebant, ad Worcesteriæ ædes, ubi pro tempore hospitantur;" although other motives for this change were assigned at the time.

Ib. p. lix.—On his return to Glasgow, Baillie was elected Dean of Faculty in the University of Glasgow, for three successive years, in July 1647, 1648, and 1649. The Church in Glasgow in which he had officiated previous to his being appointed a Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, was the Tron Church. Having resigned the charge, Hugh Blair and George Young were admitted ministers of that church in 1644.

Ib. p. lxx.—The date of Gillespie's admission as Principal of the College of Glasgow, was the 14th February 1653. On the 12th October 1652, the election to supply the vacant places of Principal and second Professor of Theology was postponed

till the 15th of that month, by the Moderators of the College; and on that day Mr. John Young, first Regent, was elected by the Faculty "to the vacant profession of Theologie." Baillie, as he tells Spang, (vol. iii. p. 238) was purposely absent, but he thus subscribes his colleague's appointment in the College registers,—“ R. BAILLY consents to this election.” Young's admission, however, did not actually take place till the 20th January 1653. He was the son of George Young, one of the ministers of the Tron Church; and was the person of whom Baillie afterwards complained so bitterly for ingratitude. Upon the changes after the Restoration, Young conformed to Episcopacy. According to Keith, he “ was elected Bishop of Argyle, but died before he was consecrated in 1661;” and was succeeded by David Fletcher, who held that See from the 18th January 1662 till his death in 1665. This is a mistake, as Young survived Fletcher, and was designed to be his successor; as we learn from some passages in letters from Archbishop Sharp to the Earl of Lauderdale. On the 29th March 1665, he says, “ I find that the Bishop of Argyll is dead some dayes gone.” On the 15th May, in reference to this vacancy, he adds, “ that till I had spoke with the Archbishop of Glasgow and my Lord of Argyll, I could not determine upon a person for Argyll; and now, we having conferred about it, have pitched upon Mr. John Young, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, as the fittest person on many accounts for succeeding to the See of Argyll.” But on the 17th of June, that same year, he writes from Edinburgh as follows;—“ Since I came to this place, I am told, by my Lord of Argyll, that Mr. Young is dead, to our great disappointment, through the loss of an able and usefull man.”

Ib. p. lxx.—All the previous accounts of Baillie's Life concur in stating that his second wife, Helen Strang, was the widow of Robert Wilkie, minister of the Blackfriars Church, Glasgow; and I have fallen into the same error, both in this place and at page 368 of Vol. III. She was the widow of Dr. James Elliott, who was admitted as Wilkie's colleague or successor in that church. He was translated to Edinburgh, in December 1635: See p. cxviii.

LETTERS:—VOLUME FIRST.

Page 235. The person to whom this letter evidently was addressed, was William Home. Baillie thus mentions him, in 1657, “ Eglintone writes to William Home, his servant, our baillie,” &c. (vol. iii. p. 139.)

Ib. p. 279. Letter from London, 12th December 1640. It may be noticed, that a contemporary copy of this letter, commencing with the words in line 2d, “ Our first Demand,” &c. is contained in a MS. volume, entitled “ Historical Miscellanies,” p. 321. (Advocates Library, MSS. 34, 2, 9, folio.) The doubtful word *veyit*, at the middle of page 281, in this copy reads *willed*; which makes the passage intelligible.

Ib. p. 388, note 3. The date of this letter may be determined, by the mention at page 396, that 5000 men from Scotland were then in Ireland: these troops reached that country in April 1642.

VOLUME SECOND.

Page 105. This letter should have been dated earlier in November than the 17th, as Baillie seems (p. 107) to have reached London that day. The letter itself (foot of p. 104) professes to have been written before the vessel sailed, and the voyage must obviously have occupied several days.

Ib. p. 217. In speaking of Colkittoch, at this time, the anonymous author of the “ Motus Britannici,” says, “ Eligitur homo nequam Alexander Macdonald, vulgo

dictus *Colekittoch* nomine patronymico (quasi dicas, vafer Colenus) quod patris esset simillimus inter omnes alios liberos;" (p. 96).—In the foot-note to the same page, Ardnamurchan is, by an oversight, said to be in Ayrshire, for Argyllshire. By a similar oversight, Jerviswood, the property of the distinguished patriot, Robert Baillie, is said at p. cxix. to be in Roxburghshire, instead of the parish and shire of Lanark.

Ib. p. 340. The persons who are here mentioned, chiefly by their christian names, appear to have been Matthew, David, and James Forsyths, brothers of William Wilkie's mother-in-law, Abigail Forsyth, (the wife of Henry Gibson, "writer in Edinburgh, and indweller in Glasgow," who died within a few months of each other, he in August, and she in October, 1649;—) John Crichton, minister of Paisley, deposed by the Assembly in 1638;—Alexander Gibson; Archibald Fleming of Peil, afterwards knighted by Charles II, and restored to his office of Commissary of Glasgow; Gavin Forsyth; and John Hay, minister of Renfrew. Wilkie's wife died in June 1655, and he agreed to pay to the Town Council a sum of £20 (Scotish,) for permission for her interment in the High Kirk of Glasgow.

### VOLUME THIRD.

Page 224, note 4. The account of "The Life and Death of Mr. Robert Boyd, who died An. Chr. 1627," to which Baillie refers, is included in "The Lives of sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age. In Two Parts. I. Of Divines. II. Of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes. By Samuel Clark, sometime pastor of Bennet Fink, London: printed and revised by himself just before his Death." p. 9. Lond. 1683, folio.

Ib. p. 234, note. John Earl of Lauderdale was detained as a prisoner in England till the Restoration; but he was removed from the Tower to Windsor probably about 1654, where he may have enjoyed a greater degree of liberty, and employed this time in the literary occupations alluded to at p. lxxv. of the Memoir.

Ib. p. 278. "Before his [Ramsay's] entry," &c. This is an oversight on the part of Baillie, as Ramsay was actually inducted, although he enjoyed the office of Principal for a very short time: See note to vol. iii. p. 207.

Ib. p. 285. A copy of Baillie's dedicatory Epistle to Calamy, intended to accompany his Answer to Cotton and Tombes, (see p. xcvi) was contained in Vol. XXIII. of Wodrow's MSS. 4to. Unfortunately that volume, which might have supplied some additions to the present work, is supposed to be lost. The titles of such articles as it contained, either written by or addressed to Baillie, may be added from Wodrow's MS. Catalogue of his Collection of Manuscripts.

"23. A short Consideration of the Reasons brought first in the Protestation, and then in another paper for the Nullity of the late Assemblée at St. Andrews. By Mr. Robert Bailay.

"27. Mr. Robert Bailay's Letter to Mr. Dickson, Sept. 10, 1655.

"47. Mr. R. B's Letter to My L. (President, I suppose,) anent a meeting (I suppose of the College of Glasgow,) about an answer to Mr. James Durham's Letter, April 7, 1651.

"70. Mr. Robert Bailay's Dedicatory [Epistle] to his Vindication to Mr. Edmund Calamy. Glasgow, No. 1653.

"77. A letter to Mr. D. Dickson, (I suppose from R. B.) May 4, 1655, anent a meeting with Remonstrators.

"79. 80. Mr. R. B's Letter to Mr. Ash, Apr. 10, 1655, with Mr. Ash's answer."

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

VOLUME FIRST.—M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.









# LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

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TO M. W[ILLIAM] WILKIE. (1)

THE Proclamation of our Liturgie<sup>(2)</sup> is the matter of my greateft affliction. I pray yow, if you can comand any copie, by your money or moyen, let me have on[e,] and it wer but for tuo or thre dayes, with this bearer. I am myndit to cast my studies for difpofing of my mind to fuch a courfe as I may be aunfuerable to God for my cariage. Whouever, I am greatly affrayit that this aple of contention have banifhit peic[e] from our poor Church heireftir for ever. In England, to this hour, as fun[d]ry Epifcopall books latly printit does testife, this fyre is yit reikand, and reddie upon occafion to brek out for the trouble of that Church farder then ever. Ar we fo modeft fpirits, and fo tauardly handlit in this matter, that ther is apeirance we will imbrace in a clap fuch a maffe of novelties. I find Andreus himfelf, the femigod of the neu faction, preaching befor King James, in a wreit dedicat to King

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

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

Charles by this sam Canterburie,<sup>(3)</sup> sheuing that all Church Laues, that all Canones Ecclesiasticall, have all wayes been mad[e] in Church Affembles, and not elfwher. In Ingland it wes fo ever; the leift ceremonie never appointit but in the Convocation: thought Andreus wer filent, the constant practife of the Church, both univerfall and particular, does evinc this. It is to me a matter above mervell, whou any hes mintit to move our sueit Prince, to begin a new practis fo late on our poor Church. Had [we] been truly, as onc[e] we wer falsly aleagit, but a pendicle of the dioces of York, yit mor then a missive lettre would have been usit to have movit us imbrace a hole book of neu Canons, and mor then ane Act of Councell to have mad[e] us recev a neu Forme in the whol worship of God, prayer, sacraments, mariag, buriall, preaching and all. For myself, I am resolvit, what I can digest as any wayes tolerable with peic[e] of conscience, not only in deu tyme to receive myself, but to dispose others also, fo farr as I can by word and writ, to receive quietly the fame; but what ever be my mind, yit I am affrayit fore that there is a storme raifit which will not calme in my dayes. It's a pitie that we should have non to give our gracious Princ[e] deu information. They ar dear coft honour, which ar the pryce of our poor Countrie and Church peic[e] and liberties, betrayit to the lust, and fett onder the feit, of some feu forrein Prelats, if not on[e] alone. I mey vent this much of my grevit mynd in thy bofome.

I think reddily the tuo vacant Bishopriks shall be occasion of thy provision; but God mak the[e] a bettir on[e] then to[o] many among us ar. Bishopes I love: but prid, greid, luxurie, oppreffion, immerfion in faicular affaires, was the bane of the Romish Prelats, and can not have long good succes in the Reformit. Thy Brother,

Kilw[inning] Jan. 2, 1637.

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEAR AND LOVING COOSING,

EFTER long expectation, and marvelling of your silence, at last this 20 of Janu-  
arie, I received your last two together, and your Currents to the 53. I must en-

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

treat yow to continew, not so much your old kindnesse to me in wryting, for of this I do not complaine, as your old prudence in directing them; it wes above, I think, six weeks after the coming home of our Glasgou merchants, that your letters promised with them come to my hands. It is mervellous that in all our countrey we should have no word from over sea, more nor we were in America. Will yow be pleased to fend it; possiblie ye let us whiles want, of purpose, that we may know the better to whom we are indebted. For my self I am so evill a payer, that yow may refuse to furnish me any longer in this ware, as a desperate bankrupt; always, to give yow some hope, I minde to pay the principall, even a whole Olympiad of Gazets. I have sent yow for annuall-rent, half a gallon of our Glasgou water; I will intreat yow drink my service to your wife, affuring her that I did wish her all prosperitie, and could be most glad to doe her pleasure if ever she came to Killwinning: tell her that she may have confidence of a long and vigorous life to her husband, who wes born and brought up in so happie a citie, where such livelie waters runnes in everie streit.

Your Currents and letters make my heart both forie and glad; glad I am to see the help of God with the poor Langrave, by the victory of the Swedds; glad I am to see the wickedness of that foolish prince of Saxone punished; glad I am that both the Cardinall was forced to retire from Picardie, and Galace from Burgundie, without any gaine of all their fearfull enterprizes; I am also glad that the Swedds hes forced Lunenburgh to a neuterallitie, and Brandeburge (as it seems) either to a confederacie or contribution; also that the diet of Ratisbone is broken up without a conclusion for a King of the Romans, and with a plain refusall (if we will hear it at last after so many hunder repetitions of the same reall answer) to restore the Palatinate. Bot most glad I am that the meeting of Culen is like to evanish; for I wes and yet am greatly afraid of the French their levitie that they sitt down, being evill breathed men and soon out of wind, and leave their good friends, both Witinberge, and Trier [Treves], and Parme, and your Estates, to see to themselves, let be to conjoyne with our King in any league how necessary soever at this time to both. Bot if it be true that they yet have courage and meanes to renew the warr on that syde, and the Swedds continue on the other, if the Turk would truly come downe on the south, I hope that the Aufrians, albeit they once againe gatt the Croone, and Bavar also, for all his sone and heir, might be moved to suffer

our banished men after so many yeares, come home and live in peace. I was forie to see so much Christian blood monethly shed, and so great appearance of more to be shed, these warrs being yet, as it were, bot in the beginning.

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

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

Allace ! We make our ſelf more and more unfavorie daylie ; when we have gottin our augmentationes, we are ſo ſevere in exacting, that we are a common talking. The 34 year of God wes a fore year to our labourers ; bot the 35 yeir wes the worſt that in this laſt age wes ſeen. The Commiſſar feirs wes ten pound for meill and bear ; bot fundrie of our brethren are charging, to the ſhame of us all, for twelve and above. Others of us are breaking out in vyle adulteries ; mutterings of many ; two under publick cenſure ; Mr. Archibald Grahame depofed by the High Commiſſione. He wes thought ane eunuch, and ſo gives it yit out with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Rutherford, of whom you write, was silenced and confined to Aberdeen, for preaching against the Articles of Perth and such things. It is true he refused to give the Chancellour or any of the Bishops their styles ; they were animat also against him for taxing Camerone in his book, and most for his indiscreet railing at Jacksone ; also it is long since the Register, dealing to have Mr. Henry Rollocke coadjutor to the blind Bishop of Galloway, did put in the King's hands a treatise written by Rutherford upon Conventicles, or the extent of private men's libertie in publick praying and expounding of Scripture, to be ane argument of that Bishops negligence. All thir things and some moe did provoke them, bot the alleadged cause of their censure wes onlie Conformity. The man is godly and a prettie scholar ; however I like not weill his obscuritie in that book, and I mislike also his conclusions and reasonings in a pamphlet of his, going athort our people, A Relation of a Con-

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



ference of his with Sincerfe of Galloway,<sup>(9)</sup> wherein he will have our kneilling black idolatrie. One of his grounds is a tenet which he imputts to the Bifhop, that the Act of Perth does injoyne to kneill, for reverence, to the myfterious elements; this kneilling I think a Papift would not maintain, fo I take it for a calumnie; alwayes I take the man to be among the moft learned and beft ingynes of our natione. I think he were verie able for fome profefſione in your Colledges of Utreck, Groninge or Rotterdame; for our King's dominions, there is no appearance he will ever gett living into them<sup>(1)</sup>: if yow could quietlie procure him a calling, I think it were a good fervice to God to relieve one of his troubled minifters; a good to the place he came to, for he is both godlie and learned; yea, I think by time he might be ane ornament to our natione.

Concerning Duræis<sup>(2)</sup> bufinefs, when ever I hear of the advancement of it, I am refreshed; yow neid put no queſtione on our fide, for we did ever earneftlie fute it. I marvell of your Hollanders that does oppoſe it now. The beft of them, Voetius, I am fure, and, as I remember, Rivet and Valle, hes declared in print their judgement for that Unione. I fear the Saxon divines ſhall now retract their Leipſick Conference. I wiſh Duræ would turn his Hypomnemata into a full ſtorie, like that of Hoſpinian, in Re Sacramentaria. His anfwers that he hes gotten from Divines and Princes, if they were in print, would be much for edificatione. I was much bettered by the writ of the thrie Ingliſh Biſhopes. I wiſh yow ſent to the Colledge ſome wrytes of that kinde, ſuch as Paræi Irenicon, and Crocii Affertio Auguſtana, with Menzeri Anticrocius, and one Chriſtophorus Maſſenus, or ſome other, who writes weill on that ſubject. However, it be now two years ſince Dureæ writ to St. Andrewes of that purpoſe, yet never did I hear of any ſuch purpoſe, no, not to this day, bot from yow, albeit, in ſuch purpoſes, I am curious of intelligence. I approve weill the Biſhop's wiſdome in concealling that from our people, for they would not fail to tak it for a policie of theirs, to bring us on that farr, to yeild firſt to the Lutherans and then to the Papifts; fo if they

<sup>(9)</sup> Thomas Sydſerff, Biſhop of Galloway.

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

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

ſaw any ſuch matter in hand, they would, by that means, be the more confirmed in ſtanding ſtill where they are. I have a mind to have ſome books from London, if yow had any acquaintance there that would tak paines to buy and ſend them to yow. I think I might have them ſo als ſoon and als ſafe, as any other way. Yow will wreit to me if yow think this courſe expedient, alſo what way I ſhall ſend yow the moneys. If yow had any thing to be answered here, it wer my greateſt eaſe to give money to your Father. For the preſent, I deſyre from Amſterdam ſome little things; if it might be, I wiſh they were bound, and that in leather, for I love not your whyte parchment. I deſyre then, Acta Remonſtrantium, and Amefii Antifynodalia, Voffii Hiftoria Pelagiana, Ufferii Godeſcalcus, Doffat's Letters compleat; thir books I hope to ſee, and wiſhes them of my owne, alſo Apologia Remonſtrantium, and Vorſtius de Deo, cum notis completis. I have many other of Vorſtius' wredits. I have ſein that of the Colledge, bot the notes were not full, being ane evill editione. I wiſh yow [would] ſend to the Colledge ſome who refutes his Reaſons, and alſo that yow ſend to them a Mercurius. I muſt be in your debt till yow wreit to me the beſt way of ſending yow money. Hereafter I ſhall have money at yow; God willing ere I wryte for books. If I wryte ſeldome, yow ſeie I am ſo long that I faſch yow; bot what ſhall I doe, we muſt meafure our neighbour by our own foot, the longer your letters to me are, they were ever the more pleaſant. I ſend yow heir incloſed one of my letters to my cooſing, Mr. Creighton; yow will ſend it back to me, for I have not ane other copie. Shew me your opinion of the trueth of my arguments, and if yow advyſe me to goe on in ſuch Conferences; for the preſent he has ſent me his judgement of Predeſtination, wherein he is fully with Arminius. I am upon my anſwer, which if yow pleaſe yow ſhall ſee.

We are in good hopes, that Arundell's return to Court ſhall doe us much good. It appears that all the King's ſubjects are moſt willing to give of their goods and perſons what can be craved for the Palatin's reſtitutione. Only the queſtion will be to give the Parliament-men way to complaine of ſome pretended abuſes in Church and State. We hope that no Churchman nor Stateſman will be ſo diveliſh as to marr that ſweit harmonie betwixt the King and the Parliament, which now is altogether neceſſar for the removeing of that greivous infamie under the quhilke our dominion long hes lyen, to the infinite greif of our ſweit Prince. It's our

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

[R. BAILLIE.]

Send me also, if ye can have it, Latii Historia Pelagiana, and some good

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

Treatises of Brounisme. I hear Anwerth hes written for their separation, and Paget or some other against it, which I gladly would have, for I feare to have too much use of such peeces. Yow have here also my Conference with Mr. Creichton anent the matter of heresie; if yow keep all clofe to yourself, as I know ye will, and fend all thir 7 sheets back, yow shall have any other you require..

Jan. 29, 1637.

To My LORD ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.(<sup>4</sup>)

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

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

more then ordinar respect would have laid upon me; so for this and many moe favours receaved, farr above my deserving, I pray God to blisse your Lordship, and to continue yow many yeares to be our overfeer; for be perswaded that mony thousands here where I live are gritly afrayit, that whenever your Lordship shall goe, their peace and quietnes shall goe away with yow. This is

Your Lordship's very loving Friend, and obedient Servant,  
R. BAYLIE.

Kilwinning, August 14, 1637.

To . . . . (5)

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

As I promised to yow, so I have performed. Yesterday morning I flew to my Lord, that I intended on Sunday to have a Session for to send a Commissioner to supplicat the Councill, as I trusted mony of my neighbours would doe. After he had for a little dislyked my purpose, and proposed some impossible wayes of his own, at last he was weill content to approve our Supplication, and, if he had health, to back it, or else to write to his freinds. At my departure my Lord Montgomerie lighted; he assured me, that whether his father went or no, he would not faile to goe to Edinburgh for this eirand. Thence I went to Stevenstoune. Mr. John Bell, I left him willing not onlie to cause his Session supplicat, but to goe to Dalry and acquaint Mr. Robert Bell with the purpose, and to writ to Mr. James Fullertoun, Mr. William Ruffell, Mr. Hew Eglintoun, to send the cheif gentlemen of their paroches with the Supplication. Thence I went to Ardrossane. Mr. Alexander hes promised to send a Supplication, and to intreat himself, James Mitchell to carry it. Also to go to Kilbryde this day, and to requeist Mr. George to move his Session on Sondag to send Hunterstoune or Waterstoune with their Supplication; he hes promised to write thence to Mr. Thomas Craig, that it was our defyre he should be earnest with old Skelmurlie to carrie their Supplication. In my return, I came be the Kirilaw, where I left Cunninghameheid resolved to carie the Supplication of Stevenstoune, and to tak Mr. John

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

Bell with him to Edinburgh. He promised also to goe this day to request old Blair to accept the Supplication of Dalry, for I thought it expedient that he wer in Edinburgh, especially to move his goodfone Blakhall, to informe my Lord Duke of Lennox. I have written to Mr. Michael in such a fassoun as yow would laugh at. I have told him how I understood of the Supplication to be presented; bot of your dealing or mine, I have told him nought. I have defyred him to send me a double of his parochie Supplication, that I may conforme mine to it, and intreats him for this courtesie as a great favour; also I defyre him to shaw if they will give their Commission to young Rowallane, or to whom else. This I think be all that yow requested of me at parting. Every thing hes succeeded according to our minde. It rests that we pray for a happie event to God, that he would avert the poprie of the one side, and the schisme of the uther, and the bloodie sword of both. It were good that Hefilheid were in Beith on Sunday to accept the Commission of his parochie. Cunninghamehead promised to write to Capringtoun to accept the Commission of Dundonald. We adverteifed Mr. John Fergushill that was in Dalry to adverteife his neighbours at his returne. Yow have neglected Kyle and Carrick ill: yow have tyme to adverteife Kyle yet, that out of mony paroches there may go a gentleman. When yow come to Edinburghe, yow will doe weill to imploy Mr. Archbald Johnstoune rather then they yow named to me, to mak that Toun supplicat. Neglect not to cause Angous and Rothus at least, if no mo, to speik plaine Scottish to my Lord Duke of Lennox and the Thesaurer; what may cost them readilie their life and their lands, fall they not use means diligentlie to avert it. Wherever yow goe, imploy the Supplications of these yow know uses to pray in earnest; however I differ far fra yow in judgement about many things, and ever the longer the more, yet the troubles of our poore Church and State I would redeem with the losse of my right hand, yea, of my head, and all that I have, bot my foule alone and my conscience. The Lord be with yow, as happie as yow have been, to procure this good and wise course of supplicating, both now and before. I trust God shall make yow als happie hereafter, if this meane prevail not to be his instrument to withdraw people from intraged, fleshlie, unchristian, and divelische courses, whereupon nature does sett too many, and the divell spurres them under the false pretext of religion.

Your Brother,

[R. BAILLIE.]

All that I have done is with fo little dinn as was poffible. The double of your Supplication will be given to all the Minifters I have named, except to Mr. Michael, for fear to marre him be any kinde of our prefcriptiones. As yow have defired, I have written alfo to Dunbarton.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEARE AND LOVING CUSING,

My beft reply to your complaint of the rarity of my letters, is their prolixity, if not superfluous tediousness, when they come. I delayed alfo for a while to wryte, till ye had answered, as fundry tymes ye promifed, to fome paffages of my laft, which did requyre anfwer. Ye fhall doe weell hereafter when ye take leafure to wryte to me, to have my laft beyde yow, that when ye take a blenk of it, ye may remember the cheif points wherein I crave your anfwer; bot the cheif caufe of my fo-long delay, was my hovering expectation till our prefent commotions had come, if not to fome conclufion, yet to fome crife, that from thence I might have advertifed you with fome certain ground, what was our prefent ftate, and what hopes or fears we had for the future; bot left this my expectation fhould occafion in yow thoughts of my undutifulness, if it continue any longer, I fhall fhew yow the eftate of our affaires as they are, at leaft as I am informed of them; though as yet, they are hinging without any certaine, fo much as propenfion to fettle in any pofiture, which is knowen to us, or well imaginable to any man; only God knowes what he will doe with us all; for all, King, Court, Church, State, England, Scotland, feemes to be in a very staggering ftate, if God with his hand hinder not men and divells from their humorous inclinationes; for, as yet, I think there be no refolution taken on any hand.

In my laft I fhew yow how that, in the breaking up of the Winter Seffion, there was a Proclamation, by found of trumpet, commanding all fubjects, ecclefiastick and civil, to conform themfelves to the Liturgie againft the nixt Pafch. Till that term there was no dinn; for the books were not printed till Aprile was paf, and a while thereafter. No diligence could obtaine a fight of them; bot in May, when letters was obtained by diverfe of the Bifhops, commanding, under the paine of horning, every Minifter in

their Dioceſſe to buy, for the uſe of their paroches, two of theſe books, there began to be much talking of that buſineſs ; which increaſed when the Biſhop of Galloway, in his Aſſembly, had purchaſed the conſent of the moſt part of his miniſters to take theſe books, to uſe them ; as the word went, to buy them when they come from the preſſe. Well I wote his Lordſhip alſo held in Galloway an high Commiſſion, where, for matters of conformity, he fyned ſome gentlemen : he confin'd the Magiſtrats of Kirkubrie to Wigtoun for a tyme ; the Laird of Earltoun, who, by Lorne, and the reſt of my Lord Kenmure's curators, was intruſted with the moſt of that pupill's affairs, for his abſence, he fin'd in 500 merks, and confin'd his perſon to Montroſe. No dealing could move the Biſhop to paſs from the execution of this ſentence ; yea, at the Councill table, when Lorne was relateing ſome circumſtances of this buſineſſe, he got a reply from the Biſhop, which he call'd a lie, and ſo raiſe in high paſſion, and yet remaines malcontent for that injurie. For myſelf, I think the Biſhop could not be ſo impertinent, bot that rather that wife nobleman would make uſe of ſome raſh word, which heſ fallen from his mouth ; however, he and all the nobles takes it for a very pert affront done to their eſtate, even in Councill. The matter, I hear, is before the King, and yet not agreed. It went alſo braid and wyde, and was told to the Biſhop's face, by my Lord Dumfreis, before the Theſaurer, that he did wear under his coat, upon his breaſt, a Crucifix of gold ; to which challenge his reply was bot faint. A certain gentleman told me, that he did ſee, and handle, and conferre concerning that crucifix, with the Biſhop. For all this, I doe not believe it, for I, upon my old reſpect to the man, made M. R. Hamiltone his familiar poſe him upon the matter ; who reported to me his full purgation of this calumnie. However, that Synod and Commiſſion in Galloway, that ſuppoſed lie and crucifix, did give no little occaſion to the increaſe of the people's murmures. The Biſhop of Roſſe himſelf, in his Cathedrall at leaſt, did, long before that time, and ſo to this day continues to read a Liturgie, whether the Engliſh, or ours printed at London, I doe not know. The Biſhop of Dunblane, at his Synod, did read it ; and gave all his Miniſters Michaelmes terme to advyſe, whether then they would uſe that Book, or leave their places. The Biſhop of Edinburgh in his Synod, when Mr. H. Rolloke had preached at length for the obedience to the King and Church, did read the Book. Mr. D. Michell and young Durie were the chief anſuerers. St.



Andrewes in his diocesse did propone the buying and useing of the Booke, and thereupon took instruments. Glasgow was sick in Edinburgh; so in our Synod was no word of this matter. In the meantime, some copies of the Book goes from hand to hand; some of the unconforme partie makes it their text daily, to shew the multitude of the Popish poynts contained in the book; the grossness of it far beyond the English; the way of the imposing of it, not only without any meeting either of Church or State, bot contrare to standing lawes both of Church and State; in a word, how that it was nought bot the Mafs in English, brought in by the craft and violence of some two or three of the Bishops against the minde of all the rest, both of Church and Statesmen. Thir things did found from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers, were the table talk and open discourse of high and low. So it goes to the mids of July, when the King's letters comes down to dissolve the Commission for the Tithes, till farther advysemēt, procured, as most thought, by the Thesaurer, to crosse the Chancellour; who at that tyme was to draw in the Churches of the Abbacie of St. Andrewes, his new casualty, and to cause provide each of them a locall stipend within the parishe, which would have annihilate the tacks of many noblemen and gentlemen athort all Fyfe, set by my Lord Duke of Lennox; for many paroches were all dilapidat, and the Ministers, whiles two or three, provided out of the tithes of other parishes: so the Chancellour obtaining a locality to the Minister, according to the Act of Parliament, within the paroches, would have much augmented his own rent, and diminished that of the tacksmen, and hurt the credite of the house of Lennox, who had received moneys for these tacks, which they could not warrand till expedients could be found. To remead this evill, the Thesaurer getts the Commission dissolved. St. Andrewes, whether to preveene this plot, or for what other designe, resolves to Court, and to Winter there. He thought to have used meanes to have been sent for; or, if these failed, to have pretended a voyage to the Bathes. Glasgow also did protest, oft tymes, that he would goe and complaine of the Thesaurer; who did continue, notwithstanding of all his contrare promises, to frustrate him of his gift of fyve thousand pound sterling, out of the annuities of his Diocese: for this voyage he had coft his horse. So then, my Lord Arch-Bishopes being resolved for Court, they thought meet, ere they went, to doe a peece of acceptable service to the King, that when they came, they might be the more welcome: they will have the

Liturgie practised in all the Churches of Edinburgh, without farder delay. A letter comes down from the King for this effect : The Bishope and Ministers of Edinburgh are sent for : St. Andrews will hear no reason of shifting, bot peremptorily commands them all to intimate, out of a printed paper, the King's command to have the Scotish Liturgie read the Sabbath following in all their churches. The Commission is read out of all the pulpits ; only Mr. Andrew Ramsay flights it. The whole body of the Towne murmures and grudges all the week exceedingly ; and who can marvell, discourfes, declamations, pamphlets, every where against this course ; no word of Information, in publick or private, by any to account of, used for the clearing of it. So, on Sondag morning, when the Bishop and his Deane, in the great Church, [and the] Bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriars, began to officiat, as they speak, incontinent the serving maids began such a tumult, as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound given to any, yet such was the contumelies in words, in clamours, runnings and flinging of stones in the eyes of the Magistrates, and Chancellour himself, that a little opposition would have infallibly moved that intraged people to have rent fundry of the Bishops in pieces. The day thereafter, I had occasion to be in the towne ; I fand the people nothing settled ; bot if that Service had been presented to them againe, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put in ward ; the Towne put under ane Episcopall interdict, which yet continues ; no preaching, no prayers on the week dayes ; no reading nor prayers on Sunday. The Chancellour wrote up presently the story to the King, with some wype to the Thesaurer ; who that foule day was from the towne. The Thesaurer and Counsellors being highly offended, that the Chancellour should wryte in such a busines without their privy, delayed to write or send their post till the Fryday. It was thought the Councill's letter did extenuate the matter so much, as it might be laid on the rascall multitude, with some reflexion on the Bishops imprudent precipitation. In the mean tyme, there was great fear for the King's wrath : the towne and countrey did quake till the return of the King's pleasure. Our gracious Prince was glad that the Towne, and all of any note, had been free of that tumult ; as for the rascall multitude, he committed the tryall and the censure of the fact to the Councill, only did command the use of the Service book with all possible diligence. Before this tyme, the most of the Bishopes had raised letters of horn-

ing, to charge all the Ministers in their Diocesse to buy two books for the use of their parishes within fifteen dayes. Glasgow was very diligent in charging all his Presbyteries ; and by no intreatie, would delay so much as to his Assembly in August, but would have us all to the home presently who would not buy. St. Andrewes moved many to buy the books without charging ; only two or three unconforme men were charged in his Diocesse. Their was ane overture made to us in Irvine, to supplicat the Council for a suspension of this unreasonable charge ; after much advisement and doubts, we concluded to send Mr. William Castellaw to the Council, with a Commission to supplicat in the name of us all, for a suspension. We send over to Aire, to require them to conjoyne ; but Mr. William Annan, their moderator, *pro imperio*, did discharge all such motion ; only Mr. James Bonar went to Edinburgh for himself, and two or three others of his brethren. I having occasion, within two dayes thereafter, to be in Glasgow, did motion the matter to their Ministers, who had gotten presently letters to be ready against the Sunday next, to read the Service in all their churches. I had not much adoe to cause them call their Presbytrie, and subscribe all of them a pithie Supplication, penned by Mr. John Maxwell, carried by Mr. Robert Wilkie, on Wednesday, to the Council. Upon that Supplication mainly, for there was no more but ours in Irvine ; Mr. James Bonar, for two of Aire ; Mr. Alexander Henderson, for himself, and two of St. Andrews, (whose supplication, because much esteemed by the people, I have sett down ;) I say, Glasgoves supplication, and Mr. Robert Wilkie's diligence, to his infinite praise, did obtain from the Council that strange letter to the King, which here ye have, and ane Act from the Council, declaring that their minde in their letters, of charging the Ministers, was alone to buy the Books for their own information, but not for any present use in their parishes. Many noblemen by letters, many gentlemen in person, did solist the Counsellors, one by one, and gave them all these Informations, which here ye have also. All the Council was most earnest to satisfy the countrey in holding off the yoke of that black book ; only at the Bishops vehement solistations, for the refounding of the printer's expences, for which they stood obliged, there was no suspension given for the buying of two books. Whill ane answer should be returned from the King to this letter, all the farther prosecuting of the matter was delayed to the 20 of September. Our Synod in Glasgow was indicted on the last Wednesday of August. The Bishop wrote

to me from Edinburgh, to preach thereat ; and, withall, to incite all my hearers to obey the Church Canons, and to practise the Service. I wrote back a flate refusall, shewing the irrefolution of my own minde. For all this, in the Fryday before the Synod I receive new letters, commanding me, upon my canonicall obedience, to preach on Wednesday before the Synod, committing the matter of my Sermon to my own difcretion. However I had bot two free dayes, yet I choosed rather to obey then to have cast my self in needlesse contests with a troublesome man, and made my self ready as I might, on that 2 of Timothy : “ I charge thee before God, to preach in season, and out of season,” &c. The Bishop, as I was informed, had written to Mr. William Annan to preach on the Thursday ; bot coming to the town on the Monday, whileas I could not winn till the Tuesday late, the Bishop agrees with him to take the Wednesday, and thinks to keep me for the Thursday, (as he said idley to me) being the chief day of the Synod, when yet he might know that then the Synod would be dissolved. Glad was I that Mr. William Annan took that burden off me ; for indeed I was not prepared as the tyme required. I would have spoken no syllable of any conformity, bot pressed these pastorall duties, which would not have pleased all. So I took it : and the event proved it to be a good providence for me, that I was freed ; for Thursday I peremptorily refused. Mr. William Annan, on the 1. of Timothy, “ I command that prayers be made for all men,” in the last half of his sermon, from the making of prayers, ran out upon the Liturgie, and spake for the defence of it in whole, and fundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the Isle of Brittain could have done, considering all circumstances ; howsoever, he did maintain, to the dislyk of all in ane unfit tyme, that which was hanging in suspense betwixt the King and the countrey. Of his sermon among us in the Synod, not a word ; bot in the towne among the women, a great dinne. To-morrow, Mr. John Lindfay, at the Bishop’s command, did preach ; he is the new Moderator of Lanrick. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should twitch the Service Book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit ; he took the advyce, and lett that matter alone. At the outgoing of the church, about 30 or 40 of our honestest women, in one voyce, before the Bishope and Magiftrats, did fall in rayling, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr. William Annan : some two of the meanest was taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and

down the streets where he went, he got threats of fundry in words and looks ; bot after supper, whill needleslie he will goe to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the causey, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four Ministers with him, bot some hundredths of iraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, and staves, and peats, [but] no stones : they beat him fore ; his cloake, ruffe, hatt, were rent : however, upon his cryes, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds ; yet he was in great danger, even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best qualitie would have been found guiltie. To-morrow, poor Mr. William was convoyed with the Baillies and fundry Ministers to his horse ; for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his on-louping, his horse unhapiely did fall above him, in a very foule myre, in presence of all the company ; of which accident was more speech then of any other. I think that Town's commotion does proceed most from Mr. John Bell's vehement dislyke of the Booke, whereto I take him much to be furthered by his good sone, Mr. James, so shamefully abused by the Bishop, as I wrote to yow before. Always, I suspect, these tumults will hinder the Bishop, for all his stoutness, in haste to cause read Service in his Cathedrall. Great was the longing of the whole countrey for the 20 of September ; against it, all did expect this busyness should take some crise. The most of the parishes in the Sherifffdom of Aire, Fyfe, Louthian, Cliddesdail, Stirlingshire, Stratherne, did send in Supplications with their chief gentlemen, to beseeke the Councill to deprecat the King, that he would not urge the heavie burden of the Liturgie. A number of Earles and Lords, whose names ye have, a great number of Barons, fundry burghes Commiffioners, (Glasgow I moved, and by God's help, overcam many difficulties,) went to keep the dyet. My Lord Duke of Lennox coming down post for his mother's buriall, who had died of a feavor, and was buried the 17 of September in the night without ceremonie ; for her husband, mainely by her princely carriage, is more then four hundredth thousand merks in debt ; my Lord Duke, I say, had the carrying of the King's letter to the Counsell. A copie of it I have sent yow. For all the harshness of it, the Commiffioners presented their severall Supplications. There was one common one presented by my Lord Sutherland, the first Earle of these who were present, in name of the Nobilitie, Barrones,

Ministers, Brughes, there present. Ye have the copie, both as it was presented, and as it was thereafter corrected and mended to be sent up to the King. My Lord Duke was carefully sollicit to agent this weighty business, and he promised to doe his endeavour. In his passage, he was magnificently entertained in the Town House of Glasgow,—he subscribed, in the Bishop's presence, an ancient band of his house, to maintain that good towne under the King, against all whomsoever to his power. His Grace did avow, that the King was misinformed much about the nature of the business. It is thought, that two yeares since, the Bishop of Ross and Deane of Edinburgh being at Court, did give assurance, that the nobilitie and body of the land did much long for this Liturgie, and would give the King great thanks to give it; also, that with this last letter of the Councill, which all who were present, even the Bishops themselves, whose names ye have here, did subscribe, there went up privie informations from the Bishop of Dumblane to Canterburie, (for the rest promised to wryte nothing dissonant from the publick letter,) shewing that if the King would goe on, he should finde little difficultie, though some few puritanes in the Councill would make it seem otherways. However, the Councill made that Act which here ye have; and all, with most earnest affection commended the affair to the Duke's Grace. The Thesaurer, his guider, layes it much to heart; and albeit it was greatly feared that he should have been the violent executer of the King's commands, yet he has given the Noblemen full assurance, that he will venture all he has before our Reverend fathers get our sweet Prince so farr abused, as to losse needlesly the hearts of all his subjects. By the King's peremptory command, the town of Edinburgh was forced to receive, the 18 of September, Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, for their Provost. When they would have joyned with the rest of the burroughs to supplicat, he did hinder. After the Councill raise, a committee, as ye see in the Act, was ordained to sitt still, for to finde means how the Book should be quietly received in Edinburgh without farder delay. The people hearing of it on the Saturday, publickly, before the Bishop, railes on their new Provost. On Monday he calls in the Tolbooth a Councill; the body of the towne keeps the dyett; men, women, and all rushes in: All the threats of the imperious Provest could not make any of them move. The Book, all of them cryed, they wold never have. At last, they were moved to goe forth, by the Baillies request, till the Councill had advyfed; bot with affure-

ance, they would not goe from the doore till they had concluded to supplicate for the towne to the Committee. The Provost, after he had drunken all these contumelies, was glad to promise a Supplication, and to assure they should as little and as late be troubled with that Book as any Burgh in the kingdom. Against the next Councill day, the 1 of November, it is expected, that the most of all the Nobility, Gentry, Burrows, shall be present, to send up their Commissioners to Court. What shall be the event, God knows: there was in our Land never such an appearance of a sturr; the whole people thinks Poperie at the doores; the scandalous pamphlets which comes daily new from England, adde oyl to this flame; no man may speak any thing in publick for the King's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, farr above any thing that ever I could have imagined, though the masse in Latine had been presented. The Ministers who has the command of their mind, does disavow their unchristian humour, but are noways so zealous against the devill of their furie, as they are against the seduceing spirit of the Bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the crying sinns of all estates and professions, (which no example of our neighbour's calamities would move us to repent,) is going to execute his long denounced threatnings, and to give us over unto madnes, that we may every one shoot our swords in our neighbours hearts: our dreggs is like to be more bitter then was the brimme of God's cup either to the French or to the Dutch; ye and all your neighbours had much need to pray for us, as we have oft done for yow in your dangers. The barricads of Paris, the Catholick league of France, is much before my eyes; but I hope the devill shall never finde a Duke of Guise to lead the bands.

The Ministers being mett at dinner together, in a great number, at the Councill-day, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. H. Rolloke, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Alexander Henderfone, Mr. J. Ker, and many moe did advyse of overtures to calme this storme. Ane of them drew them up in this forme, which here I send you: the updrawer is averse from all conformitie, yet modest here as could have been expected. I desiderat one overture, namely, a clear demonstration of their madnes, who in this or any cause will goe losse their soule in resisting authority. The most of thir things I think ye knew before; yet, that ye may see it is neither unkindnes nor laziness that makes my letters to

yow so rare, I thought good ye should hear them altogether from me also. Weele is you, whom the ocean divides from thir evils, but yet grace and nature will not let yow be separate from the near sense of them. Your Father this half year hes kepted the house ; it were good ye came, and bade him once fareweell, and viewed your mother countrie before it be desolate : the hearts of all doe tremble for feare.

I wrote to yow for some books, as ye will see in my last letter ; some of them ye have sent, the rest it is no marvell ye have not sent, I am so great a dyvour : But God willing, if we be all living about Candlemas, I shall have moneyes at yow for all I wrote for, and for my four yeares Currants. Send me no books unbound : I wish all in leather ; bot frae it cannot be, it's better to have them in your parchement, then to be fashed and extorted with James Sanders in Glasgou. Dear and loving Cousine take all this in good part ; commend me heartily to your wife. My heart is for the present full fore for that poor Land wherein we were borne, and Church wherein we were regenerat ; if it were not a God who permitted a powerful devill to blinde and inrage men against the common principle of cleare naturall reason, let be equity or religion, I think both our Bishops and their opposers might be easly withdrawn from destroying themselves and all their neighbors ; bot God and devills are too strong for us : The Lord save my poor soul ! for as moderate as I have been, and resolves in the spite of the devill and the world, by God's grace to remaine to death. For as well as I have been beloved hitherto by all who has known me, yet, I think I may be killed, and my house burnt upon my head ; for I think it wicked and base to be moved or carried down with the impetuous spait of a multitude ; my judgement cannot be altered by their motion, and so my person and state may be drowned in their violence : I wish my fears may be disappointed. The Lord be with you.

[R. BAILLIE.]

October 4, 1637.

My fears in my former went no farther then to ane ecclesiastik separation, but now I am more affrayit for a bloudie Civill warr. My seven sheits of writs with Mr. Chrichtoune<sup>(1)</sup> yow will send with your particular censur weill clofit.

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



I have written another since on Predestination: if you please I shall send it you. I wish that some of your letters were far more particular and large than this long time they have been: you continually forget to send to the College a Mercurius.

There came a command to the Council, and from thence to all our Burrows, that no Magistrate should be chosen but men conformable. If that Act were urged, we could have in all our Townes no Magistrates at all, or verie contemptible ones. But impossibilitie here will crave a dispensation; yet it shows our Bishops intention to be heaverie urgers of their traditions on all publick officers as well as on poor ministers.

#### A NOTE OF PROCEEDINGS SINCE THE 5TH OF DECEMBER.

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

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

Upon Monday the 11th, Proclamation for sitting of the Council and Session at Stirling the 2d of February, and untill that time, of the Councils sitting at Dalkeith, Tuesday and Thursday weekly. Upon the self same day the Commissioners were dealt with by the Treasurer and Privie Seall, to goe to Dalkeith the morne; thereafter to attend the Council in a small number, not exceeding twelve in whole; and to divide their supplications, every rank and Shireffdome coming with their supplications apart: which, because it tended to division, was refused.

Upon Tuesday the 12th, the Commissioners coming forth as they were appointed, were assayed, If they would divide their numbers? If they would send

in their supplications by a maister or clerke, and not come in themselves? If they were come as The Three Estates, or as supplicants of all ranks? Whereunto was answered, That they would not divide, nor fend in their petitions by the clerke nor maister, nor call themselves otherwayes than supplicants of all ranks. At length, the heads of their supplications being understood, they were delayed till the morne.

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

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

They resolved also, that the Colledges should be brotherly admonished to beware of the Service Book, and of suffering any corrupt doctrine to be taught amongst them, lest parents should be forced to remove their children.

Upon Tuesday the 19th of December, we went to Dalkeith to attend the Counsell's answer to our petitions formerly given in, and presented this Bill, the copie whereof followeth.<sup>(2)</sup>

<sup>(2)</sup> The Bill here referred to, and the various other Papers which Baillie mentions as transmitting copies of to Mr. Spang, are transcribed in his MS. Register of Letters. It was thought

FOR MR. R. WILKIE.<sup>(3)</sup>

16th of January 1638.

RIGHT REVEREND,

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

.FOR MR. ALEXANDER CUNINGHAME.<sup>(4)</sup>

January 16, [1638.]

ALEXANDER,

These are thanks for this dayes letter; the larger it was I lyked it much the better, yet ye must not lyke this the worfe that it is short, for it is now past eleven at night. I marvell upon what ground the report of my scrapings is risen; the truth is, at my going to Edinburgh, foreseeing I would be speared

advisable, however, to keep his own Letters and Journals distinct from such documents, most of which are easily accessible in a printed form.

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

<sup>(4)</sup> It is probable that this person was the same who was proprietor of the small Estate of Hyndhope, in Selkirkshire, and afterwards became Minister of Ettrick. Alexander Cunningham the Historian was his younger son.

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

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

FOR THE PRINCIPALL.<sup>(b)</sup>

REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER,

I have been, I suspect, too long in your debt: receive now from my boy

<sup>(b)</sup> Dr. John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

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

Your Brother,

R. B[AILLIE.]

Kilwinning, January 16, 1638.

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

FOR MR. JOHN MAXWELL.<sup>(6)</sup>

REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER,

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

Your Brother.

Kilwinning, January 16, 1638.

(6) One of the Ministers of Glasgow.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Feb. 27, [1638.]

COOSING,

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

What had past to the 20th of September last, ye have in my former letter. I shall send you now what hes befallen since, after some gleanings of the former tyme, whereof since I have had intelligence. The 20th of December 1636, there come a missive to the Councell, brought doune by the Bishope of Roffe, commanding all to conforme themselves to a Liturgie, which the King had seen in write, and approven. The missive ye have at the letter (A,) the Act of Councell and Proclamation made therefrae is printed in the frontispeece of our booke. It was well near May thereafter ere the books were printed: for, as it is now perceaved by the leaves and sheets of that booke, which was given out athort the shoppes of Edinburgh, to cover spyce and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed: bot for what cause we cannot learne; whether because some gros faults was to be amended, or some

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

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



and yet there remaines, a man very favourable to the Book, and a great reasoner for it.

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

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

letter to him. The noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers of the West and South, did meet in frequent number; but, at the beginning, were verie forrie of their voyage. St. Andrews had not come over; none of Fyfe to count of were present. We expected no Counsell day: we took our advertisement to be a false alarme, and our warner, [Mr. Johnstone] beside his custome, to have been too rash: we began to be ashamed, and feared that meeting of ours should be mocked by the adverse partie; but at once we fand our self farr mistaken: A Counsell meets; we hear a dumb rumor that hard letters were come from Court; that St. Andrews of purpose had absented himself to deceave and withdraw Fife from that meeting; or rather, as I thinke, because he defyred to be absent from the ungracious employments of that day. However, the commissioners of parishes, above two hundred, gives in their supplications to James Primrose, the clerk, together with a dollor at leist the peece. This done, all goes to consultation; the noblemen to one house, the gentry to another, we to a third. Mr. Andrew Ramfay is our moderator; he enquires of every man, if he diffented from the Book: all did, both for matter and manner of imposing it. I was posed somewhat more narrowly, because they suspected my minde in these things. I replied, with some peice of blushing in such ane auditory, the like whereof I had never spoken, That albeit I thought myself obleidged, in charitie, to construct all that cause from authoritie in the best sence that any veritie would permitt, yet I behooved to disapprove the Book, both for matter and manner; upon these reasons, which at more length I had to shew. I was not minded to speak any more in publick; yet after I heard tyme spent by many in their poor and soone answered objections, I was the more content to yield to the importunitie of fundrie, who drew me with their hands forward, to speak some of my reasons. I had thought on a way of opposing the Book, by God's providence, which had come in the minde of none of that company, so farr as I yet know, to prove the errors that were apparent, or might be deduced by consequence from the Book, to be the minde and avowed doctrine of the book-makers, by testimonies of these books which Canterburie of late had printed. A number of thir passages I had perquire; so I was heard with very great applause, and ere even was too famous a man in all the toune, and intreated that what I had said, or could say more to that purpose, I would put it in write; for that way of proceeding was counted to be verie advantagious to our cause. This I did; and since hes, from manie hands, gotten manie thanks,

and expects from the Bishops, if ever they gett up their heads againe, manie stroakes : readily I shall send yow a double of it. It is after the order of Vedelii Arcana, and Festi Hommii Specimen, et Socini Remonstrantismus.

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

what to doe : some hard passages were in it ; it had neither been reasoned nor voted, but only read, and after all the nobles and gentries subscriptions, presented to our hands. If I had refused my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day, for marring, by my example, a good cause, as yesterday I was famous for furthering it with my discourse. After a little silence and advyement, I got my minde extended to subscription, upon thir two grounds :

1. That the words "Seeds of Idolatry and Superstition, and the Masse," without thraving, might reach farre ; and indeed, according to my minde in the Book, after the Englishmen's late commentares, such seeds truly were sowed.
2. That who subscribed a complaint upon the narrative of many wrongs, it was enough to bide by the conclusion, and so many of the premises as true lie did justifie it. It was declared by the penners and chief hands in that write, that they intended no farder then to obleidge all the subscribers to complaine against the Bishops, who had been the authors of a Booke so many wayes faultie ; but not that every subscriber should be tyed to believe all the parts of the narrative. Upon thir two grounds I got my hand to that write, which here ye have at the letter (F,) and did never repent of that subscription ; for after tryal, and much study, I thinke there is no word into it bot I could defend it in reason. However, I thought then, and yet does thinke, that the penners were much more happie then wise. I thinke they were very imprudent to make that piece so hard, so rigorous, so sharpe, that they minded to present to so many thousand stomacks of diverse temper. Had they been to require the hands of none bot men who were of their faith of Bishops and ceremonies, they had not been rash ; bot their strength consisting in the union of a multitude, the greatest part whereof was farre otherwayes, and still are, of ceremonies and fundry things in that Booke, then they are, they should have attempered their words in more generall termes ; which they might have done, without hurting their maine intention, and venturing to losse the hands of the most, and most considerable of all the Cleargy of Scotland. For this their ventorious rashness, I much chyded the authors of that write. They gave contentment by this, among other speeches, that hereafter, if the lyke service were put upon them, they should be loath bot to take more of our advyce, who in some things were otherways minded then they. However, the goodness of God has covered their infirmity, as still I take it. Of men who are opposit to the Book, I know very few at all, yea none of any

confideration, who hes refused their hands to [this] write, except our brethren in Glasgow; for they all, except old Mr. John Bell and Mr. Robert Wilkie who are both very forward in all this caufe, have yet refused to fubfcribe upon their own reafones; bot they are not thought of in fo great a number. There are at it now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. I heare [of] none away bot Craigie, and Pollok Maxwell, and the Conftable of Dundie. All the townes have fubfcribed, except Aberdeen, whom they fufpect.

While this write is in fubfcribing, the burgeffes of Edinburgh are putt in a high rage. They finde their fupplication had never been prefented to the King: they fee the Counfell and Seffion removed, the greateft evill that they did feare execute upon them: they underftand, by the former letters; that promifes were made to work them to the embracing of the Booke: they feared that the nobles and gentry were put off the towne, that they, being left alone, might, by threats and allurements, be brought by their Proveft whereto he would. Thir reafones make the multitude in a high moode to flock to the Counfell-houfe, where their magiftrates did fitt, and fent in to require that the Proveft and Counfell would appoint Commiffioners for to joyne in fupplications and complaints, with the reft of the countrey; alfo to affure them of their minifters and readers reftitution to their places; with denuntiation, reall and intelligible enough, that except all were prefently granted, they needed not to expect to come out of that houfe with their lives. Upon thefe fears all was granted. James Cochrane, John Smith, and a third of their old bailiffs, in whom they had moft confidence, were chofen for Commiffioners; ane Act in write, fubfcribed by all the Magiftrates hands, was given out to them, for their minifters and readers; fo the moft of the people went away in triumph. While thir things are in doing, the Bifhop of Galloway comes up the ftreets towards the Tolbuith, for the examination of fome witnes, in the caufe of Francis Stewart, Lord Bothwell, and Roxburgh. While he is near the doore, the women, after fome quarrelling of him for his crucifixe and clamours, begins to pluck at him, and fo affrayes him that he cryes to the gentlemen for helpe; who, prefently, with their fwords and good words, holds the people off him, and carries him to the Laigh Counfel-houfe. It was not much from ane dangerous uproare; bot the diligence of the gentry, whom the people did refpect, and the obtaining of all their defyres, held all in: yet durft not the Proveift or the Bifhop either ftirr out of doores till the Thefaurer

and Wigton came to them, and convoyed them through the street. In the afternoon a Proclamation is made, declaring this tumult to be barbarous, insolent, and all the evils you can call it, and commanding that none of the inhabitants should, under the highest paines, be seen on the streets, but for their necessary affaires: so it seems they informed his Majesty of that hour's work, as ye will hear in the sequel. The Provest and Bishop were so evil feared, (as I thinke indeed they had reason, for, it seems, a little matter would have made them be pulled in small pieces,) that they durst no more compear in the toun. The Bishop held him about the Thesaurer. The Provest went off the toun in a rage, as was thought, to post to Court with his complaints: but, after sleeping, he stayed in Leith and about the toun for some dayes, till the calmeing of the people's mindes.

That afternoone the Nobilitie did use all diligence to have a Counsell for presenting their Magna Charta; which, after great paines, they obtained. My Lord Loudon penned a letter in their names, containing a smooth complaint of their hard usage, and requiring license to stay in the towne for terme affairs, withall intreating to receive the Supplication, which was inclosed in a paper by it selfe. The Counsell gave them leave to stay 24 houres farder; and to all who would come and show the necessity of their particular affairs, they promised license to stay longer: but as for their new Supplication they would not read [it,] because they were simplie discharged to meddle with any thing [that] concerned the Church in that dyett; however assuring their willingness, when their hands were lowfed, as they trusted they should be shortly, to receive it, and give it ane convenient answer. The Bishop and Provest, in this conference with the Noblemen at the Counsell, were so farr from giving them thanks for rescueing their lyfe that day, that to their faces they imputed the appearance of tumult, and their particular danger to the comeing of the nobilitie and gentry to the toun in so frequent number, alleadgeing that these tumults fell not out but when they were in toun. The other made much vantage of that calumnie, making this their speech a ground of their nixt famous meeting the 15th of November, for to choose Commissioners to wait in small numbers on the Counsell, according to the Bishop's and Provest's motion. This was the pretence; but the truth was, that night after supper in Balmerinock's lodgeing, where the

whole nobilitie, I think, fupped, fome Commiffioners from the gentry, townes, and minifters mett, where I was, quoth the dogge, among the reft. There it was refolved to meet again, the 15th of November, in as great a number as poffibly could be had, to wait upon the anfwer of their prior fupplication, and to gett their complaint once tabled and receaved, and to doe farder *pro re nata* ; for, to this houre, I cannot learne that any plott or defigne hes been laid by one or moe, bot only a refolution taken to make the beft ufe that wifdome and diligence could, of every occafion, as it prefented itfelf, for their maine end to free us of the Bookes. In this meeting, Loudon and Balmerinoch were Moderators ; both of them, bot efppecially Balmerinoch, drew me to admiration : I thought them the beft fpoken men that ever I heard open a mouth. The harmony, mutual love among all, zeal and gravity, was greater, in my minde, then was in a meeting of very churchmen this fourty year. With prayer, Mr. Andrew Ramfay began and ended. Mr. Thomas Abernethie fpake exceeding well in the farewell to the Nobles, for the reformation of their perfones, and ufeing the exercife of piety in their families ; which all took weell, and promifed fair.

The fame of that 15th day fspread at once farr and broad, even to the King's eare, and all were in great fufpence what it might produce. To counterpofe all finifter accidents, the Thefaurer indicted a Counfell at Lithgow the 14th of November. We thought all that the King's minde was come doune with my Lord Thefaurer deput, Sir James Carmichael ; bot he had nothing, neither in write nor word. Mr. William Livingftone told a number of us, in the meeting, that Sir James had faid to him, he heard the King affure, he would have the Booke through, on all hazards, and would never have a letter of it altered ; yea, Mr. William reported thir news to Traquair ; who advertifed Sir James of the inconvenience of this report, whether true or falfe. Sir James, highly commoved with Mr. William's rafhneffe, affureing the utter falfet of that brute ; that he had reported the cleane contrare to fundrie, to witt, that the King, upon the information that our Scotifh fervice was diverfe, and much more near to Popery than that of England, had, with his own hand, noted fome of thefe diverfities, and was difpleafed with them, fhowing, he had no intention that our Booke should be any thing worfe than the Englifh ; alfo, that the King had given ane very late proof of his good affection to religion, who, on my Lord (as I thinke) of

Devonshyre's complaint, that his lady was seduced by the priests, and made goe to masse, whence he had pulled [her] almost by violence, crying to all that were at that masse to give out his wyfe, or else he would burn them all together ; upon this Lord's complaint, the King had made a very strict proclamation against these seducing priests.

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

2. It was required, That order might be taken with some Bishops and Ministers,



who, in privie discourses and sermons, had slandered them as mutinous, seditious, and rebellious. When the Thesaurer had sflighted these men's passionate words; it was thirdly required, That the people of Edinburgh, who in words and clamours had past bound, bot done no harme, might likewise be past; upon which condition, they would pass from the former farr greater and more considerable injury done to them. In this, it was said, nought could be done in the Proveist of Edinburgh's absence; for he, of purpose, with the clerk and some of his faction, had gone off the towne to behold the event of that meeting. It was fourthly required, That the Ministers of Edinburgh might be restored to their places. To this the Bishop protested his willingness; bot behooved to deall with the Chancellor and King, that they might be replaced, so as might be most for the content of themselves and all others. Fifthly, it was required, That the Bishops and others might surcease the urging or practise of the Book till the King's minde were knowne; and that so much the more, as the Baillie of Brechin did report to the Counsell of their Bishop D. Walter's importunity to take instruments in God, the King, and in his own name, being a counsellor, that he discharged their choosing a Commissioner to supplicat against that Booke, which now he was minded to read. This the Counsellors promised they would advise the Bishops; and, as it is thought, both the Thesaurer and the Chancellor advertised D. Walter [Whitefurd], that he should forbear the Book for a tyme:—Bot he being resolved to serve the King in a tyme when other feeble cowards couched, would not be counselled; bot on the Sunday following went to the pulpit with his pistoles, his servants, and, as the report goes, his wife, with weapons. He entered earlie when they were few people, he closed the doores, and read his service: bot when he had done, he could scarce gett to his house; all flocked about him, and had he not fled, he might have been killed: since, he durst never try that play over againe. The effect of that dayes meeting ye may see in the Counsell's letter to the King and Secretar, at the letter (G); the fruit of it to our countries cause, was the conjunction of the Towne of Edinburgh with the rest; for at their commissioners motion to the noblemen, it was resolved, that their cause should be defended as common, so far as law could sustaine, and then it was thought sustainable; that the matter which the Bishops called so barbarous a tumult, was nought bot a very modest keeping of their possession, when these, against all law, would have intruded the corruption of

their Religion; so whatever skaith had followed on that intrusion, the usurpers, not the defenders, must be charged with it, according to King James maxime of the Poudier treason, "That in the danger of the Prince, or of the Religion, every one, without reproof, may run to their defences." Such things are now begun to be more then muttered. The other advantage we gott, was the fettleing of ane advyfed and constant order by Commiffioners, countenanced by the Counsell; that we may pursue and defend our cause against the Bishops no more by a tumultuary confluence, but by the stayed resolution of a great number of the choycest heads in the Kingdome. The Noblemen meets all; of the Ministry, one from every presbytrie; of the Gentry, two from every shyre; and one or two from every burgh: the forme and tenor of the Commission is at the letter (H.) The diligence and policy the Gentry resolved on for to advertise one another, to the remotest parts of the Kingdome, that all in a truce might be convened, see at the letter (I.)

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

Wee are not well at home, till we hear of my Lord Roxburgh's arryvall, of his letter to the Thesaurer to keep a Counsell at Linlithgow the 7th of December, of the Thesaurer's advertiffing hereof our legers at Edinburgh, who presently, by post, acquaints all their colleagues in the country. All [the] Commiffioners came to Edinburgh on the 5th of December. They were earnestly dealt with not to goe to Linlithgow, upon affurance nought should be done to their prejudice, and that within four days they should have a new meeting of the Counsell. This, after much debate, was granted. At Linlithgow, the Counsell was frequent; the King's letter of trust

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

he fand them difpofed, by huge and vaft offers. Whatever of this be true, the event feemes to declare, that his maine direction was to affay all poffible meanes of divideing thefe who were fo ftraitly combined, and that in a way legale, which none could reprove. The Thefaurer at that tyme was much, as is thought, threatened by the King: and it is no marvell; for, beyde other mifinformations, Sir Thomas Thomfone, [the] Register's good-brother, had written to Canterburie of him exceeding maliciously; which letter he gott, and challenged on his calumnies, bot imputed them mainely to [the] Register, with whom he bears almoft professed enmity. Wigton being taxed in that mifinformation, took occafion, in the Counfell-day at Linlithgow, upon fome idle words of the Register, to fall on him with moft opprobrious words, as a bafe villain and pultron, whom he threatened to flick, but was holden off him.

In the Counfell-dayes following at Dalkeith, there was much adoe; the Thefaurer, Roxburgh, and Lorne, dealing with all their might to caufe the Petitioners, for efchewing the appearance of multitude, to divide their fupplications, and appear, the nobles, gentry, townes, miniftry, feverally, and that according to fhires and presbyteries; thefe, that they would not deale with the Bifhops as parties, but feek the Books to be away, and their matters helped without taking to any man's perfons; at leaft not to take them to the Archbifhops and Bifhops without exception, bot to fo many of them as they coude finde faulty. Thefe poynts were fo preffed, that Rothus and Loudon both was in yielding; bot after advyfeing, all concluded, that they neither could, by vertue of their commiffion, nor would, for many feen reafons; fee thir at (N.); as alfo reafons to fubfcrive the complaint putt abroad and penned by the author of the complaint, epecially the loffing of the fubfcriptiones and hands which were at the complaint as it flood, and the divifion of the body, which fo would infallibly ruine. For thir and the like caufes they all peremptorly refolved, that one letter of that wreit they would not alter, and in no cafe divide. They were content, at the Counfell's pleasure, that in the moft of their dealings there forth the Counfell, there fhould appear bot twelve chofen from the whole Commiffioners; Rothus, Loudon, Montrofe, Lindesay, thir four nobles; Cunninghamhead, Keir, Auld barr, as I remember, from the gentry; James Cochran, John Smith, and the Proveift of Culros; Mr. James Cuninghame minifter at Cumnock, and Mr. Thomas Ramsay at

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

The first dyett at Dalkeith the Counfellors thought to have eluded the vehement earnestness of the Petitioners, as it seemes by their letter to my Lord Secretar, which ye have at (Q.); bot that hope failling, and St. Andrewes foreseeing the necessity to yield to the supplicants importunity, he gave over any more to come to Counsell, and all the Bishops with him: for all the Petitioners complaints ran mainely to have the Bishops declyned, and so raised from the Counsell-table; they thought meet therefore themselves to praveene, lest if they had been forced to it, it should have forestalled their cause. So then the last Counsell-day, Thursday the 22d of December, was act[ed] the last part of our schene [scene]. The twelve Petitioners came in name of all the Commiffioners. My Lord Loudon delivered this speech, see the letter (R.) and with it gave in the two old supplicationes, these of the 20th of September and 18th of October, which had lyen in the Clerk's hand, not acknowledged by the Counsell, because discharged then to medle therein; albeit privately they were looked on, and sent up also to the King underhand: also with these

two old pieces was given in a new bill and a declinator, which ye have at the letter (S.); and upon the delyverie of these foure writs, my Lord took instruments by a double peece in a notar's hand. Thereafter the two ministers spake. Mr. James Cunninghame had this short speech, at (T.), which moved all the Counsellors, and drew tears from fundry of them: the postscript is right quick; so much the more as it could not be forethought. To all thir writs and speeches was given, after ane interlocutor, this Act in answer, at the letter (U.)

The next question [was,] How all this should be signified to his Majestie? All agreed, it was no way safe, nor sufficient, to committ the buifness to packett; that it was necessare altogether for some of the Counsellors to goe up to Court. Both Traquair and Roxburgh seemed willing to accept the charge, if it had been laid on them; yea, to be æmulous of it. Some inclyned to the imploying of the one, some to the other, most to both; at last, all the Counsell resolved to wryte of the necessity of his Majestie's information by some of his servants, the choyce of the men they remitted to his own discretion. With this the vacants came; all went home, bot some few Commissioners, appointed by turne to lye still in Edinburgh for all occurrents. When the countrey wes away, the Provest fell a fresh to his policies, deales mightily to make the towne supplicate apart to seek the King's favour, and pardon for their tumults; gives them full affurance, will they bot use these formalities, the King shall freely pardon them, shall quyte them of the Service Book for ever, except the whole Kingdome be moved willingly to take it, which he thought would never be: for in all his discourfes from the beginning, he enveighed against the Booke as much as any; also, that Counsell and Session should presently be restored to them, and their priviledges much augmented. It seems the man had undertaken to make that towne come in the King's will; and so, for the effectuating of his promise, did give affurance of many things which neither he could nor would be any wayes carefull to have performed. By this dealling, he had prevailed with a great number of the Counsell; bot the Commissioners that were in the towne finding it going so, remonstrated to the Towne Counsell by James Cochrane and John Smith, (very good instruments in all this matter,) That their supplicating apart might be the betraying of the whole Kingdome; their craveing pardone for any thing some base people in the towne, which could not be found, had done against

the innovators of religion, would be a preparative to bring the whole City, and all in the Kingdome who had opposed the Booke, within the compasse of law, and the courteours mercy ; also, that the crafts and commons would be inflamed to violent them all, if they would assay to conclude any such things, as it is said they were indeed ready to doe. Upon thir remonstrances, the Proveſt's dealings evanished, and all the Counsell resolved to stick by the rest of the Kingdome, to defend their just cause by the law, and suffer all inconveniences ere they, as they had done too oft before, should be ane evill preparative to the rest of the Kingdome. In the meantyme, the President slips to Court. The Counsellors had advyfed, and entreated him not to goe, upon the Nobles desyre, who required, that none should be permitted to goe, farr lesse he, who was almost a professed enemie to them, and an agent for the Bishops, that the King's first information might be by these of the Counsell whom they expected shortly the King himself would call for. Notwithstanding, he went his way ; bot to the great malcontentment of all. His friends gave out, his only eirand was, for his Father's<sup>(1)</sup> dimiffion of the Chancellary, and composition therefore ; for the settleing of the Session, which, to the great prejudice of all the members of the house, had long vaicked, and was longer like to vaicke. In his way, it is said, he diverted to York and Durehame, and some other of the Bishops. When he came to the King, they say, his information was so hard, that the King was pensive, and did not eat well ; bot that my Lord Haddington hearing of his misreports, was bold to putt in the King's hand a late missive which he had got from his good-brother Rothus, having a short information of the countrey's proceeding ; for the absolute truth whereof Haddington undertook. The reading of this contented somewhat the King ; whereupon his minde being disposed towards the Thefaurer, my Lord Duke of Lennox wrote for him to Court, and thereafter the King himself, and Marques of Hamilton also. With all this, he went to Roxburgh, and shew it to him, of whom he was jealous. Roxburgh was nothing content that he was not sent for ; yet he pretended the necessity of his stay for his onely sonn's marriage with Arroll's daughter, and in the meantyme, did write with the Thefaurer favourable letters to the King, in the prejudice of any misinformation the President, or any other, could make.

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

The Commiffioners were very earnest, that the Thefaurer would take up ane Information, which Balmerinnoch and Mr. Archbald Johnstone (the only advocate who in this caufe is trusted,) had penned, to present it, together with their Bills, which else would be bot naked peices. This he abfolutely refused to look upon or touch, for he said he was to purge himself by his oath to the King, that he had seen no fuch thing, only he was content it fould goe in his company, and assured it fould come to the King's hand. So he went away with my Lord Orbiftone,<sup>(2)</sup> whom he keeps by all meanes to hold the Marques fast. By the way he wes almost drowned; he come out of a water, they fay, hinging by his horfe taile. His porter being difmiffed for evill service, fett upon his Lady, in the garden of Dalkeith, with a drawn fword; and had not other two fervants gone betuixt, who both are hurt, the villaine had certainly killed her. They fay, that Stirling is like to be difgraced; that the King being malecontent he was not more tymoufly informed of all thir matters, the Thefaurer shew, that though they were difcharged publickly to fend any word of that bufinefs, yet they had acquainted ever privately the Secretar,<sup>(3)</sup> that he might advertife. This the Secretar granted; bot shew that he was hindred by Canterburie to present the King some peices. Canterburie denied this, hoping to bring Stirling off another way, though in this he fuccumbed: bot all this is bot uncertaine rumors.

So ye have all I know in this matter, whether true or false: readily there is not any one from whom ye can gett a more full narration. I have conferred, and had use of the wredits of these who had chief hand in all the matter, both of the Nobility, and of the Gentry, and Ministrie: for your satisfaction I was the more curious; what will be the end, no living can guesse. If God be pleased to bring upon us the year of our vifitation, the devill could never invented fo pregnant a meanes, and have ruined this Isle, one and all, from the prince to the ploughman: for will the Prince, at the clergies defyre, goe on in violence to presse their courfe, the mischieffs are present, horrible, in a clap: will he relent, and give way to our Supplications, the danger is not past: We wot not where to stand; when the Bookes of Canons and Service are burnt and away, when the High Commiffion is doune, when the Articles of Perth are made free, when the Bifhops authority is hemmed in with never fo manie

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

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



laws ; this makes us not secure from their future danger : so whatever the Prince grants, I feare we presse more then he can grant ; and when we are fully satisfi'd, it is likely England will begin where we have left off, to crave order of the greater and more intollerable abuses of their Clergy ; so that it is not probable our dangers can be soon easily evited ; to prevent thir, the course we use is humiliations in privat and publick, which indeed hes gone through oft the most of our congregations. If God be pleas'd to be gracious, we know he hes wifdome to turne this affaire, which may wracke all, to the redressing of all, to purge the Church of all that leaven and tyrannie of the English Bishops whereunder it long hes groaned, to give to our Laws and Parliaments the old and full [authority] and liberty and truth, to joyne the heart of the King and his subjects faster in love then ever, and remove the jealousies and griefes whereof the minds of both this tyme bygone has been replenished, to enable us to help the Churches abroad, and to contribute all our forces of witt, learning, and armes, against the Antichristian faction. Thir are our prayers and slender hopes in the midst of our desperat feares.

This farr I had written long agoe, but now many things are fallen out. The Thesaurer came backe from Court the 19th of February. About eight dayes before, his man had come doune with a peremptorie command, by found of trumpett, to cause the Members of the Seffion to be at Stirling, for their office. The Lords obeyed ; bot the Advocates of any note would not goe thither. The Thesaurer, when he mett with the Nobles, assured them, with oathes and great affeverationes, that he had no direction from the King concerning their Supplications. In this Roxburgh did joyne with him ; bot from friends at Court, they were informed of the contrare, and shortly, by privie intelligence at home, gott a double of the King's injunctions, which was a proclamation to be made at Stirling February 20th ; wherein the King took the Books on himself, and discharged the Bishops of all fault, condemned all the supplications and subscriptions, commiffions and all meetings hitherto for that end ; bot did pardone bygones, dischargeing all such meetings in tyme to come, under highest paines, and yet was willing to hear supplications which did not inroach on his royall prerogative, either in matter or manner, as the former had done. This coming out to light, posts went forth athort the whole countrey, with this information,

written by Mr. Archibald Johnstone, for to him the prior informations, both from Court and otherwayes, oft after midnight, are communicat. This information the Bishops cast on the Thesaurer, and so it is thought; yet Mr. Archibald assured me it came from none of his.

This alarme being given, all did make haste. The Thesaurer finding his purpose revealed, intended to have the proclamation precipitat. He had before persuaded the Nobility that onlie two should goe to Stirling, where he assured no prejudice should be done to their cause: bot it was found he intended to keep these two, Rothus and Lindesay, prisoners in the Castle of Stirling; therefor the Nobility resolved to goe together. To prevent this, the Thesaurer and Roxburgh went from Edinburgh a little after midnight. One of their footmen being taking a drinke in a tavern, where a man of Lindesay's, I think, lay, told, that his master was that earlie on horse for Stirling. His companion was not long in advertising his master; who at once wakened others of the nobility: so Lindesay and Hoome took post, and outrode the Thesaurer; the rest followed at leasure. The Thesaurer not finding a number for a quorum, without Counsell did make the proclamation early in the morning. Hoome and Lindesay stood in the crosse with the Lyon herauld, and made a protestation. The Counsell meeting in the afternoone, did approve the proclamation; which was much marvelled at, especially that Angus and Neper should put to their hands to it. It was thought that Lorne, Southesk, Lauderdale, and Wigton should be put off Counsell; bot we see it was not so. Angus and Neper hath showed their repentance for their rashness. The Advocat coming the morne, would by no meanes subscribe the act of approbation of that proclamation, for this reason especially, that the King's direction in it was transgressed; for the King's warrant bare bot the hiest paine, bot the proclamation did beare the paine of treason. Thir things hath much alienated the minds of the Nobility from the Thesaurer, both that he should have deceived them with his oathes, and also extended his commission, to the uttermost bounds, if not beyond, to the ruine of their cause and persons. Yet it is said for him, that at Court he was putt in great danger of his place. The King did pose him upon thirty-eight articles in wryte, furnished by the President against him; wherein he gave the King reasonable answers, withal that he gave the King a full information of all the wryts and deeds had past, that he had brought the King to a tollerable mood, till letters come from the Chancellour, assuring, that as

the Noblemen who were banded for the slaughter of David Rizzio did disband and flee away so soon as the Queen, his good dame, had proclaimed them traytors; so upon the King's condemning of the Nobles proceedings, and discharging them hereafter under these paines, all this combination would evanish, and the King would so come by his intent. Thir letters altered the King's minde, and put him to take the course which may prove wonderfull unhappie: peremptorily he commands the Thesaurer to execute it, and for his fidelity and secrecy put him to his oath. This he undertook, yet leaving under his hand his contrare opinion and advise. Howsoever, the Thesaurer, who indeed hath been an happie instrument in this buifness, is like to losse both the King and the Countrey, which will seeme sweetnes to the Bishops in the midst of their ruines. The charge was to remove from the towne within six houres. The Noblemen who came in frequency against the afternoone, stayed all that night, and for no request would remove; for they alleadged their protestation did warrand them. Yet when the Chancellor and Thesaurer had yoaked their coaches to depart, professing that the Session and Counsell would break up as troubled by them, they were content to goe; and so they did, leaving direction to these who came there to attend the common buifness, to follow them to Edinburgh; also when the Counsell did meet, for the admiffion of my Lord Doune to their number, Arthure Erskine and Poomefe thronging in with the multitude, after the ushing of the house, did present the declinator, and tooke instruments thereupon. My Lord Doune subscribed presently the supplication, to the great discontentment, as they say, of Murray his father. The Bishop of Galloway was like to have received injury in Stirling; but the Magistrates saw to him. in his returne at Falkirk, the wives railed, and shord him with stones, and were some of them punished; also at Dalkeith, upon Sunday, the wives so railed upon him, that the Thesaurer put two of them in prison. The Bishope is in great fear and danger, and shoves little of his old desyre of martyrdom in this so good a cause. When we come to Edinburgh, the 22d of February, we found that the proclamation had been repeated there, that sixteen Noblemen had gone up to the crosse with the Lyon herauld, and after their reverend hearing of the King's proclamation, had caused Mr. Archibald Johnstone, at the same tyme and place, to proclaime their protestation. In the meane tyme, the countrey gathers fast to the towne. The Noblemen, Gentry, Cities,

and Ministers, meets in severall roomes. The Noblemen, with Mr. Alexander Henderfone and Mr. D. D[ickfon,] resolves the renewing of the old Covenant for religion. A little incling of this is given out at first to the rest. Mr. D. D. is imployed in the Colledge church to preach, where, in a great congregation before noone, he shews the expediency of renewing the Covenant. Mr. H. Rollock seconds that motion, with amplification, in the afternoon. In the Grayfriars, Mr. John Adamfone strykes on the same string before noone. Mr. Andrew Ramsay, in the afternoon, for spareing, was misliked. The two other kirks are not regarded. Mr. Henrie's<sup>(4)</sup> plainness made me suspect their intention, in this new Covenant, to make us forswear Bishops and Ceremonies in our meeting. I had discovered the same minde in some, alledging over and over, that the Achan of our land was the breach of our Covenant, in admitting, against the oath of our nation, the government of Bishops and Articles of Perth. To this I gave so sharpe and so modest a reply, that excluded thereafter this motion from this meeting. Bot I was filled with fear and great perplexity, lest the bond, whilk I found was in conceaving, should containe any such clausfes; for this I thought would inevitably open a gape, and make a present division in the Ministry, which was the earnest desyre and sure victory of the Bishops. This I caused remonstrate to the Noblemen whilk they took well, and made Loudon shew me and Mr. George Young, whom I had sent to Loudon to declare my fears, their write, which was scrolled, professing their minde to give us all contentment, and rather to destroy it, then that thereby any rent should be made amongst us. The write had three parts; First, the old Covenant, word by word, as ye have it in the Harmony of Confessions, after our Confession of Faith; the next part consists of Acts of Parliament, whilk all are for our Confession against Poperie; the Third hes ane application to the present case: in this was all the difficulty; for there was indeed clausfes in it requiring the suspension of our practice, then of our approbation of Bishops and Ceremonies. After reasoning, it was yielded to me, to change this clause, to forbear practice. I shew it was ever my minde, since I was a minister; bot not to approve in judgment, it was impossible till I was otherwise informed. So they required bot my disallowance of the corruption of the Bishops government; whereunto I yielded. Some other

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

clauses also, whilk might have seemed to import a Defence in armes against the King, this I could not yield to in any imaginable case; for the grounds I had learned from Monsieur Cameron <sup>(5)</sup> I had not yet leave to try; so, for the present, I could subscribe nothing whilk was against my minde. These were also changed; so that no word, I hope, remains in this write, whilk, in any congruities, can be drawne against the Prince; but many sentences are expressly to the contrary: so in thir two poynts of my feares, Loudon, by his wisdom and equity, gave me contentment. This courtesie was due to me; both because they hoped what would content my scrupulous minde, might be appearance satisfie others who were of my judgement, whereof there was a great number; as also for the regard to my selfe, to whom they professe some respect for my paines in this cause, not only in my first write of Queries, but also of my second of the Parallell, whereby they esteemed their cause somewhat furthered; besyde that they expected, that I being satisfied, would be an instrument to give others contentment, as since they have found.

My Lord Caffills had my scruple anent the Defence with armes. He sent for me; but I eschewed to confirme him in that whilk he professed he had from Monsieur Cameron. He gott in a clause in the write whilk contented his minde. Thus we being contented, they ventured yesterday to present it to our meeting. Rothus, Loudon, Aldbarr, and others come downe. They read it first in private to a number of us who were Commissioners for Presbyteries, and thereafter to all. The objections which were moved by some few were soon satisfied: all being interrogate, man be man, gave their hearty assent; only some three or four brether of Angus, who had sworne obedience to the Bishop, could not finde how to dispense with their practise and oath. My Lord Rothus finding our great harmony, departed with the profession of great joy: for this union was the great pillar of the cause; and it could never have been obtained, if distraction had been in the ministry who had subscribed the former supplication, whilk mischance was much feared; and, indeed, great occasion had the imprudency and rigidity of the first formers of that write given of these feares. It is expected that this day the hands of all estates shall be put to it, and thereafter a declaration shall be made of our innocency in this

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

whole proceeding, and of the injustice of the Bishops, with an earnest desire to have our Prince informed in the truth of this cause, be way of the most humble Supplication. To-morrow, in Stirling, is expected a frequent Council, where there is hope that the Council will lay the wyte of all thir evils upon the B[ishops'] back. What will be next, the Lord knows! we are to humble our selves in fasting and prayer. It becomes you well there, and all the Reformed churches over sea, to commend our cause heartily to God, as we have oft done for you in the like case. We have no assurance yet or warrant that any one line of the Booke shall be remitted, but hopes are made of withdrawing both Liturgie, and Canons, and Communion, and all, if we would let the Bishops alone; but the most part is peremptorily resolved not to endure any longer their lawlesse tyrannie.

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

THE Lords of Secret Councell having received from the Supplicants their petitions, complaints, bill, and declinator of Bishops, at Dalkeith, the 21st December, promising to represent the same to his Majesties royall consideration, as concerning matters of that consequence wherein they could not determine by themselves; their Lordships were then pressed earnestly by the Supplicants, not only to recommend these, but to intreat my Lords Thefaurer and Privie Seall to carry the supplications, &c. and informe his Majestie in these matters; which did well befitt their places, being the greatest affaires that ever had fallen within the compass of their considerations; because a dumb Information, though never so exact, was not capable of replies, nor could it anticipate such doubts as his Majestie might propone. This desire was often repeated in privat to my Lords Thefaurer and Privie Seall, by diverse of the Supplicants, with a demonstration of these evils which might follow from his Majesties want of just information and knowledge of the true state of business here.

The longing desire of the Supplicants for their answer made them appoint some of their number to attend at Edinburgh, for getting and giving notice of my Lord Thefaurer his returne from England; and upon advertise-

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

On the 16th, some of the Supplicants got notice of ane proclamation to be made, which contained his Majesties approbation of the Service Book, as only fitt for the use of the Holy Church, and taking on himself the causing forme it; a dispensing with the nobility and gentry for their bygone meetings; and a discharge of all the meetings hereafter, under the paine of treason. Whereupon four or five of the supplicants were sent from the rest, to my Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seall; who meeting first with my Lord Privie Seall, and disclosing to him the tenor of the supplication, he seemed unwilling to speak

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

These returning to the rest of their number, they all resolved to send four or five to Stirling, to give information to the Councilors concerning the proclamation, as after follows. First, That the Supplicants had been from tyme to tyme put in good hope of a gracious answer, especially by the Act of Council in August last, declaring, that the buying of the Service Book, and not the using of it, was only intended, and by his Majesties declaration in December last; but by this proclamation, their former hopes would be turned into feares. Secondly, That the proclaiming of a dispensation to the Supplicants, for that which they were assured they were doing in duty both to God and his Majestie, would either make his mercy misregarded, or force them to condemne their own doings, so justifiable before God and the world. Thirdly, That the prohibiting of such like peaceable proceedings, under the paine of treason, would make the Supplicants either incur the imputation of treason, or else be casten all into the hands of the adversaries, and cast themselves loose of religion, liberty and peace, against the duty which they owe to God, the Church, and the Country. Fourthly, That, contrary to the King's Majesties declaration in December last, this proclamation transferred the guilt of these novations from the Prelats upon the King's Majestie; not that he can be judged the author thereof, but that they may escape censure; whereby it is hard to say, whether his Majestie be more dishonoured, or justice frustrate, or



his Majesties good subjects disappointed. Fifthly, That the Supplicants tremble, that after so many supplications and declarations, bearing the manifold feeds of heresie, superstition and idolatry, to be contained in the Service Book, it should be declared, be proclamation, to be the forme of God's publick worship, and the meane of maintaining true religion, and holding out of superstition; which must make the subjects either receive what their consciences doe condemne, or directly oppose themselves against his Majesties proclamation. Sixthly, Since that many worthie Counsellors hath regrated the passing of the first Act in favours of the Service Book, and hath made many excuses for the samen, the Supplicants are confident, that having a new occasion of more mature deliberation, they would rather give counsell to his Majestie to choose a course that may give satisfiacion to the desire of his good people, than by confirming so summar a conclusion, greive many, wound their own hearts, and work further disturbance in the church and countrey.

The Thesaurer and Privie Seall hearing, that some were to be directed to Stirling, sent for three or foure of the Supplicants; and understanding their resolution, preased to diffwade the samen: bot these shoves the necessity they conceived thereof, and that for preventing the inconvenience of the proclamation, which would prove so hurtfull, falling upon these particulars in the Information, and upon the report, that the Burrows were excluded from the dispensation offered to the Nobility and Gentry by the proclamation, that a criminall pursute might be intended against Edinburgh, did show a resolution in the whole Supplicants, to intend a criminall pursute against the Bishops and their followers, as soone as the other should be wakened, and that for sclander of so many of the faithfull subjects to be mutinous and rebellious for opposing innovations brought in religion by them against the lawes, and their exercising of the judicatories not established by Parliament, to the heavy oppression of the liedges; for the which faults, as in law, their lives could not escape, so these of Edinburgh did not fall within compass of law for life or fyne, considering how little they did, how great evils were enforced upon them, and what was their Magistrats dealing towards them. The Supplicants, upon better advyement, fand a necessity of using a declinator at Stirling, lest there the Bishops should sitt in judgement, and give out any Act in that buffinesse, wherein they were declared parties,

and ought to be declyned; resolving to propon the said declinator only by two of their number. They were advertised upon Sunday in the morning, that some of the Bishops followers had said, that the proclamation would inhibit any of the Supplicants to appear where the Counsell satt; that if they should present the declinator, they should be put fast; which made the Supplicants to determine to goe together to Stirling, and to be present in the towne at the proponing thereof; thinking, that being together, they were more able to give the Counsell information and satisfaction, then by so few, which might be dazled with difficulties of new propositions and actions not expected. And few houres after this resolution, some of the Supplicants, by permission of the rest, declared the same to my Lords Thesaurer and Privie Seall for preventing of mistake; who immediately sent for foure of the Supplicants, wishing them to change their resolution of going to Stirling, and expostulating with them for the way of carrying their business, alleadged, If the Supplicants had followed their advyse in supplicating apart, and against the Book of Common-Prayer, Canons and high Commiffion only, it had succeeded better with them; they might have petitioned for the rest of their greevances, after once hearing and proving fully their first complaints; that, by appearance, the King would never hear them so long as they complained upon Bishops; and assured, that the Supplicants did now see their own error in not following their former advyse. It was answered, That being a publick business, which concernes the whole kingdome, and the matters of such consequence, it could not be carried in so private a way as your Lordships proposed; the matter being such as religion and policy were extremely wronged, the subjects thereat grieved, behooved to have recourse to their Prince, for commanding redresse by the ordinar course of law, which hath been alwayes customable to subjects in the lyke case; and if the whole Supplicants had been so trustfull in a matter so great and universall, as if it had been any of their own particulars, their Lordships could not engaged life, fortunes and honour, for a good successe to follow their advyse; and though their supplications being restrained, as your Lordships desired, might gett audience, yet if, after supplicating against these other evils which are the root that hath produced such fruits, his Majestie should then refuse to hear any further, would it not grieved them to see the subjects suffer by the relying upon unpauned trust, and the whole envy transferred from the Bishops upon their own heads?

They asking them, What course the Supplicants would take? were answered, They would propone their declinator at Stirling for the reasons forfaids. They saying, It will be refused, were answered, The Supplicants would then protest for ane immediat course to his Majesty, upon their denyall of justice, and present their supplications to his Majesties self. They doubting his Majesty will accept the samen, were answered, The Supplicants would doe their duty, and committ the event to God Almighty, who is sufficiently able to protect his own cause, and their just proceedings.

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

The Counsellors then present could not make a quorum; yet did they proceed with their proclamation at the mercat crosse by ten o'clock, where the Supplicants made protestation. The rest of the Supplicants coming after noone, and hearing of the proclamation, went to the Thesaurer, Privie Seall, and other Officers of State, requiring a sight of the proclamation, that they might advyse with the same; who denied any sight thereof till it should be proclaimed in other places; bot by relation, they smoothing the contents thereof, and differing much from others who heard it read at the crosse, made the Supplicants uncertaine what it contained; who resolveing to leave no lawfull meanes unassayed, sent one of their number to the Clerk of Counsell, requireing only a sight of the proclamation for their perusal; upon whose refuseall, instruments were taken. The Counsellors grudged to finde so many to resort there to Stirling, who had come very frequently from all the nearest adjacent places, and that upon very small advertisement. The Thesaurer and Privie Seall sent for some of the Supplicants; who being asked, What they were minded to doe? They shewed them they would use a declinator, and, in case that were refused, a protestation, as they told them at Edinburgh. They renewing their

often repeated motions of division without successe, were earnest, that the Supplicants should remove all out of the toune, seeing they were to doe no more in that buffines. The Supplicants objected the ratifieing of the proclamation in Counsell, which as yet wanted that warrand ; they assured them of the contrare very firmly, as also gave assurance that no prejudice should be offered to these who presented the declinator or protestation. Whereupon they undertook to deale with the rest of the Supplicants ; who being convened in the Kirk, filled the same ; and with very great difficultie, obtained their consent to remove after dinner toward Edinburgh, upon the relation of the assurance they had gotten the proclamation should not be ratified in Counsell ; and having appointed some few of their number to stay, and propone the declinator and protestation forsaide. After dinner, as they were going to Edinburgh, two or three of the Supplicants went to the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, having some other Counsellors with them, and desired their stay should not be interpreted to proceed from contempt, for they could not obtaine sight of the proclamation, neither from their Lordships, nor from their clerk ; having asked it, and taken instruments of his refusal, thereby to be informed what it enjoyned ; and although it had no legall strength, yet conceaving it to be a declaration of his Majesties minde, which they had been, and would be alwayes most willing to obtemper, without prejudice of the cause they had in hand, they were resolved to part. When the noblemen were gone, the Counsellors went to Counsell in the Castle of Stirling at foure a'clock, where two of the Supplicants gave in the declinator ; which being refused, contrare to the Act of Counsell at Dalkeith, they protested, and offered to take instruments in the notars hand : and being reproached, that they brought in common notars before the Counsell, they offered to take instruments in the clerk of Counsell's hands, which he refused ; whereupon they took instruments in their own writers hands. That night the Counsell ratified the proclamation. One who had the informations, and by the forementioned promise was put in security, hearing thereof, caused delyver some of them the nixt morning to some Counsellors there that most relished religion, and best know the Service Book ; who being informed, fand themselves insnared by their consent, and was heavily grieved.

The proclamation was made at Linlithgow upon Wednesday the 21st of February, where protestation was made, as at Stirling, by three or foure of

the Supplicants ; and at Edinburgh on Thursday the 22d of February, where a great many noblemen, barrons, ministers, and others, supplicants, standing within and about the Croffe, after the proclamation was read, the protestation was also read publickly, and instruments taken in the hands of notars.

On Fryday the 23d, the number of the noblemen and others being increased, at their meeting they treated [traced] the suggestion to sundry of the Supplicants labouring divided Supplications, which was generally disliked, and ane new dealing with the Counsell by way of supplication, restrained to the Service Book, Canons and high Commission, which was apprehended by very few. This made all consider the particular condition and former proceedings of these prime statemen, principall suggestors of such motions : and although the Thesaurer and Privie Seall, both for the greatness of their fortunes and hereditarie conditions, were considerable with the chieft of this land, as deeply interest in the good of this state, which, with their approved understanding, might induce the expectation of all needfull care and faithfull carriage befeeming their place, interest, and knowledge ; and although they seemed extreemly grieved for their present evils, and, by frequent information, fully perceived the root whence they flow, yet the preservation of their places and credit with his Majestie, by appearance hath made them forbear to doe or informe fully about these who they thought was so acceptable to his Majestie ; and many of the Bishops being the yoke fellows with them in burden of the state, and others of that minde watching over their wayes, ready to informe against them for any thing that appears not conduceable to their end, and obtaining sollicitations from persones of power in their own favours to the said statemen, hes made them all this while to labour rather the quenching of the paine, then the cureing of the disease, and to make a diversion from the root of evils by a fair addresse of these Supplicants, for the present pruneing of the branches. All their proceedings in this buifness being fully considered, was found to intend this end, such complying being fitter for the servants of a person, then of ane state. Some of them, by words and actions, so much laboured amidst right and wrong, as they will, except they mend it, get the like recompence to them, who indeavour reconciliation betwixt Protestants and Papists, which is neither thanks nor trust from either, as our own late experience proveth. Bishops had their Commiffaries.

To Mr. WILLIAM SPANG.

April 5th [1638.]

COUSINE,

Thir are in such haste, that they cannot be satisfactory. I sent yow by William Cuninghame, with one Gibson of Leith, two double pieces and a five merk piece : before we be miserable, I wish my debts were paid. Also I sent yow two quarts of Rosa Solis, that once yet ere we die ye may drink my good health. Your letters are more unfrequent to me then ordinary ; ye know the cause. The doubles of the King's proclamation, and the countrey's protestation, with the newly subscribed Covenant, I would have sent to yow, according to my promise in my last, had not Mr. William Wilkie assured me that he would have them at yow before this. The great business among us since that tyme has been, to have that Confession subscribed be all hands ; and through all hands almost has it gone. Of Noblemen at home, who are not counsellors or papists, unto which it was not offered, I think they be within foure or five who has not subscribed. All the Shyres have subscribed, by their Commissioners ; and all the Townes except Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Craill ; yea, the particular gentlemen, burgeses and ministers have put to their hands ; and the parishes throughout the whole countrey, where the Ministers could be persuaded, on a Sabbath day, all have publicly, with ane uplifted hand, man and woman, sworn it. Mr. William Anan himself has thus farre proceeded, to all our admiration ; our marvell is increased, when he is said to repent it, and to say, he was constrained to doe what he did : the man is so resolute, and the oathes of this wryte are so frequent, clear, and deep, that who has taken them, I think, he cannot readily recall them. I hear for truth, that Mr. William is put in a great dumpe, and, after some trouble both of minde and body, has gone to Glasgow and Edinburgh ; to what purpose I cannot yet say. I suspect the town of Air's motion to him to consent to receive a helper, which they would name, and provide him, without any diminution to his stipend, has troubled him more then anything else ; for they seem peremptor to have a minister conjunct with him, and that, either Mr. Robert Blair or Mr. George Dumber their old minister, or such a man who will bear down Mr. William, and so kill him when

he hes lost the Bishops his old freinds. This peremptory and unexpected motion, I fear, is the cause of his perplexity and change, if he doe make any.

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

To Aberdeen the burrows sent Mr. Robert Barclay provest of Irwine, and the Clerk of Dundee, in commission; bot thir people, by the Marqueſſe of Huntley's instigation, and the Northland Bishops, were so preoccupied, that willfully, without allegation of reason, they refused. Their Doctors for the most part are favourers of the Books; and how farr our folks of Glasgow,

or any non-subscribers, are opposite to the Books, I cannot speak much for the present. D[octor] Baron has given out something in write for the Booke, whereof I am forrie; not for the write it self, for if the piece I saw be it, it is a very poor one, that will never hurt our cause, but because I tender that man's estimation as one who was half designed to our Theologicall profession in Glasgow, which he can never attain to with any tolerable contentment of our country, were he an angel, if once he have fyled paper in maintenance of the Booke. Edinburgh continues constant. Mr. Henry [Rollock] and Mr. Andrew [Ramsay,] yea, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Hamilton, and Mr. John Livingstone, preaches there to the peoples heart. Mr. Matthew Weems in the Canongate, Mr. Forfair in North-Leith, all the Colledge, Principal D. Sharpe, Regentes, [and] all the Schollars, (except Mr. Robert Rankine and Mr. John Broune, with some few boyes with them,) have subscribed and sworn. The Ministers of Stirling, before the Lords of Session, are inveighing daily against our Bishops. St. Andrews itself, we hear, for the most part, has subscribed. What shall be the end, God knows!

The Counsell sent to court my Lord Orbistone with their instructions, here inclosed. The Noblemen sent Mr. John Livingstone before him, with what instructions I know not; but it was fore against my minde that he should be employed at this tyme, being a Book man, a preacher rigide and passionate, and, which was worst, standing under the sentence of excommunication of the Irish Church. He was not at Court four houres till the King spoke of his coming, of the way and manner of his voyage: this made him to poste back, after one day's, at most, lurking at London. It is thought that Orbistone, who overtook him by the way and outrode him, behooved to be the informer; which will impair much of that trust which Orbistone hitherto did enjoy amongst us. The noblemen drew up a common letter, to be presented by the Earle of Haddington to the Duke, Marques, and Morton, conjunctly, intreating them, if they thought to undertake the presentment of their supplications to the King. The letter and supplication I will stryve to send to you with the next; these were not ready when Mr. John Livingston went away. Orbistone at his returne filled the countrey with good news; but we find thereafter, that all resolved on the King's letters calling up Roxburgh and the Thesaurer, and my Lord of Lorne, for to consult before any farther was proceeded in that matter, according to one of the articles of these instructions



which Orbistone carryed up, and did nothing please the countrey; for we thought them bot only complements, and inclyning to censure our meetings of unlawfullness. However, we are informed, that the best lawyers, both Hope, Nicolstone, and Stewart, being consulted by the King, does declare all our bypast proceedings to be legall. The three Counsellors<sup>(6)</sup> are all to Court; we are full of feares: the Thesaurer hes lost all his trust with us; Privie Seall never had any; we tremble for Lorne, that the King either persuade him to goe his way, or finde him eirands at Court, for a long tyme. Brechin and Roffe are both to Court, the two most unhappy of all the Bishops. It is said, that Roffe, before he went from home, was affrighted with the boyes who burnt the Service Book where he was; this made him flippe away difaguyfed over the mounts. It seems, according to Orbiston's instruction, that the King hes called up these two of the clergy as his former informers. We are praying to God, and wishes you to concurr with us, that this affaire now in the balance may have a fair end: Our country is at the poynt of breaking loufe; our lawes this twelve moneth hes been filent; diverse misregards their creditors; our Highlands are making ready their armes, and some begun to murder their neighbours. Dowglafs, Abercorne, and Semple, are openly arming among us; readily after their example other Noblemen will provide presently their houses with musquett, picks, powder and lead. We hope, that since the Palatine is gone to Germany, and the King has sent to Hambrugh to renew the league with Sweden, since the prentises of London, as we heare, does force the delyverance of Canterburie's prisoners, and fundry there intends a legall proceffe against the Bishops usurpations, we hope that a peaceable decision may come from Court; yet we feare God let us not go so soon out of the snare, so small hitherto hes been our repentance; the violence also, which we see breathed out of the Bishops and their followers mouths, against their opposites, and the countrey's undiffembled rage against them, as the only authors and contryvers of all this danger, I fear it end not smoothly. Mr. Robert Hamilton, and Mr. John Lindsay, hes been very ill used in Lanerick, by the women, as I doubt not Mr. William Wilkie will informe yow. Mr. Robert Hamilton is fully resolved to be re-

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

venged for his wounds ; and for this end, wrote sharply to the Thefaurer and Chancellour, yet all lyes over ; this fame may further the mischief.

I have made all the Colledge wryte to yow for a Rituale Romanum, Miffale, Breviarium, and Pontificale. I pray yow, becaufe I have prefent ufe of them, faile not to purchafe them fair and lately printed, for we have old Sarum ; alfo Jofephus Vicecomes de Ritibus Baptifmi, etc. ; take my affurance, that for thefe the Colledge will give yow thanks, and I alfo. The Lord be with yow ; and, pray for us.

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

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Your Letter to me was moft acceptable ; that ye thought not good to conferr with me by write, I likewayes approve ; for of that kinde of jangling I am over weary. Glad fhould I have been to have come unto yow wherever ye had defired, if fo I had conceived any hope to doe yow pleasure ; but it was another, and not your felfe, who required me to come to Glafgow that day, when I could not well winn ; and the laft voyage I made to that place, for the like end, was allutterly fruitlefs, for there I fand my felf allutterly unable to fatiffie any of thefe brethren, in any the leift of their objections againft our late Confeflion ; bot I thank God that ye are come much nearer, by thefe good means ye name of your reading and prayer : I am confident, upon the continuance of the fame, that ye fhall come on that little ftep which remaines ; and, if it might be the will of God, from my heart I wifh, fo foon as is poffible, to fee yow come clean over, where fo many of us are who loves yow dearly, and whom ye alike doe love. Our maine feare to have our religion loft, our throats cutted, our poor countrey made ane Englifh province, to be difpofed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bifhops of Canterburie ; thir our feares are builded mainely upon the withdrawing of our brethren's hands and countenances from us, in that courfe which we conceive to be moft neceffare at this tyme. Our hopes, under God, which we have, to croffe the underminers of our whole religion and civill liberties alfo, is in the univerfall harmonie and conjunction of all brethren. Your hand I took ever to be of efpeciall importance ; I know not only the deferved de-

pendance which many brethren had upon yow, bot your great estimation and abilities whereby this good cause might be furthered, if ye had joynd: I think it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life, or shall have to your death, to doe God, our Church, our Country, a peice of good service. The declaration of your minde before all the world, let be these yow name, in the poynts ye expresse, readily will be granted; bot a band in write in the termes ye sett downe, I fear be not yielded: so farr as I know, the like was not craved of any. The first part of it, That yow did subscriue so farr as that Confession was not prejudiciall to the King's authority, the office of Episcopall government it self, and that power which is given to Bishops by lawfull Assemblies and Parliaments, and in so farr as we are bound to withstand all innovations in the worship of God, contrare to his written word, and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, this I think it very needles to crave; for if ye saw any thing into this Covenant, which, either in expresse termes, or by any good consequence, could infer the contradiction of any of these things ye name, ye might not in any termes, on any exposition or limitation, offer to subscriue it. I doe not only believe that there is no word into it that makes against the King's full authority, so farr as either religion or reason can extend it, or against the office of Bishops, or any power they have by any lawfull Assembly or Parliament; or that by this write we are obliged to oppose any novation, or any thing at all which is not contrare to God's word: not only I believe this, bot hes professed so much before the whole meeting at Edinburgh, oft both in word and write, without the least appearance of contradiction of any to this houre. Bot for me to have craved this much under any their hands, I thought it needles, and very inexpedient for them to have granted; for it had beene ane expresse granting in write, to be registrate to the world's end, that they thought there was just occasion given to suspect that, in that write, there was something which truly did oppose the King's authoritie, etc. If any presently, or hereafter, shall abuse any clause of this write, to overthrow the King's authoritie, &c. as many abuses Scriptures themselves to their own bad intentions, I think it abundantly contents me, that I can make it evident, not only that at my subscription I professed, by word and write, that I did believe there could no such thing be deduced from that write, of which profession I have many famous witnesses; bot the chief ground of my satisfaction in this case is, that I can make it evi-

dent before the world, that the write hes no fuch errors, else would I never have subscribed it. So, Brother, in my poor judgement, the first part of your desyre is not meet to be fought; as for the other, that requires the admitting of a Protestation to practise conformitie, in case of deprivation. Though the fear of the Books be not removed, however I think, in that case, ye will be very loath to conforme upon any danger that is likely to come, yet, in my minde, it might be easily obtained, by Duchall or Mr. Matthew, from the prime of the Nobility, to take that your subscription, with ane expresse declaration, albeit, no written protestation which they should subscribe, that ye should be permitted, in case of a danger, which your conscience thought reall and true, of present deprivation, to doe in Perth Articles as ye thought expedient, without any note of infamy or perjurie. For my own part I was not minded, on any hazard whatsoever, to practise kneeling, so long as the danger or feare of thir late novations did remaine, whether this late oath had been taken or not; and this feare, I think, cannot be removed without a lawfull Assembly or Parliament; so that indeed I take all subscribers to be obliged to abstaine from kneeling, &c., on whatsoever hazard, till that terme at leist be past, and my selfe I finde obliged to abstaine possibly longer, I meane ever, till the feare of thir dangerous innovations be away, whereto I take the Articles of Perth to be now inductive and so scandalous; which just fear cannot anyways be removed by the discharge of the books by proclamation, yea readily not by Assemblies or Parliaments. However, I take all subscribers, after the allowance of the first Assembly and Parliament, to be as free in the matters of Perth as they were before their subscription; and ye who hes obtained to subscribe with the reservation ye crave, to be free in your practise of these Articles even before either Assembly or Parliament: this freedome, I thinke, your subscription takes not away, being taken with that limitation proponed; for my own part I would concurr to have it freely granted to you, hoping that ye would not stand upon the formalitie of a publick write, if ye obtaine the witnessing by word of so many and so famous men as ye could require: this I take to be the only thing whereon ye stand, which I think may be obtained to you most readily. As for formalities ye wont not to be carefull: I am hopefull, when the practise of Conformitie is put in your will, ye will not be stout for it, if ye see that the urging of it is mainly to put away the best and ablest opposites to popery out of the land; and that their removers

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

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

Your loving Brother.

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

I writt to you my last with James Brown of Saltcots; after a quarter of a yeeres expectation, I received your last; I was not content of your so long delay. You see in so dangerous a tyme you want not mine of the hiest purposes; I feare I must now leave off to write, least by the King's shippes my letters be intercepted.

After the departure of Privie Seale and the Thesaurer, Lorne also went up. He was sent for by a privie missive, not by a letter to the Counsell, as the other two: his going was against the heart of many his friends; yet

he was peremptor to obey. There followed the Chancellour, Prefident, Register, Roffe, Brechin, Galloway; the Marques shortly after called up for Orbestoun. We were all long in suspence for newes: at last we heard of the violent and wicked counsell of Roffe and Chancellour, shewing, that a partie might easilie be made within the countrie; that Huntlie, and Aberdein, Seafort, M'Kay, Grant, and the Northland Clanes, which had not subscribed, might easily overway all the subscribers, with the concurrence of Hammiltoun, Dowglas, Niddale, &c., if so the King would imploy a little of his force, and lay by Lorne. For the preveening of this, diligence was used to send some lawyers to the uttermost North, who obtained the hands of all these Clanes to the Covenant of the countrie, with the most of the name of Hammiltoun, Dowglas, Gordoun, and all the Campbells without exception. No a Burgesse of St. Andrewes or Dundie refused; and in Aberdein there will be as few recusants as in Glasgou. This word being sent to Court, made the King mislyke Roffe's advyce. Great hes beene the accusations of our Bishops against the Thesaurer, as one who had intelligence in this matter with the countrie; and his recriminations against them was great, as these who, by their miscarriages and imprudencies, had miscooked all the matter. The course they resolved upon, after many toe's and froe's, was to send downe the Marques of Hamiltoun, with a commission to treat with Mortoun, Haddingtoun, Thesaurer, Privie Seale as assessours. The offers they are to make are secreit: We heare they are such as will give no kynde of contentment; albeit the Bishops are confident they are so reasonable, as will give content to many, and so be able to make a division among the subscribers, which to them is a win field. For to preveene this, the Noblemen and Commissioners drew up these things which they wer minded to crave, and without the which they could not be content, which they sent ahort the countrie, and to Court also, for the Marques' sight: for when the Noblemen had returned answer to our letters, the Duke to Montrose, the Marques to Rothes, Mortoun to Lindefay, that the King was to give an answer to their desires by proclamation, and thought not meet to answer or look upon the supplication, which they sent back closed as they gott it; our Noblemen hearing that this proclamation was to come downe with the Marques, they wrote up to him earnestly, not to accept any commission wherein he had no full power to give the countrie some reasonable contentment. However it be, the commission is put on him: his letters are come to all his friends

to meet him at Hadingtoun, the fifth of June. The Thefaurer and Lorne are returned, and have holden a counfell at Dalkeith; hes written for all the Counfellors, none of the Bifhops are forgott, to meet at Dalkeith, the fext of June in Counfell, with the Marques of Hammiltoun, the King's Commiffioner. The Commiffioners here at Edinburgh hes advertifed all the countrie to be in Edinburgh fome dayes before. What will be the event of this great day, God knowes! We can not heare that the Marques of Hammiltoun is to offer farder than the recalling of the Books, and limitation of the High Commiffion; and that upon the condition, or rather command, that we furrender all our fubfcrived Covenants, and ly under the old danger of Perth Articles and the Bifhops' unlimited tyrannie. If this be not accepted, as there is no appearance it will ever be, we are threatned with a bloodie onfett by the Navie on the Eaft Coaft, by an Irish Armie on the Weft, by all the power three Marqueffes in Scotland and the Popifh partie can make, with the help of the North of England. We have indyted a generall Faft the third of June. In God is our great confidence: we fee yet nothing but appearance of mifchiefe. Our people many of them are not humbled, nor in the ftate of penitents; our Bifhops and their followers are yet in a furie, and have adoe with a people like themfelves.

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

Lorne hes beene very plaine with the King: and now, when he is returned, is alfe farre our way as ever, God be thanked. The Marques is thought to be changed the King's way; all maks for the ruine of this Ifle, and I fee yet no meane to remeed it. Canterburie will remitt nought of his benfall; he will breake ere he bow an inche: he is borne, it feemes,

for his own and our destruction ; yet there is a God. When our Noblemen were on the point of departure from Court, the Bishop of Ross presented some sheets of paper, penned by Brechin, against the Thesaurer ; this stayed their journey some dayes. Galloway fyded heere with the Thesaurer ; but Brechin, with a marvellous ingratitude, became a traitour to him, revealing all his secrets he had gathered in his companie : much fowle flyting was among them. The mater is rather delayed than fully componed ; however, some are come home, and the rest expected daylie.

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

FOUR Commiffioners, Lord Arundell, Lord Newport, Sir Harie Vaine, Secretarie Cooke, are deputed to prepare by sea and land. Pennintoun is to be sent over to the north with the ships. Many flatt-bottomed boats are to be made. Ane hundereth smiths are convened for iron work, and carpenters to make carriages for eighty field pieces ; twenty-five thousand swords to be prepared ; many picks and musquets to be put in cases and sent to the north ; fadlers appointed to make numbers of great fadles. Lord Antrum hes hyred a Scotish ship, loadned and furnished with powder and munition of warre for Ireland. Weems, the canon-maker, hes conditione to hyre a shipp, and to loaden her with light cannons and powder for Dumbarton. Lord Arundell is to come to fortifie Berwick, Carlile, and some other places. Sir Harie Bruce hes offered his service to the King long agoe. He asked Sir John Seaton if he would serve the King : He answered, he would, bot not against his own countrey, where he had his life. Both Kirkcudbright and Lochryan are aimed at, beside some other places upon the West sea, for landing of flatt-bottomed boats from Ireland : also there are flatt-bottomed boats prepared for landing either in Fyfe or Louthian fyde, or both. • Letters are directed to every shyre to have the trained bands in readines the 4th of July. The Commiffioners are to relate to the Counsell what number of trained bands, and what number of preparation for warre of all kinde, are appointed, and how soone they can be ready. Lord William Howard hes written to the Lord Arundell, beseeeking him to take to heart the buffiness of Scotland ; for if they take arms, the north of England will joyn with them, and therefore it were best to use a peaceable course.



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

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED COOSIN,

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

After that our gracious Sovereign had taken at length information of these he sent for to his Court, and of the Bishops who come up unsent for, it is thought that for some days he was perplexed, tossed here and there with diversitie of resolutions. The bloodie counsell of St. Andrewes and Roffe, upon assurance of ane sufficient party in the countrey, was past from, not only by our Noblemen's contrare assurance of the vanity of that expectation, evidenced by the catalogue of the subscribers, especially of the Northland men, of whom the chief hopes were made; but these bloody conclusions were left also, by the advyse of the English counsellors, who freely are said to have spoken of the injustice of such a course, and the danger which it was like to bring to the state of England, as things went, their deep malcontentments lying for many years, but overplastered, without any solide cure. The plainnesse of Lorne is much talked of; nothing he is said to have dissembled of all he knew of our countrie's greivances, of his own full mislyke of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the Bishops' misgovernment, of his resolution to leave the kingdom rather than to consent to the pressing of any other, let be of himself or his servants, with these burdens, which were against conscience. He put in the Marques' hands a double of the late English proclamation, decyding the famous controversie of the Episcopal jurisdiction in their own names alone, and not in the King's. When this came to the King, it is thought he was moved with it, as not having marked before its incroaching upon his prerogative, and did chide with Canterburie for it before the Marques; a quarrell which evidently made the Archbishop look down on Lorne, who did publickly avow, in the write, contempt of his malice.

These counsells of force being laid by for the tyme, with the increase of detest of the authors, our Bishops, little lesse in England then at home ; a conclusion passés of ane amicable treatie for the countrey's contentment. Long it was ere a person could be found of parts requisite for such a service. Morton, Roxburgh, let be Haddington or Stirling, were not of sufficient shoulders. The Thesaurer was once lyke to have been employed ; bot the Bishops, to preveene the employment of their mortal enemie, did of fresh, when no such matter was expected, give in some sheets of vehement accusations against him, of all things they could corraze,<sup>(7)</sup> penned by Brechin,<sup>(8)</sup> bot subscribed by St. Andrewes and Roffe also : they did not requyre Galloway's hand to this challenge, knowing his interest in the accused. The poynts were thought for the most part bot light : the King would not take tyme to discussé them ; so they were cast by as contemned, or laid up as ane band above the accused's head, to be applyed in tyme to his fydes. However, the Bishops' poynt was wone : the Thesaurer missed the commission. He made no formal recrimination to his partie ; albeit, it is said, he spake either to the King or prime courteurs, of horrible crymes, which he could make good, especially of St. Andrewes ; and indeed their carriage, at this same tyme, even in England, hes not been ecclesiastick. Much is spoken of their wyne and feasting, of their absence from all divine service on the Sunday. When the Thesaurer was decourted, the eyes of all was on the Marqueis <sup>(9)</sup> for the commission. The sharpness of the man ; his late obligation to the King for his very being, by the gift of our taxation ; his Father's throughing of Perth Articles, which now was become a maine part of our questions ; the want of any other made him the only man ; for the Duke [of Lennox] is thought to have no such stufte as a Commiffioner for such busyness required ; beyde that diverse does now speak of his inclination to poperie. The Marquesse, to the uttermost of his power, declyned this charge, as a service wherein his feare was greater to losse allutterly at least implacably to offend these whom leif he would ; either his bountifull and gracious master, or his mother-countrie, wherein, after the King, his hopes was justly greatest, then any expectation to bring this intricat busyness to the wished end. Yet there was no remeid ; yield he must to his Master's peremptor command, who laid upon his back the com-

(7) *Corraze*, to scrape together.

(8) Dr. Walter Whitfoord, Bishop of Brechin.

(9) James Marquis afterwards Duke of Hamilton.

miffion, with a ftrange Memento, that he was informed, (as indeed our Clergy, Prefident, and Register lets him be ignorant of no whifper which they know among us,) of his countrey-men's purpofe to fett the Crowne of Scotland upon his head; yet fuch was his truft in his loyaltie, that he would employ no other to repreſent his perſone, at this ſo dangerous a tyme, wherein, If I be the foole, yow muſt be the knave.

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

Register and the Prefident followed the Theſaurer. We hear nought of their dinne at this tyme about Court: it ſeems both their credit is much impaired there. The Prefident <sup>(1)</sup> brought with him a protection of a new ſtraine, to hinder any execution of law againſt himſelf or his cautioners, their perſons, lands, goods; his debts are found farre above his goods. It is thought his father the Chancellor <sup>(2)</sup> hes brought with him the like targe. It is ſaid, that himſelf and his children will be in fixteen or ſeventeen ſcore of thouſands merks in burden: the world wonders by what means. His eſtate of Biſhoprick, Priorie, Chancerie, will be better than forty thouſand pound a-year. His traine and houſe has been ever naughtie exceedinglie. It is ſaid

(1) Sir Robert Spottiswood. (2) The Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor.

the Deane <sup>(3)</sup> has the like shield. The parson of Leith has one, I know, and the parson of Liberton another, for diverse thousand pounds of more debt then they have ever appearance to defray, if they finde not a purse; for now bishopricks and abbacies are desperat. It is very scandalous that clergymen should be avowed dyvors, and troublers of the countrey beside. He of Leith <sup>(4)</sup> is a malicious railer against the Covenanters, in pulpit and every where. He of Liberton <sup>(5)</sup> does us a very shreue turne; posted lately to Court, informed the King, after he had closed our bussines and dismissed our Statesmen, of continuall outrages of our people against ministers, for their love to his service; amongst the rest, the towne of Edinburgh's onfett on D. Ogston for his life in the church; the people of Torphichen upon Mr. G. Hanna: this did adde oyl to the King's flame. The trueth is, that Ogston, minister at Collingtone, made his people, who would obey him, answer his examination before the communion on their knees, as the priests doe in their shryving; this, and other things, (for he was brought from the North <sup>(6)</sup> to that place by Bishop Forbes,) made him infamous; so, in his addition to the exercise in Edinburgh, speaking somewhat, I suppose, of the Virgin Mary, he was conceived of the people, but wrongously, to speake error; whereupon, after sermon, at the out-coming of the church, a number of women waits on, and did shoare him with stroakes; but Mr. A. Ramsay, and Mr. H. Rollocke, did get him safe to the session house, and thereafter convoyed him to his horse. Mr. Hanna has ever been in hott watter with his people since his entrie; so the Sunday after his people had subscribed against his command, they sett on him in the church, ryves his gowne, gives him dry cuffes, and so without farther harme dismisses him. This is much regrated by us all, and the ministers in Edinburgh inveighs much against thir sinfull uproares; and since there has been no more of them.

With the President come word of my L. Alexander's <sup>(7)</sup> death. I have into it a losse of a near coofin and familiar friend: The King did profess his losse of a servant of great hopes. Ye know, beside the gallantnes of his persone, he was both wise, learned, and verie well spoken; the Countrey makes

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

<sup>(4)</sup> Dr. William Wishart, Minister of Leith. <sup>(5)</sup> Andrew Learmonth, Minister of Libberton.

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

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

not much doole for him, for they took him for ane advancer of the episcopall caufes to his power. It feares me his death will undo that ryfeing Houfe: their debts are great; his Father is old, and extreamly hated of all the countrey for his alledged briberie, urging of the Pfalmes, and the Books for them, overwhelming us with his Black money. His Sonne is bot ane infant<sup>(8)</sup>; his brother Sir Anthonie, and Robert also are dead; Henrie will not be able yet for his place; and if he should, what he can gaine must be for himself, and not the House. Many who intended his Father's overthrow, were withholden for respect to him. In a three or four days feaver, beside all mens expectation, he expired. I think, indeed, that God is just: among a number of his excellent parts, I knew him to have been very licentious in his pleasures before his marriage.

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

The multitude of our Scottish Lords, which were sent down, Morton, Lithgow, Kellie, Marr, Kinnoull, Haddingtoun, Belhaven, Amont, and many moe, made us thinke, that the King minded to call shortly a Parliament, wherein he might make use of their voices; for else we saw not to what purpose their presence here could serve. It was given out, that our Bishops were very loath to come from Court, bot they were forced to goe; that after their dismissal, they fought leave to goe to the Bath, to passe tyme so till they saw the Commiffioner's successe: yet it was not so; for at once

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

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

St. Andrewes came. Roffe alfo and Brechin came to Berwick ; but to come any farder, for all their boldnefs, they durft not yet venture. It is faid they are there very merry, as our people alfo. St. Andrewes, Edinburgh, Dumblane, makes countenance oft to be in the Dean's houfe.

On Sunday, the third of June, his Grace was in Berwick : that day was a folemne Faft over all our Kingdome, where tymous advertifement could be given. Some of our non-fubfcribers refufed to joyne. In Edinburgh,<sup>(1)</sup> Mr. Alexander, D. Elliot, Mr. Mitchell, etc. being required to joyne, took them to be advyfed with their Bifhop. At the firft he was content ; bot, thereafter, having written over to Dalkeith to Galloway, who newly was come home, repented, and on the Sunday morning fent a difcharge to the minifters to intimate ; which they obeyed : bot Mr. H. and Mr. A. <sup>(2)</sup> did intimate it in their churches, and I alfo in the Colledge-hall, where that day I did preach. For this long while bygone, fome of the Nobilitie, Shyres, and Borrowes, waits on in Edinburgh, every man his fourteen dayes. Some of the Minifters alfo keeps their turne, and preaches to their Commiffioners in the Colledge-hall. On Monday, the Minifters of Edinburgh would have been at the intimating of the Faft in their week fermons, notwithstanding of the Bifhop's difcharge ; bot the Commiffioners, mainely on Mr. Andrew's motion, (for I was witnes to it, and did much reafon againft it,) did fend fome of the Toun Counfell to Mr. Alexander, to difcharge him, and the reft to joyn in the Faft, except they would joyne in the maine cafes, to pray for a bleffing to the Covenant. So, on the Wedensday, Mr. Alexander, with many teares, in the midft of his fermon, fhew his willingnefs to joyne in the Faft, if he had not been difcharged : his teares purchafed him little pitie. It is marvellous how much more that our good friend is hated of his people then Mitchell himfelf, or any other there. I was forry for D. Eliot's grief. I had yielded to Mr. Henrie to preach in his church on the fafting Sunday, with the Doctor's good lykeing ; they had agreed to put me in the forenoon, Mr. Henrie in the morning, the Doctor afternoon ; for in the fafting churches they had three fermons. Yet before Sunday the Doctor is difcharged to preach in that church at all, unlefs he

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

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

would subscribe, lest he should marr the devotion of his hearers by his evill example: there was no remed; Mr. Samuel Rutherford was put in his place; the congregation was great exceedingly; many of our Nobles were there; and indeed that peoples humiliation was greater then I hoped for, God be thanked. Mr. Henrie is a man much more mortified than I thought ever to have seen him, and preaches very patheticklie. Mr. Rutherford hes an excellent gift both of preaching and prayer, and, which helps all to the peoples minde, felles all the fourteen Bishops and hoghes the Ceremonies; yet in this he goes little beyond Mr. Henrie. As for Bishops and Ceremonies, I melled not with them; bot of the Service book, I spak some more then my hearers had been acquainted with from any other: by this I did please them.

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

Some days before, ane accident fell forth which well near had occasioned great misintelligence among all. It had been resolved at Court, upon the Bishops complaint that the King's houses were unfurnished, when the Noblemen had provided so large munition for all theirs, that the Thefaurer should furnish the Castle of Edinburgh with powder and lead, and other necessaries, whereof it stood in great need. The Thefaurer gives this charge to Patrick Wood; who layes in, either out of the Tower of London, or by his moneys, privately into a ship of Leith, threecore and odds great barrells of powder, some hundreds of picks, some kifts full of musquets and matches. When thir came to the roade, the Thefaurer being advertised, come into the towne. After supper, according to his directions, his man Daek and Patrick Wood, that night, causes in haste, and all the privacy they could use, carry all that munition to Dalkeith. Tomorrow the whole towne and countrey is full of no other discourse. Patrick

Wood is much detested by all for his readines in such employment; he is called to the Commissioners' table after then once, and strictly examined: his answers at first were somewhat proud; but at once his courage cooled, when his bands began to be posted to the registers, many in one day; much he did quickly pay; the Covenant without delay he did subscribe; many good friends did for him what they could; yet all had enough ado to keep him from the hands of the people, and hold off, for a tyme, his numerous creditors. On the Thesaurer lighted more indignation, that he should have secretly caused convoy, in the night, to the place of meeting, such provision, for what end else but to blow us all up? He came in, and to Rothes, Lorne, and Loudon, purged himself of such wickedness; confessed the necessity laid upon him to provide for the Castle of Edinburgh, but being forewarned by some noblemen and gentlemen, subscribers, of their resolution to cease on that provision if it were carried towards the Castle, he thought it meet quietly to carry it to Dalkeith, the nearest of the King's houses, then to tempt them to fall in a ryot, which might make matters desperate of reconciliation. However, it was thought the Marques took not this service well of the Thesaurer; for albeit to Lindefay, who was sent to Berwick, to try, among other things, what was his part in this munition, he confessed he knew of the lading of it; and oft since in his discourse he has striven to facilitate his treatie, by threatening us with the readines of the King's navie to sett upon us, with ten thousand land souldiers well trained. Three dayes after, we forced him to give over coming; and it is known, that in his way through Northumberland, he gave direction to the sheriffs to have their trained bands in readines; which, for that end, twyce a week since have been mustered: Also he spake of the readines of a Spanish armie in West-Flanders to be employed where the King would direct. For all this, the conveying of that munition privately to the place appointed for his amicable treaty, it is said, he took it from the Thesaurer for a disfavoure, as done of purpose to hinder the success of his Commission in his hands. Many thinks, that the Thesaurer and Roxburgh both are not contented, that in this employment themselves were neglected; and therefore are not very carefull to further this service. Yet for all that is said in this, I believe the Thesaurer is honest; and whatever he might be moved to doe for the King's pleasure against us, yet will I not thinke, that he would be so madd as in any thing to disoblidge the Marques, to whom this twelve moneth he has stuck so close, and



whom, if he should irritat at this tyme, when so many are in his topps, his ruine feemed to be inevitable. Alwayes this action of the Thesaurer, as many other since the beginning of this weightie affair, done by him, whether of purpose for that end or not, hes much furthered our cause, hes made all the countrie flock in a trace to the towne, putt all in a greater eagernes then ever. The inequity to meet with the Marques at Dalkeith so provided, laid a necessity on the Marques to come and treat in the towne, or else in the fields; for this provision was ane just reason of our distrust; and which was most, not only a watch of some hundreth armed citizens was put nightly in the towne, for it was expected, that Huntley, Harries, Abercorne, and Winton, were to be in with all the power they could make; bot also the gentry began, in armes both night and day, avowedly to watch the Castle, that none of that provision might be caryed from Dalkeith thereto, as the Thesaurer said it would, and much more, which was coming in moe ships.

This Castle-watch was much spoken of, as the first of our illegal actions. Bot it was replied, That since ane innocent defence by armes to the body of a State, in the evident danger of their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, was granted to be lawfull by the law of God, nature, nations, and chiefly by the laws and frequent practises of our nation, approven by diverse standing Acts of Parliaments; this being granted, as few among us now makes question, (some indeed does, whereof I am as yet one,) it cannot be denyed bot all things simplie necessary for that innocent defence are alike legall; of the whilk, the keeping of that Castle in the present case, and praveening the putting of it in such a state, wherein it may easly, in twelve houres, destroy that good towne, the head of our nation, the only convenient place of our meeting, the maine finew of our union and defence; our providence about this place, upon this ground, is thought justifiable to all equitable men. If our designe had been to have made any invasion, nothing more easie, than by three dayes hunger, or six houres assault, to have taken that Castle and all the others also the King has among us; bot our folks are far from such acts of hostilitie, if they be not forced to them. The Commiffioner would not grant to come to the Abbay, unless he were solemnly met, and that watch were removed. Of the first we made no question; to the other, after much debate, we agreed, on condition, that Haddington, Southesk, Lorne, the intercomuners, should ingadge their honour, so far as was possible, that in the mean tyme there should no

munitiōn at all, neither any victuales more than for daily use, be put in that house. This was yielded to by them : so the watch was discharged. Bot the Commiſſioner would not stand to that communiſhing, and took it for a diſtrult of his honeſtie, when any more was craved than his bare word : so the ſame night the watch was ſett to againe, and that in a double number. Yet when, at the town of Edinburgh's renewed ſuit, the Commiſſioner was contented to come in, notwithstanding of that watch, Lorne took it upon him to diſcharge it ſimply without any condition, and in this was obeyed, for the Commiſſioners' contentment : only a privie watch was ordained, and yet is kepted ; yea, all wiſhes there had been no other from the beginning, for it is thought ſufficient for their end.

The Counſell at Dalkeith mett frequently. Huntley was there, bot with a ſmall traine ; he ſpake nought as we hear againſt our cauſe : he carried himſelf like a Proteſtant. We ſent Mr. Andrew Ramſay, Mr. James Boner, Mr. Thomas Abernethie, and a fourth, athort the Counſellors, to ſolliſt them for their favour, in theſe words ye have at (C.), penned by Mr. David Dick. All gave good answers, and Huntley ſhew, that he had found our cauſe ſince he come South, more equitable then in the North he was informed of it : for the Booke, he ſhould be glad to be inſtructed by any they would ſend to him, what evill could be found in them. The man is of a good diſcourſe, bot neither truſted by king nor countrey ; his power alſo is contemptible in this cauſe : many of his name hes ſubſcribed ; himſelf and fundry of them are overburdened with debt. Forbeſes, Fraſers, Grants, M'Kenzieſ, M'Cayes, Macintuſhes, M'Laines, M'Donalds, Irwines, Innices, let be all the Campbells to a man, are zealous ſubſcryvers ; and a fifth part of them were able to make a diſjune of all the Gordouns when at their beſt ; albeit now the moſt of the Gordouns depends on Sutherland, as all in the South on Kenmure.

That day in counſell St. Andrewes ſat with the ſeales, as ſome ſaid, with the Marques commiſſion, as others, hung about his neck in a pooke, as the faſhion is for the keeper of England in the King's preſence. Our noblemen ſubſcryvers will not ſo much as ſpeak to him, and ſcarce look on him ; and that according to a concluſion paſt at their Table, that in the dependance of this cauſe againſt the Biſhops our only partie, no ſubſcryver ſhould any wayes countenance any of them. This, I fear, be bot a preface to their proceſſe of excommunication, or inditement upon their head of high treaſon : diverſe

thinks the King will not be much againſt this, if ſo that in the ruine of thir mens perſons, he could find a meane to preſerve his own honour, and their Epifcopall eſtate. Nothing at all was done in the Counfell : the Commiſſioner was not pleaſed to this day to acquaint any there with his Majeſties minde ; only his folks lets out, that he was confident to leave the countrey in peace, and give them, ere he went, full ſatiſfaction ; bot it ſeems, that the manie miſſives poſted daily to him from Court ſince that tyme, hes reſtringed his liberty to doe what then he intended.

In his entrie at Leith, I think as much honour was done to him as ever to a King in our countrey. Huge multitudes as ever was gathered on that field, fett themſelves in his way. Nobles, gentry of all ſhyres, women a world, the town of Edinburgh, all at the Water-gate; bot we were moſt conſpicuous in our black cloakes, above fyve hundred on a bray-fide in the links, our alone for his fight. We had appointed Mr. William Livingſtone, the ſtrongeſt in voyce and auſtereſt in countenance of us all, to make him a ſhort welcome ; bot a good friend of yours and myne was raſhly officious to informe D. Balquanquall,<sup>(1)</sup> (who is come down to wait on his Grace as almoſt a chaplaine, upon hopes, if all goe well, quickly to obtaine ane Archbiſhopricke, he is for nocht laigher,) that in the harangue were invectives againſt the Biſhops ; which was nothing ſo, for ye may read the ſpeech at (D.) : Upon this information, the Commiſſioner excuſed himſelf to our Nobles, and, in paſſing, to Mr. William himſelf, ſaid that harangues in field were for princes, and above his place ; yet what he had to ſay he ſhould hear it gladly in private. So our ſpokeſman, with other two or three of our number, went and delivered to the Commiſſioner in his chamber what here ye read without any farder ; for we diſcharged him to enter in any other purpoſe, all being reſolute to give anſwers to what ſhould be proponed in a public way, after advyſement with all the brethren. Our friend, for his raſhneſſe to informe, I did much chyde. The Marques, in the way, was much moved with pitie, even to tears ; he profeſſed thereafter his deſyres to have King Charles preſent at that fight of the whole countrey, ſo earneſtly and humbly crying for the ſafety of their liberties and religion. His Grace's countenance and carriage was ſo courteous, and his private ſpeeches ſo faire, that we were in good hopes for ſome days to obtaine all our deſyres : yet at

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

laſt, when we heard, that all the power he had was to cauſe read at the Croſſe a proclamation of the King's pleaſure, without any farther commiſſion, our hopes became well near deſperate. What was in the proclamation we could not learn ; only there was much ſpeaking of a command to ſurrender, and give in our ſubſcryved Covenants, upon promiſe to ratifie by Parliament, all or the moſt part of the matters contained therein. This was a motion infinitely diſpleaſing to all ; and to put the Commiſſioner from all hope of obtaining any ſuch propoſition, Reaſons were given out, I think, by Mr. Alexander Henderſone, which ye have here in print, why upon no termes, it was poſſible for us to paſſe from any poynt, leſſe or more, which we had ſworne and ſubſcribed. This reſolution was firmly kept by all. Mr. W. Cochran,<sup>(4)</sup> a ſharpe and buſie man, was like to have incurred great diſgrace, and public cenſure, at the gentries table, for holding privie conference with the Theſaurer, and letting ſome overtures fall that favoured of altering, upon good conditions, ſome claules of the Covenant. This our ſtrickneſs ſtopped the proponing of a ſurrender, or altering of any thing in the write ; only the Commiſſioner ſhew, that he was minded to proclaime the King's pleaſure. Our Commiſſioners, ſome two three of the Nobles, Barrons, Burrows, and Miniſters, ſhew their reſolution to proteſt if it were not ſatiffactory. This the Commiſſioner, and all he could make, laboured to diſſwade with might and maine, with many promiſes, with great threats ; bot in vaine, for we were peremptor ; being informed, without a proteſtation, and that preſently upon the back of the proclamation, our poſterior meetings would be illegal and ſubject to cenſure : the Reaſons that were given out for the neceſſity of proteſting, ye have here at (F.) All theſe would not put the Commiſſioner from it ; he ſhew in this he would ſee the King obeyed ; he would come up to the Croſs, and back the lion-herauld ; if they would proteſt, he would denounce them all rebels. The Theſaurer comes up the way on the Thurſday before noon, calls for the lion-heraulds, makes ſoupe the Croſs for the hangings. All our people conveens, ſome thouſand gentlemen with their ſwords looſe in their armes, about the Croſs ; a ſcaffold is made for Caffills, Durie younger, Mr. William Livingſtone, and John Smith, to proteſt for the Four Eſtates. When this dangerous reſolution was perceaved, the lion-heraulds were advertiſed

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

to provide horfe, which made us conceive they intended to read the proclamation in other burghs. This made many make their horfes ready to have convoyed the Heralds where ever they went, and courfe was taken for to have protefters provided in every burgh where the proclamation was like to be fent.

This our firme conftancy made the Commiffioner pafs from motioning any more his proclamation. It feemed to many, that his inftructions were of fo many parts, that he had warrant to preffe every piece to the outmoft, and then to paffe from it, if no better might be, to the nixt. This feemed to fome of us the beholders, bot little policie ; we thought it had been more expedient for our divifion, their maine end as was thought by fome, to have at the verie firft granted frankly all they could be brought to, then to offer fome few things, whilk could content none, and to enter upon fecond offers after the refo- lute rejection of the firft. This did bind us all the fafter, made us the more bold in preffing our full defyres, upon hopes, that an ambulatorie and paffing com- miffion was not yet paffed on the halfe of its way, let be to be near the laft end.

On Fryday we did prefent to his Grace a common Supplication, which ye have at (G.) To make way for a ready answer thereto, there was fome nine Pro- pofitiones fpread abroad of purpofe, that they might come to the courteours hands, containing articles to be advyfed, upon fuppoftion that delayes, crafts or force, fhould be ufed againft us ; ye may read them at (H.) This half boaft did make the Commiffioner receive our fupplication in the better part. On the Saturday he promifed, after his returne from Kineil on the Tuefday, ane answer to it. On that Sondag he heard Mr. Alexander Henderfon preach, and thereafter conferred with him at length in private. Of this we all do much marvell, and cannot fee a reafon why he fhould have given fuch ane occafion to the Bifhops cenfure, whom he knew to be ready enough, upon every fhadow, to caluminate him to the King as ane inclyner to the puritane fide. He was indeed offended with fome of our preachers : Mr. Andrew Cant, ane fuperexcellant preacher, as all report, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. William Livingftone, Mr. Robert Douglafs, Mr. A. Blackhall, and diverfe other, had preffed the extirpation of Epifcopacie. Every day in that week there was a preaching in four or five diverfe roomes, except the Saturday : what was faid by any, all incontinent was delate to his Grace in no better termes, be affured, then was delivered. Mr. Alexander Henderfon had been fpareing, and Mr.

David Dick much more ; so that he was censured of too much prudence, and behoved to help it by his scourging of the Bishops in posterior sermons. Upon request of some counsellors who loved our cause, the Bishops, by some, in sermons, were dealt with more soberly then before ; but nothing at all was remitted by others.

On Tuesday our Commissioners went to his Grace for an answer to their Supplication according to promise. The answer was, That their demands of an Assembly and Parliament should be granted ; but first some scruples anent the write behooved to be satisfied. Thir were to be proponed by the three former intercomuners ; with these were appointed to treat for us other three, Rothes, Montrose, Loudon : they agreed their conference should be by write. The scruple proponed was this ; His Majesty may conceive, that the Confession is so generall in the clause of mutual defence, that it may not only containe a defence for religion and his Majesties person and authority, liberties and lawes of this kingdome, but also a combination for defending of delinquents against authority and law, even in other clauses then these forsaide. Our comuners took it to their advysemēt with their companie, if therefore it were necessary to draw up a humble remonstrance, to explaine our dutifull intention concerning the clause above written. The Tables both of nobles and gentry fand, after long dispuitt, that such remonstrances were dangerous ; likly nought but delayes and snares were fought for. Yet it was granted, that in a renewed supplication, that clause should be sufficiently cleared, if so that they were not needlessly incombered with more interrogatories. The supplication is drawn up by the Nobles, but mislyked by the Gentry and Ministrie ; for what cause I know not, for yet I have not seen that peece. The Commissioner also would have them agree to a declaration of this clause of his forming ; but this all did refuse : yet at last all did agree upon a Supplication, in thir terms, which ye have at (J.) Against this the Commissioner did not say much ; only shew, that what he had in his Instructions concerning an Assembly and Parliament would not content them ; neither would all yet they had said content the King : for all that, he would not leave the matter desperate ; he would post to his master, and see if by himself he might give better informations than he could by his missive letters ; he trusted shortly to returne with satisfactory instructions. This necessary overture we could not refuse ; but we intreated his Grace for the earnest agenting with the King, thir Six articles

which ye have here at (K.) The day of his returne he hes named for the longest the fifth of August.

What we speake of the Service-book was occasioned by the Bishops continued madnes. However, all does think that the King's proclamation shall free us for ever of that unhappy book altogether : yet they are so neglectful of their gracious master's honour, that by their words and deeds they make the world suspect that the King hes no intention to keep his word : Unhappie servants to so good a master ! Galloway's man assured Mr. James Blair, that the book might well be corrected in our assembly, bot it behooved to goe through. The Bishop of Edinburgh avowed to Mr. James Lang, that in the book there was no evill ; that it was much better then that of England ; that for all our present uproares, that book would goe through, whoever would fay the contrare. The Bishop of Dumblane came to the Commiffioner, showing that he was to read service in the chappell, and required his Grace's countenance to it. The Commiffioner bade him " Doe so," bot to be present at it, it was no part of his commiffion. Thereafter, when Dumblane was assured of the evident danger he might incurre by such an attempt, he returned and shew the Commiffioner, he behooved, for fear of his life, to let alone his reading. His Grace's answer was nouct bot as before, " Doe so." For all this, they go out, St. Andrewes to Rosselin, and in that chappell read the service : this constant report is now questioned. In this I marvell much of their wisdom. St. Andrewes still grows in his rage ; he is going back in haste to Court to worke us what woe he can : it is like he shall never returne. Our people thinks, by clear law, if they gett any reason, to have [him] excommunicat, and readily thereafter execut. It seems he is so desperate, that he would be content to fall in the peoples hands, for the defyre of martyrdome : Would to God he and his brethren could preferre the safaty of the King and kingdome to their own honour, and fatiffaction of their wicked passions.

What we speak of the interruption of our trade, is occasioned by that arriestment of the States of our merchands armes, at the instance of the King's Agent,<sup>(5)</sup> and your Conservator also,<sup>(6)</sup> as we hear, upon a most false nar-

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

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

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

Befyde other things I wrote to yow before, whereof I have received no answer, I heard of your letters, I think within this twelve moneth, to St. Andrewes, concerning the speeches and prayers of your churches there for us, as their persecute brethren. What are ye doing? Your letters were sent to the King by the hand of the President. Though I heard this *obiter*, yet few, I think, among us doe know it, and God forbid they should. I pray yow come over, if ye defyre to keep your old estimation; but come over resolute to subscribe, as now all among us inclynes to doe. At our townsmen's defyre, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of that people to the Covenant; my Lord Eglintone was appointed to be a witness. There, with many a sigh and teare by all that people, the oath was made; Provest, Baillies, Counsell, and all except three men, Patrick, James, and Mr. Archibald, held up their hands; Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] and Mr. John Bell younger, hes put to their hands; the Colledge is thought will subscribe; Mr. William Wilkie I know will; the Forfuithes [Forfyths] hes subscribed, and almost all who refused before; some they will not have their hands, bot mindes to proceffe them. Mr. Crichton, <sup>(7)</sup> my coufin, is ordained to be summoned for his corrupt doctrine and practises, before their presbytrie; and two associates out of the foure next adjacent presbyteries. I think I could move [him] to make a publick recantation for bygones, and give all possible assureances for tyme

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



to come; but it fears me all this keep him not in his place. Mr. James Forfuith has been so idle in his written protestations read out of his pulpit against our Covenant, the antichristianisme, jesuitisme of it, and what not; also in some passages against our Noblemen in his sermons, and some other miscarriages, that it feares me his censure shall be deep; so much the more as he is not liklie to carry himself with any cannyness in tyme comeing. Mr. William Anan,<sup>(3)</sup> presently after his subscription, went to Edinburgh, where he has remained since above a quarter of a year: he is in great confusion and perplexity. With his own consent, Mr. Robert Blair was admitted his second: all his company is with the Deane and Bishops. The brethren sent out to him Commissioners oft to join with them in their meeting, but still he would not: the towne of Aire dealt much with him; but in vaine: so they at last gave in a complaint of his miscarriages, with a resolution never more to receive him within their pulpit. I think there is no ten Ministers in the kingdome so much obliged to their people's gratuitie, as he alone was, and still would have been, if he might have been pleased to have done any tolerable duty. The presbytrie is ordained, with the affection of some neighbours, to cite him, and to goe on with him in proceffe for faults to be lybelled: it is lyke he has no minde to returne. The Bishop of Dune<sup>(9)</sup> has written over to him, and Mr. David Mitchell, that they would come and live with him: likely Mr. David Mitchell will shortly be proceffed for his doctrine.

There is a great work of reformation intended among us, and evidently begun; there is much amendment of common faults; we hope it will spread to our neighbours of England and Ireland: the oppression there of the Bishops on mens foules, bodies, and goods, is so pitifull, that it is marvellous if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents. The late uproares of the Innes of Court, we hear, shall be but the proæme to the infrequent tragedie, if Canterburie will be pleased to remitt nocht of his accustomed stiffness. It is like, that our victualling of Dunkirk draw France and Holland on our Prince, and the Spaniard on us; all this, it fears me, marre still the Palatine's designs. Alace! for the pitifull slaughter of our countrymen at Antwerpe: this must be your Prince great want of providence, who advanced such

<sup>(8)</sup> William Annand, Minister of Ayr. *Vide supra*, p. 62.

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

a handfull so farr in the enemies bounds, without either spies before them, or a back armie or fort for retreat : a unhappines in a Generall is to be pitied ; bot such a neglect of conduct is intollerable, and curfed. Always unhappie we, who in such interprises are commonly sure of the strokes.

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

While we are expecting the Marqueis way-going, behold new stories, whereof we did not dreame. His Grace, on Saturday, comes up to the Croffe, makes for a proclamation. Diverse of the nobles, many of the gentry were away home, being secure of all till the Commissioner's returne from Court ; yet numbers flocked to the Croffe put themselves in readines to protest ; bot they superceeded, finding the Proclamation, beyde the expectation of all men, to be nocht bot a restitution of the Counsell and Session to Edinburgh dureing the King's pleasure. This great benefite not being looked for, not being sought nor thought upon by any at that tyme, was received bot with small acknowledgement ; so much the more as the maine narrative ranne upon the incommodities which the Lords did suffer by their sitting in all other places, as if this favor had been intended only for their accommodating.

Tomorrow, on Sunday, his Grace went to Seaton ; where, in Tranent, he heard Mr. Robert Balcanquall ; with whom we were nocht pleased ; for however he has subscribed, yet in that sermon, as in all the rest of his carriage thir divers years, he was more cold and wise, than zealous and stout to speake one word

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

for the good caufe. We thought that the Commiffioner had been thus far on his way ; yet to-morrow, as if he had received new instructions from the poft, he returns; and on Wedneſday, betwixt twelve and one, cauſes proclaime, as ye have it at (L.) This proclamation was heard by a world of people, with great indignation : we all doe marvell that ever the Commiffioner could think to give ſatiffaction to any living ſoul by ſuch a declaration ; which yet oft he professed with confidence of that piece before it was heard: there muſt be here ſome miſterie which yet is not open. This declaration cannot be that which his Grace brought with him, that was thought certainly to containe a command of ſurrendering our Confeſſion: bot of our Confeſſion is no ſyllable; yea this hes been by appearance drawn up here very lately by the Biſhops and Stateſmen who are truſted, with the conſent, as it ſeems, of the Commiffioner; for the date of it is bot ſix or ſeven dayes, at Greenwich, before it was proclaimed in Edinburgh. There was on a ſcaffold anent the Croſſe, *ſimul et ſemel*, read by Mr. Archibald Johnſtone, a proteſtation, which ye have at (M.), avowed by Caffils, young Durie, Provost of Dundie, and Mr. John Kerr of Pannes, in name of the nobles, barrons, burgeſſes, and miniſters. Some out of ſhotts cryed rebels on the readers; the people in a fury would have been up to ſearch : it was feared Mr. Robert Rankine, or Mr. John Browne, or the Deane, might have been rent in pieces ; for they were thereabout in the Dean's chamber ; bot the diligence of the Noblemen hindred the ſearch, ſo there was no hurt done to any. The Nobles, at dinner, are informed, that the Commiffioner was about to gett the Counſell to approve the declaration as ſatiffactory; whereupon they preſently fell a writeing theſe Reaſons which ye have at (N.); and after dinner went to his Grace, Rothes, Montroſe, Loudon, with doubles of theſe Reaſons for ſtaying the Counſellors from making any approbatorie act. There paſt between them ſome high words : Loudon told his Grace roundlie, they knew no other bands betwixt a king and his ſubjects, bot of religion and lawes ; if theſe were broken, men's lives were not dear to them ; boated they would not be, ſuch feares were paſt with them. Notwithſtanding, the Commiffioner prevailed ſo farr with the Counſellors, that they all, except Lorne and Southesk, did, in their chamber, not publickly at their Counſell table, ſett their hand to this act, which ye may read with admiration at (O.) When it was heard, there was conceived ſo high offence by us all, at theſe men, whom we were affured were ready to ſubſcryve with us the Covenant, that our grief

was unutterable : Yett all came about for the good of our cause ; the unreasonableness of their grievous injurie being remonstrated to them, they fell presently to repent ; and for our satisfaction, did not rest till they had gotten back that subscribed act, and rent it in small pieces. We hope that our sweet Prince, and all neighbour nations, will judge the declaration, not so much approved by our Counsell, in their privat, and too much hastened subscriptions, if not stolen from them by vehement sollicitation, as disavowed, yea detested as unreasonable by their open, avowed, and deliberate renting in pieces of their approbation thereto. For mitigating a little of our minds, there was offered to us a more favourable proclamation ; as ye have the act of it at (P.) ; but it was holden in, because we were ready to protest against it as not satisfactory.

This manner of dealing has made us speak out that which was before but in the minds of some very few, our right from God, which the Prince may not in law or reason take from us, to keep a Generall Assemblie. The Reasons of this conclusion ye have at (Q.), in print, done by the advice of three or foure of the best witts. This is the highest string yet our necessities has drawn us to strike on. At my first hearing of it, I was much amazed : I was altogether averse from thinking of any such proposition ; but after some study, I find my mood allayed. I intreat you try the minds of Rivett and Voetius, if when the Prince or State are unwilling, the Kirk may keep a Generall Assembly in times of necessity, though authority should discharge ; also direct me to all the writers ye are able for my help of information. I am feared that this boast of our right, only in policie, as yet they say, be indeed put in practice : the events I groan to imagine.

Lorne shew the Commiffioner, he was informed from Court, of Antrum's undertaking to come over upon his lands. He knew not any of his own merits to procure such acts of hostilitie, but if such oppression were offered, he would see to his defences. We hear of some six or nine of the King's ships coming to our North seas : some says they are going only for the protection of your Busses, for the tenth barrell of their fishing, lately granted by your States to the King. They speak also of Arundell's coming down to Berwick. All thir things putts us in flouct. The Commiffioner went away on the Munday early, after he had given some good words to our Nobles. He intended to dyne with the King on Fryday. He took the 12th of Au-

guft for his return. In the meantyme we have, on the 22d and 29th of July, a univerfall faft. It is lyke, at the Counsell-table in England, our affair may gett fome fatall ftroke one of thefe dayes. Mr. David Dick and Mr. Alexander Henderfone are convoyed by my Lord Montrofe, and others, north, to draw in, if they can, thefe who yet lyes out in the fheriffdome and towne of Aberdeen. If God blefs that labour, all our countrey, now to count of, is as one man in this bufinefs, which goes on like Elias' cloud, from a hand-breadth to fill the whole fkyes. When we look to our defervings, and the dealing of God round about, and the pregnant appearances in human affaires, we are afraid our whole Ifle be terribly fhaken, if not made defo.ate, before this ftorme calm: Our trust is in God. There appears not yet from men any likelihood of peace, or any poffibility of it, as matters goes on both fides. The Bifhops may be at once excommunicat, and all their wilfull followers: if for them our nobles blood be fhed, the Ifle will hardly keep any of them.

Dumblane is to Court. Brechin and Roffe, if they be yet in Berwick, we know not. St. Andrewes is yett among us. The Nobles gave in to the Com-miffioner, ere he departed, ane accusation of brybery and other crymes againft the Prefident and Register. He defyred them fuperceid their perfuit till his returne: fo thefe two fitts yet ftill in the Seffion. If they gett reafon, it is thought they are both undone; and none among us will pitie their ruine. My Lord Comiffioner hes fo caryed himfelf from his coming to his going, that he hes made us all fufpend our judgment of his inclination, whether it be towards us or our oppofits: yet the warriest and moft obfcure breafts will be opened by tyme. We have had all this year hitherto moft feafonable weather, great appearance of increafe on the ground, for the relieff of our heavily diftreffed land by the bygons fcarcity. We are not yet troubled, whereof we marvell, with any of our adverfaries wretttings, either from England or at home; readily we will be overwhelmed with a fpeit of them at once. Some little things of D. Barron, Forbes, and Panter, are ftark nought, and very unworthie the authors. What ye wrote ye faw of mine, it is apparently a fheitt which off hand was given to the extemporarie objections made at the beginning againft the Covenant; if it be poore, no marvell. Bot I have written two larger pieces, apologizeing for our proceedings, which I have offered to the tryell of our oppofits; yet without a reply: thir, when I can get doubled, ye fhall have, fuch as they are. We are grieved for

the stoning of D. Monroe, when he came from Edinburgh, where he had much company with the Bishops, and was thought to be a spye to them of the actions and proceedings of the Noblemen. The women at Kinghorne, at diverse parts of the towne, in great multitudes, were sett for him. Some gentlemen in company defended to their power, and gott him on a great horse, whereby he escaped death, bot not wounds and blood. Thir unhappie and ungodly violences hurts our good cause: they are lamented by us; bot there will be no remead for them, except the law be patent for our grievances. Just and very heavy grievances must either vent the way which God, law, and reason hes appointed for their ease; or by violence they will make a way for themselves, which nature, reason, law, let be God, does not approve.

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

July 22.

Receave at (R.) the last Supplication given to the Marques; ye see it is pickeand; it obtained the poynt of rescinding of that Act of Counsell: and ane Information from England, which hes put us all newly agast if it be true. Strange! that Canterburie should be so furiously unjust. I hope God hes raised him to mak our Isle once quyt of Bishops, for all. St. Andrewes is to Court. Mr. Chrichton's estate see at (T). This day twelve moneth, the serving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the Bishops pride, when it was at the highest.

[ . . . . . (2). ]

REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

The papers ye wrote for, my Queries and Paralell, I had neither my self; bot I sent to Mr. John Bell of Stevenston for a loan of that double himself made: he hes sent yow both. Ye must not fail to fend them back to him.

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

I was fully purposed to have been with yow to-morrow, and to have taken yow with me to Lowdon; bot I was advertised yesternight from my brother of his wife Christian's sickness, and of her desyre to see me; so of necessity I must to Glasgow to-morrow; the week following I must preach on Wednesday, and celebrate the Communion on Sunday, God willing, so that I will not gett yow then seen; and thereafter is the meeting of Edinburgh. It is fore against my heart, that I winn not both to conferre with my Lord Lowdon and yow, bot since so necessare occasions diverts me, I must take the hinderance from God's providence. I am so full of doubts about our Generall Affembly, if the King discharge it, or which is equivalent, yield not to it, when it is so earnestly fought, that my heart hinders me to be a Member of it. This I am sorry for, for many reasones; and wishes that I might be resolved cheerfully to goe on in this with my brethren, as I have done in all other things; bot the more I assay, my minde is the more averse. My Lord Lowdon is the man from whom I expected satisfaction; and for this end had fundry purposes to goe to his Lordship, both in Edinburgh and here.

My maine doubts are, *1st*, That I finde no example of a Nationall Affembly meeting against the will of the Supreme magistrate rightly professing, neither in antiquity, nor in any of the Reformed churches to this day. *2dly*, By all appearance, our meeting in a Generall Affembly of our owne will, will make our hopes of peace desperate for ever, whill that Affembly be annulled. *3dly*, The causes alleadged for the necessity of it, considering our late Covenant so mighty a barre against error, and the discipline of Presbyteries doing with evill ministers or professors what we will, are not so pregnant, bot they may admitt of a delay. *4thly*, The reason from the law, or nature, from scripture, or antiquitie, infers bot a permission, bot not a command, under the pain of fin to meet.

Some other doubts I have; bot my chief is, my heart fails me to think on it. In our first printed Reason, a Parliament seems to be avowed no less necessare; which, to think upon without a King, seems to me a horrible fountain of all mischiefs. I trust thir my thoughts ye will keep them very close: I communicat them to yow, that ye, as if they were your own, may gett satisfaction about them. I pray yow, frae I cannot come to yow, doe me the good (I speak not now of compliments) pleasure or favour to come to me, and it were bot for an hour or two; if ye may not stay ane night, before Tuesday the 25th

of this moneth, the day appointed for choosfeing our Commiffioners ; for I will then be in a ftrait. I know I will be chofen for one, and, as I am now fett, of neceffity I muft refuse, which will be exceedingly evill taken ; however, I pray yow, after your conference with Loudon, let me fee yow this Thursday or Fryday, or the nixt week. The Lord help us.

[FOR MR. W. SPANG.]

COOSIN,

By your laft, the 7th of July, I was made glad that all my former, without intercepting, had come to your hand. Your largeness alfo in answers gave me full fatiffaction. Ye fhall not need hereafter to write any word of apologie to me. I did never believe any of these calunnies ; yet I thought good ye fhould be acquaint what some malicious or miftaken people did report. I hear that ye and the Confervator both, in the late Convention of Burrowes, by your letters, gave good contentment. Mr. William Struthers wife, and we all, thanks yow for your kinde offer to print that paper I fent yow ; but she is not fo defyrus to have it to the preffe as before ; fo ye fhall superfeid till advertifement. As for our great affair, have here all what I know into it fince my laft.

Our Brethren who went to Aberdeen wes bot coldly welcomed in that town. Fryday, the firft night they came, their Docters fent to them a number of enfnaeing Demands, hoping by difputts and janglings to make their journey fruitles. Thir Demands much studied, yea, put in print, and scattered athort as farr as the Court of England, were anfuered by our brethren againft to-morrow, and at night given to the Docters. For all this, the Docters refused to lend us any of their pulpits ; yea, the voyd church was made faft, and the keys kepted by the Magiftrate. Howfoever, in my Lord Marfchell's clofe, there were three fermons heard by a hudge confluence of people. Mr. David Dickfon in the morning at eight hours began ; and after fermon anfuered fhortly, and popularly, to all the Docters demands. At twelve hours Mr. Alexander Henderfone did preach, and Mr. Cant at four, to no leffe a multitude then at the firft dyet : they wyfely did choyfe the tymes when there was no publick services in the churches. After all, at a table in the clofe, some four or fyve hundred, at leaft a good number, whereof fundry



were of the best qualitie, did subscribe. On Monday, they went out to the Sherifsdome, where, with much labour, they persuaded many. My Lord Marquis of Huntley, and the Clergy of the town, had preoccupied the hearts of all that people with great prejudices against our cause; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the diocese was obtained to the number of forty-four Ministers.

On the Saturday, at their returne to Aberdeen, the Doctors had ready in print Replies to our brether's Answers. To thir our brether gave an Answer at once, and so returned home. Since, the Doctors has been on a Trip, which yet is not come out. Howsoever our brethren had great disadvantage in tyme, and place, and laike of books, yet God and the cause has made, in my judgement, no pregnant infirmitie kyth in their answers. We are well content that these men, who are the learnedst, without question, of our opposites, has gotten the occasion to print and reprint what their best engynes is able to say against our proceedings, with answers, which we trust shall in the end prove satisfactory to all, as already they have done to D. Guild and Mr. David Lindsay, moderator of Aberdeen presbytrie, and diverse others, who at the first were much withholden from coming to us by these Demands. Our Bishops were not permitted to come to Court: St. Andrewes, it is said, was countermanded in his way; so he lay in Morpett a number of dayes in the common postmaster's; yet at last all three, Brechin, Ross, and he, went to Newcastle, and there lives as they may in ane common Innes. The Thefaurer sent them some hundreth dollars; and the Commiffioner, in his way, some more money, for their entertainment. Ross posted to Court, gott some two houres of the King, and without seeing of Canterburie, in haste was sent back. Diverse of our clergy has visited them. D. Panter has returned from them; and since lurks: D. Wishart, and Mr. Lermont of Libberton, stayed behind him. The rest of St. Andrewes Doctors, Howie, Bruce, Martine, Baron, has all subscribed: D. Monroe, since his strokes, is among the foremost in our meetings: the Arch-deane, after reading of the Covenant in his church, by Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, has not preached: that day Mr. Armor was well pyked; so that town has now no ordinarie ministers, but are supplied by the presbyterie. I thinke D. Panter for doctrine, and Arch-deane [Gladstones] for drunkenesse, are under proceffe. Mr. Creighton did appeal from the Presbyterie; so did Mr. James Forfyth: to the one they lay a number of errors, pro-

ven by many witnesses ; to the other they lay preaching the conveniency of bowing at the name of Jesus, simonie, and a number of lesser matters : The one offers in discreet termes all contentment for bygones and tyme to come ; bot is not trusted : The other is full of will and passion, and, which I much marvell, is inclined to Canterburie, *in omnibus*, as it seems, which in him is a late and great change. Both are suspended, and went to the Bishops ; Mr. Creighton is forward to Court, hoping to be preferred in England or Ireland ; I think, however matters goe, there shall be no more place for him in Scotland. Mr. James was filled with great words by the Commiffioner, whom he mett ; and the Bishops put him in hope that the King shortly would be upon us with an army.

The Commiffioner came back before his day, D. Bakanquall with him : He kepted himself more reserved than before ; his Mother<sup>(3)</sup> he would not see ; Crouner Alexander he did discountenance ; Mr. Eleazer Borthwick he met not with ; after four or fyve dayes parleying, no man could gett his minde. The reason of this carriage, they say, was his desyre to remove all jealousies, which his enemies, from some passages of his carriages the last voyage, had laboured to put in the King's mind : The King was indeed displeas'd with his Mother ; and when his brother, Lord William's patent for the Earldom of Dumbar<sup>(4)</sup> came in his hand, he tare it, for despite, as he professed, of her. Crouner Alexander openly did give countenance and allowance to our Nobles meetings ; Mr. Eleazer was the man by whom his Grace, before his commiffion, did encourage us to proceed with our supplications : from all thir now his Grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn. While we began to fear delays, behold a Eleven demands are required of us, to be performed before our Affembly could be indicted : they were very evill taken of us all, as meer shiftings, and propositions invented by our Bishops for the frustrating of all our designs ; thir were twice read at all our Tables, and a common Answer framed to them, which here ye have at (A.) We expected ane reply to our answers ; which, if it had been given, we might

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

(4) Lord William Hamilton seems never to have obtained this title, which was then in abeyance ; but he afterwards regained the King's favour (*vide infra*, p. 115,) and was created Earl of Lanark, 31st of March 1639.

have yielded to fundry of these things : bot his Grace said, he was at a non-plus, and behooved to be again at the King before he could proceed.

In our answer to one of the articles, we were near to a discord among ourselves ; The Committee appointed for the first blocking of all our wrytes, had said, none should meddle with the election of commissioners from Presbyteries to the General Assembly, bot Ministers and Elders. At the reading of this our brethren stopped ; alleadging, that this answer did import the ordinar fitting of laick Elders, not only in Sessions, bot also in Presbyteries, their voteing there in the election of Ministers to bear commission : this they took to be a novation, and of great and dangerous consequences. For myself, it was my good luck to have studied somewhat in that question ; I was satisfied in my minde, of the lawfulness and expediency of our old practise and standing law, for Elders fitting and voteing in presbyterial matters, especially in election of commissioners to Assemblies : so I was silent ; bot many made dinn ; and all required the changeing of the answer to more generall words, which might give the power of that election to these who had the custome or law in tyme bygone for chooseng ; this did not hinder Elders to obtaine all their right or desyre, only it held off the present determination of a question very important. This our correction of that clause made such a sturr at all the Tables, both of nobles, barrons, burgessees, that they all resolved to quitt us in the cause, if presently they obtained not that poynt. Some from them all comes to us : After a little reasoning, there was no remead ; we all yielded, though some fore against their stomack : bot of all evils, division to us now is incomparable the worst. The clause of our Elders therefore behooved to stand as ye see it : yet that question is like to make us trouble ; for fundry of the brether are very jealous of the gentrie's usurpation over them.

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

For two or three dayes we were in great perplexitie, none knowing what well to doe : the Commissioner had no more to say ; we were inclined some to wait on, moe without farder patience presently to give order for our Assembly by ourselves ; a Committee is chosen, of all our Tables, to consult privatelie on this matter. This was the only question wherewith, from the beginning of

this matter, my minde was tormented ; and if I were through it, I doe not foresee any other whereupon I would so much stick : my minde was so full of doubts at that tyme, that if I had been posed, I would have diffented from meeting in an Assemblie without the King's permission. Alwayes the matter, for feare of opposition and division, was never mentioned in publick, and so I said nocht ; for I had resolved before, in my field-coming, to be silent through all this dyett, so farr as I was able ; to sigh, and pray, and take heed, bot no further.

After the Commiffioner fand us on thir consultations, he sent to entreat for a delay of conclusions before yet once he might post to Court, to represent, bot not to deale for the King's acceptation of our Answers to his late demands : for to promise to move the King to be content with them, he would not, himself esteeming our answers unreasonable. This his proposition was rejected of all, and all delay refused upon so naked a narrative. Thereafter his Grace came near us, shewing by Lorne and Southesk, that he found out, upon farther information, that our answers was according to our lawes, which before he knew not ; bot now having found it, he was hopefull so to represent it to the King, that he might obtain, by ane other voyage, the indiction of ane Assemblie as free as we could wish. This new motion was so well proponed to us all in a common meeting by Lorne, ane excellent spokesman, and so well seconded by Rothes, that many inclined to grant to the Commiffioner the delay he craved ; yet the body of the Gentry, of the Burrowes, and the chief of the Ministers was flatt against it ; who, by discourse, found worlds of dangers, if this meeting should dissolve without taking of present order for the Assembly, and many moe things. My heart was sore grieved to see the unreasonable stiffness of many, which, for feare of mistake, I durst not mint to reason against in publick : yet at last God made reason and equitie cary it against the hearts of fundry of the chief ministers, albeit we had all resolved, for feare of division, to have yielded to these of our brether who were most wilfull, if no better might have been ; bot the authority of Lorne and Rothes, who were here earnest agents, did cary the matter. When I saw the unexpected conclusion, I rejoiced in God, and, by this experience of his watchfull Providence over this great cause, made hopefull he would not suffer it be spoiled by the imprudencie of mony uncannie hands which are about it.

So soone as the Marqueis had gotten our promise, of leaveing all things as

they were till the 20th of September, and taken in hand to agent to his power the obtaining of our Four Articles, 1st, The full freedome of our Affembly in the members and matters, 2dly, The hastening of the tyme, 3dly, The commoditie of the place, 4thly, The discharge of intercepting of our letters in England; that same Saturday afternoon he went away towards Court, hoping on Thursday to see the King. One of the causes that made some of our number to deale the more peremptorie with the Commiffioner at this tyme, was his injurious letters to Aberdeen: for, in his way from Court, he wrote not only to them great thanks, and moved the King to doe the same, for their carriage towards our brethren; but spoke of us contumeliously, as ye may see in the double of these letters at (C.); yea, not so only, but for no words would he be put from printing of a Declaration of the truth in these calumnies, as he said, which we in our Answers did put on him. For my selfe, I marvelled in the tyme, that the Commiffioner should have made that demand about our mutuall band in termes so advantagious for us, and should have professed his satisfiacion in our answers to that maine impediment of our Affembly: but having done so, I thought he would never have recalled it, or put it more in question; yet it seems his unfriends hes made such informations of that his unadvysedness, that in all hazards he must retreat it: he was made assured, that the whole Tables would testifie the contrarie of his Declaration, and cause print their contradiction, that he thought it meeter to undergo all hazards, then to suffer that (whether true or false) alleadgeance to lye upon him, without his publick disclaiming of it. I hope to send yow with the demands, answers, replies, duplies, and triplies of Aberdeen, the Marqueis declaration, and the Ministers answers to it, all printed; with our Nobles letters to Aberdeen, in wryte.

In the heat of all thir actions, God did much incourage us with Father Abernethie the Jesuite's conversion. On the Thursday there after Mr. Andrew Ramsay's sermon made for the purpose, in a large half houres space, he made a very sweet discourse <sup>(5)</sup> of his errors, and reclaiming by the grace of God, with many teares of his own and the most of his hearers; thereafter, with great

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

defyre, he fubfcrived our Covenant, and fpake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can finde no apeirance of hypocrifie in the man. He fhoves us many things, which I hope to fend yow with Mr. Andrew's fermon in print: among the reft he told, that there is eighteen priests at leaft ever in Scotland; he gave their names and abode: he tells, that in England there will be above fix thoufand: that at London there will be above three hundred mafles fung every Sabbath; that he knew, on a fix years fince, when he was laft at Rome, a conclufion paff in the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, for to ufe meanes to draw the Church of England to that of Rome, bot to mell no farther with our Scotifh Church than ane affociation with England, upon hopes, by this conformitie alone, to gaine us fullie by tyme. There went out in his name reports of Canterburies inter-courfe of letters with the Pope, of the contryving of our Scotifh Liturgie at Rome; bot when I pofed him on thefe, he denyed his knowledge of any fuch matters, albeit he confeffed to me fome ftate-paffages, which might have been prejudiciall enough to him if they had gone abroad.

So foon as the Marqueis went away, the Tables advyfed on inftructions for the Generall Affemblic to be execute prefently after the 20th of September, the longeft terme which the Commiffioner had craved for his return. The common letter fent to the Presbytries ye have at (D.); the inftructions at (E.); fome notes fent with them, drawn out of the Book of Difcipline and Generall Affemblics, for the contentment of thefe who had fcruples anent the voyces of Elders in choyfeing of commiffioners for the Affemblic, at (F.); alfo fome private articles fent to thefe minifters whom moft they trusted, at (G.) According to thir, a very folemn and generall faft was kept every where the 16th of September; and thereafter all feffions did choofe their elders to goe to the Presbytries after the 20th day, there to vote for the choyfe of three minifters and one elder to take commiffion for the expected Generall Affemblic. Among us in the Weft there was a commiffion drawn up, by Mr. David [Dickfon,] to be the common forme of all feffions, at (H.): this I much diflyked, as containing the feid of new, idle, and dangerous questions; this, when I faw, I caufed alter into the forme ye fee at (I.), at leaft for my owne feffion and fome others.

All this tyme my minde was afflicted with doubts: I thought the King would never indict fuch ane Affemblic as we could accept; I faw all was

resolved to have one according to their minde, though the King should discharge us: If I went not to it, being required, I foresaw much hurt would befall me; and to it I could not goe as I was. In this strait, I fought much my God; and he now has delivered me out of thir thornes. I reasoned with the best of those that was against ane Assemblée without the King: their reasons I thought not pressing; my reasons I withheld from them; but to these who were layd down for it, I communicat my minde. None of my brethren did give me tollerable satisfaction; at last I went to my Lord Lowdon's house, and conferred two nights with him: I returned reasonable well satisfied, and well near resolved to countenance the Assemblée, forbid it who would. While I am in thir thoughts, behold a proclamation indicting the Assemblée at Glasgow the 21st of November; this put me out of all question.

At this time also the Commiffioner prevented his day: he came to Dalkeith the 15th of September. We could not for a while learn any of his news: the word went he was to intimat an Assemblée in the Spring at Aberdeen; this displeas'd all: our affairs could not admitt so long a delay; we would have taken it worse then a flatt refuseall; that place ~~was~~ extremely incommodious for old grave men to travel to in such a tyme of the year: yea, it was unsafe; for in and about that towne there would be above ten thousand fighting men, who might have killed, or done injurie to us all: but we fand it far otherwayes. The King's will at (K.) was exceedingly gracious in the most of our desyres; the unhappie Books, the Commiffion also simply discharged; Perth articles made free; Ministers entry as we could wish; Bishops subjected to the Assemblée; the Assemblée and Parliament indicted at the tymes and places wee could have desyred; only one thing frayes us, the subscription of ane other Covenant. This, and the convoy of it, makes us tremble for fear of division; also the continuall rumors of the King's preparation for warre; two hundred thousand pound sterling taken up of the customs; one hundred and fifty offered by the clergy for that end; twenty-five thousand pound sent over to Holland for arms; appoynting of the North to be ready for marching: thir things maks us fray. At some prior meetings, to fundry I did regrait, who might, as I think, shew it to the Commiffioner, for they had his eare, that they gave us our desyres by bitts, and with boasts; that in likelihood the best meanes for calming of our mindes were to grant us all at once, what by tyme they would suffer themselves to be driven to by any violence. This course at last is

taken : if it had been a little before used, or yet if we could be persuaded of the sincerity of it, matters might go well ; bot the reason why we are malecontent yet still, lie in our protestation, at (L.), as also in the common letter which was sent athort the country with the protestation, at (M.) : tyme will decypher much.

Our Presbyterie, with one consent, on the 25th day, choose my Lord Lowdon for our elder of the shyre, Mr. Robert Barclay for the towne of Irwine, Mr. David Dickfone and me : betwix Mr. John Bell, Mr. H. M'Kell, and Mr. William Ruffell, many votes was divided ; but pluralitie fell upon Mr. William Ruffell. Mr. Michael [Wallace] was cleane misregarded ; whereof I am forrie for many reasons ; bot his wilfull opposition of the laick Elders procured him that affront, and will gett him more, if, against all reason, he continue wilfull, as he is like to doe. Pasley did choose Mr. William Brisbane, his son Mr. Matthew, and Mr. John Hamiltone, and [John Brisbane of] Bishoptoun ; Mr. John Hay, abler much then any of them, was past by for his too much countenancing of Mr. John Creichton, and other reasons not inconsiderable. Glasgow had appointed Tuedday for their election : we all thought it expedient they should choose my Lord of Eglinton for their elder : This I fhew by write to some of the presbytrie ; whereupon they sent James Stewart of Chryftwall with a letter subscribed by Mr. John Bell elder and younger, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd,] Mr. James Sharpe, and others, entreating the nobleman to be present with them at their election, with many kinde, courteous, and pressing words. Upon this he goes, very evill in health, for we all did presse him. Yesternight he wrytes, that his coming there was in vaine ; the Presbytrie would choose none that day, had delayed the election till the 10th of October ; had written a complementing letter to the Commissioner for the benefite and honour of the Assembly in their town. For this I am exceeding forrie : How the matter went, I know not yet ; bot I am afrayed that this action prove unhappie. This is the third tyme, when their miscarriage will grieve the whole countrey : the example by taking a course by themselves is now most pernicious to us all ; it will be the first open doore to division : their last divisive motion had well near raised a mutiny amongst them, and a bloodie trouble. I pray God this bring no hurt to us all, and them first of all : bot of this more hereafter. We are all going to Edinburgh to our last consultations before the Assembly. There goes athort a Speech, in the name of the Duke



of Lennox, difwading the King from warre with us : ye have it at (O.) The ſpeech at firſt was thought to be truly ſpoken at the Counfell-table by the alleadged author ; bot now we hear it is bot ſuppoſitious. However, they ſay Canterburie is become our great friend, and by all means a perſuader of the King to peace, though with the ruine of all the perſons of our Biſhops. Their proceſſes are faſt forming : Brechin, they ſay, is undone ; adultery is like to be proven ; the whore, and the child goes up and down the ſtreets proclaiming it ; bot befyde, other probations are clear to make it unqueſtionable : St. Andrewes, I fear, be made infamous : No kinde of cryme which can be gotten proven of a Biſhop will now be concealed.

When I was on the poynt of going to Edinburgh, I received advertiſement of a countermand from the meeting there, which had thought meet, for the Marqueis contentment, to hinder the convention of Commiſſioners, once appointed ; for his Grace was offended, that before the Aſſembly ſuch a great convocation of the members of the Aſſembly ſhould meet : alſo the meeting ſcailed, to the end that all gentlemen might be at home at the Michaelmaſs courts ; where, by the acts of Parliament, the Shyres are ordained yearly to chooſe commiſſioners for the Parliament, whether indicted or not ; ſo, left his Grace ſhould gett nominat ſuch men as he pleaſed, the gentry were required to be all in theſe courts, and attend that election. Frae my voyage to Edinburgh was hindered, I went to Glaſgow to ſee how all went : I ſand that the danger was greater then I feared. The proclamation was poſted from Edinburgh hither by Orbifton, who rode with it on the Sunday for haſte ; yet the Toun Commiſſioner had preveened him ; for on Sunday advertiſement came by him, that a proteſtation was uſed againſt it : for all that, it was applauded to by the town, by too many with too much joy, without any number of proteſting ; the miniſtry ſtanding in the Croſſe, with a number of not-covenanters, joyning in all the tokens of their joy, and concurring all in wryting of the letter of thanks to the Marqueis. Thereafter the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Patrick Bell, and others, went to the Marqueis, in Hamilton : It was feared that they had promiſed over much to him : I ſand them peremptor for the equity of ſubſcryving the King's Covenant, and iniquity of our counter-proteſtation ; alſo very averſe from choyiſing commiſſioners according to our minde. I could doe no more bot forrow, and be afraid with the Principall, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. Archibald Fleiming, Mr.

William Wilkie, and mainely with Patrick [Bell], whom the Marqueis had caufed the Bifhop name Proveft, I think, by Mr. William Wilkie's information to Doctor Bakanquall; and Patrick caufed my brother,<sup>(6)</sup> Matthew Hamilton, William Neilfon, be made baillies, Walter Stirling deane of gild, men all fimple, and at his own difpofition. I fhew, fra all our brethren in the Covenant had protefted, that this new fubfcription would be one of the moft dangerous divifive motions that yet was ufed; if they would begin, at the Commiffioner's defyre, to fubfcryve, that the whole countrey could not bot take them for traitors, and thefe menfworne, the authors of all their ruine. However, they were refolved of the expediencie to fubfcryve; yet I knew that their wifdome could not permitt them to practife their refolution, as indeed hitherto they have abfteened. As for the choyfing of their commiffioners, I likewise fhew them all my minde. I was grieved to fee their minde fo farr from our courfe; yet God guides good men even in their by-wayes. The Tables in Edinburgh wrote to them, that thirty-nine prefbytries already had chofen their commiffioners, as they were defired; that the reft were in doing; that they heard of none who were unwilling; that they would be entreated, not to be firft who fhould begin a dangerous preparative. Withall my Lord Lowdon, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Boner, come, with instructions to clear their fcruples, that they pretended againft the choyfing of Elders for commiffioners. It was fo caryed, that election was made of old Mr. John Bell, Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and Mr. James Sharpe, and my Lord Eglinton, or, in his abfence, my Lord Fleeming. Mr. John Maxwell gave in a proteftation, which no other would fubfcryve. The Marqueis came in himfelf to receive their fubfcription, and laboured with them what he could till night, after Doctor Bakanquall's fermon in the High church; bot was forced to leave them to ten dayes advyfelement. So he went away with fmall contentment, and to my heart was brought great joy for the conftancy of that Town which we have reafon to love beft.

We thought this fubfcription a very deep and dangerous plott, and fo oppofed it every where what we could. The Marqueis and Counfellors as yet has come no fpeed in obtaining hands to it. After ten dayes, Mr. [Sir William] Elphinfone, Juftice-Generall, and Belhaven who now hes

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

Sir George's (7) estate and house, buffie agents for his Grace, required the Counsell to subscriue. George Porterfield, incontinent, at the table, used a protestation; bot the Provest required a delay yet of eight dayes: we hope this delay shall draw on to the Assembly, which is all we crave. Receave here the proclamations and counsell acts in print; never so many acts in one day, and of matters of so great moment: Had that one clause of subscriuing ane other Covenant been away, we had blessed the Marqueis for his notable service at this tyme. At the table arose a great question about a clause of the Proclamation; the Register had penned, "The subscription of the King's Covenant, according to the tenor of it," Lorne, Advocat, [and] Wigton, defyred it might be put in "According to the date of the [15]81 yeare, and as then the religion was professed;" mynding by this clause the exclusion of Bishops, and all other novelties since brought in our Church. The inserting of this clause at last was obtained of his Grace; and in this clause diverse does triumph. Receave also the protestation in print; there is inclosed in it both the reasons of protesting, I spake of at (L.), and against all prelimitation of the Assembly, I spake of at (B.); so ye laik nothing when ye have print for wryte; also the demands of Aberdeen, with the Marqueis declaration going before, and our answers, with the Tables reply to the Marqueis demands, spoken of at (A.) Aberdeen's triply is come to the Marqueis in print: he does suppress it, as he gives out, lest more matter of strife be ministered to the countrey; whatever be the cause, it is sent to Court to be revied: if it come to my hands ye shall have it. I hope that town of Aberdeen is now lykeways gained;(8) for the Crafts obtained by threats, that all their magistrates and counsell, according to the act of Burrowes, should be chosen of covenanters alone; and when the proclamation was made into it by the Marqueis of Huntley, to his face the protestation was read, Forbes, Frazer, and others, encourageing the citizens.

It was required once and offer by the Noblemen, that his Grace would give a warrand for to summond the Bishops; bot after this demand was shifted, ane other course was taken, which I shall send you. My Lords

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

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

Lowdon, Boyd, [and] Mr. David Dick, according to the direction of the Tables from Edinburgh, went in this last week to the Presbytrie of Glasgow, gave in a supplication in name, as ye may see at (K.), of Covenanters who were not members of the Generall Assemblie against Mr. Patrick Lindsay, minister at such a kirk, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow, and his Collegues, for crymes enough ; and required justice, or ane answer. The Presbytrie, after deliberation, resolved, and wrote it as an act, that such a complaint was made to them ; which, for the weight of it, they did remitt to the Generall Assemblie. The extract of this act, with the libell, was sent to the Bishop, and put in his hand by the church-beddall, before two witnes : this, being indorsed, is thought a sufficient summons. On the morne, old Mr. John Bell preaching in the High Church, the Thursday before the Communion, made intimation to the people, that such a complaint was given in to their Presbytrie, which they did think meet not to conceall from them ; so, by John Anderfone, the clerk's servant, the whole lybell is read in audience of the people. [In the] afternoon, the Noblemen and others goes to the Session, and entreats, that the town would by no means subscrivye any other Covenant before the Assemblie : the Provest would make no promise ; which his answer, by Mr. David Dick's benign interpretation, was taken in good part. On that same last Wedensday, the Presbytrie of Edinburgh did pronounce the sentence of suspension against Mr. David Mitchell, notwithstanding of the Marqueis not only request, but at last charge by a messer, to the contrare. This misregard did highly commove his Grace ; bot his wrath to-morrow was increased by the women's great insolency ; who, finding that D. Eliot went to pulpitt, when they expected Mr. Henrie [Rollock,] after fermon fell upon him and Mr. Fletcher with many sad stroakes : the cause and manner we know not yet clearly, bot are all grieved at the heart for it, and wishes that the actors were exemplarelie punished. The Marqueis hes called ane frequent Counsell against the 28th of this month. It is much feared, that he go to Court, and leave us the ruleing of the Assemblie as we please ; bot if he should doe so, we are resolved to keep the dyett, and expects God to be with us, when we use our right in so needfull a tyme. Great rumors of hudge preparation for horse and foot in England, of hudge munition from Holland to them ; yet our people is no whitt afraid : we lie what we doe be just and necessar ; as for the hazards, we leave them to the provision of God, who is our only patron.

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

The last tyme I was in Glasgow, as my custome alwayes is, I went and saw your Mother, where I fand that your Father was flitted; and not only by hir, but fundrie of my freinds, I was assured of his most christiane and comfortable carriage and discourse to his very last, to the great contentment and joy of all: ye and I could not wish to die with more faith. Your Mother also had good courage and health. I am sorry that things goes so crosse this year with our friends; that Force and Chastilion should beene so shamefullie raised from St. Omer, and your Prince from Gelder, and Grave Morice from Los Santos; that Conde should have been so stated at Fontarabie; Vercelli also taken by the Spanish; and D. Bernard should have been looking this half-year on the walls of Brissak; and the Palatine triffling tyme about Meppen: for the Swedds, I see not what their eirand is now in Germany, bot to shed protestant blood. It is like they may come over to Brittain, if Affembles end not our quarrells. I marvell ye try no more your divines' judgements of our matters; Voetius, and Rivett, Walæus, and others of note: we would be refreshed by their encouragement. I put no question bot they are informed from many hands how matters goes. If, against the Synods, ye can furnish me with any farder helps about Bishops, then are in Gerfon, Bucerus, it is well. We had much need of all your prayers the next Sabbath, and some following. The fourth of November is a solemne fast for a blessing to the Affembly. It is like to be the most frequent and considerable one that ever was in this land: ye would doe well to be at it ere it ryse.

This last week, on Fryday the 26th of October, it pleased God to shew me ane evident token of his mercifull providence. My second boy, Hary, a most

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

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

There was an accident that shortly would have begun our calamity, if it had not been in tyme seen to: The horse which our cowpers had bought at Maton fair, were arreifted, many of them by the Mayor of Newcastle ; Johnstone, and others, for that hindered all the dryvers of neat and sheep to goe through to England. Our noblemen dealt with the Marqueis, that the Mayor's injurious arreiftment might be loosed ; when he made some delay, they told him, that they quickly would goe and fetch them, or twyfe as many in their roome ; whereupon the Marqueis presently wrote to Newcastle ; who dismissed our horse ; and since, our borderers has suffered the dryvers to goe through. The King's ships also on our coast a while troubled us ; bot after they had entered fundry of our shippes, without any harm, and shew that their commission was no farder than to search what they caryed, that fear past. It is thought their maine design was to have catched Generall Lefslie by the

way, bot he, for fear of them, come over in a small bark. He hes caufed a great number of our commanders in Germany fubfcryve our Covenant, and provided much good munition. It is thought many in England hes intelligence with us ; that the armes in England are mainly to fuppreffe the Lower Houfe men, of whom Canterburie ftands in great doubt.

The laft meeting in Edinburgh concluded the articles ye have at (S.) The Sabbath following is the firft fafting day for the Affembly. If God be with us, we hope to have our Church and State put in a better cafe then it hes been thefe threttie years bygone ; bot if he defert us, we cannot avoid prefently to fall into great danger to be a field of blood, and, thereafter a poor flaved province, at the devotion, both in religion and lawes, of a faction which to us is extreamly fufpect of wicked designs : betwixt this great hope and great fear now we hing. The Lord be carefull of us : ye there are not feeling members, nor thankfull for our oft compaffionating your evils and dangers, if, at this tyme, ye joyne not in hearty prayers ; for other help we have gotten little from any of the reformed churches, which to us is marvellous. All forraigne divines hitherto hes been filent : they care not for our woes ; though popery fhould fwel on Brittain, it feems they regard it not ; however, the leffe comfort we have from men, we will lean the more to God. I wifh my nixt letter may not be forrowfull ; for I minde to write no more to yow till our Affembly be clofed. Our commendations to yow and your wife ; the Lord be with you. I ref, November firft,

Your Coofin.

Laiking ane carrier for fome dayes, I broke up my letters to fhew yow farder, that the fecond of November the Commiffioner went to the Tolbooth, and moved the Lords of Seffion, who wer prefent, to fubfcryve the King's Covenant : yet Durie, Craighall, Scotifarbett, and Ennerteill did peremptorie refufe. Thereafter, in the Counfell, he was very preffing to have a declaration paffe their hands of a refolution, or command, or approbation of the King's will to have Epifcopacie ftanding with fome caveats, and this not to be questionable in the enfueing Affembly. To this fundrie of the Counfell was inclyning ; bot after the Advocat's <sup>(9)</sup> ftout oppofition, it was gotten croffed for that tyme : for this contradicition the Advocat was perfumed, by

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

the Commiffioner, with many unkind words. The noblemen gave in to the Counfellers, by way of fupplication, fome reafons to hinder their affenting to any fuch declarations. We are glad of the motion; for the croffing of it in Counfell will be a great encouragement for us in the Synod, to determine in that matter what we find expedient. How all will go He knows to whom we are in all our land now faft praying. We are refolved to keep the twentieth-one [day of November] in Glaſgow, and to goe on by God's grace, as we ſhall be anfwerable to God, oppoſe who will. It is like there ſhall be oppoſition: Roſſe is at Court, and expected daylie by the Commiffioner, with the King's laſt commandments: We expect no grace from his hands; for it was his holie fingers who carryed us down the firſt the book of Canons, and thereafter our book of Service; if now he bring the diſcharge of the Aſſembly, he bot continues to be lyke himſelf, ane meek, and calme, happie instrument<sup>(1)</sup> for the peace of this poore Church. The reſt of his brethren, the Biſhops, are come to Edinburgh. Preparations in England for warre goes on; magazines of victuall, muſtering of great horſes, on our borders, are talked off.

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

DEAR COOSING,

I have received all your former, with the currents, to the 8th of Januar; the laſt was broken up, and Mr. Robertſon's alſo, wherein myne was incloſed, bot it was ſo written, that, apparently of purpoſe, ye have putt it in theſe hands which ye did ſuſpect of violent curioſitie. I marvell ye have not yet received my laſt, written in the beginning of November, wherein I give yow a full information, whence I left, to the beginning of our Synod. What ye write in your laſt fyve large apologeticks, I told yow before to have been almoſt needleſs paines; a word was enough to have wyped away ſuch fooliſh calumnies: had my letter in tyme come to your hand, it would have made yow more ſtout againſt your imperious ſeſſion. I hope hereafter ye will be reſolute; and they alſo to let Zuill preachings alone, according to the Act of our Aſſembly. I am very well pleaſed with your thoughts of the Service

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



book ; they are judicious and learned, and, which is much more, I think them true : ye shall doe very well to proceed in that studie. For your furtherance, I have sent yow my Meditations of that same kinde, drawn up long agoe, and sent abroad ; I could now make them much larger, for fundry moe Canturburian wryts hes since fallen in my hand, whereby that faction may be easily convinced of fould poperie. My Queries were out more nor a year since ; my Parallell shortly thereafter, for the justification of our complaint and declinator, before there was any word of our Covenant. If your divines there were informed, from such collections, of the state of our controversies, they would undoubtedly pitie our cause the more. The way of our partie is avowedly to full Arminianisme, and really to so much Poperie as the Pope requires at their hands for the present, yea, much more ; it hes been proven at our Synod that numbers of our brethren hes preached the most of the Canturburian tenets. It is marvellous that we can hear of none either in Scotland, England, or Ireland, after all this dinn, who hes given the least signe of repentance, or of revocation, of any their errors. They have called back our wicked Books, bot will condemne no letter of them ; so far as we know, or can know by any thing they have said or written, they are bot waiting when the sword of our sweit Prince shall make them way to force us receive all their most extravagant dictats, or else suffer. I should be glad to see what ye have written De Jure Patronatus. Our old discipline is for yow : To move this question yet, is not feasonable : our greatest difficultie will be with the King ; for the most of all our patronages are in his hand. That Wounded Beast,<sup>(2)</sup> is a beastlie peice ; we all mislyke it. We doe not know the author of it ; I wish it were Mr. Can<sup>(3)</sup> of Amsterdame ; he should then be bot a poore, rashe, and foolishe spirit, whereof I would be glad ; for I am affrayed for that man and his complices. They send over, a little before our Assëmblie, a pamphlet, “ The Guyde to Sion,” not yet much eyed, yea, disfavored by all ; bot, if God give our Church peace, I am affrayed for the grounds of that sect :

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

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

When we have battered down Rome, and Ley,<sup>(1)</sup> the walls of Amsterdam I wish might hold in their snell brazen shott from these places of our towres that are most weake. I pray yow help me with some peices of Brounisme; we will have neid of such weapons presently, both offensive and defensive. We are put in hopes to gaine these men, if we be dexterous; bot I am more feared they gaine some of us; for, so farr as yett I see, according to the grounds of too many among us, the Brounist's arguments are unanfwerable: it is in vain to abhorre the conclusion, where the antecedent is loved; such hatred is either not sincere, or cannot be constant.

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

My Lord Commiffioner his Grace seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statesmen the King hes; a great lover both of the King and his cuntry: as he left nothing unassayed among us to gett the King his will, so we hope he has done his endeavour, and will continue, to obtaine the cuntry justice at the King's hand. Though he hes done all against our proceedings what the heart of the Bishops, in any wisdome, could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was putt on him: so much the more also, that the Supplication of the Assamblee,

<sup>(1)</sup> Ley probably for Leyden, as the supposed stronghold of the Arminians, so named after Dr. James Arminius, who was Professor of Divinity in that University. In like manner, Amsterdam is here mentioned as the chief seat of the Brownists.

fent up with Mr. George Winrham, was presented by him to his Majestie, in all humility and earnestness. It was heard with attention, and referred to the consideration of the Scottishe Counsell at London. The King wrote thereafter to our Counsell, that for to be nearer information of our affaires, he was minded shortly to come down to York; in the mean tyme, that they would be thinking of overtures. We are informed, that the Counsell of Warre fitts daily; that against Pasche or before, his Majestie, at York, is to visite his army of 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot. The Marqueis was at his upgoing, in great perplexitie and doubts; however, he did all that could be done, and more than any other could have effectuall; yet the matter itself was of such nature, that it could not be wrought to the King's purpose: yea, some passages did miscarry beynde the doer's intention, to the hinderance somewhat of the King's designes. The subscriyveing of the King's Covenant by the Counsell was so cunninglie turned, by slight of hand, that it became the soveraigne ingyne to overturne Episcopacie, for whose establishment it was onlie requyred by the King. The turning of this canon on the King, lay heavilie upon the back of the Marqueis wisdom: to be unfortunate is a crime great enough in a monarch's court; bot sikk was either the strength of the Marqueis declaration, (which with the next ye shall have in print, and the answer of it, also), or rather the benignity of our just Prince, that for all his fear, yet he was most graciously received; and for a token of favour, hes gotten to his brother<sup>(5)</sup> already the Privie Purse, and a place of the Bed-chamber; whence the Earle of Ancrum is removed; whether for the zeale of the Earle of Lothian, his son, in the countries cause, or for his long and evident infirmity, which made him very unmeet to ly in a prince's chamber, we doe not yet know.

We look for no other bot in the Spring the King to come in person, upon Louthian and Edinburgh, with a great land army; that one part of his navie shall go to Aberdeen to joyn with Huntley, another to the coast of Fyfe and Louthian, a third to land from Ireland on us in the West some little armie. We are conscious to ourselve of no cryme against the lawes of our Church or State. We hope God shall look on the equitie of our cause; the little opposition we dow make is making readie. I was latelie in the minde, that, in no imaginable case, any prince might have beene opposed; I

(<sup>5</sup>) Lord William Hamilton, *vide supra*, p. 98.

inclyne now to think otherwayes. In all our questions I confesse no change bot in this only; whereto I was brought, not by Paræus, or Buchanan, or Junius Brutus, for their reasons and conclusions I yet scunner at; bot mainly by Bilsone de Subjectione, where he defends the practise of all Europe, Spaine, France, Germany, England, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Swan [Sweden,] who at diverse tymes, for sundry causes, hes opposed their princes. I am somewhat confirmed by the last duplie of Aberdeen, which, though wyfely for a tyme was suppressed by our Commiffioner, yet, being sighted and approved by my Lord of Canterburie, is now come abroad among us: They will have us to believe, that our whole estate, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turcisme, to be spoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all yet they may make no kind of resistence; the conclusion is so horrible, and their proofs so weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I lyke it much worfe then I did. I see the reformers of our Scottish Church all to the contrare; Luther, Melanchton, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Abbotts, Whittakers, also gives leave to subjects, in some cases, to defend themselves, where the Prince is absolut from subjection to any man, bot not absolute from tye to the lawes of Church and State, whereto he is sworne, which is the case of all Christian Kings now, and ever also since the fall of the Roman Empire: A pittie that in thir most dangerous times Canterburie should cause print among us such conclusions, which, if they came from the Prince, would put all our people in absolute desperation: bot God be thanked, none of our Princes did ever crave what they ascryve to them, let be to be absolved from the tye of laws, that nomothetick power, yea no that power to impose taxations, so farre as yet we have heard, was never assumed by any of our Princes to this houre; bot all our civill lawes hes ever been made, and the leift taxation ever imposed by the King and his States in parliament or convention. This new faction, as it would destroy our religion, so it layes down grounds for the overthrow of the kingdome, and that under the fair pretext of advancing both. I am yet in study of this question; I pray yow help me what ye can upon it in your nixt letter. Rivett is much cast up against us; bot so far as I find in his "Jesuita Vapulans," or in that psalme, I think without reason: It is marvellous if he condemn what his mother-church of France did approve, and that church of Holland, wherein he now lives, does this day practise. I wish

ye writ to him, and others there, concerning this matter, bot so that ye be not found. I doe truely think that the only way to save the King's authority among us, yea, to keep this poor kingdome whole and intire to his service, and of his posterity for ever, is our present uniforme conjunction to hold off his armies by supplications, as hitherto we have done, or otherwayes also, in case of necessitie extreame and unavoidable : for if we should divide, and one part yeild, or joyne with the King's army, befyde the killing, of necessitie, of numbers of the best of his Majesties good and most loving subjects, which would be ready to goe and die at the walls of Constantinople, let be of Rome, Vien, or Madrid, in his service, the rest would be so weakened and discouraged, that no help for many years could be expected from us against any of the King's enemies ; which at thir tymes were to the King, not only an irreparable losse, bot also a fearfull danger, when England is so full of malecontents, to whom there appears no possibility of giving satisfaction, so long as the Canterburian party does keep their feet. The fear of our nation hes kepted our neighbours in order to this day : if we be so broken either in heart or strength, that we cannot be in readines, in a short warning, to flee to our sweet Prince's back, stormes is likely to arise, in that flatt ayre of England, which long hes been glooming, that all the skill of the Archbishops braine will have adoe to calme, before a thunderbolt break out on his own pate. Bot for state-matters, we will meddle no further, then to pray for our dear father King Charles, and our poor mother the Church and Kingdome of Scotland : If they discord, it will cost us their children many teares and much blood : God, who is a father to both, send them good greance, and confound these who is the true cause of their variance, that shame being poured upon them, they may repent, and convert their witt for conjoyning what they have been putting long asunder.

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

Your old freind,

Feb. 12, 1639.

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT GLASGOW IN 1638.<sup>(6)</sup>

COOSIN,

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

Notwithstanding of the indiction, our hopes were bot slender ever to see the downfitting of our passionatelie defyred Affemblie with the Commiffioner's consent; for daily he fand himself more and more disappointed in his expectation to obtain these things which, it seems, he put the King in hope might be gotten. Episcopacie to be put in place of safety, above the reach of the Affemblies hand, was now seen to be impossible; his engynes for this purpose, by the skill of his party, was turned back upon him; the Counsell had subscribed the King's Covenant, as it was exponed at the first in the 1581 year: his declaration, that Episcopacie was then in our Church, and will, that the Affemblie should be discharged to medle in the tryall of this matter, could not be gotten concluded in ane Counsell act: fundrie Lords of Session being required to subscribe the Covenant in that his sense, refused; with a protestation, that the exposition of these parts, which might make for or against Episcopacie, should be referred to the determination of the ensueing Affemblie. Noblemen and Ministers chosen commiffioners, did not dissembly their minds in their discourse of the unlawfulness, at least the inexpedience, of this office in our Church, and so their designe by any meanes to have it presently putt down. This put his Grace in great perplexitie; for he did conceive, as some said, by the words and wrytes of fundrie of our nobles of chief respect, that the Affemblie might have been gotten perswaded to establish, at least to permit, or passe by untouched, that office: when the contrare appeared, he was

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

at a nonplus ; for his instructions had made the place of Bishops a *Noli me tangere* ; but their persons was permitted to the doome of the severest mouth among us, where their miscarrying had required censure. His next disappointment was in the matter of the Covenant : he hoped to have gotten the King's Covenant universally subscribed, and ratified hereafter in the Assembly ; so that the other, which had been subscribed by us before, might be quietly, without any infamous condemning of it, suppressed and buried : but far above and against all his thoughts, that Covenant universally was refused ; and, among these few who put their hands to it, diverse avowed their minds to be in all things the same with these who had sworn the first. The missing of this intention increased also much his Grace's malecontentment. In two other designs also, he found himself close deceived : he thought, an act for the freedom of the practice of Perth articles, might have contented us ; and without condemning the matters themselves, before the Parliament by supplication had been brought to the casting of the standing law : but an universal inclination appeared in all to have the things themselves tried without delay, and acts presently formed anent them, as their nature was found to require. Specially his instructions carried him to the removal of the High Commission, books of Canons, Ordination, [and] Service, but not to reason or condemn any thing contained in any of them, which might reflect against any public order, or any thing practised or allowed by my Lord of Canterburie, and his followers, in England or elsewhere : We in no case could be content, except we were permitted to examine all that was in these Books ; their matter now being the avowed doctrine of many in our Church ; and since we did find the articles of Arminius, with many points of the grossest poperie, in the books, in the preachings, and in the discourses of our bishops and ministers, we were resolved to have these doctrines censured as they did deserve, without any sparing for respect to any person who did maintain them.

The Commissioner, finding himself mistaken in all this, and many more of his designs, was feared to labour the discharging of the Assembly before it began, or at least to marr it so, if it fell down, that it should do no good. We referred to this intention his diligence to obtain subscribers to protestations against the Assembly ; we heard by our opposites, of huge numbers of this, yet when it came to the proof, there was but few who could be moved to put their hand to such an act, yea, not one, who durst avow it, and reason the lawfulness of their

deed : some twenty hands at most were at the Bishops declinator, all opposit to our Covenant ; some few others, specially eight of the Presbytrie of Glasgow, (who, to the Commissioner's great discontent, refused to adhere,) made formes of protestations by themselves ; bot to no purpose. From this same intention, we alleadged, did flow the putting to the horne, some days before our sitting, all these Commissioners of the nobles, gentry, ministers, who, for any civill cause or pretence could be gotten denounced, that so the Synod should be deprived of many members : This practise was so new, and so strong reasons given in, why this kinde of horning should hinder none from voyceing in a synod, as ye may see at (A.), that no use was made or durst be made of any such exception ; only the Thesaurer his good will, by the invention, was collected to be bot small towards our cause. A proclamation also was made, that none should come to the place of the Assemblie but such as were members, and that in a peaceable manner : We protested all might come who had entres of partie, witnes, voters, assessors, complainers, or what ever way ; and that every man might come with such a retinue and equipage as the Lords of Counsell should give example.

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

On Fryday, the 16th of November, we in the West, as we were desyred, came to Glasgow ; our noblemen, specially Eglinton, backed with great numbers of friends and vassalls. We were informed, that the Commissioner and Counsellors were to take up the Toun with great numbers of their followers ; so the nearest noblemen and gentlemen were desyred to come in that night well attended. The Toun did expect and provide for huge multitudes of people, and putt on their houses and beds excessive pryces ; bot the diligence of



the Magistrates, and the vacancie of manie roomes, did quicklie moderate that exceffe. We were glad to see such order and large provision above all men's expectation; for this that Toun gott much both thanks and credit: it can lodge easly at once, both Counsell, Session, Parliament, and Generall Assembly, when ever it shall be required.

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

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

In the afternoon, Rothes, with some commiffioners, went to the Commiffioner's Grace, showing the custome of our Church was to begin her Asssemblies with solemn fasting; also that in the absence of the former

moderator, the eldest minister of the bounds, or moderator of the place, used to preach, and moderate the action till another be chosen; that old Mr. John Bell, for the reverence of his person, let be other considerations, were meet to begin so great an affair. To the fact his Grace did presently agree: to the other motion he shew, that it was his place to nominate the preacher to begin the action; that he knew none worthier that honour then the man they named; that he should think upon it: So after an hour he sent D. Balquanquhall to Mr. John, desyreing him to preach on the Wednesday, and moderate till another were chosen.

On Tuesday, after sermon, the fact was intimat, and preaching in all churches to-morrow. Afternoon, we, in our meeting, appointed preachers for all the churches, as we did so long as we remained in town; for we took it to be our place: howsoever, Mr. John Maxwell refused to lend his pulpit to any so long as the Commissioner stayed; and craved of his Grace, that none might come there but himself. So for the first two Sundayes, before and after noon, Mr. John took the High Church, and preached after his fashion, nothing to the matter in hand, so ambiguouly, that himself knew best to what syde he inclined. I moved in our meeting, that in our advysemets at leist, we might follow the course of Dort, the commissioners from one presbytrie should have their ordinary meetings to advyse together of every matter of importance; for we were from every presbytrie fyve, three ministers, one from the shyre, one from the burgh, which might help one another in consideration. This was applauded to; but when we came to the action, this and fundrie other good overtures could not be gotten followed: every man behooved to doe for himself; private affociation could not be gotten kept. We intended to have had sermon in the afternoon, where we were, in the Great Church, and so to have delayed the opening of the Synod to the morrow; but danger being found in law to delay the Synod to another day than the King had appointed, we resolved to let the people continue in their humiliation in the other churches, but presentlie after sermon in the morning, we, the members of the Synod, thought meet to begin our busyness.

1. On Wednesday, the 21st of November, with much ado we throng into our places, one evill which troubled us much the first fourteen dayes of our sitting. The Magistrates, with their toun guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whyles the Commissioner in person, could not gett us

entrie to our roomes, use what force, what policie they could, without such delay of tyme and thrumbling through, as did grieve and offend us. Whether this evill be common to all nations, at all publick confluences, or it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or whether in thir late tymes, the love and admiration of this new reformation, have at all publick meetings steared up a greater then ordinarie zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the speciall cause of this irremediable evill, I doe not know; only I know my speciall offence for it, and wishes it remeedit above any evill that ever I knew in the service of God among us. As yet, no appearance of redrefs. It is here alone, where, I think, we might learne from Canterburie, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modestie and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so farr the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, maks such dinn and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs.

When with great difficulty we were sett down; the Commiffioner's Grace in his chair of state; at his feet, before and on both fydes, the chief of the Counsell, the Thesaurer, Privie-Seall, Argyle, Marre, Morray, Angus, Lauderdale, Wigton, Glencairne, Perth, Tillibardine, Galloway, Haddingtoun, Kinghorne, Register, Thesaurer-Deput, Justice-Generall, Amont, Justice-Clerk, Southesk, Linlithgow, Dalzell, Drumfries, Queenberrie, Belheaven, and moe; at a long table in the floor, our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commiffioners from presbyteries, Rothes, Montrose, Eglintoun, Caffills, Lothian, Weemes, Lowdon, Sinclare, Balmerinoch, Burghley, Lindesay, Zester, Humé, Johnston, Keir, Auldbar, Sir William Douglass of Cavers, Durie younger, Lamington, Sir John M'Kenzie, George Gordon, Philorth, Towie, Newtown. Few barons in Scotland of note, bot were either voters or affefors; from every burgh, the chief burges; from Edinburgh, James Cochran and Thomas Paterfon; from all the sixty-three presbyteries three commiffioners, except a verie few; from all the four Universities also; sitting on good commodious roomes, ryng up fyve or six degrees, going round about the low long table. A little table was sett in the midft, fore anent the Commiffioner, for the Moderator and Clerk. At the end a high roome prepared chieffie for

young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleeming, Boyd, Erskine, Linton, Crichton, Livingstone, Roffe, Maitland, Drumlanerik, Drummond, Keir, Elcho, and fundrie moe, with hudge numbers of people, ladies, and some gentlewomen, in the vaults above. Mr. John Bell had a very good and pertinent sermon, sharp enough against our late novations and Episcopacie: the pitie was, the good old man was not heard by a fixt part of the beholders. That service ended, Mr. John came down to the little table, began the Synod with heartie prayer; which I did second with affectionate tears, and manie moe, I trust, with me. My Lord did give in his commission to Mr. Thomas Sandilands, as deputed by his father Mr. J. Sandilands, commissar of Aberdeen, clerk to the last Generall Assembly: his Grace did harrang none at all; as we did expect he should: we found him oft thereafter as able to have spoken well what he pleased as any in the house. I take the man to be of a sharpe, ready, solid, clear witt, of a brave and masterlyke expression; loud, distinct, flow, full, yet concise, modest, courtlye, yet simple and natural language: if the King have manie such men, he is a well served Prince. My thoughts of the man, before that tyme, were hard and base; bot a day or two's audience did worke my minde to a great change towards him, which yet remaines, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriouly evill. His commission was in Latine, after a common, legale, and demibarbarous style; ample enough for settling all our misorders, had not a clause concerning Instructions made it too restrict and servill. [B.] The copy I have not yet gotten. After this, our commissions was given in to the Moderator and Clerk for the tyme, almost every one in the same tenor and words, containing a power from the Presbytrie to the three Ministers, and one Elder, to reason, vote, and conclude, in their name, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, as we shall be answerable to God and the Church. A double of my commission, see at (C). The Presbyteries, Burghs, and Universities, were called after the order of some roll of the old Assemblies, not of the later. This was the labor of the first day.

2. On Thursday, the next dyett, we had no scant of protestations; more than a round dozen were inacted. After long delay, and much thronging, being sett in our places, the Moderator for the time offered to my Lord Commissioner a lite, wherupon voices might passe for the election of a new Moderator. Here did arise the teuchest dispuitt we had in all the Assembly. His Grace, the

Thefaurer, Sir Lewis Stewart, (for after the rancounter I wrote off, at the Counsell-table, the Advocat's service was no more required, but Sir Lewis used in his roome,) reasoning and pressing with great eagernefs, that in the first place, before any Synodical action, the Commissions might be discussed, lest any should voice as commissioners, whose commission was null, at least not tried to be valid; this was a ready way to turne the Assemblée upside down, to put us in a labyrinth inextricable; for, before the constitution of the Synod, the Commissioner should have so drawn in the deepest questions, such as the power of Elders, the state of Ministers censured by Bishops, and many more, which himself alone behoved to determine, no Assemblée being constituted for the discussion of any question. Against this motion therefore, as rooting up all possibility ever to settle any Assemblée, bot at the Commissioner's simple discretion, Rothes, Lowdon, (Balmerinoch through all the Assemblée resolved to be weell near mute,) Dickson, Livingstone, Henderson, reasoned, that custome, equitie, necessitie did enforce the choysing of a Moderator and Clerk before the commissions be discussed, or any thing else done. After much subtile, accurat, and passionat pleading, for both fydes had prepared themselves, it seems, for this plea, the Commissioner craved leave to retire with the Counsell for advysemēt: after a long stay in the chapter-houfe, returning, he was content to permitt voyceing for the Moderator; with protestation, That this voyceing should not import his approbation of the commissions of any voycer against whom he was to propone any just exception in due tyme, or his acknowledgement of any voycer for a lawfull member of this Assemblée: His Grace required instruments, also, of ane other protestation, That the nomination of a Moderator should no wayes be prejudiciall to the Lords of the Clergie, their office, dignitie, or any priviledge, which law or custom had given to them. Against both thir, Rothes took instruments, in name of the Commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, protesting, That his Grace's protestations should in nothing prejudice the lawfulness of any commission against which no just and true nullitie should be objected in the tyme of tryall of the commissions: also, that his Grace's second protestation should not hinder the discussing the nature of the office, and the alleadged priviledges of the pretended Bishops in this present Assemblée. My Lord Montgomerie, in name of the perseuers of the complaint against the Bishops, did protest, That his Grace's protestations should not be prejudicial to the dis-

cuffing, in this present Affembly, of their complaints againſt the perſons, titles, dignities, and priviledges of the pretended Biſhops. Mr. John Bell urged the voyceing for the Moderator ; bot his Grace ſhew, that there was preſented to him a paper, in name of the Biſhops, which he required then to be read. Here alſo was ſome ſharp reaſoning ; diverſe alleadged, that no bill, ſupplication, proteſtation, or whatever, could be read to the Affembly, before it were an Affembly ; bot immediately after the Affembly's conſtitution, it ſhould be in his Grace's option to cauſe read that paper of the Biſhops, or any other, to which the Affembly's anſwer ſhould be returned. After reaſoning, and requeſting, his Grace did uſe his authoritie to require the reading of the paper : At once there aroſe a tumultuous clamor of a multitude crying, No reading ! No reading ! This barbarous crying did offend the Commiſſioner, and the moſt of us all. Silence being gotten, his Grace did proteſt, That the refusall of hearing that paper was unjuſt. Rothes alſo required acts of his proteſtation, in name of the commiſſioners, That the refusall was juſt and neceſſary. All being wearied with the multiplication of proteſtations, bot the clerk, who with every one received a piece of gold, his Grace, whether in earneſt or ſcorn, did yet proteſt of our injurie in calling the Lord Biſhops prætended, whom yet the Acts of Parliament did authorize. Rothes, in our name, did proteſt, That they behooved to be taken for prætended, till this Affembly had tryed the challenges which was given in againſt all their alleadged prerogatives. How needleſs ſoever manie of his Grace's proteſtations ſeemed to be, yet I was glad for his way of proceeding ; it gave me ſome hopes of his continuance among us. I thought that this way of proteſting had been reſolved wyſelie in Counſell, whereby the Commiſſioner might ſitt ſtill till the end, and yet, by his preſence, import no farder approbation to any of our concluſions, than he fand expedient. By appearance this courſe had been much better than that abrupt departure, which his poſterior inſtructions, to all our griefs, and the great marring of the King's deſignes, forced him unto. Mr. John Bell again preſented his lite for moderation. His Grace ſhew, that his Majeſty had written letters to fix of the Counſellors, Theſaurer, Privie Seall, Argyle, Lauderdale, Carnegie, and Sir Lewis Stewart, as I think, to be his aſſeſſors, not only for counſell, bot voyceing in the Synod. Argyle's letter was publickly read, that this his Majeſtie's deſyre ſhould be condeſcended unto before any farder proceeding. It was replied, with all re-

spect to the worthie Nobles named, that my Lord Marqueis in the produced commiffion, was appointed sole Commiffioner ; that affeffors were only for counfell, and not for multiplication of voyces ; that the King in person would require bot one voyce ; that the giving of moe voyces to the affeffors might give way, not only to very manie, as in some unallowable affemblies it had been, but to fo manie as by pluralitie might overfwaie all. Againft this refusall, his Grace did proteft, with some grief; and we alfo, defyring that our reasons might be infert with our proteftation. At laft, we were permitted to choyce the Moderator : Mr. John Kerr, Mr. John Row, Mr. J. Boner, Mr. William Livingftone, [and] Mr. Alexander Henderfone, were put in leit by Mr. John Bell ; for the leiting of the new is in the hands of the old. Messrs. Ramsay, Rollock, and Dickfon, for withdrawing of votes, were holden off. All, without exception, went upon the laft, as in the moft of our matters there was no diverfitie at all, or where any, it was bot of a few. I remember not how his Grace voyced; bot it was his custome to voyce rather by way of permiffion, then to fay any thing that might import his directt affent ; for it feems he refolved to keep himself in all his words and deeds fo free, that he might, when he would, difavow all that was done, or to be done, in that Affembly. Mr. Henderfone being chosen with fo full an accord, made a prettie harrangue, whether off-hand or præmeditated, I know not. There was a conclufion taken that night, after some reasoning to the contrare, to have bot one Seffion in the day, to fitt from ten or elevin to four or fyve [afternoon] : fo wee were all relieved of the expenfes of a dinner ; ane earlie breakfast putt us all off to fupper, for commonlie we fatt ane hour with candlelight. We ended that day with the Moderator's prayer : Among that man's other good parts, that was one, a facultie of grave, good, and zealous prayer, according to the matter in hand ; which he exercifed, without fagging, to the laft day of our meeting.

3. In our third Seffion, on Fryday November 23d, the Moderator presented a lite to be voyced for choysing of the Clerk. Here a longer difputt then needed fell in, betuixt the Commiffioner and the Moderator, whom Rothes, bot especially Lowdon, did fecond. The Commiffioner, whether of true intent to have a bafe Clerk, of whose fubmiffnes to injunctiōns they might be hopefull, or to shew his pitie and equitie to fee every one kept in their right, where he had place, though he proffessed small obligation to the young man, who for no intreatie would be pleased to show

him any blenk of the Affemblye-books ; yet preffed much that this young man Mr. Thomas Sandilands might ferve here, as his father Mr. James Sandilands commiffar of Aberdeen his deput, fince his father's deceafe could not fpoill him of ane advantageous office, whereto he was provyded *ad vitam*. Yet it was carried, that fince his father was not provided to that office bot by Mr. Thomas Nicholfon's dimiffion, and ane corrupt Affemblye's confent, without any mention of deputation ; as alfo fince he was fo infirme as he was unable to attend the fervice, and unwilling to refide at Edinburgh, where the Registers of the Church behooved to lie : for thir, and many other reafons, the Clerk's place was found to vaike. Confideration was promifed to be had of Mr. Thomas Sandiland's intereffe, which he did fubmit to the Affemblye's difcretion. In the lite, Mr. Thomas was firft, efter Johne Nicoll, and Alexander Blair, and Mr. Archibald Johnftoun. The Commiffioner would not voyce to any of them, becaufe he faw no lawfull dimiffion of the former clerk. The Moderator took his Grace then for a *non liquet*. Yefternight's plea was here renewed : His Grace required that his affeffors' voyce might be craved in the Clerk's election : The Moderator thought it unfit to trouble their Lordfhips to voyce about a Clerk, fince they did not voyce to the choofeing of the Moderator, a fuperior officer. Many words here were fpent, till at laft reafons in wryte were produced, why my Lord Commiffioner and his affeffors fhould have bot one voyce. I thought, in the tyme, thefe Reafons [D.] were of ane high ftraine, and fome of them did ftryke deeper on authoritie than I could have wifhed. Traquair craved ane double of them, and promifed ane anfwer ; bot the fubfequent affaires, or fomewhat elfe, hindered that anfwer yet to appear. This high, yea higheft queftion, (for in all the Affemblye we had nothing elfe that concerned authority,) was clofed by the renewing of yefternight's proteftations, on both fydes.

The lite put to voyceing, Mr. Archibald Johnftoun by all fave one, was elected : being deeply fworne, he was admitted to all the rights, profites, priviledges, which any in former tyme by that place had enjoyed. To him Mr. Thomas Sandilands, in face of the Affemblye, did delyver two Registers, which contained the Acts of the Kirk fince the year 1590, teftifying that his Father had never any more in his cuftodie. The Moderator required all earnestlie to procure the production of any the Church-Registers could be had ; for the loffe of fuch a treafure as the Church's evidents was pitifull. His Grace



protested his willingness to doe his endeavour for so good a work. Rothes intreated that the Bishops might be caused delyver what they had; for it was known that King James had sent a warrand to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone late clerk, to deliver to the Bishop of St. Andrewes the Registers of the Church. After much regrateing the irreparable losse of these wrytes, the new Clerk declared, that by the good providence of God, these books they spake off were come to his hands, which there he produced to all our great joy: Fyve books in folio, four written and subscryved, and margined with the known hands of ane Gray and Ritchie, clerkes to the Generall Assembly, containing the full register from the Reformation in the [15]60 year, to the [year 15]90, where Mr. Thomas Sandilands's books began, except some leaves which Bishop Adamfone had riven out; thir one Winrhame, deput to Mr. Thomas Nicolfone, had left to ane Alexander Blair, his suceeffor in office, of whom Mr. Archibald [Johneftone] had gotten them: the fyfth was ane extract by way of compend from the [15]60 to the [15]90, whereby in a good part Bishop Adamfone's sacrilegious rapine might be restored. These books the Moderator craved might be fought by Argyle, Lauderdale, and Southeske: bot my Lord Commiffioner would not permitt his affeffors to undertake such employment, since they were refused voyce in the Assembly; bot he was content that a committee of the members of the Synod should be named, for to try if these books were authentick and full registers. So Mr. A. Ramsay, Mr. John Adamfone, James Boner, John Row, William Livingstone, Robert Murray, with young Durie, the Clerk of Dundie, and Mr. Alexander Peirson advocat, were appointed, to give their report and reasones so soon as they could.

The Moderator then did require, that for the Assembly's full constitution, the Commiffions might be put to tryall. Bot the Commiffioner caused Dr. Hamilton first to be called, and present his paper to be read. His Grace did urge much, that since the former objections were removed, of the want of a Moderator and a Clerk, the paper now might be read. It was replied, over and over, that it could not be, till by the discussion of the commiffions the Assembly were constitute. Traquair pressed, That the paper possible had exceptions against the lawfullness of the election of the commiffioners, which were impertinent to alleadge, if once the commiffions were approven. The Commiffioner assured, he knew not what was within these papers; bot presupposing they were formed for the opening of the eyes of these who were to

voyce, anent the members of the Affembly, it was the onlie tyme to read them before the voycing. Rothes replyed, That exception against particular commiffioners might not be proponed untill the tryall of their commiffions ; and exceptions against the whole Affembly could not be heard till it were ane Affembly. The Moderator eiked, That if in that paper there were any light to open their eyes, they should shortlie professe their repentance of their error in not reading it when it was required. His Grace protested, That this no reading before the tryall of the commiffions, should import no prejudice to the Lords of the clergie, and their adherents ; and of this protestation, he required ane act from the new clerk's hand. The Clerk said, he could wryte no act without the Affembly's warrand, and it could give no warrand till once it were in being. The Commiffioner then required instruments in my Lord Register's hands, of his protestation, since the clerk refused. The Clerk shew his willingnes, at the Moderator's directions, to wryte his Grace's protestation ; bot might give no extracts till the Affembly were constitute. In the forming of this protestation, the Clerk, I thought, was to feik in that ; his witt he kythed ever thereafter ; the act behooved to be formed and reform-ed ; the Commiffioner and the Clerk did shape it over and over, and over again, ere they could fall on a fashion which his Grace could lyke : This made me pitie Johnstone, and think him the better advocat then clerk ; bot the youth's tryed sufficiencie in both the arts proves my mistaking, or at least that this inlaik in the first entrie to his office was bot occasionall, and meerlie accidentall. In the progresse of this dispuitt his Grace shew the necessitie that was laid on him, in this passage, to be punctuallie circumspect ; for howbeit he was a great Commiffioner, yet he was but a poor subject and servant, lyable to account for all his service. Much reasoning was that the Bishops' exceptions against the judges should be heard before they were acknowledged and constitute for judges : when Traquair and Lowdon had harped upon this string a while, Argyle lends in his word, That a partie does give in their exceptions against ane assise before it be sworn, so why might not the Bishops give in their exceptions against the Affembly, which now was like ane assise called and conveyned, bot not yet sworne. The Moderator cuttitlie, (as the man naturallie hath a little choler, not yet quite extinguished,) answered, That the Commiffioner his Grace was of great sufficiencie himself ; that he only should speak there ; that they could not answer to all the exceptions that a number

of wittie noblemen could propone ; that these who were not commiffioners would doe weell to informe his Grace of what they thought meet, in convenient tyme. This check, I believe, was intended more for others then for Argyle, who would have taken it worfe if it had fallen on their fingers ; always Lowdon took it off in a quick jest, that my Lord Argyle's instance was good, if the Bishops had once compeired as pannelled men before ane affise. This wearifome plea ended that dayes action, for his Grace acquiesced in his protestation.

4. The fourth session, on Saturday 24th of November, we waited long, till near twelve, for his Grace's coming in : The reason of this delay was not so much his breakfast, which was indeed daylie magnifick and very sumptuous, for so did the King allow that his Commiffioner, in all his voyages, should have a royall table ; yet the reason of his Grace's almost daylie lateness was his consultations with his cabin-counsell, and long wrytes to the King, which daylie were dispatched of all occurrents. In the meanwhile the Moderator named preachers for all the churches, I think, without their own advyce : well I wott I had no thought of preaching, yet being nominat as one to preach to-morrow with Mr. James Boner in the Blackfriars, I could by no intreatie gett it declyned ; so I behooved to depart, and make me readie so well as I could in so short a tyme. It is true, a moneth before I was advertised, that, among the rest who was named preachers at the assemblie, I was one ; yet not thinking to be so soon employed, I could make no use of what I had prepared for that end. When his Grace came in, the Moderator required, that for the more quick dispatch, his Grace would be pleased, the Assemblie might go on with some affaires at the hour appointed, which should all be repeated to his Grace at his entrie. The Commiffioner replied, that he was sent there by his Majestie to attend this buffiness alone ; so it behooved him to be ane eye and ear witness of all [that] passed, that his account might be the more faithfull. The Commissions fell next to be examined ; they were given in to the number of ane hundred and twelve, from presbyteries, burghs, univerfities. The Moderator required, for expedition, that all in the order of the catalogue should be read ; that the commiffion against which any exception should be taken, might be laid aside for posterior tryall ; that these against which nought was by any objected, should be taken by that silence to be approven. The Commiffioner protested, That his silence should not be taken for ane approbation of any man's commiffion, for

he had objections against many commissions which as yet he was not fullie instructed to propone, bot in due tyme should doe it. Amongst all the commissions none was controverted but threttein. Peebles was protested against by Mr. Robert Alliot, as if it had been procured by my Lord Thesaurer his indirect dealing: Here arose a plea, which continued two or three dayes thereafter. The Thesaurer justified his proceedings in many words, inveighed sharply against the person of that minister, required that his Grace would see justice done upon him for lybellling in such a place against a prime officer of state. The Commissioner promised him reason. The Moderator admonished the Thesaurer to speake of the man in no other termes then were due to a minister of Jesus Christ. Rothes and others took the Assemblie for judge of whatever wrong was done by that protestation. So myld and humble was my Lord Thesaurer, that he offered to submit the censure of his carriage in that election to any one member of the Assemblie. After much debating in publick and private before a committee appoynted for that end, the commission was approved; the fault of the protesting minister was thought to deserve no sharper censure then by a few words. Bot the most part of that day was spent in a hotter controversie about the commission of Brechin. The Presbytrie had chosen first the Laird of Dun for elder; thereafter they mett in a more full number, and the pluralitie of voyces were caried to my Lord Carnegie: Dun his commission being sent to be advyfed by the Table of Edinburgh, was returned, with the reasons of their approbation written on the back, and subscribed with the hands of Montrose, and diverse others of that table. The clerk, I think unadvisedlie, read in publick not only the commission, bot also the Table's subscribed approbation on the back. His Grace presentlie caught the advantage, required a double under the clerk's hand of that commission as it was read, back and fore, that he might be thereby the better instructed for objecting against it and other commissions. This, after long dispuitt, was refused to him; because the back of the commission was both written and read accidently, and so extracts could not be granted of it. When Mr. D. Dickson spoke of this back write, as having some negligence in it, Montrose took him hotlie, and professed their resolution to avow the leifst jote that was in it. The plea at last ended for that day with his Grace's protestation, That the double of that back wryte was refused to him. The tryall of thir two commissions was given to a privie committee; who, after some days debate, fand both to be rejected. Against

the commiffion of Rothfay, we of Irvine did object, That the Ifle of Bute was a part of our prefbytrie. In the tryall it was found meet to reject the commiffion; and thereafter that Rothfay, having bot three kirks, fhould be annexed to the prefbytrie of Dunoune, to be erected of new in Cowell; for in prior Affembles the whole dioceffe of Argyle was not divided in feveral prefbyteries, nor the Ifles, nor Orkney; bot we took courfe in this Affembly for that confufion. The commiffion both of the Prefbytrie and Colledge of Glasgou were laid afide; of the Colledge, becaufe there was putt in foure names, Mr. John Maxwell among the reft, a non-covenanter. In this we miffed the Principall's wifdome, or rather fand his too great witt: no Univerfitie had ever offered, fo farr as we know, to fend moe commiffioners nor one; they thought, that their Univerfitie might have the privilege of ane prefbytrie, to fend foure, unlefs a law could be produced that did reftriect to one. In the tryall, many checks fell on the Principall, efpecially from Mr. John Adamfone, who did fomewhat petulantlie reproach him, when he touched the noveltie of the ftyle of the Univerfitie of Edinburgh: Bot the chief reafon why many mouths were readie to carp [at] all Dr. Strang faid, and to dafhe him at every occafion, was, befide the many paffages of his former carriage fince the beginning of this matter, a late very much miffliked dealing: At their prefbytrie's election of their commiffioners, he had much objected, yet Mr. John Maxwell alone had ufed a formall proteftation againft the voyceing of ruleing Elders in that election; bot fome fourtene dayes or tuentie before the Affembly, the Principall and Mr. John Maxwell did draw up a proteftation (E.), to the which they got the hands of other fix of their prefbytrie, Mr. R. Wilkie, and Mr. John Bell younger, Mr. John and Mr. G[avin] Forfyth, Mr. A. Forbes, and Mr. James Hutchefon, ftryking againft the election of Elders, and, by confequence the constitution of our Affembly; all the members whereof were chofen after the fame manner. This wryte was putt in the Principall's hand for cuftodie, not to be given in without the confent of all; yet, as it feemes, by Mr. W. Wilkie's procurement, it was delivered without the knowledge of the reft to the Marqueis, who made ufe of their example to move others to doe the lyke. It was caryed fo clofely, that we did never fufpect any fuch thing till the Fryday, the third day of our Affembly: Upon the firft ayre of it we refted not till we found it out: we took it all for a dangerous and undermynding plott, at leaft for a defigne, fo far as lay in them, to have overthrown our Affembly and divided us all: the invention

we ascryved to the Principall and Mr. William Wilkie. On the Mononday we conveened the Principall and others in my Lord Lowdon's chamber : Mr. D. Dickfon, [the] Moderator, Mr. Rutherford, and I, reasoned and intreated the Principall to passe from that wryte; we were at last plain with him, that if he would stand to it, it behooved us to deall with him as ane open enemie : He was putt to great perplexitie ; the wryte was not now in his power ; the Marqueis, by his recalling, would be more displeas'd then he had been pleas'd with the gift. Our reasons and boasts had perswaded all the rest almost of his partie to repent their rashness ; yea, the most of them under their hand to pass from it. The Principall at last did the like, but out of tyme, about the end of the Assamblee ; and in such a way that did not satisfie ; it was an unhappie act, and the ground of much trouble to our good friends. Upon this the Marqueis caused lay by my Lord of Eglinton's commiffion for Glasgou : yet in the tryall that commiffion was approven : For the protestation against it, when the Marqueis produced [it] to be read, the ingiver, Dr. Strang, stood up and opposed the reading, to his Grace's great malecontentment, neither to our great lyking, since it was not heartlie and fullie recalled. The Univerfitie's commiffion was annulled ; bot they were desyred to conveene and renew their commiffion to some one : This they did not ; for since they had so involved themselves that they could not, nor would not, nor durst not fyde with either of the parties, they resolved to be absent. This course moved manie, speciallie of the gentry, to call oft in publick for Dr. Strang to give account of his commiffion, intending to have dealt with him in rigour, as a decliner of the Assamblee ; bot by the procurement of the Moderator, Mr. D. Dickfon, and some other of us, we got their indignation eluded ; onlie there was appointed a committee from the Assamblee, the conveener whereof was my Lord Argyle, to visit the Colledge, wherein we intended not to have deposed any of their members, as they feared we would, and had occasion so to doe, bot onlie to establish, with their own consent, Mr. D. Dickfon, conjunct Professor of Divinitie with the Principall, that, by his grace and diligence, the great backwardness we had oft found in that Colledge and Toun might be remedied without any man's trouble. To this motion the Colledge seems to applaud ; bot the multitude of great affairs has hindered the meeting of that visitation to this day, and now it is well near forgotten.

5. On Mononday, the 26th of November, was our fifth Session. The rest of

the Commissions were read, and these few, which had been objected against, were put to tryall. His Grace protested to have libertie to object in his own tyme. Rothes pressed the present tyme to be most fitt for objecting; yet we gave to his Grace his choyce of what tyme he would. There was three or four commissions of the North tinkled upon. The Univerfitie of Aberdeen send their humanist, one Lundie, to have their foundation rectified; this man had voyce among us, and a committee was appointed for the toun of Aberdeen to visit their Colledge. The Presbytrie of Aberdeen sent two commissions, one with their moderator, Mr. David Lindefay parson of Belhelvie, a stirring and a pragmatick bold man, and Dr. Guyld; another, with one Harvie, for himself and Dr. Baron, and, as I thinke, Dr. Sibbald: in the tryall we found Belhelvie's commission to be approven, and the other rejected; yet heartilie did we wish the coming of Dr. Baron and his colleagues. For a tyme we were put in confidence of their presence, and of some of the Bishops. Rofs, Brechin, and Galloway, were in the castle of Glasgow, as I remember, that day, and fundrie dayes thereafter in the palace of Hamilton; bot it hes been their resolution, taken in common with the Commissioner, not to compear, knowing the Commissioner's determination to desert and leave us, as shortlie he did. One Mr. Thomas M'Kenzie came with a commission from the Chanrie of Roffe; it was rejected, when we had considered the protestation of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbett, Seafort's uncle, against it. Mr. Thomas being rejected, gave in a protestation against ruleing Elders, with odious accusations against the Tables of Edinburgh. Rothes and the Marqueis both craved instruments of the production of that protestation; bot the man at once went off the towne: we fand him thereafter a subscryver of the Bishops' declinator, and a most vitious fellow, and so deposed him from his ministrie. Now at last we fand the Assemblie, to our great joy, fullie constitute, and so we went on to our business. The first matter was the tryall of the Church Registers. The Committee for that end was desyred against tomorrow to give in their perfect reports. When Mr. M'Kenzie's protestation against Elders voyceing in Assemblies was read, Mr. Andrew Ramfay got up in a forme, and with great confidence undertook to prove, from Scriptures, Fathers, consent of Reformed churches, our own church practice, and Assemblie acts, that ruleing Elders were lawfull and neccessare members of Assemblies. The Commissioner, professing his own insufficiencie, promised to

produce some who should prove the contrare. Balquanquall gybed in privat at Mr. Andrew's bragg, likening him to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him in the King's presence, in the quarrell of the King's croun: yet I thinke Mr. Andrew would have made his word good against any of his Grace's disputters, if they durst have come forward.

6. On Tuesday, the 27th, was our sixth Session. The Committee gave in their report of the fyve bookes of Assembly, and their reasons why they took them for good and authentick Registers, as ye may see them in print in our Assembly-acts. The Commissioner being resolved, as it seems, to be a confenter to nothing, though he professed many of his scruples loos'd by these reasons, yet did not approve of these as of authentick registers. The Moderator, for the weight of the matter, delayed the voycing till the morrow, desyring all to be readie then to object or to approve. The Moderator then did propone the naming of assessors to himself, and of a privie conference. Mr. D. Doglishe [Dalglish] remembering the Episcopall abuse of the privie conference to enervat and subvert the Assembly, made all unwilling to hear of any moe privie conferences: Assessors by any publick act were thought needless; bot it was permitted to the Moderator to nominat whom he would to convene with him in private ane hour before the publick meeting, for ordering of matters to be treated that day. His Grace protested that such nomination should not be prejudiciall to the right he heard his Master was in possession of, to order the matters to be proponed in the Assembly as he thought meet. Rothes affirmed the proponing and ordering of things to be proponed was the Moderator's due. The Moderator thought his Grace's protestation needless, since all that was to be proponed should be in his Grace's audience, and with his own consent. For his privie assistance he named, of the ministers, Mr. Henrie Rollock, Mr. John Adamson, Mr. D. Dickson, Mr. D. Doglishe; of the nobilitie, Rothes, Montrose, Lindefay, Lowdon, Balmerinoch; of the gentry, Cavers, Keir, Waughtone; of the burrowes, James Cochrane, James Fletcher, Mr. Robert Barclay. For the bills, the Assembly nominat Messrs. D. Lindefay, James Boner, William Livingstone, Dr. Strang, Dr. Guild, Messrs. Andrew Affleck, and Robert Dowglas, William Colvin,<sup>(1)</sup> George Haliburtoun; of the

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



nobilitie, Caffills and Burghley ; of the gentrie, Dundas and Auldbar of the burrowes, John Semple and Mr. Robert Cunninghame. At this time came in the long urged declinature and proteftation of the Bifhops. So foon as it was read out by the clerk, my Lords Montgomerie, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, young Durie, took inftruments, in name of the complainers, againft the Bifhops, of their acknowledging of their citation, of their compearance by their proctor, of their wilfull abfence in perfon, that fentence may be given againft them as prefent ; as ye may fee in the inftrument. Againft all the poynts of this proteftation, uttered by Durie, his Grace did proteft. Thereafter his Grace produced three other papers ; one fubfcrived by the Deane of Edinburgh, Mr. David Mitchell, Mr. A. Thomfone, Mr. James Forfyth, and others, to the number of twentie hands, bearing the name of a fupplication, bot ending in a proteftation againft the Affembly, if Elders, or commiffioners chofen by them, fhould have voyce ; another to the like purpofe, fubfcrived by the minifters of Dundie, and fome few there ; a third, by the eight named of the prefbytrie of Glasgou. This was hardlie gotten fuppreffed by Dr. Strang the author of it, and was caft by with the Commiffioner's open indignation. We were glad that thè hudge number of protefters wherewith we were oft boafed, and which in all the kingdome carefullie were fought out, was now found to be fo fmall, and of fo little confideration ; diverfe publickly at once recanting their fubfcriptions ; the reft to this day are favourers of the books, and allowers of the courfe which obruded them. Againft thefe proteftations the Moderator caufed read fome papers for Elders places in fynods, I think of Mr. D. Catherwod's<sup>(2)</sup> penning, who lived all the tyme of the Affembly privily befide the Moderator's chamber, and fundered what he could by his ftudies all our proceedings.

7. On Wednefday, before we entered, we heard a fecret bruit of the Commiffioner's purpofe to leave the Affembly that day, and to break it up fo far as he could ; which was to all our grief, and fomewhat befide our expectation ; for howfoever we had bot fmall hopes of the Affembly's fitting down with the Commiffioner's confent, yet fince it wes fett, and proteftations only ufed againft the things which he miliked, we thought this courfe of protefting might have continued, and the Affembly not broken up, at leaft not fo foon ;

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

fo much the more as the Commiffioner had oft vented among us, not only his great defyre, bot alfo his hopes and confidence, to fitt till matters were brought to fome tolerable conclufion: bot that it was otherwayes, we did impute it to fome new instructions, brought down by the Bifhop of Roffe, who latalie was come from Court to the toun. Yet fome fayes, the Bifhop had not feen the King at this voyage; and the Commiffioner had preffed the King peremptorie, at his departure, [not] to give audience to any of the Scotifhe clergie anent the affairs committed to him, and had gotten his promife for it; alfo that the raifing of the Affembly was refolved to be commanded as it was, before it fatt down.

The bufinefs came firft to hand was the Affembly books: the Moderator required oft, If any had reasons to propon why they fhould not be taken for authentick Registers of our Church, which hereafter might make faith in judgement. The Commiffioner, with great affection, testified his earneft defyre of feeing the Church reftored to her Registers; yet neceffitie laid upon him againft his heart, to proteft againft the acknowledgeing of thefe books to be true and fufficient Registers; and that neither his Mafter, nor the Lords of the clergie, fhould fuffer prejudice, by any act in any of thefe books, which had not been delyvered by the late Clerk's fon. Notwithftanding of this proteftation, all the Affembly, in one voyce, accepted of the books as the true and authentick Registers of our Church. It is one of the notable paffages of God's providence towards our Church, that thefe books were not destroyed, or put in hands whence we fhould never have drawn them: this fourtie years bygone fo great a defyre being in the heart of the Prince and Prelates for covering in perpetuall darknefs of our old Affemblyes, which croffed their intentions; fo great negligence on our parts to keep thefe monuments, that no man among us, fo farr as I could ever hear, knew what was become of thefe books, bot all took it for granted that they were in St. Andrewes poffeffion, who would be loath ever to let them go, or any true double of them; yet God hes brought them out, and fett them up now at the doore of our Church, to be the rule, after fcripture, of this Affembly and all other their proceedings. In reafoning with the Marqueis about thir books, the Moderator, falling on the ancient orthodoxie and unitie of our Church, thought meet to read in Latine, and to comment in Englifh, a fair testimonie concerning it, from the preface of the Harmonie of Confessions. Our nixt purpofe that day

was the Bishops declination. Two answers in write was framed to it, and both read by the Clerk: they were confessed to be raw and rude, but promised to be perfected with the first conveniencie; as indeed, some dayes thereafter, I saw two papers, one of the Clerk's forming, possible with Mr. Catherwod's help, another of Mr. Andrew Ramfay's, more short; both which contained solid answers to all that was material in the Bishops invective yet was thought meet to be cast in another third better mould; which ye see in print, the Answer to the Prelates declination. The Moderator, finding that many of the Bishops exceptions against our Synod were used by the Remonstrants against the Synod of Dort, did read and expone the answer of the British divines in that Synod, against the Remonstrants declination. Dr. Balquanquall then craved leave to speak, but in my judgment had done better to have been quiet: the man is quick and eloquent, but seems not to be of any profound soliditie. He, in many words, shew that the case of that Synod, in judging of the Remonstrants and their cause, was different from the case of this Synod, in judging of the Bishops and their cause, in two respects: 1. The errors of the Remonstrants were in points fundamentall, wherein their opposits could not be declyned as judges; for in such things there can be no neutralitie, but at the rising of such errors, there must be a present siding and opposition: but the errors alleadged upon the Bishops were in matters of discipline, which the Articles of our Church makes alterable, and so no necessitie there is to be on either side of such controversies: Again, the Church of Holland had not bound themselves by oath and subscription to the other side, as we have done. This replie was vitious in many things; yea, in my judgement, found or pertinent in no part of it. Much tyme was spent by the Moderator in answer to the first part, so that the second was neglected. I thought the Moderator took too much libertie to discourse (of that he professed had been his late studie) of points fundamentall and preter-fundamentall: as the Doctor was rash to make all the articles of Arminius' errors fundamentall; so I thought the Moderator also incircumspect to absolve all the Arminian errors, without a distinction of the crime of heresie. Mr. D. Doglishe, after much speech of others, in few words replied, pertinentlie, that the Ancient Synods, in the questions of Donatus and Novatus, though they had opposed the schismaticks in matters preter-fundamentall, yet was no more casten from being judges, then these Synods were,

which mett for condemning of heresies and errors fundamentall : also, that our Bishops were mainlie challenged for Arminianisme and Poperie, which the Doctor acknowledged to be fundamentall errors. His Grace here wifelie brought the Doctor off falebrofities, whence all his witts could not have delivered him with his credit. Yet since, I see the Doctor hes used a noble trick to clear himself of all ; he has made the King, who wes some hundreth myles from hearing these speeches, bear witnes, that the Doctor spake to a clean contrare purpose then some thousands of us heard him ; especially that he never neither thought nor spake that any of the Arminians errors were fundamentall. We have been much mistaken with that man : we esteemed him ever a Dordracenist, and opposed to Canterburie in that caufe ; bot now we see he hes made the King in his Manifesto,<sup>(3)</sup> print as much for the Arminians as the heart of Canterburie could wish. Shall even deanries, let be bishopricks, have the facultie, in so short a tyme, to metamorphose the minds of men ?

The Moderator required next the Assembly might voyce, If they fand themselves the Bishops judges, notwithstanding of their declinature ? The Commissioner, finding that the tyme to execute the King's last commandments, shew the contrarietie of his steering affections, joy and greiff : joy that he saw the day wherein he might make good before the world, all that his Master had promised by him ; greiff, that he could not bring this toylsome busines to such an end as he heartilie wished. The King's will, subscribed and signed, he made the clerk read, and desired to be registrate in the Assemblies bookes : ye see it in print in the Proclamation ; fundrie things thereby was granted to our desire ; bot yet nothing that gave us a tolerable securitie of any thing. We were not permitted to treat any thing, bot to take that write for our full and satisfactorie conclusions in all things ; to handle any poynt of the doctrines that were contained in the Service-book :—to examine the right or wrong of Episcopacie, Perth Articles, or any part of discipline, how unjust or tyrannick soever, that was in the books of our Canons and Ordination ; to try if the articles of Arminius, or a number of the grossest poynts of the Romishe heresies and idolatries, which our Bishops from that prædominating court-faction does yet maintaine, without recalling one of them, we

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

were not permitted: Generall Affsemblies were put in the fimple arbitrimēt of the Prince, who, fo far [as] we know, was not to indiēt them bot at the good pleafure of our ingracious Bifhops, as the cuftome hes been thir thirty-fix years bygone. For all this the Moderator, in a very grave, digeft, and learned fpeech, gave thanks for the King's great favors contained in that paper; fhew at length how much we counted ourfelves obliged in confcience to give to the King, even in Church matters, an infpection, a vindication, a fanction, by way of law, a compelling by force churchmen to their duties, a calling of counsellors, a chief place in them, a great respect to their voyce, and fo much more, as the Commiffioner professed, he fpake as it became a good Chriftiane and dutifull fubject. Yet when the Moderator preffed the voyceing, If we were the Bifhops judges? there fell a fad, grave, and sorrowfull difcourfe: The wryters of the Diaries hes it almoft word be word, bot as I cannot repeit any man's words, fo I am impatient to double formall difcourfes. This was the Commiffioner's laft paffage; he acted it with tears, and drew, by his fpeech, water from many eyes, as I think; well I wot, much from mine; for then I apprehended the certaintie inevitable of thefe tragedies which now are in doeing. Much was faid of his fincere endeavours to ferve God, the King, and countrey; of his grief, yet neceffitie to depart: the caufe he alleadged, was the fpoiling of the Affembly, which he had obtained moft free, by our moft partiall directions from our Tables at Edinburgh, two wrytes whereof he produced and caufed read; alfo the precipitat intrufion of laick Elders to have voyce in Affsemblies, which they might readilie have obtained by the King's good lykeing in this Affembly; for he would take the voyce of fo many noble and gentlemen conduceable for his fervice, if fo they could have had patience to have the right of their interrupted poffeffion reftored to them by order. This at length, by Rothes, Lowdon, and others, was answered, That the papers produced were fuppoſitious, and never came from them: their true inftructions they produced, and offered to juftifie; for they were only advyfes to proceed wyfelie in the election of Commiffioners, bot in nothing againft either law or reafon: for the queftion of Elders, they were readie to difpute it; that their place was according to God's word, our laws and practifes; that his Grace was acquainted fullie with that difficultie before the obtaining of the Affembly: if the Bifhops, by their whifperings ſince, hes moved the King to recall the Affembly on this pretext, the caufe of the pofterior evils

must lie upon them, as well as of all the former. After many words hither and yonder, the Marquis shewing, that he had commission to punish faultie Bishops, to rectifie all their abuse, to limitat that office, so that it should not be able to wrong the Church, and to doe many moe things then he would expresse; bot now he behooved to renew all his protestations in his Master's name, and in the name of the Lords of the clergie, That no Act there should import his consent, and that nought done by the voyces of the present members was lawfull; also that he discharged them to proceed any farder. While he was going, my Lord Rothes gave to the Clerk a protestation in write, prepared for such ane accident, which was read, while his Grace was in departing.

The reason of this departure, and our protestation against it, were both enlarged and polished to that forme ye see them standing in print in the King's proclamation of December, and our protestation against it. It was the opinion of some of us, who are bot short-sighted, and dyves not deep in the mysteries of state, that his Grace's stay some days longer had been in nothing prejudicial to his Master's service; yea very conduceable to have kepted all from these irremediable extremities all men saw by that departure to be inevitable consequent. The questions about the Judges of the Bishops, which his Grace took for the occasion of his ryfeing, was brought on by his urgent pressing of reading their declinature; also a little intreatie, as I suppose, might have gotten that question delayed so long as his Grace had pleased; at least it would have given much reall satisfaction, if, with his Grace's consent, we would have gotten acts formed according to the truth, about the Books and other things wherein we did truelie agree; and in the acts about Episcopacie, if he had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readilie the most part might have been moved to use a greater temper than ever thereafter can be hoped for; or if in this his hopes had miscaryed, he might have protested, or risen, when that occasion had been offered: bot from the beginning God hes permitted, for his own high ends, to this day, the Bishops and their opposites so to carry the King and the Countrie, that there can no be possible agreeance, bot by yielding all to the one syde. For my own part, I thought that the standing of Episcopacie, in any the least degree, could not be yielded; yet the way of the removeall of it, had my advise been followed, would possible have been lesse irritative of the King, and no lesse sure for their everlasting exclusion out of our Church: bot it is easie for any man wantonlie

to difcourfe on the faults of deeds paff, who yet being employed, could no wayes have amended them in the paffing. No one man I know was more willing : It kythed by his extraordinary grief at their mifcarriage : many dayes thereafter he forgot to eat his bread, and through grief fell in ficknefs : My heart pitied the man : befyde other evils, the mifhappines of the affair, which could not be by any hand fo compaffed as to give content to all, made him fall in fuch danger of his Majeftie's mifinterpretation, that no other means was left him to purchafe a good conftitution of his very fidelitie, bot that which many counts wicked, and all exceedingly miferable, the offer of his fervice to overthrow his countrey ; wherein, if he prosper, Scotland for ever will curfe the day ſhe produced fo unluckie a child : If in this alfo he prove unfortunate with fortune, that favour of his Maſter, which to him hes been over dear, will take the wings, and leave him alone in the feaſ of difcomfort ; wherein he is like to gett ſmall pitie from the breaſt of any man, except from that one of Chriſt, who uſes not to deſert theſe who are deſerted of all, when out of their deep afflictions he is humblie called upon for his grace.

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

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



8. Thursday, the 29th of November, we kept our eighth Session. Argyle that day came back to us. The Moderator earnestly intreated him, that though he was no member of our Assembly, yet, for the common entres he had in the Church, he would be pleased to countenance our meetings, and bear witness of the righteousness of all our proceedings; this, to all our great joy, he promised to do, and did truly performe his promise. No one thing did confirme [us] so much as Argyle's presence; not only the man was the far most powerful subject in our kingdom, but also at this time being in good grace with the King and the Commissioner, we could not conceive but his stay with us was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters into some temper, and hold us from desperate extremes: as indeed he was careful that no word did pass from any mouth prejudicial to the person or authority of the King. After a sermon of Mr. Gillespie, wherein the youth very learnedly and judiciously, as they say, handled the words, "The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord;" yet did inroach too much on the King's actions: He gave us a grave admonition to let authority alone; which the Moderator seconded, and we all religiously observed, so long as the Assembly lasted; yet afterward we found, that nothing was more against the stomach both of the Commissioner and King than Argyle's stay. The letters that pass betwixt Argyle and the King shewes, that this stay was the greatest ground of all the wrath his Majesty since has kythed towards him, whom before he did singularly respect: also betwixt the Commissioner and Argyle there passed words of high enough disdain, little from threats and personal challenges. It has been the equity of our cause, which has been the only motive to make that man, in that necessary time, to the extreme hazard of his head, and all he possesses, to encourage us openly by his assistance; also it was, I think, his performance of promise to Rothes and Lowdon, who had a great guiding of him, and had gotten some assurance, as they say, of his joining with us when it should be needfull. He produced to us a letter that day from the Earle of Wigton, and the next day from the Earles of Kinghorne and Galloway, three counsellors, showing, that they had subscribed the Confession as it was professed in the [15]80 year, even as Argyle had subscribed. Montrose likewise declared, that he had commission to show us as much in the name of Marre and Napier, other two counsellors; and it was declared to us, that Almond and Blackhall, two

counsellors, also defyred to be understood by us to have subscribed in the same sense. Their eight counsellors refused to subscribe the act, which, in the night before, was drawn up in the Commissioner's chamber, and proclaimed this day at the Croffe, discharging the Assembly under the payne of treason. This division of the Counsell, the best part of these who were present evidently siding with the Assembly, did not a little increase his Grace's grief, and our joy.

Because the Bishops, in their declinatour, had alleaged, that fundrie members of our Assembly were lying under the censure of the Church of Ireland, or our own Church, the Moderator defyred the parties interest in this calumnie to clear themselves: [viz.] Mr. Blair minister of Ayr, Mr. Hamilton of Dumfries, Mr. Levingstone of Stranrawer, Mr. Macleland of Kirkcudbright. Sundrie of us could have wished, that for the stopping of the mouth of our partie, these had not been chosen commissioners; yet the excellent gifts of the men would not permitt the electors to passe them by. Mr. Blair, in name of the rest, in a brave extemporall harangue, shew at length, that all the censures had fallen on them, were not only alone for their adhering to the discipline of the Church of Scotland, bot all most unjustly inflicted: he gave us all full satisfaction. These under the censure of our Church were, Mr. David Dick, and Mr. Samuell Rutherford, and the Laird of Earlestoun: these cleared, that what the High Commission had done to them was not only for righteoufness, bot that their sentences was evidently null, according to the Bishops unlaues.

This day were established three or four Committees for preparing in private the chief and most weightie matters the Assembly had to treat of. At Argyle's motion, the first thing taken to consideration was the Confession of Faith, how farr it did exclude or admitt the posterior novations of our Church. Upon this committee were put of the ministrie men not among the fittest; Mr. D. Lindfay, Mr. A. Cant, Mr. Henry Rollock, Mr. Thomas Mitchell, Mr. Walter Buchanan, Mr. Thomas Wilkie, Mr. Robert Henderson, Mr. D. Dick, Mr. James Martine: I wish Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. John Adamson, and myself, had been with them; for here it was alone where my minde was, and yet is, grieved. I am minded at leifure, God willing, to goe over again that committee's labour; and if I find it right to approve it, which yet I cannot fully doe; or if I find my doubts grounded, I minde to

propone them in fuch modest earnestnefs to the next Generall Affemblic, if the tyme be peaceable, as I am able. Of elders were chofen men fitt enough, Rothes, Lowdon, Balmerinoch, Sheriff of Tiviotdale, Keir, Oldbarr, James Cochran, Patrick Bell, James Fletcher of Dundie. My Lord Argyle was defyred to wait on this committee; which he did affiduouflic. Another committee was appointed for confideration of the corruptions of the bookes of Service, Canons, Ordination, and High Commiffion. On this was putt fome of us who had written againft thefe pieces, Mr. A. Ramfay, Mr. J. Adamfone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Edward Wright, Mr. Alexander Peter [Petrie], Mr. William Menzies, myfelf, and fome others. When we mett, the multitude of men and fpeech put us in miforder; though we divided our felfe in two companies, yet I thought we could doe more every man apart then all together: for myfelf, I could doe nothing in company; only in a night or two, out of my former wryts, I drew that little extraction I fent yow, which I read in the face of the Affemblic, when our committee was asked of their diligence, with the good lyking of all. My Lord Montgomerie preffed that his complaint againft the Bifhops might be heard. Upon his motion, the Bifhop of Galloway's lybell was read: A long and tedious work; for it had not only all the generall lybell, bot diverfe proper articles of his corrupt doctrine, and flipps in his life, foull Sabbath breaking, and other things lybelled at length. For the fhortening and clearing of this, and all other their procefles, there was a committee appointed, befydes thefe of the bills before named; one minifter out of each diocefe; and of elders, the Earles of Eglington and Weemes, Johnftoune, Wedderburne, Lawers, Tarbett, Kinhilt, Robert Baylie proveft of Innernefs, James Airth clerk of Pettinweeme, Mr. George Gray clerk of Haddington. Our folkes had not been fo diligent as need had been, to have their prooffes in readinefs for the particular crymes they had lybelled againft the Bifhops lives; fo that committee proceeded the more flowlic.

9. Fryday, the 30th of November, was our ninth Seffion. This day was fpent in trying of the late corrupt Affemblics, the inbringers of our novations, and caufers of our divifion and now incumbent evils. Every man fpake what he knew and pleaft of the Affemblic of Perth, St. Andrewes, Glaifgow, Lithgow, and Aberdeen; bot for the putting of their Nullities in a formall aet, a committee was ordained to revife the regifters, whereof Mr. Johne Robertfone of

St. Johnstoun was the chief. In all our meetings I marvell that our tounfman, Mr. Joseph Lawrie, hes never appeired : he was putt out by St. Andrewes and the High Commiffion from Stirling : I took him long fince for an excellent preacher ; he now ferves at St. Johnstoun : I heard he preaches againft the bookes ; yet did I never fee him in any of our conventions for thir matters. We ended the fooner that the committees might have the more tyme for their diligence : fuch fmall privie meetings are moft neceffare ; for otherwayes affaires cannot be exped : yet I fee not how the inconvenients for which we abolifhed privie conferences fhall not aryfe in thir committees ; only the name feemes to be changed.

10. Saturday, the 1st of December, was our tenth Seffion. Mr. D. Lindefay prefented to us (for he had the chief charge of the bills ; yea, the man's dexteritie and diligence in this kinde of employment was fuch, that to the end of the Affembly fuch bufinefs lay upon him almost alone,) three clofed procefles before the prefbytries. First, that of Mr. D. Mitchell, who this long tyme had delighted to grieve the whole land with the doctrine of the faction ; Arminianifme in all the heads, and fundrie poynts of Poperie, proved by fundrie witneffes, befyde his declyning of the Affembly, which alone, according to the acts of our Church, imports depofition. He came to Glasgou, at leaft remained fome dayes in Hamilton with the Bifhop of Rofs : no man could have kept fuch a one in our Church without ferious repentance for his manifold avowed errors. The nixt was Dr. Panter, profeffor of St. Andrewes : I never faw the man ; bot his *Walaidos* (4) makes me love him as one of the beft poets I know now living : the man hes a bonny fpirit ; somethings in all fcienes ; bot St. Andrewes was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity profefion before he had well learned the grounds of that fcience. He was never diligent ; but he had not fooner fettled himfelf in his chair while he began to recommend the Englifhe method of studie to our youth, to begin with the Popifh schoolmen and Fathers, and to clofe with Proteftant neotericks ; a moft unhappie and dangerous order. I hear, in his publick notes, he hes deboirded to the Popifh justification, and, in his difcourfes, to the groffeft Pelagianifme in originall fin, let be in other points of

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

Arminianisme. Did not the heavens cry for a vengeance against our Bishops, though we had been dumb, who did hear and see our Church undermined with such instruments, of their own making and maintaining? The third was Archdeane Gladstones, a monster of drunkenness, and atheistical profanitie: Rome Pagan could not have suffered such a beastly man to have remained a priest even to Bacchus. I hear that the man once had a very great appearance of many good parts; they say he was a trim personage of a man, had a prettie estate, was a schollar in all faculties; right eloquent, wyse and discreet, and free of all scandalous vices; in favour with the King, court, and countrey: bot long since, having cast away the fear of God, all these gifts of body, estate, minde, hes evidently left him. These processes were read and considered, bot sentences delayed. Because their errors ran much on Arminianisme, it was thought meet to appoynt some to speak at our next meeting against these errors. Mr. D. Dickson and I were nominat: very evill will had I of that taske; my diligence upon the Books was not yet delivered off my hand: Arminianisme is a deep, and large, and intricat subject; our tyme was the next meeting; whatever I doe, I would doe it in earnest; so without tyme I can doe nothing. Alwayes there was no remead; that night and to-morrow at night I did what ye saw, and what the Assembly was pleased [with] on that subject.

11. Monday, 3d of December, we kepted our eleventh Session. The first action was the appointment of preachers for that week; for every day of the week, except Saturday, there was in the morning sermon for the people in two churches, albeit the committee for that end fell whyles upon men whose sermons were bot scarce satisfactorie: yet by many good sermons the people was much the better; and in one thing only the worse, that thereafter they liked the worse of their own preachers. At the entrie Mr. D. Dick made a long harangue of Arminianisme. I admired the witt of the man, and his dextrous expression: he refuted all these errors in a new way of his own, as some years agoe he had conceived it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. I was not called upon that day, so I was glad that my task was forgot; yet at night I studied the article of free will, which before I had no tyme to consider. Mr. David's discourse was much, as all his things, extemporall; so he could give no double of it, and his labor went away with his speech. Mr. David Mitchell was deposed that day with the consent of all. The Toun of Edinburgh

gave in their greivances againſt the reſt of their miniſters, the Deane and his colleagues, Mr. Alexander Thomſon, Mr. Fletcher, and Dr. Eliot; the firſt three as declyners of the Aſſembly, and practiſers of the Service-book; the laſt as obtruded on them by Sir John Hay's authoritie, and as too weak for that miniſtrie; alſo as one who had read the Liturgie in a dioceſan Aſſembly. To make the Aſſembly the ſhorter, there was the day following a committee named to ſitt in Januar at Edinburgh, with the power of the Generall Aſſembly, to cognoſce on the cauſes of the miniſtrie there, and what other cauſe ſhould by the Aſſembly be recommended to their cognition. The love I had to poore Dr. Eliot, who had not indeed declyned the Aſſembly, made me both plead my ſelf, and ſtir up Mr. R. Meldrum and Mr. Eliezer Borthwick, his friends, to deal with Rothes and others, that the committee of Edinburgh ſhould have power at fartheſt but to ſuſpend and tranſport him, without depoſition. That day the Biſhop of Orkney preſented a letter to us by the hand of his ſon, ſhowing, that old age, and ſickneſs, and length of the journey, were the only cauſes of his not compearance; and withall, that he ſubmitted himſelf to our censure. Some others of the Biſhops did the like; and I doe verily think that not three of the fourteen would have been unwilling to have laid their biſhopricks at our feet, and, after any penance we had enjoyned, returned to their old miniſterie, had not fear of the King's wrath, and hope of our overthrow by the King's forces holden them back.

12. Tueſday, the 4th of December, at our twelfth Seſſion, I was called, by my expectation, to give account of my labour: I read to them out of my blundered papers that which I ſent you of Arminianiſme. I got thanks for it, and was faſhed many dayes in provyding copies of it to fundrie. Complaints were given in againſt Mr. William Maxwell of Dunbar, and Mr. George Sydſerfe of Cobrinſpaith, for very corrupt doctrine, and tyrannous behaviour to force their pariſhioners to conformitie. It is marvellous, how impudent all the familiars of the Biſhops of Roſſe and Galloway were grown, in avowing pertly Arminianiſme, and much Poperie. Thir two was referred to the committee of Edinburgh, and depoſed by it: they were both declyners of the Aſſembly, and their own preſbytrie, and appellers to the King. Upon the complaint of the provost of Dundie and gentlemen of Angus, there was a committee nominat for the miniſters of Dundie and Angus; fundrie there had declyned the Aſſembly, and were ill minded towards all our proceedings: I knew

none of the men. The Toun of St. Andrewes complained, that their minister Dr. Wishart, had deserted them above eight moneths: they seemed content enough with the man's life and doctrine, if he would returne, and acknowledge the Affembly: howbeit malicious desertions so long a tyme be sufficient for deposition, yet we referred the case to farder consideration. We deposed Dr. Gladstones with one mouth. Mr. John Robertstone gave a good and diligent count of the taske committed to him; many good reasons why the Sixe last Affemblyes were null from the beginning: Ye may see them printed in the acts. Upon this we voyced with one consent, the Nullitie of all these Affemblyes. In the voycing it fell allwayes Mr. Alexander Carle to be first; very oft the man delyvered his voyce in a quick merry taill, so that he became to us almost a Pleasant. I was most glad of that day's act: I thought the nullifying of these Affemblyes did clearlie quyte us of Bishops and Perth Articles, without the necessitie of any farder scrupulous and divisive disputes: bot some that thinks no steill band sufficient to bind their tenets on the consciences of others, rested not with this vantage, bot drave their nayle to the head afterward, as ye shall hear.

13. Wednesday, the 5th of December, the Moderator, by way of clear consequent, deduced from yesterday's act of the Nullitie of the former Affemblyes, the freedome of all from the oathes of conformitie taken by the Bishops; of the restitution of presbyteries and assemblyes to their rights, which never were null, but, for a tyme, suppressed by the injustice and violence of the Bishops; the validitie of the admissions and depositions of ministers past latelie by presbytries without the consent of bishops. Thir, and other such consequences, were not only deduced, bot sett down by way of acts, as ye see in print. That day, Dr. Robert Hamilton of Gleffurd, procurator of the bishops, his proces was read: beyde his open affronting of the Affembly, he was found to have been absent at Court, and at Edinburgh oft twelve, fifteen, eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reason bot pleas for augmentation, and futes of farder promotion. The man's gifts are every way mean: he had a good estate, and well to the foore; bot being smitten by the ambition of his good brother Dr. Whyteford, [did] tread his steps of vain lavishness and dilapidation of what he had, to seek what he did not deserve. He was found to be, according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-

ball on that day : he was, as we call it, an ordinar swearer ; for the faction delighted, as I have heard fundrie of them, to adorne their speeches with the proverbs, Before God, I protest to God, By my conscience, On my foull, and higher affeuerations, by thir phrases to clear themselves of puritanisme : he was a violent persecuter, even to excommunication, and denying of marriage and baptisme of these who would not communicat with him kneeling. Many such things were lybellled against him. He wreitt a letter to the Moderator, as to Mr. Alexander Henderson minister at Leuchars, showing, that he might not compear before ane Assemblie discharged by the King, bot was free of these things he was challenged off ; or what of his lybell was true, he was not worthie to be rebuked for it before a presbytrie, let be called before a Generall Assemblie. Some dayes thereafter, when his witnesses had been sworn before all the Assemblie, and their depositions taken by the committee of the Bills, which was our constant course in all proceses, he was deposed by unanimous consent of us all. Yet he would remaine still, by violence, some few weeks at his church ; bot at last the fear of excommunication, or rather of the countrey ryseing there higher in crubing such as he was, he fled to England, with many moe ; where we heard he was presented to the Bishoprick of Caithness, to all our indignation at the perversness of Canterburie, who would not yet cease to provoke us, by conferring bishopricks on such infamous and unworthie men. St. Andrewes lybell was read, and some parts of it considered ; yet we did nothing of moment because of Argyle's absence at my Lord Blantyre's buriall ; a poor man, well away : His ladie thereafter being long bruited with a base fellow, kythed with child to him ; whereof, to all our contentment, she died.

14. Thursday, the 6th of December, was our fourteenth Session. That day, many large and tedious treatises against the Books were read : We got all thanks for our labours. A resolution was taken to putt us all in print ; bot the multitude of our publick affaires that daylie since hes come thicker and thicker on our backs, hes invyed us that honour ; and indeed there was many things in our pamphlets might not well have abidden the light, how well foever at the first reading they pleased men unacquaint with that kinde of studie. Allwayes we cleared the mindes of all about the nature of the Books and High Commiffion, and encouraged them with one mouth, to make the four sharp decrees, which ye see in print, against the Service book, the booke of Canons and Ordination,



and High Commiffion. Thefe pieces are fo vile, that none of our parties to this day hes ever minted to defend them, except by thefe parenthesis which they make the King in his Proclamations caft in for their commendation. I took it ever for one of our partie's greateft crymes, that they caft all burdens on the back of our fweet Prince yet, and themfelves hes never endeavoured to fatiffie as many of their challenges, either by maintaining them in reason, or confeffing their errors by ingenuous repentance.

15. Fryday, the 7th of December, the Bifhop of Dunkeld<sup>(5)</sup> fent us in write his fimple fubmiffion. Many fpake for him, That he did not approve the late courfes of the Bifhops; that he had admitted fundrie minifters without the band of conformitie; that he did not deserve the cenfure of thefe who declyned the Affembly. My Lord Lindefay that day urged vehementlie the depofition of Mr. G. Halyburton minifter of Craill; yet when we perceaved that the maine thing alleadged againft him was bot medleing with the church-boxe, and negligence in counting for it, and that the chief quarrell was his late tranfportation to the great benefice of Craill, againft my Lord Lindefay's will, the patron of it, we would not gratifie any man's humorous spleen, bot referred the tryall of that proceffe to the prefbytrie of St. Andrewes; fhowing that we thought the man's negligence in counting, being yet helped by refounding, of fome moneyes, needed not be fo odiouflicly exaggerat with the name of facrilege as it was. Alfo a grievous libell of Arminianifme was given in on Mr. James Affleck, in the prefbytrie of Dundee. The man cleared himfelf to us of all, bot fome quirks in the fecond article; the gentlemen, who underftood not well, thought every thing here capitall herefie. The man feemed capricious; in fome things too fimple, in other too flie: at laft, after much privie conference, and publick agitation, he gave, as I think, fatiffaction to all.

Hereafter the Bifhops cenfures came thicke upon us: we were fashed to goe through with them all, the breach of all the Caveats. Galloway<sup>(6)</sup> was the firft: befyde common faults, he was proven to have preached Arminianifme; to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and fpoken for the comfortable ufe he found into it; to have indicted two anniverfarie fafts in his dio-

<sup>(5)</sup> Alexander Lindesay. Vide *infra*, p. 165.

<sup>(6)</sup> Thomas Sydeserf, Bifhop of Galloway. He was the only Bifhop who furvived to fee the reftoration of Epifcopacy under Charles the Second.

ceffe, and acted in his fynod a communion for his minifters at all his pofterior fynods: he was found to have depofed minifters, fyned and confyned gentlemen, for unconformity, embraced excommunicate papifts, and professed more love to them then puritans; to have contemned exercife of prayer in his familie; to have prophaned the Sabbath-day by buying horfe, doeing any of his civill affairs openlie on it. Before the voyceing there was fome reasoning about the nature of fummar excommunication. The Moderator, Mr. David Dickfon, Mr. David Doglish, and Mr. Andrew Cant, were for the lawfullnefs of it; Mr. Andrew Ramsfay and others were againft it; bot the moft agreed that the prefent excommunication of the Bifhops, was not fummar. Excommunication feemed to me fo terrible a fentence, and that obftinacie, the formall caufe of it, required admonition, and fome delay of tyme after the clofure of the proceffe, that I voyced him to be depofed, bot not prefentlie excommunicat. In this I was followed by fome fyve or fix, bot the reft went on to prefent excommunication. St. Andrewes<sup>(7)</sup> lybell was, he was proven guilty, befylde his common faults, of ordinarie profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dyceing in tyme of divine fervice, ryding through the countrey the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falshifeing with his hand the acts of Aberdeen Affemblye, lyeing and fcandering our old Affemblyes and Covenant in his wicked book: It was undertaken to prove, before a committee, near to the place where the witnefs hes lived, his adulterie, inceft, facriledge and frequent fimonie. He was depofed, and decreed prefentlie to be excommunicat. The Bifhop of Brechin<sup>(8)</sup> followed: he was proven guilty of fundrie acts of moft vile drunkennefs; alfo a woman and child brought before us, that made his adulterie very probable; alfo his ufeing of maffie crucifixes in his chamber. The man was repute to be univerfallie unfamous for many crymes; yet fuch was his impudence, that, it was faid, he was readie to have compeared before us for his justification; bot was ftayed by the Marqueis, leift his compearance fhould have been taken for an acknowledgement of the judicatorie. I remained that night in my negative voyce, that no Bifhop fhould be excommunicat till they had gotten more tyme to declare their contempt of publick admonition from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their

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

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

Cathedrall : yet confidering better of their declinature, I fand it an obftinat avowing of extream contempt ; and fo to-morrow I professed of my recalling of my yefterday's voyce, and went with the reft in a prefent excommunicating of all the declyning Bifhops.

16. Saturday, the 8th of December, our prime noblemen, Argyle, Rothes, and fome other, fand it needfull to poft in to Edinburgh ; for the Commiffioner, with the counfellors of his fyde, was faid to be in hatching of proclamations and declarations againft us, which behooved to be protefted againft ; alfo the Toun of Edinburgh flood in need to be fupported with the prefence of fome of our chief nobles, againft the continuall terrors and allurements whereby their minds, yet weak, were oft affaulted by his Grace's emiffaries. Before their departure, they were defyreous to fee that whereupon manie dayes they had fpent privie labours, to be ended by the Affemblic in publick. That which was moft fpoken of, as the task and intention of Argyle's committee before named, was the agreeing and makeing one of the two Covenants that was fubfcrived by us, and the other by the Counfell. I had fome hopes that it had been their mynd to have found out fome expedients to have made a reconciliation fomewhat agreeable to both parties : bot as the Marqueis, by the longfome labours of Balquanquall and others, rann to the one extreame of his declaration of the King's underftanding of his Covenant, fhewing that none might fubfcrive, bot with ane exprefs intention of maintaining Epifcopacie, as a part of our church policie, eftablished by our lawes, and warrantd by our Covenant ; fo our Committee, by the toylfome labours of the Clerk, Catherwood, and others, was induced to pronounce, that all kinde of Epifcopacie to be fo farr oppofed to that Covenant, that the fubfcription of the one wes ever the reall abjuration of the other. How farr my poore foul hes been perplexed with thefe two irreconciliable extreames, my breaft is confcious ; manie a forrowfull day I have had fince, and am like to have moe. In the mean tyme, I knew little what either of the two was hatching : had I been on their fecrets, I would have offered the extreame diligence of my poor indeavoures, for the withdrawing of both from that rigour whence there can be no return for either without violence or difgrace ; and ftanding to their peremptorie conclufions, all agreeance in that poynt is made desperat.

That morning, a little after eight, my Lord Rothes fent for me to his lodgeng. I fand there Mr. A. Ramfay fent for likewayes : From us two wes expect-

ed most opposition to the future conclusion. My Lord, and the Moderator with him, shew us, that the question of Episcopacie that day was to be handled. According to my fashion, I was plain, that I thought that office necessarlie to be removed out of our Church for ever ; for great inconveniencies it had ever brought to our Church, and still was most like, limitate as men could best : bot withall, I did heartilie wishe, that in the act of removeall of it, no clause might be putt which might oblige us in conscience to count that for wicked and unlawfull in itself, which the whole Reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and classick divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, did absolve of unlawfullness. The Moderator, in his answer, seemed not to deny what I alleadged of the judgement of churches and divines, bot said, that possiblie our Church had obleided herself to reject Episcopacie more straitlie then any other. The tyme straited us, we might not enter in reasoning : my Lord and the Moderator seemed not carefull about any thing, bot the firme removall of that state from our Church ; as for the fashioning of the question and act, they desyred us to forme it as we thought meet. Mr. Andrew was fullie in my minde : as they directed, he fett down presentlie into wryte his minde sharplie enough against the office itself, as a thing which for manie causes was necessare to be removed, bot being to preach to-morrow, did not [that] day compear, to my grief ; onlie sent his paper to the Moderator, which was publickly read as his voyce.

So soon as we were sett in synod, my Lord Weemes shew us, that our Bishop of Glasgow<sup>(9)</sup> had sent for him, on old acquaintance, and intreated him to deal for favour towards him ; telling, that he was pressed against his heart, by the Commissioner and Bishop of Rosse, to subscriyve the declinature. Upon this we sent to him fundrie to move him to passe from the declinature by write, and submitt himself simplie to the Assembly's determination. He seemed oft not farre from this course ; yet as his promised pension of fyve thousand pound sterling had moved him to run so forwardlie on any ungracious actions for keeping court-favour, so the hope of keeping his rent dureing life, and fear of present povertie, made him to be obstinate in his fault and heartless refuseall to submitt, and patient to undergoe that sentence of excommunication, which for some dayes he seemed to abhorre with much feare and

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

trembling. Since that tyme, he hes lived verie privatlie, miskent by all, and putt well near to Adamfone's miserie : had not peace shortlie come, his wants had been extreame ; and without pitie from manie, or great relief from any hand we know.

After Weemes's motion, Argyle made the nixt proposition, of the great expediencie to clear the doubts, which were now grown frequent, about subscription of the Covenant ; that he and others had subscribed, at the King's command, the covenant for doctrine and discipline, as they were understood in the [15]80 year, at the covenant's first updrawing ; that some did alleadge Episcopacie was a part of our discipline then avowed, others that then it was disavowed ; that the Assemblie, the fittest judge of that controversie, would doe well to putt away these doubts by giving out the true meaning of the Covenant in that questioned point. This motion was thought reasonable : so for clearing the mindes of all, the Clerk brought forth a large scroll, as the labour of the committee for the Covenant, consisting of three parts : 1. Of reasons showing the necessitie to clear the sense of the Covenant in the [15]80 year ; Next, a number of passages of our Generall Assemblies from the [15]76 to the [15]96, and of our booke of Discipline condemning Episcopacie ; Thirdly, ane answer to some objections. After the reading of all thir at leasure, the question was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacie, in such terms, as I professe I did not well, in the tyme, understand, and thought them so cunninglie intricat, that hardlie could I give any answer, either *ita* or *non*. To make any publick dispuitt I thought it not safe, being myself alone, and fearing, above all evils, to be the occasion of any division, which was our certain wrack. The fardest I aimed at was, in voyceing, to declare shortlie my minde : so when all men were called to propone what doubts they had, before the voyceing, I, with all the rest, was as dumb as a fish : When it came to my name, manie eyes were fixed on me, expecting some opposition ; bot all I said was, That according to the expresse words of the Assemblie 1580, 1581, Episcopacie was to be distinguished : Episcopacie as used and taken in the Church of Scotland, I thought to be removed ; yea, that it was a Popish error, against scripture and antiquitie, and so then abjured ; bot Episcopacie *simpliciter*, such as was in the ancient church, and in our church dureing Knox's dayes, in the person of the Superintendents, it was, for manie reasons, to be removed, bot not abjured in our Confession of

Faith. This Argyle, and Lowdon, and many, took out of my mouth, as not ill said, and nothing against their minde, who spake not of Episcopacie *simpliciter*, bot in our own Church, whether or not it had been condemned at the tyme of the Covenant's first subscription. I replied no more; bot if I had considered the Moderator's stateing of the question, as now it stands in print, I would have said, without any hesitation, as my voyce, that it did seeme to me to be Πολυζητησις, consisting at least of three much different questions, all which required diverse answers. Bot now I will not enter in that discourse: ye see, in my treatise, my minde anent Episcopacie to the full, whereto yet I stand. In voyceing, many to the number of fiftie and above, as some who curiously remarked, did avow removed Episcopacie, bot said nought of their abjuration: yea fundrie of prime men there yet will avow that they never thought all Episcopacie abjured in our Church, notwithstanding all was taken for abjurers and removers by the Clerke; and that very justlie, for answering affirmative to one part of the question, and negative to none, they ought to be taken as affirming the whole; yea not one when the question of abjureing come over againe, as it did twyce thereafter, would be plaine; bot all was content bot poor I, to be counted abjurers. If any man, for any respect, did dissemble his judgment, his own heart knows, I will judge no man. That day was closed with heartie thanksgiving for so great an harmonie in a matter of high consequence, where no small discrepance was feared.

17. Mononday, the 10th of December, was our seventeenth session. Here at once was I putt in new troubles: the Articles of Perth were put on foot: a large paper read against them all, proving them to be against our old Covenant, and so abjured. The substance of this paper, as also that other of Episcopacie, ye have it in the printed act; nothing here to count of bot what Catherwood long agoe had printed, and we were willing to have answered when ever challenged. I pitied much to see men take advantage of the tyme to cast their own conclusions in Assamblee-acts, though with the extreme disgrace or danger of manie their brethren. The question was stated very cunninglie, as ye may see in the act alone about the removeall of these Articles out of our church; yea, the Moderator openly professed, that they were to burthen no man's conscience, to pronounce these things idolatrous or superstitious, as some esteemed them, neither did he touch the practise of any other churches, bot left them to be judged by their own master. For all

this, confidering the reafons brought in the paper, alfo the words which the Moderator putt in the queftion “to be removed, by the Confeflion of Faith,” I prefentlie faw the fnare; and however I was refolved to difpute none, yet before the voyceing, I did openlie complaine of the queftion’s ftateing, that to afk, If Perth Articles were to be removed according to our Confeflion, which was conceived by way of oath and covenant with God, was all one, as if to fpeir, If they were truelie abjured before, and all who had defended them fince, were truelie perjured; which was a very hard matter for manie to grant. The Moderator, a moft grave and wife man, yet naturallie fomewhat terned, took me up a little accurtlie, showing I might draw the queftion fo ftrait as I pleaſed, yet he had not ftated it fo: however give my voyce. When it came to me, I ſaid no more; bot at once I was found no miſtaker; for Mr. Alexander Carſe, and after him almoſt all, answered the queftion, Abjured, and removed; and fo, fra moe was voyced than proponed, the conclufion by the Moderator was juſtlie made Abjured, and removed; to whom no man was noted oppofite bot myſelf: for here I ſaw no place for diſtinction as before in Episcopacie; and fo, without any heſitation, I voyced to be Removed now, bot never before abjured. I was verie loath to make any jarr in the Synod’s ſweet harmonie, yet I behooved to follow the freedome of my minde; whereof I have not yet repented, and for the which I have yet been taxed of none, bot my ingenuitie by the chief oppofites more commended then the diffimulation of ſome others, who by their privie difcourſes oft ſince gives occaſion to think that the papers they theñ had read, had not drawn their mindes fo fullie from their old perſwaſions, publickly verie oft preached, as to confeſſe their error, yea perjurie; at leiſt, their open and avowed, and long continued violation of the Nation’s oath and Covenant.

That day there was a worthie motion made by that learned and noble gentleman, Oldbarr,<sup>(1)</sup> That as we had removed manie abuſes and corruptions, fo it were good to make poſitive conclufions for good order and diſcipline in tyme coming. Prefentlie there was a committee ordained to ſitt in my Lord Balmerinoch’s chamber, for receaving overtures of all kinds from all who were pleaſed to propone, and drawing them to ſhort heads to be proponed to the ſynod, and enacted, if they were found expedient. The overtures I gave in ye may ſee at (G.) Manie gave in both by word and

(1) James Lyon of Auldbar, in Forfarſhire.

write ; bot withall the committee took a very good courfe : they fearched in our old Affembles, if any acts had been made for thefe things we did now require ; they fand, that for the moft part good provifions had been made ; fo that it was needlefs to make any of new : thir old acts were, after fome dayes, publickly read, and for the moft approven to be infert in this Affembly, as renewed to their old lyfe and ftrength, whereof oblivion and defuetude had long fpoiled them. Thir ye fee ftanding in print, for very good ufes, if well obferved.

This day we put fundrie of the Bifhops through our hands. Edinburgh,<sup>(2)</sup> beyde common faults of breaking the caveats, was proven to have been a preffer of all the late novations, a urger of the liturgie, a refufer to admitt any to the miniftrie who would not firft take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rotchet, a confecrator of churches, a domineirer of prefbyteries, a licenfer of marriages without bands to the great hurt of fundrie, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevater of the elements at confecration, a defender of ubiquitie in his book, <sup>(3)</sup> page 142. He hes there, ye may fee, fomewhat favouring that way ; which I marvelled oft was not remarked by his oppofites ; for thefe pages ftood twentie years untouched by any that I heard off, till I poynted at them to our prefbytrie about a year agoe. The man was conceived to be very worldly of late. A little before our uproares for the liturgie, I had occafion to fee him, and to be witnefs, to his ordination in the chappell of a prefbyter : I liked much the worfe ever thereafter both of him and that fervice : I did never fee a more gracelefs order, then he from his book, and thefe minifters about him, who could act thefe plays beft, did ufe. I faw the man ydlie bitter, and made no bones of fwearing and curfeing ; he profefled his neglect of lecture ; and in that I found him above all expectation poore : my eftimation of that man before fight was great, bot after, juft nought. We pronounced him to be depofed and excommunicat. It hes proven true of him, which I heard long agoe of his houfe, that it hes a fate to fpew out the owners of it ; fo it did Gawrie, Lithgow, Airth, and others before him.

<sup>(2)</sup> Dr. David Lyndesay, of the family of Edzell in Angus, was translated from the See of Brechin to Edinburgh in 1634. He died in England a few years after he was depofed.

<sup>(3)</sup> Bifhop Lyndesay's " True Narration of all the passages of the proceedings in the General Affembly, &c. holden at Perth the 25th of August 1618." Lond. 1621, 4to.



The next that came to be sentenced was Aberdeen<sup>(4)</sup>. His proper faults were great scandlers of frequent simonie ; that though he was removed from the Chappell-royall<sup>(5)</sup> to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterburie's new wayes, yet he had been found [as forward] as any to presse the Canons and Liturgie ; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sondays ; that he inacted in his fynods, without voyceing, publick fastings to be kept on Wednesday onlie ; consecrat the chappell of ane infamous woman, the Ladie Wardhus ; stayed at his pleasure processees against papists and incestuous persons. He had not subscribed the declinature, as was thought, for lacke of no good will, bot onlie through distance of place the wryte in tyme could not be conveyed to him. That defect in his processe was supplied by the Moderator, with a discourse of his singularie malicious apostacie ; that he had been a man, by appearance, bot too zealous against bishops, and all their courtes, so that his vehemencie, beyond the grounds of any reason, he knew did offend his wife and learned neighbor Mr. Patrick Simpson. We decreed him to be excommunicat. My Lord of Roffe<sup>(6)</sup> did follow : his processe was no wayes perfect ; the long legend of his erroneous doctrines was cleane omitted. It was committed to Durie<sup>(7)</sup> to search for witnesses of a number of errors which all knew he gloried to preach even in Edinburgh ; bot Durie's information came not in tyme : however it was proven, that two yeares agoe he was a publick reader in his house and cathedrall of the English liturgie ; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rotchett, a deposer of godly ministers, ane admitter of fornicators, a companier with papists, ane usuall carder on Sunday : yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play at The beaft ; had often given absolution, consecrat deacons, robbed his vassalls of above fourtie thousand merks, kept fasts ilk Fryday, journeyed usuallie on Sunday, had been a chief declynere of the

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

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

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

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

Affembly, and a prime instrument of all troubles both of Church and State. Of his excommunication no man made question.

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

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

18. On Tuesday, the 11th of December, was our eighteenth Session. Orkney's<sup>(9)</sup> proceſſe came firſt before us: he was a curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day; a fetter of tacks to his ſones and goodſones, for the prejudice of the church; he overſaw adulterie, flighted charming, neglected preaching, and doing of any good there; held portions of miniſters ſtipends for building his cathedrall: yet for his miſlyke of thir late novations, and letter of ſubmiſſion to the ſynod, he was only depoſed, and ordained, under the paine of excommunication, to give tokens of repentance againſt ſuch a day. Murray<sup>(1)</sup> had all the ordinar faults of a biſhop; beſyde his boldneſs to be the firſt who put on his ſleeves in Edinburgh, did make manie urge his excommunication; bot becauſe he was not formallie ſummoned, the Moderator, with ſome piece of violence, kepted him from that ſentence; and when ſome objected publickly his partialitie, he aſſured he had no reaſon, for of all the Biſhops he had been to him moſt injurious. I aſſented the more willingly to the Moderator's lenitie in this, hoping to have obtained to poor Glaſgow the lyke favour; which he inſtantly craved, bot all in vaine. A fourteen dayes agoe Mr. H. Rollock did excommunicat Murray, and that, as I think, in the Great Church, to performe, as he ſaid, the man's own propheſie, who ſaid in that place, he would be yet more vile to pleaſe the King. There was objected againſt him, bot, as I ſuſpect, not ſufficiently proven, his countenancing of a vile dance of naked people in his own houſe, and of women going barefooted in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling. Glaſgow's<sup>(2)</sup> dittie was, beſyde common faults, inactyng at his own hands, in his provinciall ſynods, the practiſe of the book of Canons; the urgeing, under paine of horning, the practiſe of the Service-books; the exactyng from all the miniſterie of his dioceſſe twenty ſhillings off the chalder of victuall for his charges at Court; the denyng to the miniſterie of Glaſgow his own ſiares, and dwanging them in their ſtipends; the felling of commiſſariots; that he was a grievous op-

(9) George Graham, of Gorthie, was translated from the See of Dunblane to Orkney in 1615. Keith mentions that after Biſhop Graham had ſubmitted to the Aſſembly and renounced Episcopacy, Dr. Baron was preferred to the vacant See, but was never conſecrated.

(1) John Guthrie, Biſhop of Moray. After his deposition, he lived at Spynie Caſtle till 1640, and after its ſurrender, he retired to his paternal eſtate of Guthrie, in Angus.

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

preffor of his vaffals, difcharged all expectants to preach till they had fubfcrived idle oathes of his own invention. He was depofed, and ordained to be excommunicat, except he preveened the fentence by fatiffaction. Argyle (<sup>3</sup>) came next to hand : he feemed as worthy of cenfure as any : in his fmall tyme he had fhown good will to goe the worft wayes of the faction, far contrare to the opinion that all men had of his orthodoxie and honeftie : he was ane urger of the wicked oath on intrants, ane obtruder of the Liturgie upon them, ane oppreffor of his vaffalls, a preacher of Arminianifme, a prophaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to doe all that Canterburie could have wifhed. If a bifhoprick be fo unhappie ane inchantment, let it never more come in my good friend's hand. Againft Ifles (<sup>4</sup>) nothing was lybelled bot the breach of the caveats ; yet both were fentenced with depofition prefent, and excommunication againft fuch a day, without tokens of repentance.

There was joyned for convoy that day to the Bifhops fome minifters : our old commerad Mr. John Makmath received a part of the fruit of his too great focietie with Meffrs. Sincerffe, Maxwell, and Monteith. His proceffe before the prefbytrie was produced ; where it was proven he had taught all Arminianifme ; alfo of prayer for the dead, invocation of faints, Chrif't's locall defcent, to hell, damnation of children without baptifme, regeneration *ex opere operato* by baptifme, his obligation to fay maffe if King Charles commanded, his difdayne to come near the prefbytrie. For thir and the lyke, the prefbytrie's fentence of depofition was ratified by us. Mr. Francis Hervie, for his erecting of ane altar with railes at his own hand, for his drinking and carding on the Sunday, his marrying without proclamation our Bifhop's fon with Blantyre's daughter, was referred to the committee of Edinburgh ; who, I thinke, did depofe him. A proceffe of adulterie againft Mr. Francis Knoalls (<sup>5</sup>), was referred to the prefbytrie. Bot of all our monftrous fellows, Mr. Thomas Forrefter at Melros, was the firft, compofed of contraries, fuperftition, and profanitie : he was accused of avowing, that faid fervice was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God's

(<sup>3</sup>) James Fairly, one of the minifters of Edinburgh, was consecrated Bishop of Argyle, on the 15th of July 1637. Having been depofed from his Epifcopal functions, he was afterwards appointed minifter of Lasswade, Mid-Lothian.

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

(<sup>5</sup>) Mr. Christopher Knowes, in the Presbytery of Chirnside. (MS. Diary of the Assembly.)

essential worship, that all prayers should be read off books; he made his altar and rayles himself, flood within and reached the elements to these who kneeled without; he avowed Christ's presence there, but whether sacramentally, or by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, he wist not, but thought it a curiositie to dispuitt it; he maintained Christ's universall redemption, and all that was in our Service-book was good: yet he used to fitt at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own house, make a way through the church itself for his kine and sheep, made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peets in; that to make the Sabbath a morall precept was to Judaize; that it was lawfull to work on it; he caused lead his corns on it; that our Confession of Faith was faithles, onlie ane abjuration of manie things better then these we swore to; he kepted no thanksgiving after communion; affirmed our Reformed to have brought more damnage to the Church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years. This monster was justlie depofed. We were brought to this poynt, that a man might have done what he would, without possibilitie of restraint, if he had been fullie Episcopall: but the Lord be blessed, that hes looked on our oppreffion, and hes made the Bishops wickedness a remeid for itself, and a potion to bring a clear purgation of our whole Church.

19. December the 12th, on Wednesday, was our nineteenth Session. Here we ended our toylsome labours of the Bishops proceffes: the last two were Dunkell<sup>(6)</sup> and Caithness.<sup>(7)</sup> Both had simplie submitted themselves to the synod, and requested to be continued in the office of the ministerie: this their submission did obtain them favour; otherwayes there was truelie alleadged against them the common faults, and als foule pranks of simonie and avarice as any of the former. There fell in here long disputts and speculations, which I did not understand, of the necessitie to depose every man *simpliciter* from his office of the ministerie, who had not a place, or was to be transported for his fault from a place. Alwayes Dunkell, on the performance of his promised satisfaction, was continued in his ministerie at Semidores [St. Madoes];

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

<sup>(7)</sup> John Abernethy, Minister of Jedburgh, and Bishop of Caithness. Keith seems not to have been aware, that Dr. Robert Hamilton, although never consecrated, was preferred to the See of Caithness, upon Abernethy's renunciation. Vide *supra*, p. 152.

and Caithness was to be re-admitted minister to any place he could purchase on the same condition. Mr. James Cunninghame, wearie of his patron my Lord Drumfrise, his injuries, and not able to undergoe his wonted labours in his spacious paroch, required libertie to transport where he might have the occasion: this was granted; bot to his small profit. It was thought, he was furthered to make this motion, by his hopes to obtain the more large paroch, bot more profitable, of Pasley or Hamilton: and readilie he might have been made welcome to either; bot his too evident desyre to be at them, and from his own people, has made his own to disgust him, and these to have no great feast of him. The same was the imprudence of another right wise brother, Mr. D. Doglishe: his seeking of the Assembly's libertie to transport, hes laid on him yet a necessitie to byde still greater then he had before; for Pasley, and other places whereat he aimed, tryed in the Assembly some qualities, mixt with the man's learning, and excellent facultie both of preaching and reasoning off hand, for which they are altogether unwilling to have him their minister; so true it is in all fuiters, *Sequentem fugimus, fugientem sequimur*. This last I was like to have found, had not God given me some good from my former bitternes. I was like, fore against my stomack, to have been drawn to Edinburgh, and my noble patron's credit was not able to shelter me from their violence; bot behold, so soone as my voyce about Episcopacie and Perth Articles came to their eares, I have become a foure plumb, a hatcher of some heresie in my breache, for which they will taste me no more: yea, if I be yet troubled to go to places for which I have no capacitie, as I am like to be, this is my targe, and mayne hope to brooke still my present happines, that a man who cannot assent to the churches chief acts, may not be put in ane eminent place. I live now by favour and mercy in private: my toleration in a more publick view were dangerous for the publick safetie: ye sie, *Aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo*. The fears we had of the Marqueis victualing of Edinburgh Castle, made us desyre to see the Assembly at ane short end; so, without farder delay, we decreed to pronounce the sentence of the Bishops deposition and excommunication to-morrow after sermon by the Moderator, in the same church. Evill will had he to undertake preaching on so short advertisement: yet there was no remeid; all laid it upon him.

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

the 1st verfe of the 110th Pfalm, "The Lord faid to my Lord, fitt thou at my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footfool." Thereafter, in a very dreadful and grave manner, he pronounced their fentences as ye have them in print. My heart was filled with admiration of the power and juftice of God, who can bring down the higheft, and pour fhame on them, even in this world, fuddenlie, by a means allutterlie unexpected, who will fin againft him prouddie with a uplifted hand; and withall, I heartilie pitied thefe who were excommunicat, remembering the great gifts of fome, and eminent places of all; whence their ambition and avarice had pulled them down to the dunghill of contempt. We have many arguments daylie, to work out our falvation with fear and trembling, to be very lowlie, and to defire to pafs over our lyffe in obfcuritie, that fo we may efchew many fnares of the devill, and occafiones of fhamefull ruine.

I did forgett Dumblane's<sup>(8)</sup> proceffe: though he did not fubfcrive the declinature, neither was perfonallie fummoned, having fled before to England; yet was he excommunicat, as one who had been a fpeciall instrument of all our mifchiefs, having corrupted with Arminianifme diverfe with his difcourfes and lectures in St. Andrewes; whofe errors and perversnefs kythes this day in all the nooks of the kingdome, haveing been a fpeciall penner, praftifer, urger of our books, and all novations: a man fett in the Chappell to be a hand to Canterburie in all his intentions. What drunkennefs, fwearing, or other crymes was lybelled, I do not remember.

Mr. William Annan's proceffe came in that day: I pitied him much: the man, in my minde, had exceeding great gifts; bot prophanenefs, and a refolut opposition to all things he counted puritanifme, did fpoyle all. His dittie was, That in a common head, *De invocatione sanctorum*, he had maintained faints dayes; he had preached in a fynod a defence of our Liturgie, with many invectives againft conceaved prayers; he was frequentlie drunk, and ane ordinarie fwearer; that he deserted his flock above eight moneths. He was by all depofed. It is ftrange to fee that man's unhappinefs: he fubfcrived our Covenant; his people, and we all, had he been constant, were ready to have done him much pleafure. After his retracting, he befell fo benumbed, that he hes ever fince, fo farr as I can hear, been near to ane irrefolute fatuitie in all

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

his actions, farr from all his old vivacitie. Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, archdean of Ross, was also depofed for many foul crymes. Dr. Scrymgeour, my old commerad, had been fufpended by the prefbytrie for reading of fervice, preffing conformitie, preaching too grofslie neceffitie of baptifme, fornication fince his miniftrie, drunkennefs, playing at cards on Sunday. He gave in a humble confeffion and fupplication to the Affembly : we did all pitie him, and the Moderator, his neighbour, was his fingular friend ; yet Newton,<sup>(9)</sup> Roth's uncle, was exceeding peremptor to have him depofed ; for he faw no other poffibilitie to be quyte of him ; for without a prefent *terminus ad quem*, the fynod gave no actuall transportation ; and fo a man who fand not a prefent place, behooved to be depofed, for we would hear of no minifter without a place : yet at laft Newton was contented to referr his depofition to the Prefbytrie. Dr. Hamilton's proceffe was clofed that day, and he depofed with one voyce.

21. Fryday, the 14th of December, was fpent on things more private. A new commiffioner from Caithnefs was received : upon his regrate for layk of expenfes in fo farre ane way, ane act was made for fupplying the commiffioner's charges. Wigton, according to his promife to Montrose, compeared, and fhew his minde in fubfcribing the Covenant in the Counfell, and promifed conftancie in the prefent doctrine and difcipline. One Shepherd, a minifter about Dundie, came in that day, as the other one Rollock minifter at Dunc, confeffing their fault and ignorance in fubfcribing the Affembly's declinature, and intreated they might gett leave to putt out their own names. It was granted them, on affurance of their publick repentance for this fault. The commiffioners of Edinburgh and Dundie protefted, that this favour might be no preparative for their minifters. St. Andrewes complaint againft Dr. Wifhart, who had deserted them for manie moneths, was heard : their fupplication alfo, that they might have Mr. A. Henderfone for their minifter. Here Edinburgh protefted, that he was their elected minifter. The conteft betwixt Edinburgh and St. Andrewes was great for two or three dayes : the man himfelf was verie unwilling to remove anywhere, yet fra there was no poffibilitie of ftaying where he was, he inclyned much rather to St. Andrewes then Edinburgh ; at laft, after much conteft, fome few more voyces carryed him to Edinburgh. Mr. R. Hamil-

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That day, after ſome reaſoning, ane act was made, which ye ſee in print, againſt the civill power of churchmen, and of their incapacie of any place in Parliament ; to which I heartily, without any ſcruple, did condeſcend : yet we appointed a number of miniſters and young noblemen and barrons, not commiſſioners for Parliament, to wait on the next Parliament, as the Affembly's agents, to petition in the name of the Church, a number of things, wherein I

wish them good speed. A draught of a supplication from the Affemblie to the King, was presented and approven, and to-morrow ane act made for the perfection, and presenting of it. The thing that among others did offend the King, as was said, in that excellentlie well-penned supplication, was the subscryveing of it by the hand of none of our Nobles, bot onlie the Moderator and the Clerk: yet this was bot like all the rest, a meer mistaking in our Prince; for our Affemblie acts are subscryved by no moe hands: and these two alone are better than a thousand others; for all others are bot for themselves, bot yond two represents all in law and reason.

26. This was our last day, Thursday, 20th of December; a blyth day to all, onlie to me in one thing sorrowfull. Haveing foreseen yesterday that this day the nail would be called to the head, a ground would be laid of great dispuitt and needles trouble by ane ordinance to subscryve needleslie the one part of our long dispuitts; to witt, that all Episcopacie and the Articles of Perth were abjured in our Confession of Faith the [15]80 year of God, I would have gladlie, without dinn, have had these evils preveened, which then I thought I foresaw. The night before the Committee mett in my chamber, I could that night get none studied; to-morrow, at seven hours, I had a meeting with Argyle and Eglinton, for a busines of a dear friend; onlie after in the morning, I drew up, by way of letter to the Clerk, my mynde, to be communicat with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon, as ye may see at (K.<sup>1</sup>): This they could not have tyme to confider; onlie, I think, for my motion's cause, my Lord Lowdon, in the act of subscryveing the Covenant with the Affemblie's declaration, caused put in expreslie, that these onlie should be required to subscryve of new, who had not before subscryved: yet this was to me bot a cold comfort, to goe free myself, and others to be oppressed who were in my minde. In voyceing of this act, whereunto all did yeild, I was readie to have diffented; which, for my good allanerlie, lest I alone should so oft be found contradicting the synod, my Lord Lowdon preveened, by moveing the Clerk passe by my name in calling the catalogue. This passage, some parts of it, came to Balquanquall's eares, by some of his buffie fleas, who were still creeping among us; which presentlie he related to the King, disguised with a number of untruths: yea that unhappie man, to prove thankfull to his late patron, my Lord of Canterburie,

(<sup>1</sup>) The letter addressed to Johnstone of Wariston, which is here referred to, is printed immediately after this, at page 176.

for his laft great benefice, hes made the King believe, upon his truſt, and putt in print in his own name, in a large book in folio of 430 pages,<sup>(2)</sup> a number of fillie fables, invented for our difgrace; which, I think, long ere now his Ma-jestie knows to be much otherwayes, and will fee to his honour, in taking order with theſe men's infinite and continued ingratitude, who will never ceaſe to lay on the innocent back of our Prince, the burthen of all their crymes.

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

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

Yours,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

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

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

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

DEARE AND LOVING BROTHER,

[December 20th, 1638.]

Old acquaintance maks me bold to impart to yow my meditation this morning. Ye, among many, have been witnefs of my heartie affent to all the determinations of this fynod, from the beginning to this laft day, fave onlie to a pairt of two, concerning Epifcopacie, and the Articles of Perth : that all thir ought to be removed out of our Church for ever, as things which, by lamentable experience, we have found fo hurtfull thir years bygone, and fo apparentlie dangerous for tyme to come, I did never question ; onlie my fear was, that the Aëts of their removeall fhould be conceaved in fuch terms, and grounded on fuch reafons, which could not be fubfcrived by manie, who were in thefe things of that judgement. Ye know thir my feares, oft I did communicat to fundrie whofe hand feemed to be among the chief in the fynod, bot I was ever by all made fecure that no fuch thing fhould be, that no fuch thing was ever intended : yet now it is otherwayes fallen forth ; the lawfulness of Epifcopacie, and of thefe unhappie Articles, were, in the voteing of thefe aëts, exprefslie denied to be called in queftion ; for all that, the voyces of the houfe did inferre that conclufion, and, as I thought, fomewhat more, the Abjuration of all thefe by our Church, and that of old by the verie Confef- fion of Faith. I thought enough for me, in my publick voyceing, to declare my minde ; to make any long reafoning it was not expedient : I was alone in this oppofition ; my reafons were not prepared, for I did not expect the agita- tion of thefe queftions ; I was put in hope, that in the framing of the Aëts, ere they were booked, a temper might be ufed for the fatiffaction of thefe fcrupu- lous mindes, as mine was ; and, however, while the common enemie was greedie- lie gapeing for all occafions of difcord among us, I refolved, for my part, to contend for nothing, bot in all modeftie to tell my minde where I differed, without difputation ; efpeciallie being put in full hope, that thir fynodick con- clufions fhould never be preffed on our confciences ; that our fubfcription to

(4) This letter is referred to by Baillie, at page 174, in his account of the Assembly at Glasgow.



them, under the great paines of depofition and excommunication, fhould never be required. Bot now, while the Confeflion of Faith is to be given out with ane explanation, containing the Abjuration, as it is conceived in our fynodick Act, what either to fay or to doe I cannot tell! Who ever in any tyme hereafter will refufe to fubfcrive the Confeflion of Faith, as it is now fett down, will be lyable to the hieft paines the Church can inflict. No man can fubfcrive a write fimplie without limitation, as every Confeflion must be fubfcrived, wherein there is any the leaft claufe which croffes his minde. While ye put in the Confeflion of Faith that our Church did abjure all other Epifcopacie bot that of Saint Paul's, and all the five Articles of Perth, what fhall become of us who are perfuaded in our mindes, for all that we have yet heard, that fome Epifcopacie diverfe from that of St. Paul's, to witt, that of the conftant Moderator in the Ancient, and of the Superintendents in the Reformed church, was never abjured by our Church; that, however in 1580 year Epifcopacie, as it was commonly ufed and taken, be condemned, as having no warrand in the word of God, and Epifcopacie, as this day ufed and taken in the Church of Scotland and England, and defended in our Prelates late declinature, yea, in the Commiffioner his Grace's declaration, be to be condemned as popifh, and contrare to God's word, and directlie repugnant to our Confeflion; yet all other Epifcopacie than St. Paul's, as our Act fpeaks, feems to us not onlie not unlawfull, but alfo never condemned by any church, albeit rejected by diverfe churches, and ours among the reft, as a policie inexpedient for them. It is one thing to paffe by a policie as inexpedient, and another to abjure it as contrare to fome article of the Confeflion of Faith. This fame we think of Perth Articles: the reasons of our judgement ye have no tyme to take now, nor we to give them. Onlie I humblie fupplicat yow, in the name of God, that ye would confider advyfedlie with the Moderator and my Lord Lowdon at leift, Whether it be expedient at this tyme to conclude a fubfcription of the Confeflion of Faith with the abjuration of Epifcopacie and Perth Articles, as is expreffed in the fynodick Act? If ye make fuch a conclufion, in my poore judgement, ye lay a ground to keep thefe unhappie difputations on foot in our Church for ever, which we hoped might have for ever hereafter been buried; ye lay on yourfelf a neceffitie of perfecuting manie a good man, whose minde will not be able to agree to that conclufion, at this time verie needlefie; ye will make a divifion for the ftrengthening of the common ene-

mie, who is watching for all our distractions. In thir my feares, God grant I may be found idle and foolish : however, I give yow a tymous warning, with assurance to carrie myself, doe what ye will, so quietlie as ye can wishe any man in the world of my judgement. I rest your Brother.

TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

21st of July, 1639.

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

I find my putting off the Commiffion<sup>(6)</sup> somewhat disgracefull in many mouths ;

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

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

bot I hope to learn to take in good part disgraces, when I am acquainted with them. I foresaw it, and laid it out before God before the election, and resolved, that the burden of it would be lesse to my minde, than to have been on the commiffion against that privie article, which, I conceive, was framed for me alone; for no other of all the old commiffioners needed to be changed for no subfcriving of the Affemblic's declaration, bot I only. I know I have furthered in the laft Affemblic, and evir before, fince my entrie in the ministrie to this day, the good of our Church to my power: I am conscious of my constant affection to our caufe, to the losse of my life, without any hinke: I am willing in God's fight, with a quiet minde, to be removed at this [time] from any publick employment, fince your Instructions did fo command, and ye were fo willing, and the voyces of our meeting did fo think meet: only I beseech yow be constant in your promise, which ye have repeited to me oft in the name of God, (not for respect to me, or any other, bot for the justice ye professe ye fand in my proposition,) the ferious agenting in the next Generall Affemblic of two Acts; One of oblivion of all hes past in our controverfies of discipline to this day; fo that all honest brethren, who are most willing in practife to live according to the present discipline, without any endeavour fo long as they live to make the leift change therein, may incurre no trouble for their thoughts and tenets of the lawfullness of some Episcopacie and the Articles of Perth, which they are persuaded not to be unlawfull, not to be against God's word, or abjured by our church, or any church; Nixt, an act, that intrants in their oath, or rather an advertance that in the oath of intrants, (if the Affemblic make any,) there be no clagg to trouble their conscience about their judgement in these controverfies of discipline. If God blefs yow in these endeavours, I will take yow for a blessed and happie instrument to our Church. If for any new emergent, ye be diverted from this labour, or if Satan or imprudent men doe crosse your paines, when they are employed to the full, I will be a man full of sorrow and discouragement; still expecting that these who gives now commandments to hold off the Affemblic those who will not subfcrive the late Affemblic's declaration, and commands to putt all to this subscription, will not fail to put me one day, and some hundreds with me, who I know are never like from their heart to subfcrive it, to some trouble, and readilie, which is farr worfe, our Church to needles disquiet; which easilie may be avoyded, if ye sett your heart quicklie, as ye promised, to obtain in your nixt Affem-

blie, these your happie Overtures. This much, by purpose, hes dropped from my pen, for the ease of my somewhat perplexed minde. I am more afraid for our inward division, from the seed cast in that Declaration, than for the King's sword, and the uttermost of our intraged Prelats malice. The Lord be with yow. Sunday, at night, 21st July 1639.

Your Brother,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

*It wes written in answer to this Letter as followes :*

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

[DAVID DICKSON.]

[TO THE EARL OF LOWDOWN.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

[July 1639.]

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

not fail to remeid those evils, which, it feares me, too foone the unjust rigour of some, and carelesf inadvertance of manie others, will bring on our poore Church.

Your Lordship cannot forget, at the first forming of our late Covenant, your happie care at my motion to caufe help and change these claufes in it that seemes to import the absolute condemnation of Perth Articles, and the office it self of Bishops. All then required was, the reference of these things to a free generall Assëmblie; any designe or hope to have gotten down Bishops altogether did appear in no man, to my knowledge, at that tyme; these few who then harboured such intentions in their breast did dispaire, in haste, to obtain the consent of the most part to any such proposition; yea, it was thought unseasonable, to sett on foot then the removeall of any thing established by law, while we did pursue our partie, the Bishops, mainelie for their incroaching upon us against the standing lawes of the kingdome. Your Lordship was well content with my subscription of the Covenant, with my open profession of the lawfullness of Perth Articles and of some Episcopacie; yea, the meeting of the brethren did authorize me to publish, in wryte, the compatibilitie of the Covenant as then it stood, with the grounds of these who were, as they went to speak, conforme in judgement; and this my declaration, so authorized, was not unprofitable for the gaining to our syde manie of the brethren, who otherwise were verie like to have started farr away.

Notwithstanding, when it came to the Assëmblie, it was not onlie concluded of Episcopacie as used and taken in the Kirk of Scotland, bot absolutelie of all Episcopacie whatsoever, different from the pastor of one onlie congregation, and of all the fyve Articles of Perth, that all thir were not onlie to be removed out of our kirk, bot had been trulie abjured by our kirk in the Confession of Faith the year [15]80 and [15]90; yea it was ordained, that all subscription to the Covenant in tyme comeing should be in this sence; and that, expresse declared in formall words. And howsoever your Lordship was so good as to caufe put in a clause in that Act which did save me from danger, and all others who before had subscribed; nevertheless against that expresse exception, directions hes been latelie given, and punctuallie observed in Lothian, Perth, Fyffe, Galloway, and manie other shires, for requiring a new subscription, with that full declaration; so that manie who before did subscribe were forced to it againe, and some for the refusall of that declaration alone

hes been depofed from their miniftrie, and yet ftands fo, as I am informed : So that no man now remains fecure, bot that againft both the words and the minde of that Affemblic aēt he may, when his neighbours will, be put to a new fubfcription, and that, as it feemes with verie good and inevitable reafon : for if that declaration be trulie fuch a materiall part of the Covenant that none can be admitted hereafter to fubfcrive the one without the other, what can we fay for our refufall of it, which, in equitie, may not be rejected with difdaine ? how can we require of others that which our felf, without trouble of minde, cannot gett performed ?

Here then, it is, where we find ourfelves pitifullie enfnared, and wifhes that our fnare were broken by fome happie hand. We will not difputt the truth of the Affemblic's conclufion ; albeit we muft profefse, that we have feen to this day no reafon inclyning our mind to think that our Kirk, in the 1580 yeir, did abjure the Articles of Perth, and all kinde of Epifcopacie, even that of the ancient kirk, and of our own fuperintendents, as contrare to any article of her Confeflion of Faith : bot this now being concluded, we defyre not againe it fhould be called in queftion ; onlie fuppone us here to err, yet it would be confidered if this our error be truelie before God of fuch a weight, that for it alone, and for no other challenge at all, a number of pure minifters, who, to their knowledge, hes ferved God faithfullie in their calling, deserves to be caft out of their places ; yea that fundrie, perhaps, of the nobilitie and gentry, let be burgefles and commons, who, without diffimulation, in the fear of God, may be forced to fpeak out their minde one day, fomewhat contrare to that declaration ; that even thefe, for this onlie caufe, ought to be caft out of the Kirk, and excommunicat as enemies, not onlie to fome aēts of our Affemblic, bot unto the verie Confeflion of Faith, and Covenant of our kirk with God.

This rigorous feveritie is fallen out farr by the expectation of my weak and blind minde ; I did never fear, when I had concurred to the uttermoft of my power, to the down putting of all Epifcopacie in our kirk, and the utter abolition of Perth Articles, when I had ventured in this caufe my foul, my life, my meane eſtate, as farr as any ; yet becaufe I did differ from my brether in one onlie argument which infers our conclufion, agreeing fullie with them in the conclufion itfelf : for I remove as firmlie as any, and that upon arguments anew, all thefe things out of our Church for ever, albeit I be not yet

fatified of our Church's old abjuration; I did never expect, that for this sole and onlie cause, ane Act should be sett above my head, or the head of any other, importing no lesse than the merit of deposition and excommunication. I wish then it were yet thought upon, if it be just and reasonable, that numbers of us onlie, because we cannot believe that Perth Articles, and all kinde of Episcopacie, was abjured by our kirk at the first forming of her short Confession of Faith, bot are most willing to binde ourselves by any oath, or any other band that can be invented to oppose, to our dying day, the bringing back in our kirk any of Perth Articles, or any imaginable kinde of Episcopacie; consider, I say, if above the heads of men so disposed, there ought to stand Acts which makes us censurable, when any of our evill-willers pleases, by all the paines whereunto anti-covenanters are now lyable, or may hereafter be made subject.

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

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

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COOSIN,

[September 28th, 1639.]

Ye have here the rest of my papers concerning the Affemblie of Glasgou : also ye will find about yow ane letter of mine of the 12th of Februar, giving yow ane account of our affaires till that tyme. The accidents of our land, thir seven moneths bygone, hes been verie manie, and verie strange : I doubt if the providence of God fheltering a poor Church from imminent ruine, with a power, wifdome, goodnefs, clearlie divine, hes ever in any land fhyned fo brightlie as in ours these dayes : the hand of our God hes now well near led us all down from the stage of extreame danger, that we may all go about, in our old securitie, everie one his own neglected affaires, with a mutuall amitie, and a most univerfall joy. Our Prince is brought off fo well as may be, and much more honourable than any could have dreamed, from the purfueing the revenge of intraged churchmen, who would neither endure to amend their crymes, nor fuffer the cenfure of their obstinacie. Our State is secured from the wrath of our mifinformed Prince, from the armes of our neighbour kingdomes, and a strong faction among ourfelfe. Our Church has gotten a full purgation, and hes cast forth freelie all the corruptions that did infect either doctrine or discipline. We are put in poffeffion of Generall Affemblies and Parliaments according to our minde ; the foveraigne medicines againft the fudden return of fuch mortall difeafes amongft us. The Canterburian faction in our land, which, with full failes, was hayling us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantinople for our policie ; who was not carefull much to cover their intention to have our Church prefentlie popifh, and our State flavifh, alone that they themfelves might have their defyred honour, wealth, pleafure, whatever difpleafure thereby could come to God, or difgrace to their prince, or ruine to their countrey ; that faction is now broken, lying in the pitt of flame and povertie in a ftrange land, pitied by none, helped by verie few, and that bot in fuch a meafure, as to their proud and prodigall ftomachs, brings rather ane increafe of byting and tormenting difdaine, than any fweetnefs of a prefent relief, or ground to expect a redrefs to their miferies in any following tyme. We, by the favour of our God, and grace of



our King, are put in such a condition, that these of our neighbours who in all Europe were beholding the theatre of our Isle thir bygone years, with the eye of compaffionat pitie, and ane heart afraid, not with the farr prognostications, bot the imminent appearances of our woefull calamities, or else, according to their contrare intereffe, were gazeing with ane eye kindled with ane overjoying hope to see the long-envyed prosperitie of our happie Islands change to these confusions that might open a fair port to carry in the chariot of their great goddesse on earth, the Pope, and catholick King, to reign in our Church and State, and, by this new accresse of impire, be much furthered in erecting that fifth Monarchie, which the Jesuits hes been long hatching for their darling the Spanish King, had not the puritanick Calvinists, especially in Britain, laid hitherto some straes in their way ; these our neighbours, I say, will now reap the fruit of their former affections, either, by their sweet congratulations, to partake in our present rejoyceing in our God, and humble thanksgivings to our King, or else, by turning their back and hydeing their face, being confounded at the breakneck of their expectations, bitterlie to regrate the return of our peace, their antient eye-fore, and maine ground of desperation ever to gett the armes of their impyre ane inch enlarged ; yea, to be amazed with feares, leift the evanishing of their best devyfed plotts here into wind and reik, be a divine presage of the downfall of all their cunning contrivements over sea, and of the redemption of the churches abroad from that oppreffion wherewith their tyrannous feet has long trode them down.

The severall pieces of this heavenlie work, which God hes begun and perfected by the noble spirits of manie brave men among us, fitted excellentlie with gifts correspondent to the extraordinarie exigents of the tymes, I wish ye had them well descryved : they could serve our friend for verie good purpose, to be materialls for his Latine storie,<sup>(7)</sup> wherein I hope he will go on ; not onlie because that Declaration will be a full apologie to stop the mouth of all his calumniators, and a certain meane to procure to him the readie patrocinie of the best in this land, to answer ever for him, and that hotelie, against all who would hereafter, for any bygone mistakes, move their tongue

(7) Notwithstanding the mode in which Baillie speaks of "our friend," he evidently refers to Spang himself, and his "Latine Storie," might be the work entitled "*Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiae gestarum Historia*," &c. Dantisci, 1641, 12mo. This work, which is usually attributed to Spang, was founded at least upon Baillie's communications to his Cousin.

againſt his fame ; bot ſpeciallie, becauſe the continuance of that diſcourſe would be a good office towards his native countrey, to which he is tyed, both becauſe he hes begun, and is well approven for his labour, and is tollerablie well furniſhed with all parts needfull for that taſke. I ſhall be glad for my part to fend to yow, for his uſe, all the Information comes to my hands.

The ſecret wheels whereupon this work hes runn, are all within the curtain where the like of me winns not. I hear that theſe who hes been prime workers hes lykewiſe been diligent wrytters of all the proceedings: their Commentars, when they come to the publick view, I perſuade my ſelf, will give great contentment to all minds who are inclined towards a laudable curioſitie to underſtand and behold all the ſtrings of that muntoure ; that ſeeing the motion go on by the counter-paſſing of ſo manie ſmall wheels, everie one running on their own axle, he may be raviſhed with the ſtrength of the firſt mover, and delighted with the ſight of the ſkill of the great engyner, whoſe hand hes framed the firſt great wheell, and hes fett all together with ſuch a mutuall dependance, that the whole multitude of<sup>s</sup> all their counter-motions works together for no other end than to bring the palme about to theſe pre-ciſe lynes which the artificers wills at ſuch tymes to be pointed at : Bot, in the meantyme, the world of common witts, who are contented to behold the outſide, without deeper inquirie, careing for no more than in their way to look up to the hand upon the houre, being impatient to interrupt their private adoes by any laborious ſearch into the cauſes of the motion, and wayes how publick affaires hes been carryed through ; the moſt of the world confiſting of ſuch ſimple and blunt ſpirits, muſt not be diſappointed. Bot while our noble agents gett leaſure from the importunitie of their laborious actions, which yet is not ended, to give a ſight of their wryttings<sup>(8)</sup>, wherein to ſuch noble mindes as their own, they may be pleaſed to give a view of all the convoy of this great affair ; I wiſh our friend were going on in his plain, ſhort

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

and fimple way, to let ftrangers over fea, behold that face of matters, which the blindest among us hes feen this while bygone, and much admired. For his fervice and better furtherance, I fhall goe on where I left with thefe paffages, which now comes to my minde. Ye fhall have them in that fhape that they were prefented to the eye of us, the common people, and in that order wherein they ftand in a very weak memorie, fome moneths after their paffing by.

The Supplication which we decreed in the Affembly of Glasgou to be fent to the King, could hardlie be gotten prefented. Howfoever, manie would have ventured to have gone with it, though their head fhould have gone therefore; yet, underftanding the increafe of the King's wrath, and the danger there was, even in peaceable tymes, for any fubject to play the ambaffador or capitulator with the Prince, when he did not call for, or his Councill did not fend up, which, by law, and his declared will, is appoynted to be his onlie informer in high poynts of ftate; alfo hearing oft words from court of great fpyte againft the very lyves of moft of our nobles, gentrie, miniftrie, who were able to agent our bufinefs; it was refolved, that none of note or parts, fhould go up, without greater affurance for their returne, than could for that tyme be expected; and withall a gentleman of the Marqueis of Hamilton's acquaintance, Mr. George Winrhame, undertook, on all hazards, to deliver to the Marqueis the fupplication; and upon his refufeal, to give it to the King himfelf. He was no worfe than his word; as, indeed, fome of our fair-undertaking ftatemen thereafter did prove. He went to Court, fhew to the Marqueis his eirand; his Grace acquainted the King; who was pleafed that the fupplication fhould be received; fo his Grace took it, and on his knee did read it to his Majeftie in the Councill. The beft anfwer then it got was, the Scottifh proverb, "When they have broken my head, they will put on my coule." However, the gentleman ftayed many weeks for an anfwer, bot received none. He did us good offices there; though his letters, which were like to be fought, were full of great feares and Englifh braggs, yet diverfe of his more fecret ones fhew, fo long as he remained there, the true eftate of the Court, which was not very terrible.

We in the meane tyme went on with our affaires, held the committees appointed by the Affembly: many minifters, who remained obftinate in fcandalls, were depofed at Edinburgh, St. Andrewes, Dundie, Irwine, and elfewhere; how juftlie, the reports of thefe Committees diligence to the late Ge-

nerall Affembly at Edinburgh, did declare ; where, before the King's commiffioner, all the depofed minifters who pleafed were heard to plead, and all of them who kythed penitent for their mifdemeanour were received.

The Council of England, after long advyement, permitted the King, I would have faid, confented to the King's defyre, to enter in a courfe of warr againft us. The firft affurance we had of this conclufion, was the oath exacted of our nation at Court, of renunceing the Affembly and our band, promifeing alfo the King their full affiftance, when ever he required it, againft us ; the nixt was the King's letter, publifhed for all the fhyres the 26th of Januar, (A.) commanding all the nobles and gentrie of England to attend his royall ftandard at York againft the firft of Apryle, where he was to goe to the border to oppofe the Scotts there, who were to invade England ; and the third was the commiffion, which the Marqueis of Hamilton's man caryed to the north, for the Marqueis of Huntley to be lieutenant to the King in thefe parts, with great authoritie.

Thir alarmes put us out of all doubt of our enemies intention quicklie to fett upon us. Our firft care, was to fend in a true Information to England of all our purpofes : we had fome moneths before given to that nation account in print of all our former proceedings, to their good lykeing ; we then, in a printed fheet or two, laboured to clear ourfelves of all flanders, efpeciallie of that vile calumnies of our intention to invade England, or to caft off our dutifull obedience to our Prince. This piece, as was thought old Durie's hand chieffie, did us good fervice ; for it fatified fo fullie the hearts of that nation, that our adverfaries, being extreamly galled with our fucceffe, moved the King to make that pitifull Declaration (B.) of the 27th of Februar ; where we are, contrare to all reafon and law, declared, in all the churches of England, the fouleft traitors and rebels that ever breathed. Bot at once we loft nought by that moft injurious dealing ; for our innocencie was fo well remonftrat in print, by thefe three or four moft daintie fheets of Mr. Henderfon's, that we, over all England, began to be much more pitied then before, and our intraged partie, the bifhops, to be the more detefted.

Our nixt care was, to have all our mindes cleared of the lawfullnefs of our defence. No man doubted more of this than my felf ; yea, at my fubfcriving of the Covenant, I did not diffemble my contrare refolution ; for I had drunken in, without examination, from my mafter Cameron, in my youth, that flavifh

tenet, that all refiftance to the Supream Magiftrate, in anie cafe, was fimplie unlawfull : bot fetting my felf to diligent reading, and prayer for light in that queftion, which the tymes required peremptorie to be determined, without delay, I fand many doubts loofed, efpeciallie by Bilfon, Grotius, Rivett, and the Doctours of Aberdeen, who were alleadged to be moft oppofed to that tenet. Being fullie cleared in my own minde, as my fafhion is, I held not long in my refolution. At our meeting in Edinburgh, being fo defyred, I gave out that fheet or two, which I gave yow, for which I got manie thanks, of the lawfullnefs of our Defence by armes. My Lord of Caffilis, who had drunken of the fame fountain with me, by his obftinat refufeall to joyn in anie courfe tending to a forcible refiftance, did give great offence to verie manie : nothing was more hinderfull to us, than that gracious man's example, withdrawing from the reft on mere confcience. When he was given over of all as desperate, I took him in hand, and left him not till at laft, by God's grace, he became as franche in the defence of his countrey, as any of his neighbours. Diverfe papers went then abroad upon this queftion, fome whereof was not voyd of fcandall ; efpecially one of a prettie fchollar, Mr. G[illefpie], bot too rash a youth in his determinations, if I conceive him right, in manie things. To helpe this inconvenient it was laid on Mr. Henderfon, our beft penman, to draw up fomewhat for the common view. He did it fomewhat againft the hair, and more quicklie than his cuftome is ; fo it was not fo fatisfactorie as his other wryts : for this caufe, though read out of many pulpits, yet he would not let it go to the preffe : bot one of our depofed minifters would eafe him of that expenfe. Mr. Corbett, to whom I had obtained favour in our committee at Irwine, and had moved him, under his hand, to paffe from his declinature of the Generall Affembly and joyne in our Covenant in all things fo far as I went myfelf ; yet, upon fome fplene, as it feemes, or rather rafhnefs in fome of his brethren of the Prefbytrie of Dumbrittane, he is put to the fubfcriving of the Affembly's declaration, farr beyde our minde ; which not being willing to doe, he flies away to Ireland ; and there, to fhew his repentance of what I had moved him to wryte, he will put himfelf in print, in the Deputie's<sup>(9)</sup> hand, in a refutation of Mr. Henderfon his inftructions, with fo little matter, and fo much fpytefull venome, as no man would ever have conceived to have been lurking in his heart againft all our proceedings. We have thought him unworthie of

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

a replie, and are content with our advantage, that my Lord Deputie permitts to go out under his patronage that desperat doctrine of absolute submission to princes; that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppose the prince's deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the poorest slave at Constantinople may resist the tyrannie of the Great Turk. We are confident, that our sweet Prince will not fail to doe justice upon all who countenances such tenets, that strykes at the root of his just and lawfull soveraigntie, if the tymes were so peaceable that Parliaments could get, in a deduced proceffe, represented to his eye the state-undermyning plott of that faction.

When we had done diligence to informe our neighbours of England, and make sure the courages of all our friends at home, in the third place, we took course for a reall opposition to our enemies. It was debated, If any help should be fought from strangers? The fardest that was resolved, was to send over one Colvine,<sup>(1)</sup> a gentleman of Fyfe, who should go by the States and Prince of Orange to the Court of France, as our agent, for informing, and requiring, at most, the French King and States of Holland to interceed, by way of intreatie, with our King, that he might be pleased to hear our supplications; and one other, readilie Meldrum, to the Queen of Swaine [Sweden], by the King of Denmark, for this same end. Bot all this was neglected; not so much as a manifesto was ever divulged to strangers by us; wherein wee were great fools, for it was much to our prejudice. Our partie failed not in all languages to poynt us out as desperat rebels; and so farr, by their calumnies, preposseffed the minds of forraigne princes, that the King of Denmark feafed on our armes, and thought meet to break off with us the lawes of nations, at leif of friendship; whereof he much repented, when he heard the true state of our affaires by Cochrane; but avowed we had justlie provoked him by our misregard to give him information as a neighbour prince in so publick ane exigent.

We were hopefull of powerfull assistance from abroad if we should have required it. France would not have failed to have embraced our protection.

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

Holland and we were bot one in our caufe: They had been much irritate latelie by the King's affiftance of the Spanziard. Denmark was not fatified with manie of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the Crown of Brittain, fince his warr with the Emperor. Swaine was fullie ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germanie. Bot we refolved to make no ufe of any friendfhip abroad, till our cafe were more defperat than yet we took it. We ftill hoped to bring of our Prince by fair meanes, which had not been fo eafie if we had brought once forraigne forces within the Ifle. We were hopefull, by the affiftance of God, to make our partie good by our felf alone. The affiftance of Lutherans, let be of Papifts, at this tyme, was, to our divines, a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt; befyde our povertie to give pay to a few number of ftrangers, and our old doolefull experience of their intollerable infolencies where they came on their own charges to fight. Above all, a league with forraigners had made England of neceffitie our partie; the evill in the world we moft declyned, and our adverfaries did moft ayme at.

The leffe our designe was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good ufe of our meanes at home. There was eftablifhed by common confent, to refide at Edinburgh constantlie, a generall Committee of fome noblemen, barons, and burgeffes; alfo in everie fhyre, and whyles in everie presbytrie, a particular committee for the bounds, to give order for all militarie affaires, the raifing of men, provifion of armes, getting of monie with all diligence. To fhew the wifdome and dexteritie of this new foot,<sup>(2)</sup> fee two of their firft orders, (C.) wherein they take fo good courfe for our whole land, as then was poffible. Much help we gott from good Generall Leslie, who fatt daylie with our general committees: his advife in giving of orders was much followed: we intended to give unto him, when the tyme of need came, as we did, the charge of our Generalliffimo, with the ftyle of His Excellence; bot for the prefent he was diligent, without any charge, to call home officers of his regiments, to fend for powder, mufkett, picks, canons; wherein, from Holland, Swaine, Germanie, we were prettie well answered.

It was in that meeting of March much agitat, If it were expedient to feafe on the places and perfons of our countrie, wherein the great confidence of our enemies wes placed, to work by them chieffie our ruine? It was not

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

doubted but such prevention was most expedient for our safetie ; bot much question there was about the lawfullness of beginning the course of violence on our part. It was concluded to attempt nothing till yet our affaires were more desperate ; onlie order was given to levie with diligence two thousand foot in the shyres befouth Tay, under Crowner Monroe's command, and for their pay to take up from William Dick on the noblemen's bond two hundred thousand merks, who should be diligentlie trained, that they might be a seminarie of sojourns for the trayning of the countreys, whence they were lifted, and lie on the south border, to join with the countrey there, against any incurfion from England ; bot above all, that we might have men on foot to hinder the gathering to ane head of any partie for the King in these Southland quarters. Also, a meeting was appointed by my Lord Argyle, first in Perth, with the noblemen and gentlemen of the North, for advysemēt anent the securing of all these countreys, as farr as Sutherland, from any commotion among themselves, or invasion of other ; thereafter in Lorne, with the Isles-men, to gett securitie of their loyaltie to our countrie at thir so dangerous tymes.

That man has proven, from the beginning to this day, a notable instrument for the managing of our high and difficult affaires. What his part was in the Assēblie, I shew yow in the discourse thereof ; since that tyme he has labored what lay in his witt for keeping our countrie in peace, both at home and abroad, being provoked to it by that sharpe man the Deputie of Ireland. He, in some two or three well penned letters, justified our cause against that man's acute and subtill challenges : by his letters to the King and some of the prime courteurs, he gave a bold and a true account of our Assēblie's proceedings. When he was halfe called up to Court by the King's letters, he excused his voyage through the necessitie of his Father's funeralls. His faithfullness for his countrie, and his resolution to joyne in the maintainance of it, was such, that at last his fervant in England was searched for his letters, and himself discharged to keep his intended meeting at Perth ; yea, commanded either to come to Court, to answer for his miscarriages, or to goe to ward to some of his own houses in Argyle. The extreame danger, not onlie of our countrie, bot of the King's affaires and persone, furthered, of necessitie, by his removeall from the top of business, forced him to excuse his disobedience to both thir verie unreasonable commands. To the meeting at Perth he invited his good brother Huntley, as being mainelie intended for securing the



peace of the North, wherein he had great intereffe, from the robberies of John du Gare, and James of Grant,<sup>(3)</sup> and other fuch outlawes : bot the Marqueis excufed his abfence by manie shifts. That man hes never been to this day faft or honeft in anie purpofe, neither in France, nor England, nor Scotland. At the beginning of our proceedings he fpake us fair ; bot long before that tyme the Bifhops had ingadged him for their fervice againft us. Alwayes fuch courfe was taken at Perth with the Northland gentry, that we were not meikle follicit for the Marqueis feed, and all [who] would take his part. In Lorne, Argyle took fo good order with the Ifles-men as might be ; his danger here was greateft. Sir Donald Gorrum, the Clan Ronald, and manie others, were hatching a mifchief, to joyne with the Earle of Antrim, the chief of the Clandonald, who was, with the King's money and authoritie, to come with forces from Ireland to Kintyre. Diverfe of thefe unhappie clannes had no good-will to the name of Campbell, but tooke them for intruders upon their old poffeffions, and was glad to fee the day, when, with the King's good-will, they might recover their anceffors patrimonie from them ; yea, Argyle's own brother at Court was thought to be on this counfell : bot God difappointed all their malicious defignes. Matters then were growing very hot ; the clouds was thickened on all quarters ; our merchands and travellers everywhere in England and Ireland were handled as rebels, their goods feafed on, themfelves made fure. The Englifh bands were gathering faft at York ; hudge fumes, by way of voluntar contribution, was lifted in all the paroches of England ; the fubfidie of the bifhops and clergie was verie great ; our Scottifhmen were difmiffed from Court to come home, both to ftrengthen the King's partie among us, and by their removeall to hinder our intelligence, which, from fome in their companie, was alwayes coming to us, and to further the King's information of all we did. Huntley and Aberdeen had gotten their fhip with munition from Holland ; their ftreets were chainzeid, their cannon readie ; our friends in that countrey were much threatened ; fhipps from England, with munition, alfo were come ; and fome royall fhipps, with Scottifh experienced commanders, and more munition, was dailie expected. The Papifts in the fouth, were lifting up their head ; Niddifdail and Harris, with fome Englifh forces from Carlile, were feared to have

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

joyned with the Marqueis of Dowglafs, who might have reached out their hand to the Marqueis of Hamilton's followers. The town of Glasgow was, through the perverseness of some few men, much doubted. Galloway, Drumfreis, and Queensberrie, the Thesaurer, and Dalzell, all which were men of fair lands, were suspected of too much willingness to joyne. Antrim's boats were making readie on the Irish shoare; Gorrum, and others of the Clاندonalds, were gotten away to Ireland. The Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh was sworn of new to the King, and the Marqueis of Hamilton. Captaine Stewart was come from Court to receive the Castle of Dumbartane, when the King's shippes were expected, to lay up munition, and bring in a garrison, which easilie might have infest all that countrey. The King and his forces were on their way to York; the Marqueis was left at London to hasten the navie for the coasts of Louthiane and Fyfe; in a word, all was so prepared, on every quarter, for our overthrow, that our Bishops assured our King, and this was given out confidentlie over all England, that he should need little forraigne forces for to master us; only let him bot shew himself on our Borders, we should of our own accord run to confusion, or intestine force should crush his opposits with a small help, and it were bot of his royall countenance afarr off. Certainlie our dangers were greater than we might let our people conceive; bot the truth is, we lived by faith in God. We knew the goodness of our cause; we were resolved to stand be it upon all hazards whatsoever: we knew the worst, a glorious death for the cause of God and our dear countrey.

Alwayes we resolved no longer to be idle. In all the land we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders; divided so manie as had been officers abroad among the shyres; put all our men who could bear armes to frequent drillings; had frequent, both publick and privat, humiliations before our God, in whom was our onlie trust; every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours: we took notice at Edinburgh of the names, disposition, forces, of all who joyned not with us in covenant; appointed that in one day the Castle of Edinburgh, Dumbartane, and all the cheiffe adversars, should be essayed; that, with diligence, Montrose, with the forces of Fyfe, Angus, Perth, Mearnes, with the advyse of Leslie, and fundrie of his officers, should go and take order with Huntley and Aberdeen; that Argyle should sett strong guards on his coasts; that Leith should be fortified. It pleased God, in all this,

to give us extraordinarie fucceffe: Leslie, in ane afternoon, went up quietlie with the noblemen to the Castle-gate of Edinburgh, caused the town companies to follow them in armes under the walls, parlyed a little with the Constable; who being much more unwilling to render than was expected, yea, peremptor not to render; at once, after a dry farewell and plaine upgiving, every one returning to his own companie, a pittard is sett to the outter gate, and is blown up; axes and hammers and ramming-leddirs are applyed to the inner gate; the walls are scaled with so much the greater courage, that amazement had so feazed on all the sojourns within, that none of them durst so much as drawe a sword: so in halfe ane hour, that strong place is wonn without a stroke. So farr were the keepers free of all treason or collusion, that the Constable's first retreat was to the King, where yet we have not heard of any punishment inflicted upon him. That night the noblemen supped in the house. Thereafter great care was had by the Generall and Crouner Hamilton to better much the old fortifications, and putt to manie new ones, at ane hudge expence of monies. We thought it a great mercie of God, that a place of such importance was carried without any harme, either gotten or given, and took it for a happie presage of the whole affair.

Dumbartane was a strength that no force ever had winne, and what strata-gem to use we knew not, the captaine being so vigilant a gentleman, and having provided it so well with men, munition, and victualls: yet God put it in our hands most easilie. The captaine, and most of his sojourns, being come to the church of Dumbartane, with his wife and family, on a fasting Sunday, the provest John Sempill, and Ardincaple, after the service, caused lay hands on them all. The rest who were remaining in the house were bot few; who knowing of no rescue, after a night's siege, rendered, and the house was put in Argyle's hand; who had a present care of victualling and manning it sufficientlie. Stirling was in our sure friend the Earle of Marre his hand, so we touched it not. Dalkeith, in the Thesaurer's fight, was ladderit; the munition, that so much dinn was off, feazed on; the crowne, scepter, and sword, which (I know not how) had been transported there, were, with all reverence, brought back by our Nobles to their proper place in the Castle of Edinburgh.

The noblemen and gentrie in the west, Montgomerie, Lowdoun, Fleming, Boyd, (Lindesay also was with them,) Cunninghamehead, Blair, and a great

number, so quietlie as they could, made to Hamilton; took in the Castle of Straven; took securitie of all the gentlemen of Cliddisdail whom they suspected; went up to the Castle of Douglafs, where they expected nothing bot blowes and a shamefull retreat from a rash interprize, for the house was strong, and they had no cannon; yet the Marqueis courage failed him, and he fled; so without dinn, the house was rendered, and manned by us. Johnstone, in the South, had not the like success; Carlaverock was strong and well manned, the enimie there was the greatest part: so Johnstone either durst not, or had not the opportunitie of executing his promised exploits: bot leift this fail should encourage our foes, our noblemen and gentlemen went avowedlie, in great numbers, to Drumfries, and seafed on all the houses of our unfriends; so that all of them either joynd with us in covenant, or fled to England. Carlaverock we did misken: it could not be taken without cannon, which, without tyme and great charges, could not have been transported from the Castle of Edinburgh; it might have been within a few houres rescued from Carlisle, and our people had no commiffion to enterprize any thing which might engage us with the English, or carrie the hazard of any feck of blood.

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

So soone as Montrose did arme, fundrie of Angus and the Carse gentlemen did joyne with us, who before had been very neutrall. All these countreys rose with him: he came at once, to seven or eight thousand men; the most were brave, resolute, and well-armed gentlemen. Aberdeen at once trembles: Huntley, in a cowardish feare, leaves them; their bishope, doctors, and most malicious of their burgesfes, shippes for England; the rest fends to parlie, bot are refused: so in great fray are forced to render without condition. The discretion of that generous and noble youth was bot too great. A great summe was named as a fyne to that unnaturall city; bot all was forgiven. Our host did march on towards the Marqueis house: neither was his witt to flee, nor courage to fight. While we were midway, he sent to parley; but we had no leasure for speeches. He then came out himself; and did under his hand sign all we required; onlie he defyred to be superceidet the subscryving

of our formall Covenant ; bot did the equivalent, did acknowledge the Affemblic at Glasgou, and all the constitutions of it : undertook to joyne with us for defence with armes, against all whosoever. Bot, some dayes thereafter, when his son Boyn [Aboyne] was a-missing, and he found unwilling to give sufficient securitie for performing his promises, no man trusting much either his words or write, he is made to convoy Montrose and Leslie south to the Castle of Edinburgh, where, for some moneths, he was left close prisoner.

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

Thus, in a short tyme, by God's extraordinar help, we cutt the maine finewes of our adverfar's hopes ; all the strengths of our land came in our hands ; no man among us, but these that swore they were stout friends ; all otherwayes disposed, both nobles, gentrie, ministers, were gotten away to our professed enemies, and the whole countrey put in such ane order and magnanimitie, that we fand sensiblie the hand of God in everie thing goeing before us ; so all fear of humane force was cleane banished away, and a pregnant hope raised in the hearts of all the faithfull of a happie conclusion of this divine work. This marvellous successe detracted nothing of our great desyre to give, in all humilitie, full satisfactioun to all the reasonable commandements of our gracious Prince. The counsellors that remained, offered to come up all of them to his Majestie, for to give him much more true information of our proceedings than yet he had received. While that motion was bot closelie entertained, they laid it upon one of their number, my Lord Orbistoun,(<sup>4</sup>)

(<sup>4</sup>) Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, Lord Justice-Clerk.

to goe from them to represent, on all hazards, the justice and necessitie of our actions. This man undertook much to speak verie freele, as he had done before in the countrie's quarrell : bot when he came to Yorke, he got no hearing, so farr as we could learn. For all this, another was sent, my Lord Carmichaell ; whose audience in that cause was no greater. The King's honour was now ingadged ; his rage was increased by his disappoyntment in all his designs among us ; he was on his way ; there was nothing now able to divert him from pursuing of us with fyre and sword bot the God of heaven : of this celestiall diversion, we did never despaire, hoping still that the goodness of God would never permitt so gracious a Prince to defile his hands in the blood of so loving subjects, for no cause at all bot their opposition to that corruption and tyrannie they were bringing, under the colour of his name, both into Church and State.

His Majestie, finding himself miscounted of the hopes he was made to conceive of a strong partie among us, would not for all this give over his enterprize ; bot intended, by the increase of his forces from England and Ireland, to supplie the want of the Scotts. It was thought by manie, that these five or six thousand Wallons and Irishes, which the Admirall of Holland had beaten back to Dunkirk, were intended against us : manie probabilities makes for this conjecture ; however it be, diverse among us did praise God for the wracking of that fleet, as of ane armie of old beaten sojourns coming upon us for our ruineing. From Ireland a prettie armie was expected ; bot all these hopes proved bot toome wind. The Deputie we knew, a man evill enough disposed towards our nation, also a zealous Canterburian, most willing to advance all the designs of that faction ; bot such was the case of that miserable countrie, that it might spare no number of sojourns. The malecontentments there, for the ordinar oppressions, has ever been great and dangerous ; bot this man, by his cruell exactions of the last parliament, and the ejection of numbers out of their old possessions in the King's counties, besyde by the bringing the verie Spanish inquisition on our whole Scottish nation there, had so much increased the grievances of that most miserable province, that there could be no hope of men from it ; neither was the meanes of intertainment for them, though [had there been] they durst not have ventured their uplifting : The verie blood was drunken out of the heart-veines of that people in their late subsidies and these foumes had already, for the most been sent over

to England, where long agoe they had gotten away to the ocean. So it was proven that in the King's greatest need, all that Ireland could fend him, and that too late also, was bot a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians.

As for the forces of England, they fayled like the summer brookes; the countrey was filled with their own grievances; a Parliament for manie years was absolutelie denied to their passionat defyres and evident necessities; they were now sufficientlie informed, that the Scotts quarrell and their own was bot one; their domineering bishop, by his emissaries, afarre beginning these pranks on us, which at once they expected he would play on their backs if the Scotts did succumbe. The hearts of all might be feen averse from this unjust warre. The very pages of Court could not be made to hold in their dailie gybings of our fugitives in their faces, as of traytors to their countrey, and the onlie causers of all this trouble whereto they and their King was put, fore against their defyre. The trained bands gave it out peremptorlie, that they were not obliged to follow the King without the countrey; and that they were resolved not to passe beyond the bounds of their obligation. His Majestie thought not meet to compell, or much to boast them, bot rather shifted their employment. The papists did not much sturre: at the beginning their offers were great; bot finding that no open libertie of conscience was to be granted to them, they held in their hand, and that by the Pope's direction, as Monsignor Cone's instructions (D.) shewes. Their employment, indeed, had been verie unseasonable; it had been ane evidence of all our alleadgences, that the Canterburian way was the plaine path to Rome; it had indangered the King to have been sett about with the armes of all the protestants in England, for their own safetie against the armed papists. The courtiers, indeed, did arme themselves gallantlie for the King's pleasure; bot their former life in pleasure gave them little feast of this northern voyage. The countrie noblemen murmured openlie at the expedition. My Lords Seyes and Brookes did speak plaine language, that they could not be answerable to the Parliament for countenanceing ane expedition of forraigne warr, undertaken without the Parliament's advyse; and therefore they were resolved not to concurr, leif they should fall under the danger of law: so at Yorke, for their noble freedome, [they were] committed. At this the people of the South began to sturre, at leif so to grumble, that at once these two brave patriots were sett free, and sent home.

Thir were the perplexities wherewith a good prince was inthorned at

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

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

Thereafter, when all was ordained to send out the fourth man, we, according to the common undervaluing which was in the countrie, send out twelve hundred foot and horse, under my Lord Lowdoun's conduct as crouner, and Mr. David Dickfone as minister. Baranthrow [Renfrew] had chosen my Lord



Montgomerie for their crouner. Cliddefdail was fomewhat fufpected in their affection to the caufe, efpeciallie the Marqueis of Hamilton and Dowglafs appearing againft us, wherefore the Tables there Eaft thought meet they fhould not conjoyne, bot divided them in foure: the higheft paroches about Lanrick to follow my Lord Fleming for their crouner; the next about Liffmahagow and Evendaill, my Lord Lowdown; thefe about Hamilton and Munkland, my Lord Boyd; the laigheft with the toun of Glasgou, my Lord Montgomerie. This accrefe to Baranthrow, with diverfe lands of Cunninghame, made my Lord Montgomerie's regiment among the ftrongeft; bot the pietie and militar difcipline of his people was commended above all the reft; yea, none did doubt bot in all our camp thefe of the Weft were moft praife-worthie. They came out moft readilie, and in the greateft numbers; they made moft confcience of the caufe and their behaviour; the feare of them made others ftand in awe, who elfe were near whyles to mutinous infolencies.

At the appearing of the fhippes, we received order to come furth almoft all who had armes. At this charge, my Lord Eglinton, who had been appointed with Caffilis to wait at home to attend any invafion might be from Ireland, came away with the whole countrey at his back, and I as their preacher: bot when we came to Edinburgh, finding Leith to be in no hazard, and the coafts of Louthian and Fyfe to be watched night and day, with ftrong guards of thefe countreys; alfo little appearance of any prefent invafion, for neither was the King's armie be land come to thefe numbers yet, or refolution as prefentlie to fight, and all the Marqueis had within the fhippes were bot a five thoufand land-fojours, taken up in a violent preffe; finding this, we gott order to goe back with the moft of our people, to attend to the tymes of greater neceffitie.

About this tyme Sir James Carmichaell had returned, carrying with him, in ftcad of ane anfwer to our fupplication, a moft injurious proclamation, (E.) printed and publifhed over all England in Apryle, pardoning us for bygones, offering ftill the conditions proponed in the Affemblic of Glasgou, bot making all to be traitors who refted not with thefe content; and difpofed their lands and goods to their mafters or tenents. This wyfe plott proved as pedantick a policie as all the former had done: not a man regarded the favour; all were more intraged with that lawlefs condemning and alienating of lands. The Marqueis, when he came, fend out to the Proveft of Edinburgh a trum-

petter, requiring the Castle of Edinburgh and the fortifications of Leith to be put in his hand, and the proclamation to be published at the Croffe; which being done, he would come out, and as the King's Commiffioner keep the Parliament: if they were refused, he was to execute his master's other commandments. The answer he received from the Toune was a dilator, till the State, which within few dayes was to meet, did confider of his demands. When they came, our nobles and commiffioners of Parliament wrote to him, as ye see, (F i.) Reafons why they could not suffer fuch ane illegall and tempting proclamation be read, and withall, fupplicating his Grace to mediat with the King ane hearing of our Supplications. There went manie meffages between from tyme to tyme. The opinion that men had of the Marqueis was diverfe: the farr moft part took him for a bitter and malicious enemy, coming to revenge the injuries he apprehended he had gotten at Glasgow; others, amongft which few I was one, thought him yet a lover of his countrey, that the imployment was thruft upon him, that he had accepted it, with a refolution to manadge it for our greateft advantage that loyalty to his prince would permitt him. It was evident, he efchewed all occafion of yocking or beginning the warr: he did not trouble a man on the floare with a fhott; what fifhers or merehands he boarded were courteouflic used, nothing taken from them bot for prefent money, at a high rate. What fojourns, indeed, or munition, he could intercept, was fent over to the King's camp: and this was our greateft hurt; for albeit we had gotten thefe two years a great ftore of armes, and manie officers home, yet we were fo difplenifhed before, and fo farr out of ufe, that we had need of much more: and order indeed was taken for abundance, had not the Marqueis fear ftayed the trade; yet fome was ftill comeing to us. His ftraits were greater than ours, when he came, as it were, to befiege; he was daylie at ane hudge expenfe, as the King professed, above thirty thousand pound fterling in the moneth. The English bodies could not endure to be prifoned in fhipps; the want of aire and fresh meats gave manie the pocks; nothing fo much as water could be gotten off our coafts, fo ftrait was the watche. Had we in tyme forefeen to have fortified Inchkeith and Inchcombe, as we did thereafter Inchgarvie, they could not have lyen in our Firth for one moneth; yet, notwithstanding of all the comfort the air and water of thefe Ifles could furnifh them, manie of them died; and when they went home, the moft part of all who remained tracked pitifullie.

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

Some of Kirkaldie skippers, Crouner Hamilton also, would have been at the trying of their fyre-works on the King's shippes; bot the poore hopes yet we had of peace would not let us begin any act of warre; be the contrare, in all our preparations for defence, our open supplications was still displayed in our right hand. When the Earle of Effex, a little before; had come down to Berwick, with the charge of some thousand foot, we sent to him ane earnest letter, that he would mediate with the King to hear our supplication, and be loath himself, who was so wyfe and religious a gentleman, to begin a warre for the unjust ambition of bishops, which, for the undoeing of both the na-

<sup>(5)</sup> Field-Marshal Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgony, who so distinguished himself by his military services abroad, and was promoted by Gustavus Adolphus, to be his Lieutenant-General. He returned to Scotland in 1638, and was created Earl of Leven in 1641.

tions, might continue to flame in the dayes of many generations. Such is the obsequiousness and almost superstitious devotion of that nation towards their Prince, that Essex durst not so much as open that letter, bot sent it closed to the King; yet assured [us] of ane short answer, if it were the King's will to send it back to him. Alwayes we shew him in private the copie, wherewith he was not evill pleased. The man was thought a good patriot, not much the factious way, or farr adverse to our cause; however, he was at once removed from our Border, readilie for fear of infection; neither did I hear since, either of the man or of our letter to him.

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

Now it was when the North, to our great danger, began to break out. My Lord Boyne, a verie fyne sparke, kindled by a rash and profane man, Bamfe Ogilbie, both malecontented at the beginning, for the Marqueis cowardice, resolves yet to trie their strength. When they began to gather, the Master of Forbes and my Lord Frazer, with a good number of gentlemen, meets to oppose them: bot the diligence of the enemy was such, that they came on our partie, and that with field-pieces, before they were aware; this made us to flee, and them to triumph. We were much grieved for the reported captivities of that unhappie, bot yet both good and stout youth, the Master of Forbes: bot though that proved false, and our skaith was found to be bot little, yet we took our flight in this cause to be prodigious; so much the more, as Bamfe

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

dine, Lithgow, Kinnoule, and others ; we confiderit how foone Bamfe might draw together his bands, and compaffe us, then being fo weake : upon the fight of thir dangers, they refolved in diligence to retire, that they might returne with a stronger convoy.

The wifdome of God, from the firft day of this great affaire to this present houre, hes been pleased fo to difpenfe his favors, that with the cafes of our rejoyceing there was ever at once intermixed fome matter of no fmall difficultie, whereby to fharpnen our prayer, and exercife our faith to believe in the ftrong hand that before had often drawn us over brayes, which we, by our own forces, would never have gotten breasted. At this tyme we find our-felves in greater danger than ever ; our enemies in the North mafter of the fields, readie not only to break in like a fpaite on the Mearnes and Angus, bot to fall on our backs in Louthian and Fyfe, while the King and the Marquis calls for our face ; alfo the Weft being in no fmall frayes for the Irifh invafion : for the eftate of that countrey we did not then underftand ; only we heard that Crowner Bruce was fent about with fome officers to the Earle of Antrim, who, after long difappointment, had gotten money to levie fojourns ; that he had in readinefs fundrie flatt-bottomed boats ; that fundrie troupes of the trained bands were come down to the fhore ; that the noblemen and gentlemen of our nation there had drawn on themfelves and poor tennents a pitifull fnare, a fcandalous oath, wherein not only they fwear the renunceing of our Covenant, bot fundrie other things, which ftands againft the tender confcience of manie of our people : numbers of them, through this oath, are like to be undone. One Trewman ane Englifh[man], being fupplanted by a cunning fellow to curry favour with the Bifhop of Derrie, was apprehended, and confefled, that he had heard that knave's motion to him, without diffenting, of joyning with the Scots, if a partie fhould come over to Ireland ; bot withall did avow, that he had never any fuch refolution, let be plott, for accomplifhment of any fuch motion. For this confeffion he is hanged, and quartered half-quick, after the Englifh fafhion, as traitor. The knowledge of thir things put all the people in the Weft fhore in a continuall fray, and made them have little will to let any more men or armes be carried Eaft to the Generall's campe. Thefe alfo in the South were put in frayes, to be invaded from Carlile. Yet neither did the King's maine hoft fturre from about the Border, nor any from the fhippes did preffe to land. This made us fee a dan-

gerous policie, whereof we were more afraid, than of any thing else. It was our great defyre to have at once been at handie-strokes, weell understanding that the ferd of our hott fpirits could not long byde in edge, alfo that our povertie could not long permitt us to keep the fields together. If the shippes should keep us befieged be fea, and hold us from all trade ; if on our Border ane armie of ftrangers should force us to lie in campe long foreanent them, till our countrey men from the North came on our backs, till the Irish on the West, and English, with ane other part of our fugitives, should come on the South, we saw at once that this would undoe us, without stroke of sword ; wherefore we took us again to fasting and prayer. We commended to Montrose and Marifchall the care of the North. We gave out these peremptor orders, which ye have here doubled, wherein all who can bear armes are commanded in hafte to come to the Generall's campe, wherever it should be, with such armes as they had, and a month's provision of victuall ; to the end, that either we may [have] granted to us a reasonable peace, or else, before we did perish fitting still, to goe seeke our enemies, the prelats and papists of England, wherever we could find them. This we cleared to be no breach with England, nor ane inche beyond our lawfull defence ; who by fea and land were hemmed in with a warr worfe than fyre and sword.

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

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

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



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

However, that Proclamation was verie sweet to us, for simple necessitie and discretion alone, to get either religion or libertie brooked as law, and all reason did require, had made us sojourns: so we gladlie stood a-back at all the distance the King commanded. This our readie obedience being perceaved, behold, our unhappie partie makes a new onfett. They perswade the King to proclaime in our Borders, towards the former proclamation of our treason, and the offer of

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

drummes began to beat, and our matches on the hill to shyne through the darknefs, there arofe fuch a fray in the English camp, that verie manie did betake them[felves] to their heeles, expecting from us a prefent invafion ; yea, had not our wyfe and valorous Prince, with his Generall Arundaill, done diligence to incourage, and to find out the groundlefs vanitie of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have been gotten stayed.

It would have done yow good to have caften your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy, for I (quoth the wren) was there among the reft, being chofen preacher by the gentlemen of our fhyre, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, mufquets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carryed my felf, as the fafhion was, a fword, and a couple of Dutch piftols at my fadle ; bot I promife, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way ; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the incouragement of our countrey-men, which I did to my power moft cheerfullie. Our Hill was garnifhed on the toppe, towards the fouth and eaft, with our mounted canon, well near to the number of fortie, great and fmall. Our regiments lay on the fydes of the Hill, almoft round about : the place was not a myle in circle, a prettie round ryfing in a declivitie, without fleepnefs, to the height of a bowhott ; on the toppe fomewhat playne ; about a quarter of myle in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for fortie thoufand men. The crowners lay in kennous [canvafs] lodges, high and wyde ; their captaines about them in leffer ones ; the fojours about all in hutts of timber, covered with divott or ftraw. Our crowners for the moft part were noblemen : Rothes, Lindefay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at leift from Fyfe ; Balcarras, a horfe troupe ; Lowdown, Montgomerie, Arefkine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcudbright, Yefter, Dalhoufie, Eglintoun, Caffillis, and others, either with whole or half regiments. Montrofe's regiment was above fifteen hundred men in the Cattle of Edinburgh : himfelf was expected ; bot what detained him ye fhall hear at once. Argyll was fent for to the treatie of peace ; for without him none would mint to treat : he came, and fett up his tent in the Hill ; bot few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his fhould lie about Stirling, in the heart of the countrey, to be alwayes readie in fubfidies for unexpected accidents ; to be a terror to our newtralifts, or bot masked friends ; to make all, without dinn, march forward, leift his unkannie

trewes-men should light on to call them up in their rear ; alwayes to have an eye what either the north, or the shippes, or the west, or our stail hoist should mifter of help. It was thought the countrey of England was more afraid for the barbarietie of his Highlanders than of any other terror : these of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these foule fellows, with their playds, targes, and dorlachs. There was some companies of them under Captaine Buchanan, and others in Areskine's regiment. Our captaines, for the most part, barrons or gentlemen of good note ; our lieutenants almost all sojourns who had served over sea in good charges ; everie companie had, flying at the Captaine's tent-doore, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish Armes, and this ditton, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. Our Generall had a brave royall tent ; bot it was not sett up ; his constant guard was some hundreds of our lawers, musqueteers, under Durie and Hope's<sup>(7)</sup> command, all the way standing in good armes, with cocked matches, before his gate, well apparelled. He lay at the foot of the hill in the Castle, with Baylie his serjeant-major, or lieutenant-generall. That place was destinate for Almond,<sup>(8)</sup> in whose wisdom and valour we had bot too much confidence ; yet in the tyme of our most need, the grievousness of his gravell, or the pretence of it, made him goe to France to be cutted : alwayes when he came there, it was found he needed not incision, so he past to his charge in Holland, where to us he was as dead in all our dangers.

The councill of warre were kepted dailie in the Castle ; the ecclesiastick meetings in Rothes's large tent. The Generall, with Baylie, came nightly for the setting of the [watch] on their horses. Our sojourns were all lustie and full of courage ; the most of them stout young plewmen ; great cheerfulness in the face of all : the onlie difficultie was, to gett them dollors or two the man, for their voyage from home, and the tyme they entered in pay ; for among our yeomen, money at any tyme, let be then, uses to be verie scarce ; bot once having entered on the common pay, their sixpence a-day, they were galliard. None of our gentlemen was any thing worse of lying some weekes together in their cloake and boots on the ground, or standing all night in armes in

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

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

the greateſt ſtorme. Whyles, through ſtorme of weather, and neglect of the commiffaries, our bread would be too long in coming, which made ſome of the Eaſtland ſojours half-mutinie; bot at once order being taken for our victualls from Edinburgh, Eaſt-Louthian, and the countrey about us, we were answered better than we could have been at home. Our meanest ſojours was alwayes ſerved in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-legge, which was a daintie world to the most of them. There had been ane extraordinarie crope in that countrey the former year, befyde abundance which still was stollen away to the English campe for great pryces; we would have feared no inlake for little money in some moneths to come. Marche and Tevidaille are the best mixt and most plentifully shyres both for graſſe and corn, for fleshes and bread, in all our land. We were much obliged to the toun of Edinburgh for moneyes: Harie Rollock, by his fermens, moved them to shake out their purses; the garners of non-covenanters, especiallie of James Maxwell and my Lord Wintoun, gave us plentie of wheat. One of our ordinances was to lease on the rents of non-covenanters; for we thought it bot reasonable, frae they fyded with these who put our lives and our lands for ever to feile, for the defence of our church and countrey, to employ for that cause (wherein their entreſſe was as great as ours, if they would be Scottifhmen) a part of their rent for one year: bot for all that, few of them did incur a losse by that our decreit, for the peace prevented the execution.

Our ſojours grew in experience of armes, in courage, in favour dailie; everie one encouraged another; the fight of the nobles and their beloved pastors dailie raised their hearts; the good fermens and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells; the remonstrances verie frequent of the goodnes of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearlie divine; also Leslie his skill and fortoun made them all so resolute for battell as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our Nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; bot such was the wisdom and authoritie of that old, little, crooked fouldier, that all, with ane incredible submiſſion, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solyman. Certainlie the obedience of our Nobles to that man's advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their King's commands: yet that was the man's understanding of our Scotts humours, that gave out, not onlie to the nobles,

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

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

It was not our Generall's intention to fitt long at Dunce; onlie till our armie had grown to a considerable number: he thought meet to lie on that strength, which was in the midst betwixt the two wayes to Edinburgh, that if the English had moved either towards Haddington or Soutray, he might have been on their backs; for we knew not then well either of the estate or de-

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

that, as we required, any fixe of our number should come to his Generall Arundaill's tent, to conferre with fixe of the English of credit and trust. Much debate there was about a safe conduct for the return of ours : yet the stoutness of our men, the trust we put in the King's simple word, the hope we had by the lads on the Hill to have fetched them in haste, or as good for them, made us leave off that question.

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

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



had never been tickled with such discourfes; yet he was moft patient of all, and loving of clear reafon. I think it was that day when he gave two three lynes of a good general anfwer, (N.) That he would grant us all our defyres, if it were bot law, and the cuftom of our church and kingdom we were feeking.

Saturday was the third day of meeting, where the moft free communing went on. His Majeftie was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the moft juft, reasonable, fweet perfons they ever had feen; and he likewife was the more inamoured with us, efpeciallie with Henderfon and Lowdown. Thir conferences purchafed to us a great deale of reputation, for wifdome, eloquence, gravitie, loyaltie, and all other good parts, with the Englifh councellers, who all the tyme did fpeak little, but fuffered the fpeech to paffe betwixt us and the King. In the clofure of that day's reafoning, our folks waxing bolder, on their knee begged the abolition of Epifcopacie. His Majeftie had fcarce a face to deny them any thing; yet he would give them no anfwer to that demand, with ane exprefle defyre that they fhould not take his delay for a denyall, inviteing them to a new meeting on Monday: he promifed to keep dyett, and thereupon offered his hand; which all, on their knees, did humblie kyffe, and fo departed full of joy and hope. All thir dayes they were by Arundail royallie and verie chearfullie feafted, and much quick fpeech, efpeciallie from Rothes's mouth, paff at the table: nothing what England, Spaine, France, Holland, could afford, was there laicking on their fields.

On Sunday, to-morrow, fome of our Scottifhe Bifhops, readilie Roffe and Aberdeen, with their fweet and peaceable discourfes, did alter fomewhat the King's minde; fo the nixt day's conference was fomewhat more tart than any of the former, and clofed with thir Demands in write, (O.) of the King's power to call and difcharge Affemblies, and voyceing negativelie into them. Againft the next meeting, we had prepared wife and discreet anfwers to them, all in write, as we were commanded, tending to a negative, that the King had neither a power to diffolve, nor a negative voyce in Affembly, according to the word of God, or our Church constitutions, or our Acts of Affembly, or any good reafon. All our consultations were in fo publick a way, that nothing we fpake or did, bot at once it was at the King: our wayes were fo full of honeftie, that we did not regard [though] all our thoughts, let be words, had been proclaimed in a theatre of the whole univerfe; yet we were nothing

content of the light, if not treacherous wydnefs of mouth in fome of our friends. We were nothing pleased with that day's difcourfe, and leaft of all, with the Demands. They made us fufpect, that nought was fought of us bot to gaine tyme for the comeing in of more Englifh and Irifh forces to the King's camp, and fpending of our moneyes and victualls, that fo we might be forced to retire : we therefore refolved to dallie no longer, bot either that day to come nearer to reall conditions of peace, or elfe to break up our Camp and off our Treatie, and for the firft journey, to lay down our leaguer within fhott of cannon to the King's trenches.

This our peremptorinefs being well known on the other fyde of the water, made, in the nixt conference, the demands to be quyte mifkennit, and at laft the King's will, in write, (P.) to be given well near to our minde. This was brought back by our comuners, without much difputt about fundrie claufes they thought of neceffitie behooved, for our fatiffaction, to be altered in the wryte ; defyreing, that the jurie, if there was any of that change, fhould not be their's alone, bot fhould fall on the whole bodie, to whom they were bot ferving commiffioners. At our Tables manie things were noted, which did much offend. Alwayes in the next conference, fome of thefe claufes his Majeftie deleted : others, which for his honour, he defyred might ftand, were fo benignly commented, that for all the harfhnefs of the text, yet the King's own expofition, declared to us by all the comuners, and taken firft at their mouth by many extemporary penns, and then fett down by themfelves to be communicat to all, gave tollerable fatiffaction : Thir were the Articles of our Pacification, proclaimed the 18th of June in our campe.

Many, whereof I was one, was glad at their heart of this divine conclufion, and blessed God then, and ever fince, for fo rich a mercy to the Prince and whole Ifle. Many fecret motives there was on all hands that spurred on to this quick peace. What to have done when we came to Tweedfide we were very uncertaine : the King might have beene fo wilfull, as rather to have hazarded his perfon than to have raifed his camp. Had he incurred any fkaith, or been difgraced with a shamefull flight, our hearts had been broken for it ; and likelie all England behooved to have rifen in revenge. Diverfe of all ranks, of the beft note in our campe, were beginning to be fcrupulous in conffience to goe in to England : though thir fcruples had been exeemed, yet no ordinar way for our fafetie did appear. Had we beene bot fome dayes

journey in that land, the bordering shyres were so barren, and so exhaust with the King's leaguer, that few night's meat could have been gotten for us into them; from our own countrie we could neither have carriage, horses, nor strong enough convoies for it: The hope of England's conjunction was bot small; for all the good words we heard long agoe from our friends, yet all this tyme, when their occasion was great to have kythed their affection both to us and their own libertie, there was nought among them bot a deepe either sleep or filence: we heard not the caise of our Northern army; our eares were beaten with daily frayes from Ireland on our West coast; much grumbling among too manie, especiallie of the Merse; Hume, and diverse of the gentry there, were beginning to be suspected. However, these who understood best our affaires, thought that God had sent us a tollerable peace in a very fitt tyme; yet others did grudge at the haste of it; they thought it was concluded by a few, who took too much upon them: true, all were admitted to every consultation thereanent; yet the absence from the weightiest consultations of prime noblemen and barrons, and all ministers bot two, was not much remarked, nor their preference sought, if their negligence or adoes or discontent did avocke them. Many thought, that two or three dayes longer delay might have purchassed to us better and more cleare conditions. The rendering of the Castell of Edinburgh, with all the munition, and putting the fortifications of Leith into the King's hand without any condition, did much affray, especiallie when we saw the Castle delyvered to Generall Ruthven's custodie: alwayes it was not now tyme to complaine. Our companies were disbanded, our hutts burnt: we looked not in haste to gett such an army on foot; and without the like, our conditions might well be worse, bettered they could not be. We expected the King in our camp before it brake up, for so he promised; bot he was made to alter that promise, as too rashlie given out, not being his honour to countenance these armes which were lifted by his subjects against his desyre, and laid down not absolutelie at his command, bot on conditions, and these so disadvantageous to the intentions once he had avowed. At the declaration of the King's will, we would not protest; yet leif it should be conceaved, that in our capitulation we had past from our Assembly or Covenant, we thought meet to cause Caffilis read ane short Information of that our minde, and take instruments thereupon, (R.) This much offended Mortoun, who came to see the King's declaration published: much bitter and

evill ſpeech he caſt out on Argyle, alleadging that our wryte to have been againſt expreſſe communing. This we denied ; bot in ſo modeſt words, as we had no will to provoke neither him nor the King.

Some jealousies did yet remaine, as drifting after a great ſhower. The King, as we expected and the Engliſh nobilitie our beſt friends did deſyre, minted not to ſturre from our borders ; manie of his troupes were bot billeted in the countrie. Argyle, and ſome few other of our nobles, who went over to the camp to kiſſe the King's hand, were bot coldlie welcomed. When we ſent over Lowdown to have ſome of the articles cleared, and the performance of promiſes, the anſwers were not pleaſant. The Biſhops were ordained to be proclaimed in the indiſtion of the Aſſembly as members of the meeting. When Lowdown ſhew the clear neceſſitie of our proteſting againſt this, the Marqueis advyſed, againſt the King's minde, to let that proteſtation goe with the reſt. The indiſtion alſo of the Aſſembly by the counſill was not kept at the promiſed tyme : the clergie and non-covenanting Lords had all the King's eare as before. The Marqueis and Mortoun had bitter conteſts with our nobles before the King : the Marqueis's wayes was yet ſo ambiguous, that no man underſtood him, onlie his abſolute power with the King was oft there clearlie ſeen. The people of Edinburgh being fore grieved for the Caſtle's ſo ſudden randering to the hand of their great enemy Ruthven, and provoked by the insolent and triumphing behaviour of that unhappie ſpark Boyne, who, yet reicking from our blood in the North, would rattle in his open coach through their calſie, made ane onſett upon him, and well near had done him violence. The Theaſurer alſo got a chaſe in his coach ; which in the perſute brake, and he in the outcoming received ſome knocks, as they ſaid, with ſome women's neives : of this he was moſt glad ; for they indeared him to the King, at a tyme when his credit was verie near cracking. The Juſtice-Generall was alſo ſomewhat ſhoired, and the Register ſearched in his houſe. The King had written for fourteen of the chief of our land to come to his campe, to give him ſome ſatiſfaction in ſome demands. Rothes, Lowdown, Montroſe, Louthian, Archibald Johnſtoun who had gone before, were not lyke to be diſmiſſed. This put us all in agaft more nor ever, that we had been drawn in a hoſe nett ; yet our noblemen were diſmiſſed : the fourteen were ſtayed from going. The courage of the anti-covenanters, who after the peace began ſo to crowe, fell at once. Lowdown, in wreit, gave to the King reaſonable ſatiſſac-

tion in all the questions he had to propone (S.) The Affembly was by the counsell indicted, albeit some fix dayes after the tyme appointed (T.); our protestation (W) was digested; the plott of the Seffion's downfitting for the President and Register's restitution, and other ends, was crossed.

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

So soone as Montrose had turned homeward to the Mernes, at once Boyne and Bamfe, with Crowner Gunn, and other officers, gathered great forces: Aberdeen joynd heartily to the partie. They spoyled Marischell's land, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundie, and all Angus in the throat of their hope: bot at once Montrose and Marischell, most valorous and happy gentlemen, gave them some other matter to doe; though much inferiour in number, they came to seek them. Some great ordinance we had, which moved our partie to hold off when they were coming on hoping to have cleane defeat us; for their Heiland men avowed they could not abyde the musquet's mother, and so fled in troupes at the first voley. Seaforth had promised to bring

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

preffions fhall be faftened on good Huntley's back, as the chief author. Alwayes for that tyme Montrofe and Marifchell did poft to Duncce to have their part of the joy, as weill they did deserve, in the common peace; where they were made moft welcome, both to their commerads and their King.

I wifh this might be the comedick catastrophe of our verie fearfull-like Episcopall tragedie. Bot yet we have not received direCTIONS to make our publick and folemn thankfgivings; yea, fome clouds ftill fticks in our ayre; fo that we have keepeed with us at home, till our Parliament clofe, all our countrey-men-fojours, to whofe kindnefs our nation is exceedinglie oblidge; for, to help their boafteed mother-church and countrey, they have deferted their charges abroad, to their great loffe, which they knew ſhe was never able to make up: they have here, on verie eafie and ſmall conditions, attended her ſervice: for fear of their valour, our peace hes been both the quicker and the better; the renowne of their kindnefs, and confcience of their defert at the hand of their mother, for ever will be their greateft and moft glorious recompence. Before the fitting down of our Affembly, in the midft, and about the end, we had ftill new matter of fear. Athort all our Parliament ſome thing of moment was ever like to goe croffe; yet all goes well at laft: That preſent difficultie, about the articles and fourteen votes to the King, whereat there is much fticking, I hope that huge armie of Spainards now landed in England, fhall make it get halfe to be ſwallowed down with the reft. Bot of our Affembly and Parliament at more length with the next. For recompence of my labour fend without faille to me the Currents and to the Colledge, becauſe of their expences, the Mercurie, both Belgicus and François: this François I fhall take if they refuſe. My ſervice to your Wyffe. I reft your Coofin.

September 28th 1639.

A POSTSCRIPT, October 12th 1639.

I THANK yow for all your three letters I received before your [our?] departure from Edinburgh. For them, receive here incloſed three packets: in the firſt, the reſt of my papers anent the Affembly of Glaſgow; in the ſecond, a narration, in four ſheets, of our proceedings to the 12th of Auguſt, the fitting downe of our Affembly at Edinburgh; the third hes the pieces anſwerable to the letters of the ſecond: I hope in the nixt to give yow account of our

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

I wish ye would move your Printer at Amsterdam to sett out his Cur-



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

MY INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. ALEXANDER CUNIGHAME.<sup>(1)</sup>

If in your way ye have occasion to divert for three or four dayes to Cambridge, or if at your leisure ye go to it from London, see Dr. Ward: try of him the secret, how Arminianisme has spread so much there; how Shelfurd's absurdities please him; how they were got printed there, with such approbation of so many fellows, and Dr. Beell Vice-chancellor for the tyme; if the book was called in, and any censure inflicted on the approvers. His colleague in the profession, Dr. Colings, is verie courteous: sift him

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

what he avowes of Arminianisme and Canterburian poperie ; they say he is farr on, and opposit to Ward. Conferre with that Dr. Beel, and try if ye find him a papist. I think Dr. Coofings be at Oxfoord, bot if he be at Cambridge, conferre much with him ; he is thought the maine penner of our Scottish Liturgie : if he will be plaine with yow, ye will see what that faction would be at. Be cannie in your Conferences, leif they take yow for a spye. Vifit their fair Bibliothecks and manuscripts. Try who are fervent and able opposits there to Canterburie's way, and let your chief acquaintance be with them : beware of our countrey men Hay and Arekine, for I heare they are corrupt.

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

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

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

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

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

Send me a catalogue of all that is printed against our late proceedings; why so few of the English divines hes medled to write against us; how our proceedings are thought of now there. Send me the pryces, when ye have tryed in two or three diverse shoppes, of Auguftine, Jerome, Bernard, Ambrose, Chrysoftome, both Savill and Frontoduce<sup>(4)</sup>, Gregorie the Great, in the best edition; Bibliotheca Patrum in eight tomes, six great volumes, not the last rable of fyfteen tomes; Baronius, six volumes, also the last edition ten volumes; Thuan's Storie, the last edition, four or fyve volumes: Try if any Universall lyke Thuan<sup>(5)</sup> be coming furth. Your letters to me send, if ye cannot better,

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

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

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

to William Cuninghame in the Custome booth at Edinburgh. Give me account of all this memorandum first or last.

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

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

FOR HIS BROTHER, HENRY GLEN. (6)

As for my comeing to your Town, I will tell you plainelie my minde. I thinke myself truely oblidged to your people for honouring me with their nomination; bot withall, ye will help me to make them take in good part the necessitie of my refuseall. I am settled, by God's clear calling, in a place eminent enough for any gifts I have; God hes blessed my labours here evidentlie; I have full contentment in all things; a most loving and obedient people, who at the motion of my removeall are much commoved; plentie of means, eight chalders of bear and meal, payed by my Lord Montgomerie onlie, a good gleib, a monie-dutie payed me for my manse; I have all my heart could wishe, and my minde cleaves to my people, as theirs does to me: whom God hes conjoyned, why should any mint to put afunder, against both their heart; and though I were never so willing to remove, yet how can I thinke of accepting that place of Mr. John Maxwell's, for other vaikand ye have none: I have no call at all from your people; to this day never man who had their warrand, hes minted to feek my consent; no man hes once motion-

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

ed this matter to my flock, [or] to my Presbytrie to deall with them for their consent: all is cast over to the Assembly's compulsion: men are not slaves or beasts foe to be dealt with. Your people hes never foe much as concluded among themselves, in anie orderlie way, to call me: When was this matter voyced in your Presbytrie? when in your Sessio[n]? when in your Counsell? and albeit all this were, ye are not patrons, ye have no right to call any man to that place without the King's presentation. Thir and such other materiall inlaicks of a calling, would scarre any man from imbraceing your violent and tumultuarie invitation, let be me, who am resolved, by God's help, and that upon manie reafons, to sticke by my flocke to my dying day. I pray God fend yow manie good pastors, for ye had much need of them; bot as for me, let me not be further pressed at your synod: for the end of such troubling of me, will be but your difappointment, and keeping of your Church vaiking longer than need were. This farr, Brother, I thought meet to tell yow plainlie, leift the keeping up of my minde might have hindred your folkes to fute others who will be much more able to doe them good than I am, and more willing than I mind to be.

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

Your Brother,

Kilwinning this Thurfday.

R. BAYLIE.

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

SIR,

Please yow we have direct thir our two neighbours, John Barnes and William Neilsone, to yow, to defyre yow most earnestlie to tranfport yourfelfe hither conforme to the ordinance of the Assembly. We have communicate our mindes thereanent to the bearers; yet we doe hereby most instantlie in-

treat yow, that fetting all excufes afyde, ye would pitie our defolate eftate at this tyme, who hes no minifter to difcharge any kind of minifteriall duetie among us, and to tranfport your felf the fooner for that caufe, as our truſt is in yow : and fo refts

Your affured and loving freinds to power,

Glaſgow this 23d day  
of November 1639.

COLINE CAMPBELL.

NINIANE GILHAGIE.

MATTHEW HAMILTOUN.

WILLIAM HOWIE.

PETER JOHNSTOUNE.

WILLIAM COTIS.

JOHNE KIRKWOOD.

WALTER DOUGLAS.

JOHNE ANDERSON.

GA. CUNYNGHAME,<sup>(7)</sup>

JO. ANDERSOUN.

RICHARD ALLAN.

WALTER STIRLING.

JAMES STEWART.

COLINE CAMPBELL.

JAMES HAMILTON.

JAMES BELL.

THOMAS GLEN.

THOMAS SCOTT.

P[ETER] C[UMMIN].

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

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND VERIE ASSURED FREINDS,—

I doe humblie acknowledge my unworthinefs of all that reſpect ye have ſhowed towards me, and paines ye have put yourſelf, both in the Generall and Provinciall ſynod, to have me one of your Miniſters ; as alſo of this laſt honour in ſending ſuch ane conſiderable commiſſion of two, my verie worthie freinds, with your kind and reſpectfull letters. I remember weell my manifold obligations to your Citie, and my bands with many of yow in particular: your preſent great need of miniſters my heart does pitie ; bot concerning my Tranſportation I am no wayes able to ſatiffie your deſyre. Conſcience obliges me to ſtay with my flock to the uttermoſt of my power: the great love and reſpect which my Noble Patrons hes ever ſhowed me, makes me think it were unhoneſt ingratitude for me to mint to leave them ſo long as they are con-

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

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

A verie loving freind and fervant,

Kilwining, November 27th, 1639.

R. BAYLIE.

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

SIR,

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

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

Your loving Condisciple and assured

Freind to command,

Glasgow, this 26th of November, 1639.

W. ZAIRE.

[TO MR. WILLIAM YAIR. (8)]

VERIE LOVING CONDISCIPLE,

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

This is your loving and affectionat old Freind,

R. BAYLIE, Minister, I trust not onlie for  
the present, bot all my lifytyme, at Kilwinning.

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



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

REVEREND,

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

Your affectionat to our power,

THE PROVEST, BAYLZIES, AND COUNCELL OF GLASGOW.

Glasgow, this 7th day of

December 1639.

JAMES STEWART.

GAVIN NEISBITT.

GA. CUNNYNGHAME.

JOHN ANDERSONE.

G. PORTERFIELD.

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

RICHARD ALLANE.  
 WILLIAM STEWART.  
 WALTER STIRLING.  
 JAMES BELL.  
 COLNIE CAMPBELL.  
 JOHN BAIRD.  
 MATTHEW HAMILTOUN.  
 JOHN ANDERSON.  
 NINIAN GILHAGIE.  
 PETER JOHNSTOUN.

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

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND MY MUCH HONOURED FREINDS,

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

affay to make so violent a divorce, then indeed, if I did not serve the place of my birth, of my meanes, of my gifts, of my grace, more willinglie than any other else, I might take upon me the mark of great and unnaturall ingratitude. Alwayes remaining yet, so farr as I [am] still bound fast to my dear flock, and wishing to abyde so to my dying day, I must continue still your supplicant to give over to put both yourselfe and me to trouble, by casting in that sute; which, through the present long delay, cannot bot doe yow harme, and, by the finall miscarriage, work yow more displeasure; whereof I should be forrie to be reputed the least occasion. This earnestlie desyreing ye would be pleased to grant, I do rest, as I am by manie obligations tyed,

Your verie loving freind, in any other thing

to serve yow all,

December 11th, 1639.

R. BAYLIE.

[To . . . . . (9)]

GOOD WILLIAM,

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

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

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

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

Your affured Freind,

R. BAYLIE.

When I have given it over, if ye can move My Lord [to] doe us reason, and that which law and conscience binds to, albeit his Lordship had not subscribed, I shall be obliged to you; for myself I have no respect when it goes beyond words and looks.

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

ARCHBALD,

The tyme was when I went to have the contentment of your frequent and long lettres; but sine you ar become great, a prim member of our Church and Stat also, I must rest satisfied with some blenks of your ey in the streits onc a yeir; if some feu strekes of your pen come to my landward cottage onc a thre or four yeir for rememberanc that some tyme we wer acquaint, it is all that my poor meannes can expect from your neu hight of estimation and much plintie of employments. I would have been loth to have impeachit you even in this tyme of all other lawers to much lafur and longsom vacation, had not ane onexpectit accident of a verie deir freind forcit me to crave of you, by the right of all my old deservings, a resolution in a neu cais of our Church Discip- lin. I hope you ar not ethir by privat or publict affaires put so farr out of remembrance ethir of me or of your christian deutie to any, or of your magnifik office of clerkship and advocation to all ministers; but I mey furlie expect your ryp, and advysit, and full aunfuer, when I onc at most in the yeir propone my quaestion.

This is the matter. Eftir we had deposit D. Hamiltoun in the Assamble of Glafgou, some of the parishioners of Glaffuird came to Mr. Patrik Sherp, ther nibour, intreating him to wish them to a good ministere. Being urgit, he recommends to them ane old scoller of myn, Mr. Jo. Bell, a fone of my neerest nibour and most deir freind, the minister of Stevinstoun. Upon this recom-

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

mendation, thes of the parishioners desirs to heer the young man preach in Mr. Patrik's church, the Sunday folowing, promising to be his heirers with others the most judicious of the parishion. That Sunday the Doctör intendit by violenc, as they herd, in dispyt of our Assëmblie, to occupie his own pulpit ; so they behovit to brek ther tryft for to oppose the Doctör, but with-all desirs Mr. Patrik to move the yong man to deill with my Lord Semple, the laik patron and landslord of all the parishion for a presentation. The yong man came to me for my counsell and assistance : knouing him to be one of the most able youthes I kneu vakand, for lerning, wisdom, utteranc, and all ministeriall qualities, I movit my L. Argyle and my L. Egglintoun to wreit lettres to my L. Semple in his favours. My L. Semple promife a presentation, having tryit from funny hands that all I had mad the noblemen wreit of the youth, and mor was treu, yit for feir of the King's offence did delay to præsent till the Assëmbly of Edinburgh. In the mean tyme, some of the parishioners falles in conceit first with on and then with ane other yonge man : thir my L. Semple refuses to præsent, being ingagit to Mr. Jo. Bell, not only for the recommendation of his noble freinds, but beliving him, as the Presbitery both then and yit does, and many mo with them, to be the meeter man for the people than any other was proponit to him. Vpon this crofe thes of the parishion who had delt for others, began to maligne Mr. Jo.; yet he being confident to give them full contentment, did go on by the advyce and incoragement of funny the cheif ministers of the Presbitery of Hamiltoun and many of the parishioners to receive the præsentation. He was made weelcome in the Presbitery, his tryells præscrivit, both exercise, contraverfie in Latin, popular sermon : in all he gets ane singlar applaus, divers of thes who had opposed took him by the hand, and all wer quiett. You must knou, by the way, that the Doctör's violenc in the episcopall courfes had made manie of that people fall to the other extremitie of some extravagant conceits, and brunistik-lyk folies, much increasit among them by the heidines of their Reider, who for faultes in that kynd was divers tymes in the Presbitery and Assëmblie callit to ane account, and even yit is onder proçesse: the main thing that ever they prætendit for ther dislyk of Mr. Jo. was, that he had futit a præsentation befor he was electit by the congregation. In our late Sinodall Assëmblie in the Presbiterie of Hamiltoun's cenfur, that same particular being examinit, and this relation which I have wreiten being publictly made, the whole Assëmblie pro-

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

would writ to you for your advyce, and he was weell pleafit with the motion.

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

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



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

Kilwinnin, Dec. 16, 1639.

Your old frend,

R. BAYLIE.

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

<sup>(2)</sup> Mr. Alexander Henderson.

<sup>(3)</sup> Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.

MY LETTER TO MR. JHONSTOUN ANENT MY BOOK.<sup>(1)</sup>

ARCHBALD,

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

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

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

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

March 30th, [1640.]

FOR MR. D. DIKSOUN, PROFESSOR IN GLASGOW.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

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

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

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

God; and heartie love to those who mindit pietie, planted in their heart? shall we be so unreasonable as to look for those things in them at the first moment, without any of your labour, which we wish may be wrought in them, by all the paines yow can take in your whole life?

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

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

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

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

oppressing of poor ministers. I am grieved with Mr. William Livingston's usage, if it be as we hear, of Lismahago<sup>(1)</sup> and Mr. John Lindfay :<sup>(2)</sup> such staffage cruelty God will not approve, and men must detest : by anie means furdur that poor man of Campsey<sup>(3)</sup> to his place ; your deposing of him was much against my mind. If when the whole Presbytrie and parochie, and the world which knows him, are for his restitution, and yow onlie hold him out, it will not be weell. Mr. James Fullartoun is with God. Mr. Thomas Craig is like to prove such a villaine, that he is worthie of more punishment then deposition. Likelie, Mr. Alexander Dunlop will not be gotten long kept : we have no able expectants almost to supplie rouses ; the Lord help us. My people hes discharged me to keep the Synod, and my necessar diligence in closing my piece will not suffer me to come abroad ; so, when I will see yow I know not. If your Towne solist not diligentlie, they will tyne Mr. Robert Ramfay. The Commiffioners of Air Presbytrie had weell near gotten a promise of our Presbytrie's concurring with theirs for keeping him ; bot I did publicklye marr that proposition. I long to see Margaret and the bairns ; yow see I cannot end ; the Lord be with yow.

March 30th [1640].

### MY LATTER WILL

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

[REVISED THE 20TH OF JULY 1640.]

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

Aughtand to me by Cunynghamehead, according to his band, two thousand five hundred merk. Item, by the brethern of Dunlop, by their band, two thousand merk. Item, ane annualrent from the lands of Golden-hoove according to my infestments, now possessed by James Roe merchant in Edin-

(1) Robert Hamilton, Minister of Lismahago. (2) Lindsay was Minister of Carstairs.

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

burgh, which I estimate to five hundred merks if a reversion cannot be produced, or if it can, only to three.

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

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

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

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

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

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG, AFTER ABERDEEN ASSEMBLIE.

[September 1640.]

REVEREND AND WELL BELOVED,

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

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

Our Affemblic at Aberdeen was keepit with great peace<sup>(4)</sup>. We fand great averfenefs in the hearts of manie from our courfe, albeit little in countenance. Dr. Sibbet [Sibbald], Forbes, and Scroggie, were refolved to fuffer martyrdom before they fufcryved any thing concerning Epifcopacie and Perth Articles ; bot we refolved to fpeak nothing to them of thefe matters, bot of farr other purpofes. We fand them irrefolut about the Canons of Dort, as things they had never feen, or at leaft confidered. They could fay nothing againft any claufe of the book, of Canons, Liturgie, Ordination, High Commiffion ; yea, Dr. Forbes's treatifes, full of a number of popifh tenets, and intending directlie reconciliation with Rome, farther than either Montague, or Spalato, or any I ever faw, was among their hands, and the hands of their young ftudents ; together with a treatife of B[ifhop] Wedderburn, and ane Englifh prieft, Barnefius, all for reconciliation. Dr. Sibbald in manie points of doctrine was found verie corrupt ; for the which we deposite him, and ordained him, without quick fatiffaction, to be proceffed. The man was there of great fame : it was laid on poor me to be all their examiner, and moderator to their proceffe. Dr. Scroggie, ane old man, not verie corrupt, yet perverfe in the Covenant and fervice book ; Dr. Forbes's ingenuitie pleafed us fo well, that we have given him yet tyme for advyfe ment ; poor Baroun, otherwayes ane ornament of our nation, we found hes been much *in multis* the Canterburian way : great knaverie and direct intercourse with his Grace we fand among them, and yet all was hid from us that they could. I got my caufe delayed till the nixt Generall Affemblic ; yit Mr. Robert Ramfay was ordained to tranfport to Glasgou, and Mr. Andrew Cant to Aberdeen, fore againft his heart : his patron Lothian will vehementlie oppofe it. Thir violent tranfportations will at once offend manie. I am lyk to be more than bofted with a divinitie profeffion in Aberdeen : the world is fo farr miftaken ; better for me to be dumb or dead than fo miserable. Much of our ten dayes<sup>(5)</sup> fitting fpent in caufes of tranfportations, and plantation of churches, where patrons, prefbyteries, and people had their contefts. All which came before us were at laft peaceable fettled : manie good overtures were made, which you will fee at once in print.

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

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



That which troubled us moft was a paffage of Mr. Harie Guttrie's, (6) which, becaufe it may be the occafion of farder dinne, I will relate to you particularlie, fo farre as I underftand. Our countrey men in Ireland, being preffed there by the Bifhops to countenance the Liturgie and all their ceremonies, did abfteene much from the publict worfhip; and in privatt, among themfelves, their minifters being all banifhed, did in that place and tyme of perfecution, comfort themfelves with prayer and reading, and uther exercifes of religion, whiles in the night, whiles in the day, as they had occafion. Sundrie of them intending ane voyage to New England, inclined towards the difcipline of thefe churches; yea, fome Brunifts, infinuating themfelves among them whileas their minifters were away, did move diverfe towards their conceits. The moft of thir good people flying over to us, were heartlie embraced of us all; their privat meetings were overfeen; fome of their conceits, though they were fpreading, yet for caufes we let alone till the Laird of Leckie, (7) one who had fuffered much by the Bifhops, was marked, ufeing his Irifh forme of privie exercifes in Stirling, and in his prayers fome expreffions which were prejudiciall to Mr. Harie [Guthrie,] minifter of the faid toun, and uther minifters of the land, who did not affect their wayes. At once Mr. Harie, with the brethren of that prefbytrie, and magiftrats of that toun, did begin with vehemencie and fome violence, to fuppreffe thefe privie meetings, and to paint out in verie black letters all the fingularities they knew or heard of in Leckie, or thefe who affected their wayes. They, on the other fide, failed not to rander to Mr. Harie, and the brethren, the like. The laft Affembly of Edinburgh was perplexed with this matter. Mr. Harie made verie loud complaints of their novations, both in word and wryte. Sundrie being confcious what in diverfe parts of the countrie was broaching, was in fome fear. Diverfe of our chief minifters tendering verie much the credit of thefe verie pious people, were loath that any thing concerning them fhould come in publick. We had fundrie privat meetings with the chief that was thought to incline that way. Mr. Henderfoun vented himfelf, at manie occafions, paffionate-ly, oppofit to all thefe conceits. We fand among ourfelves great harmonie

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

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

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

I heard no more of them till the Synod, at the beginning whereof, as the cus-

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

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

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

refuse, yet these that lyked nothing that came from him, did question much more than they needed, and verie violentlie urged to have, in that article, limitations, which, in my judgement, were verie needles, and did further Mr. Harie's designe more nor his own words. Alwayes Mr. Harie was made content to admitt of ane exception, which was, the practife of people flocking to their minister's familie exercife; bot of any moe exceptiones he would not hear; and more they pressed to have, upon ane argument that did much amaze my minde, that except they got ane other conceit, they had a written protestation readie against that act of the Synod; the thing that the devill was seeking, and would have been sweet pastyme to that town of Aberdeen, and our small favourers in the North, who was greedilie gazeing on the event of that broyle. Alwayes at last the prayers of the land for God's blessing to that Assembly prevailed, and in a moment God made the minds of these who differed to agree, to the great joy of all when they heard it. There was bot fyve of us then in privat, Mr. Harie and Mr. David as parties; Belhelvie for Mr. Harie, the Moderator and I betuixt them. Mr. David at last acquiesced to my request to let Mr. Harie's article passe as it stood, and Mr. Harie, after once and againe I had inculcate to him, that all his act was bot a blephum if yow putt not in that clause yow see it hes against novations, was at last content to putt it in; so with great difficultie, the act being agreed upon in privat, and in the committee, when it came to be voted in the Assembly, it had no contrare voyce.

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

that it was marvellous. Mr. John Makclessan was found the ingiver of it ; while he began to be hissed at, Mr. A. Cant and Mr. D. D. did speak for the reasonableness of it, and some few other ministers and gentlemen who had been on the council of it ; but they were so overwhelmed with the multitude of cryers, Away with it ! Away with it ! that they were forced to be silent, and let it goe. I much grieved to see the tumultuous disorder of our Assembly ; and had I been on Mr. David's council, I would have dissuaded him to my power from such a motion, which, if it had been assented to, was like to have fired our Church, more than any other brand that Satan at this tyme, in all his witt, could have invented : so, by God's goodness, water was cast on that fyre for the tyme. The amirs [embers] yet seems to smoke ; but we hope God will see to the peace of our Church, which is but a brand newlie taken out of the fyre, or rather yet in the midst of the flame of warr and great danger.

When I returned to Edinburgh, I fand there Rothes, Lowdown, Mr. Archbald Johnston, sent by the armie to intreat that the Town of Edinburgh would be pleased, on all securitie they could invent, to lend what readie monie they could spare, for the supplie of our souldiers, who were in strait for want of monie ; also, because it would be troublesome to these of England, who were much delighted with their planting, if our armie should cutt down timber for bigging of our huttes, they prayed, that the honest women might be tryed what webb's of hardin or sheets they might spare, that everie four souldiers might be accommodat in a tent of eight ell. H. Rollock had so sweetlie spoken to the people's mindes on the Sunday, that the women afternoon and to-morrow gave freele great store of that stufte, almost sufficient to cover all our armie ; and, which was more, I saw on the Monday the neighbours being convened, offer in present monies, to be lent in common securitie, verie fair sounes of monie ; so that, farr above all expectation, to our great encouragement, our messengers on Tuesday got with them a large hundred thousand pound, and hope almost of as much shortlie to follow. Oft tymes hes that worthie Towne been a good instrument in our cause, but never more seasonable than at this dangerous exigent. The maintainance of our armie was founded on the tenth pennie of our estates, and hopes from England : the first came but slowlie in ; the valuation of men's estates drew to great length, let be the payment : from England there was no expectation of monies till we went to fetch them : we called in the plait, and put it to

the queinze-houfe; we craved voluntarie offerings; whereby fome prettie fumes alfo wes gotten. Bot what was all this to twenty thoufand merks a-day, which our armie required, being then about twenty-two thoufand foot and three thoufand horfe, beydes two or three thoufand carriage horfes with fwords and hagbutts. We lay at the Border a large ten or twelve dayes after our appointment to march. Durie, the Generall Commiffer, for all his extraordinary diligence, could not gett a fourteen dayes provifion to the fore, and horfes to carrie it, which we refolved to have with us. Always at laft at Caldftream we paffed Tweed the 20th Auguft, with great courage, our horfe troupes ftanding in the water, our foot all wadeing in order about their middle. The lott gave the van that day to Montrofe; to whom I thinke it was very wellcome. He went on foot himfelf firft through, and returned to encourage his men; yet one of his fojourns, and he onlie of all the armie, did drowne. All our foot crowners went through on foot, except one or two, being employed to brek the watter on horfe. We marched at leaſure through Northumberland; the ſcarcitie of that countrey and feare of the people made us divide our companies in three; Lieutenant-Generall Almond led one part, Generall-Major Baylie, ane other, the Generall the reft. The regiments kepted their order of van and rear dailie by lott: all was within eight or twelve myles call. The trouperes of the garifoun of Berwick made their incurfions on our ſcattered fingle men, bot to little purpoſe. On the 28th we mett all, according to appointment, in Newcastle Moore a little before night. We lay near the river, ſome fyve miles above the towne, at Newburne; the paſſage was well fortified; ten thoufand foot lying, with their cannon, under the trenches; twenty-fyve hundred horfemen, well mounted, with head-peace, corſlet, carabins, piſtoles. To-morrow their canon and muſket plaid among us; bot it pleaſed God wonderfullie to aſſiſt us. Our cannon, at the ſecond volee, played ſo well upon their trenches, that their foot, in great numbers, fled from their colours. About four afternoon, Coronall Blair, with a thouſand muſketeers, and ſome two troupes of horſe, Coronall Leſly, and Sir Thomas Hope, were commanded to goe through the water. Twelve of the Engliſh troupes came to meet them, whereupon they began to retire. The van of the foot that day did fall to Loudoun, who, with Lindefay and Queensberrie, had a brigad of eighteen hundred men; Montgomerie had a brigad as ſtrong: theſe two being directed to ſecond the horſe, came running to the



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Long before this, after our first going over Tweed, about the 20th of August, we were of new proclaimed rebels at London (I.); bot the prentises, or some others of our good friends, in papers publickly affixed, with the proclamations, declared us honest men (K.). We went on notwithstanding, as we might, with our affaires in England. The toune of Newcastle was putt to the contribution of two hundred pound Sterling a day, the countie of Northumberland to three, the Bishopricks to three hundred and fifty. Commissions were given to lift the rents of Prelats and Papists, who had fled, and avowed themselves our enemies. Thus for some dayes we lived at ease and peace, waiting, with some fear, what the 24th day might bring forth. At that tyme the most of the land did keep the King's appointment, and manie of our friends, the Noblemen supplicants, were there, contrare to our expectation. The King's speech yow may read (L.). Traquair thereafter was brought in to repeat that lesson he had said before the Privie Councill, whereupon in February they had decreed warr against us; yet the supplications received from all the nuiks of the countrey, subscribed with manie thousands the most considerable hands in England, did not only force the present indiction of the Parliament to the 3d of November, bot also that same night drew out my Lord of Lanerick's letter (M.) to our Committee for a parlie, the Thursday after following, the 1st of October. For their safe conduct, there passed some letters betuixt us and the Secretarie (N.); it was sent us in so ample a forme as we could have wished. (O.) The Peers excused their not subscribing together with their Prince, bot witnessed his subscription in a letter of their owne apart, with many hands; to which we acquiesced. We thought it strange to see the King, by his Secretar, petition us in so equal termes for our paffe for these he sent to Berwick, and for dismissing the officers we had taken at Newburne. We yielded to the releiving of all prisoners, so much with the better will, that Sir Archibald Dowglafs, going out of Durham with a troupe of horse to view the fields, had, contrare to his commission, foolishly passed the Tyfe, and swaggering in the night in a villadge without a centinell, was surprised by the King's horse, with all his trouperes. For all this, we get but little in-

couragement from our friends in the South : they sent us indeed this paper of intelligence (P.), but no money. We could get but little benefit of Newcastle coal ; the King's ships hindered the traffick ; the owners and workmen were verie thrawart to doe any service either for themselves or us ; yea, we found much coofining and knaverie among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, did faill of their affurances : we were forced to fend out for their cattle to cause them be true : these who had the collection of the money did exact double to that they gave to us ; the heaviest burden was laid by them, (abusing our ignorance,) on the back of Protestants our friends.

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

On Thursday the 1st of October, our eight comuners did come to Rippon, some fourteen myles from York. The English Lords were there a little before them ; to-morrow they begun their conference. My Lord Bristoll, their speaker, did give us at the table their commiffion (Q.). They received likewyses ours,

according to the instructions from our committee. After our demands were given in, as the English requyred, in wryte, some queftions were moved about the ground of the Treatie : they would have builded upon the Pacification of Dunce ; we, on our petitions and answers from the King : Since they required a ceffation from armes during the treatie, we demanded the payments promifed to our armie, for the tyme bygone, where they had been withholden, and forty thousand pound Sterling a moneth till we in their Parliament had gotten securitie of our peace. The King fent down to affift his comuners, by way of advyce, Traquair, Mortoun, Lanerik, Sir Lues Stewart, Sir Harie Vane. The Thefaurer we allutterlie declyned, as one of whom we were chieffie to complaine; Sir Lues we thought for his vocation unmeet for a treatie ; the reft we except againft as not being expreffed in the commiffion. They gave us, indorfyt by Sir John Bonar, clerk to the Councell, fome complaints of the Bifhop of Durham, Toun of Newcastle, and fome moe, of our injuries done to them. They retired from the table to a private room for advyfe-ment, and we had alfo another room prepared for our confultations. That night we clofed, they craving leave to expect the King's answer to our propositions againft the morning, and we fending the libells of complaint to our committee for their answer, which quicklie returned. We are fomewhat jelous of the English policie in this treatie. If it take not speedie fuceffe, our Generall myndes to lift speedilie from Newcastle, and draw nearer to Yorke. Argyle, with a brave band of gentlemen volunteers on horfe, are making in : The reft of the countrey are commanded to be readie on a call : We hope that God will make the fear of our armes to furder the Treatie.

[TO LORD MONTGOMERY. (9)]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

Scarce had I clofed my laft to your Lordfhip, on the 24th of this infant,

(9) This Letter, addressed to Lord Montgomery when at Newcastle with the army, (*vide* p. 269,) occurs in the MS., after various others dated in May and June 1642. It has been transposed, as the notice it gives of the contributions raised for the soldiers from the parish of Kilwinning, shews that it must have been written in (September) 1640 ; and it may be added that Robert Livingston, who is mentioned at the close of the letter, died before March 1642.

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



recover abroad, speciallie in poor Germanie, not these seas of blood which cannot againe be taken up, bot some part of that honour and reputation, which in hudge quantity that evill faction hes made us to losse, onlie that their wicked hands may keep our sweet Sovereigne in the prifon of melancholie and malecontentment, wherein they have inclosed him up since the first day that they ravished him away from the hearts of his subjects at home, and all his blood and allyes abroad; if this be the tyme, and yow the men, who may delyver our Prince from that most pitifull prifon, and restore him againe to the hearts, hands, and meanes of all Brittain, thryce happie shall we be in this your most gracious employment: Bot if, for the great finnes of these dominions, yow be hindered in this magnificke interpryse; if these in England, whom it concerns, will make yow no assistance; if papists and epicures be permitted of God to keep these wicked men to be still cruell jailors, holding the King in his most fearfull discontentments; whatever become of yow, yet after ages shall not fail to kisse and adore your magnanimous affay to deliver our Kirk and Countrey from pestilentious humours, which threatened both with a hastie destruction; bot damned in all after tymes shall the fottish cowardise of these men be, who being so near to ane great good, durst doe no more for the apprehending of it, than with fillie women breath out their sighs for it, and fend out their prayers: certainlie the willfull miseries of that people, which by ane little standing on their feet might be eschewed, when it falls on heavie and fore, shall never be pitied by any.

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

My verie good Lord, cause R. Livingstone to wryte offer, and at more

length. The Lord preserve yow all, and your Lordship among the rest. At laft I kiffe your Lordship's hands.

Your Servant,

Killwinning, September 30th [1640.]

R. BAILLIE.

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

REVEREND FRIEND,

We muft intreat yow to come hither with alfe great expedition as yow can conveniently, and to bring with yow a number of your Canterburian's Self-Convictions, together with the warrands thereof, and all fuch papers and prooffes which may ferve for that purpofe. Your being here within a few dayes, is defyred and wifhed be all your friends here, and may prove usefull for the publick. Hoping ye will fett all excufes afide, and prefer this great bufinefs to all others, we rest,

Your affectionat Friends,

ROTHES.	MONTROSE.	CASSILLS.	NAPIER. (1)
KEIR.	RICCARTON.	W. HAMILTON.	RUTHERFOORD.

Newcastle, 15th of October, 1640.

[TO THE SAME.]

MOST AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

I wifh I had infifted in my defyre to urge your outcoming, when I fpoke it to yow at Glasgow ; bot my refpect, as ye know, to my Lord Eglintoun, made me forbear at that tyme. Alwayes now that yow are called by this inclofed from our Committee at the camp, I hope neither will yow make difficultie to come, nor will my Lord Eglintoun hinder yow : for truelie, as I hear, our Minifters works more upon the fojours nor all other difcipline could, and your gift

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

at this tyme, (I will fay no more of it left ye think I flatter yow,) may conduce much to the great work in hand. Therefore, I intreat yow, be not difficile ; and if yow be here any tyme before Saturday at night, I hope to enjoy your companie, which is the earnest defyre of

Your loving Friend to my power,

ARGYLL.

Edinburgh, 17th of October 1640.

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

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

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

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

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

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

My Stipends the years [16]38, 39, 40, and so much of the 41 as may fall to me, all aughtand ; also of the 37 when I compted laft with Robert Livingstone, as his papers subfcryved with my hand the 27th of May will testifie, about a 191 pound, 10 sh. 6d. that is three hundreth merk, lakeing about fourtein. In this soume, let it be compted what I have received this day of the teind, as follows, according to my tickett given to the persons following. So I think there will be aughtin me of my stipend, large four thou-

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

land merk which my Lord Montgomerie is obleidged to pay, according to my decret of augmentation, registrat either in the Commiffion or Seffion bookes, as Robert Livingstone can tell.

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

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

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

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

R. BAYLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

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

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

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

send them to me. Remember what I defyred thee to doe at parting before Munkirdin [Monkriding]. Send me word in thy first letter that it is done ; it will fomewhat ease my mind.

Thy awne,

Newcastle, November 5th, 1640.

R. BAYLIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

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

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

bot miftakes. We hope that Lowdoun's defluxion fhall not hinder him to take journey on Tuefday. The morrow we minde bot one other poft to Darntoun, and there ftay till the Great Seall come to us. The Lord be with thee, and my babies, and all my flock and friends. Thy awne,

R. BAYLIE.

Durham, 6th November [1640.] Fryday.

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

I KNOW thow does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days from Durham. That day we went to Darntoun, where Mr. Alexander Henderfon and Mr. Robert Blair did preach to us on Sunday. At fupper, on Sunday, the poft with the Great Seall of England for our fafe conduct, came to us, with the Earle Bristol's letter to Lowdoun, intreating us to make hafte. On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroubrig, twentie-fye myles. On Tuefday we rode three fhort pofts, Ferribrig, Toxford, and Duncafter. There I was content to buy a bobin <sup>(3)</sup> waftcoat. On Wednefday we came ane other good journey to Newwark on Trent, where we caufed Dr. Moyllie fup with us. On Thurfday we came to Stamfoord; on Fryday to Huntingtown; on Saturday to Ware, where we refted the Sabbath, and heard the minifter, after we were warned of the ending of the fervice, preach two good fermons. On Monday morning we came that tuentie myle to London before fun-ryfeing; all weell, horfe and men, as we could wifh; diverfe merchands and their fervants with us, on little naigs; the way extreamlie foule and deep, the journies long and continued, fundrie of us unaccuftomed with travell, we took it for God's fingular goodnefs that all of us were fo preferved; none in the companie held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Killwinning to London I did not fo much as ftumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was alfo all the way full of courage, and comforted with the fenfe of God's prefence with my fpirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvell they extors their guefts: for three mealls, courfe enough, we would pay,

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

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

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



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

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

On Tuyfday last was here a fast: Mr. Blair and I preached to our commiffioners at home; for we had no cloathes for outgoing. Manie ministers used greater freedome than ever here was heard of. Episcopacie it self beginning to be cryed down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgie to be scorned.

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

London, November 18th [1640.]

R. BAYLIE.

[TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

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

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

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

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

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

London, December 2d [1640.]

R. BAILIE.

(5) Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

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

R. BAILLIE.

London, December 4th [1640.]

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

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

ROBERT BAILLIE.

London, December 12th [1640.]

## [TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

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

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



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

For the Irish affaires, ten of their Commiffioners are come. Sir James Montgomerie and the other two of the thirteen, are left a little behind for the glean- ing of grievances. In June, the fecond feffion of their Parliament, ane petition was granted, that the collecting of the fix subsidies, which the first feffion had granted for the Scottish warre, should be gathered after the old fashion ; not that a certaine rate should be put on every committee, as the Lieutenant had done in the former Parliament, and, at the Councill-table, after the ryseing of the first feffion, had decreed should now be : The cancelling of that Councill-aēt did passe, and was regiftrate in the Parliament-books of that fecond feffion. The Lieutenant, 9th of November, two dayes before his delyverie to the Black-Rod, moved the King to wryte over to the Parliament of Ireland, then in their third feffion, that their zeale to his service, which they kythed in the beginning, was now decreasing ; that he ordered <sup>(1)</sup> the Deputie Wentford (advanced from a mean man by the Lieutenant to that degree,) to teare out of the Parlia- ment-book that aēt for gathering of the subsidies made in their fecond feffion, and to revive that cancelled aēt of Councill, and prorogate their farder fitting till Easter, when the Lieutenant should come over for righting all was wrong. Before the coming of this letter, Deputie Wentford had adjourned the Parliament. Yet the Houfe of Commons held fast their doores, and would hear of no advertifement of prorogation, till their remonstrance was drawn up, and eight Commiffioners appointed for presenting of it : thereafter they were contentit to diffolve. The Deputie, before some of both Houses, as the King commanded, tare out the aēt before named ; discharged upon their al- leadgeance any commiffioners to goe to England : Bot, behold, so soon as he heard of the Lieutenant's committment to the Black-Rod, he fell feek ; and when Mr. Scinder came to bring over Ratcliffe and King ; for King is the reporter that Ratcliffe vented the Lieutenant's intention, by his Irish and

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

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

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

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

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

Your Brother,

London, December 12th [1640.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

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

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

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

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

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

(<sup>s</sup>) " Mr. A."—Mr. Alexander Henderson.

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

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

beyond ten subsidies; whence then shall the other thirtie come for the King's debt?—It is two a'clock; my candle is also failling.

For forraigne news, no Gazets are printed this week. The Earle of Brederod, and other two ambaffadours, are come over from the States, to sute the King's third daughter for the young Prince of Orinzes. The second was buried since we came. The rebellion of Catalonia goes on. John of Braganza is crowned King of Portugal. Banier and the most of the Sueddith armie is making fast to their winter quarters in Bohem. France is taking hudge sourses from all his subjects, for the warrs in the spring. The Lord be with yow all, dear Britherin: much need had yow to stirr up your selves and your congregations both to praise and pray. This day Alderman Penningtoun, with a number of his brether came, with some also of the toun-captains, and some from the Inns of Court, to our lodgeing for complementing our Commiffioners: He told them roundlie, that they were aughten us the redemption of their liberties, estates, religion and lyves. One Ward, in a Latine lecture in Sion Colledge, at our first comeing, had railed at us as rebels; upon our complaint he was suspended, and yesterday made his publick recantation in the Church. The Bishops of Glasgou, Brechin, and Aberdeen, are here in great povertie and miserie, with their families. Our fugitive Clergie are in verie evill case; these few who hes gotten places hes bot poor things; and these with hatred of all: the most can get nought. Mr. Patrick Maxwell, for all the mountaines of gold he hoped for, is yet waiting on for a fellowship in Cambridge, which when gotten, is no great matter. The great Lord, in his own tyme, clofe this his own work of hudge mercie, according to the fair appearances and great hopes of all his faints here. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

London, December 28th [1640.]

R. BAILIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRITHERIN,

The reason why this three weeks I have wryten none to you, was my expectation partlie of some matter of weight to wryte, and partlie of letters from



some [of] yow, bearing your receipt and acceptance of these I had formerlie written. And now, by my Lord Eglintoun's and Mr. John Bell's, the hinder-end of December, understanding your care for my flock, I will delay no longer, bot in testimonie of my thankfull[nefs], which is all now I can render for your loving respect and care of my charge, yow shall have ane accompt of our affaires since my last with my Lord Montgomerie, so far as my knowledge and memorie will furnish.

Our first Fyve Demands being obtained, our great fear, and our enemies equall hope, was upon the Sixth, of our charges since the late Pacification. Great care was usit to set it down in so smooth, and yet so effective termes as was possible. Johnstone, Rothes, Henderfone, our chief friends of the English of both Houses in Parliament, did rypelie advyse on all the words and syllabs, till at last Mr. Alexander put it in that forme I have sent yow : it was so composed of reason, that the King, when he saw it, had no farder hopes that the English and we should discord upon that demand. The particular compt was given with the demand : a scrole of two hundred and fiftie thousand pound Sterling, which we putt out of compt five hundred and and fourteen thousand pound [Scots,] whereof we offered to bear ourself such a proportion as the Parliament should find reasonable, or us able. The particular compt was delivered by us to none, for causes, bot these whom it concerned. The reasons of the demand were put in so manie hands as we were able to provide with copies. When it was given to the Peers, Bristoll, their speaker, gave in a verie captious question in wryte, Whether our demand was positive ; or we intended, by our compt, to obtain some kinde supply from the Parliament ? Our Commiffioners, after a little advysement in their retireing chamber, gave so wise ane anfuer in wryte, that Bristoll gladlie would have taken back his proposition ; bot this we refused : so both the question and anfuer was subscryved by the clerks. Sundrie dayes thereafter were spent, Bristoll preffing oft with more vehemence than we thought was needfull, the casting of the Sixth demand to the last place ; bot this in discreet yet peremptor expressions, we refused it at last. Bristoll sett down his proposition in wryte, backed with the subscriptions of the English peers, of their desyre to us, to go on in the mean tyme to the article of the peace, while the Parliament might have time to consult how to satiffie our Sixth demand. With great care ane anfuer was penned by Mr. A. [Henderfon] to that verie dangerous proposition :

yow have it in the inclosed paper: All was delyvered to the Parliament. Both the Houfes being called together, Bristoll made a verie pertinent and favourable report of all had past, and by this good office did put away that suspicion which we began to conceive of his too hot reafoning against us in the treatie. Mandaveele read, with the best toone he could, the reafons of our demand: Paget and Whartoun, our good friends, read our two anfuers to Bristoll's two propofitiones: All was received in filence, with some favour by the farre most part. The greatnes of the matter itself, and manie other weightie affaires, hindered the Parliament to make any conclusion therein; so our treaters had a vacation: yet were they not idle, bot verie diligent in solifting and informing the members of the Houfes. Our enemies were not idle here; diverfe in both Houfes were not a little averfe from this demand, and brust out into words, in severall places, of dislyke; yet God kepted us in this difficultie. The matter comeing to the Lower House on Thurfday the 21st [of January,] it was much debated *pro* and *contra*, and referred to the next day. At which tyme, after some hot reafoning by our sure friends, it was voyced first, that our demand should be voyced; then that it should be voyced instantly; and, thirdly, by the most part it was carryed, that ane supply, and sustenance for our losses and charges, should be granted to us, reserving the measure to their farder consideration. Of this we are verie glad, and blesses God for his favour; for this all men took for the greatest difficultie we had: so our treatie will goe on. Our Commissioners and the Peers must conferre on the quantitie, and way of payment, and securitie of what cannot presentlie be given, which the Parliament thereafter will cognosce upon. Ane unhappie overture of Traquair, our constant good friend, that in Scotland, from the King and the Bishops rents, he could shortlie make up ane hundred thousand pound Sterling, will doe us no good. We fear three hundred thousand shall be the most we will obtain. We hopit that in this moneth of the treatie we might have clofit; bot now it seemes not possible. Both the English and we had a great minde to have done so, we being wearied with stay, they with the charges of the armie; bot such a world of great affairs being yet in their hands, and the speciall articles of our treatie falling in the last head, it seemes impossible, before the 15th of February, to get the half discuffed, yea the third.

The Parliament being sensible of their spending of tyme, without great dispatch, made ane ordinance, that no private affair should be taken in

till the more publick were brought to a conclusion. These publick they expressed in some twelve or fifteen heads: The Lieutenant and the Irish affaires, Canterburie and the Canons, the Keeper and the Judges, Windibanks and the Papists, Goring and the Monopolies, etc. When these were closed, they intended to close a Session, and dismiss the armies. Sundrie of the great affaires are closed, and the rest are coming on thick. For the secret reason why the cause of the Lieutenant and Canterburie is so long delayed, some guesse one and some another; the most thinks, that more by witness long agoe is deponed than might take manie heads; yet they desyre more, frae more daylie be coming in. Some thinks, their death would facilitat the overthrow of Episcopacie, and the thorough reformation of Church and State. Others feares, that diverse grit men, if these two were execute, would be freed of their feare, and become hopefull of their place, and desireous more to pacifie the irritat Prince, and to comply with his desyre in keeping up Bishops and other things: so that the House, of purpose, keeps these men alive, to make their feare, so long as they live, a band to knitt all together for the common good: However, verie shortlie the Lieutenant is expected on the stage, and the Bishop at his back. The other day it past the Lower House unanimooslie, that they should have annuall Parliaments, or at leist trienniall; and if the King did not call them, the Sheriffs should give out letters for choosing Commissioners in the shyres against such a day. If the Sheriff did not summond, if the persons chosen did not compear at the tyme and place named, it should be felonie, losse of life and lands; that for fiftie dayes, upon no discharge, they should rife: A terrible act! nothing yet done in Scotland that seemes to strike so much at royall prerogative. It is thought it will passe the Higher House also, albeit with some more difficultie. A number of pamphlets comes out dailie about Episcopacie, some to hold it up, some to ding it downe: how this matter will goe, the Lord knowes; great hopes, great feares on all fydes. The godlie here, in great numbers, meets oft in private houses, for in publick they dare not, fasts and prayes, and hears gracious sermons, for whole dayes, fundrie tymes in the week: truelie these heartie and humble prayers are our greatest confidence; in the adverse partie we hear of little devotion in the best of them.

Saturday the 23d [of January.] This day fundrie things considerable past. The ministers petition, which I sent yow before, subscribed with above

eight hundred ministers hands, was given in to the Lower House, by sixteen of the eldest and gravest of the number, together with their remonstrance of all the corruptions of that Church, in doctrine, discipline, life, and all, in twentie sheets of paper. The petition was read, and weell taken ; the remonstrance is appointed to be read on Mononday, a day of fasting in private, over all the Citie and manie moe places ; for that day is appointed to confider the hard question of Episcopacie. This day the new Keeper, Littletoun, raid in state, as the fashion is of their installment, to Westminster : he was before Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Banks, the King's Attorney, hes gotten his place ; Herbert, the Queen's Solicitor, has succeeded to Banks ; Gardner, the Recorder of London, to Herbert. Few are pleased with thir promotions : the men are none of them beloved ; the Queen is said to be the cause of their advancement. It is expected the King, by the Marqueis advyse, shall make a better choyse of his other officers ; that Bedford shall be Thesaurer etc. The King this day called both the Houses to the Banqueting-roome at Whythall : he had a speech, which shortlie I hope to gett, encourageing them to goe on to help the abuses that were both in Church and State ; referred to their consideration the providing for of the ships, the walls of the kingdome ; the hastening the close of the treatie, that armies might not lie in the bosome of the land : their bill anent Parliaments he lyked in substance, bot not in some circumstances ; he could not endure that his prerogative in calling of Parliaments should be put in the hand of sheriffs, constables, and he knew not whom : bot by a message on Mononday he hoped herein to give them all contentment. Also about the motion of removeing Bishops, he told them expressely, he would never permitt that State to be putt down, or removed from the Parliament ; abuses, in their government, he would be content were rectified and reduced to the order in use in Queen Elizabeth's dayes ; bot discharged them to make any farder motion. To this part of the speech was no hum, no applause as to the rest. This declaration will doe no evill ; manie who inclyned to keep Bishops being put off state, and brought low, while they see they must continue Lords of Parliament, will joyn themselves more heartilie to these who will assaye to draw up their roots. At the desyre of the English ministers, Mr. Alexander [Henderfon] hes wryten some verie good reasons for their removeall out of the Church : they are printed this day ; readilie yow may get them with this post. I minde to give in

my myte also, in my Supplement of the Self-Conviction, which at once yow possiblie may see. Ane old Jesuit,<sup>(4)</sup> who was manie yeares agoe condemned for seduceing of people here, was sent away, with certification, if he returned, he should be execute, was latelie taken, and for new crimes condemned. Yesterdai he should have been hanged for example; the King re pryved him; the Citie does grudge, that in the face of Parliament justice against Jesuites should be stopped. They had promised to give this day fixtie thousand pound for the armies provision, bot now they refuse. The Houses took it to their consideration, informed the King: it is hoped he will deliver the Jesuite over to justice.

In diverse churches, the people raised Psalmes to sing out the service, and in some they pulled down the railles before the altars. Some of the Separation being found at their conventicles, did speak disgracefullie of the King, Parliament, and lawes: of these things the Bishop of London, the last Saturday, the 16th, did make a greivous complaint in the Higher House. Bishop Hall could not remember his shamefull putting to the barre for the loufeneffe of his tongue upon my Lord Sey the last Parliament, bot behooved againe to assay [assert?]<sup>(5)</sup> the refusing of his advyce the other day, by the meanes of some Lords there, was the cause of that misorder. They pressed the Bishop to name the man: he named Mandaveell. Presentlie he was put to the barre; and his brother Lincolne behooved to put a jest on him heavier than his censure, That his acknowledgement of his fault behooved to be formed to him in wryte, lest his rhetorick in his confession should aggravat his fault, as it had done before. All this cannot make that man quiet; this week he hes put out a remonstrance to the Parliament for keeping up of Bishops and Liturgies, without a word of any connection. The King lykes it weele, bot all else pities it as a most poore piece. The Higher House alwayes made ane order, which is read in the churches, that none presume, at their own hand to alter any customes established by law: this procured ordinance does not discourage any man.

(4) John Goodman, Priest and Jesuit: see the Journals of the House of Lords, and Commons; but in the latter, he is at first erroneously called *Thomas* Goodman.

(5) The meaning of this passage, relating to Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, is not very intelligible, and possibly some words have been omitted. It evidently, however, refers to what occurred in the House of Lords, 16th of January 1641, when "A Bishop speaking injuriously of a Temporal Lord, confesses his fault, and is reconciled." See Journals, vol. IV, p. 134.

Coofins, yesterday, for all his devotions, was pronounced incapable of any office in England, and charge appointed to be made against his life for his contumelious speeches of the King's authoritie. Twentie-four thousand pound sterling was decerned to be payed by him and the High Commissioners of York to Smart<sup>(6)</sup> for his losses and charges in the prison. There is a bitter book come yesterday from Ireland to our hands against the Assembly of Glasgow; it is thought by Bishop Maxwell: it may cost him and some other dear: if we had leasure, it would quicklie be answered. The Ambassadors of Holland, Brederode Earl of Wian, Aersfen<sup>(7)</sup> the Secretar of the State, and Somerdyk one of the Lords, with the ordinarie Ambassador, were received in the Banqueting House by the King, Queen, Prince, Duke of York, two daughters, and hudge number of noblemen and gentlemen. Aersfen made a long and eloquent harrangue in French: though I was verie near, yet I did not hear distinctlie. They have fundrie audiences before the Counsell of England. It is the King's eldest daughter which the States suites for the young Prince of Orange: it is thought he may get her. They speak of thirtie thousand pound of joynture; whileas the Palatine gave to Princeesse Elizabeth bot ten. The young Prince is expected shortlie: Durham House is preparing for him.

For forraigne news, I have sent yow the English Gazets for the last seven weeks. The states of Brabant hes given in a remonstrance to the Cardinal Infant to procure a peace with France and Holland, or else they will be forced to see to their own safetie. The French are fore beaten in Catilognia; bot the people are nothing the more discouraged. The King of Portugal increaseth in strength: numbers from Castile joynes with him. There is a revolt feared in France, so great and excessive are the taxes there on all the people. They speak of Banier's besiedging of Amberdge, in the Upper Palatinate. Great things every where in hand. We had much need to deal with the Lord, that the end of all may be the prosperitie of the Gospell. Manie here are verie gracious people; they farr goe beyond us in private fastings. This Monday is almost a solemn day for private humiliation, over all the Citie and their land, for rooting out of Episcopacie. We trust a gracious answer shall now shortlie come from heaven. It becomes all

(6) Peter Smart, one of the Prebends of Durham.

(7) Van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyke, in Holland.

of yow there, who thinks to partake of Sion's joy, to joyne yourfelves with her mourning supplicants; if they fall not, the most here yet expects no good dayes to either of the nations. The people throngs to our fermon, as ever yow saw any to Irwin communion; their crowd daylie increafes. Six of us, Mr. Blair, Mr. Henderfon, Mr. Borthick, Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Smith, and I, preaches our tour about on Sunday and Thurfday. In my last tour, on the 3d verse of the 126th Psalm, "The Lord hes done great things for us," I spent much of ane hour in ane historik narration, the best I could penn, of all that God had done for us, fra the maids commotion in the Cathedrall of Edinburgh to that present day: manie teares of compaffion and joy did fall from the eyes of the Englifh.

Our post has stayed some dayes longer than we expected. We had no meeting in our treatie thir two or three dayes, for we pressed hard not to proceed till the quantitie was once named. This at last, in both Houses of Parliament, is yielded unto; we expect, within a day or two, the Houses determination of a particular sounge which may doe us all good. The matter of the Jesuite draws deeper than any man expected; the man is ane apostate, he had been ane preacher at London; he was banished before; the King's re pryveing of him, being condemned in the tyme of Parliament, was taken by all to have been done of purpose, for a preparative to save the life of the Lieutenant and Canturburie; therefore, albeit there did never anie Jesuite die before in England for religion alone, yet both the Houses hes most unanimousslie consented to petition the King this day, that he may be execute; also that severe order may be taken with all the Papists in the land, of whom the Parliament before did not take much notice. Yesterday, they called before them four of the most noted papists here, Sir Killum [Kenelm] Digbie, Sir Thomas Winter the Queen's Secretar, the sonnes of Digbie and Winter the powder plotters, Walter Montacu Mandaveell's brother, Sir Bafill Brook. They have confessed their collecting of contribution from the Papists of England to the King, against us: this day they are to appear again; it is thought it will lie heavie on them all. The Queen is speaking of her going to France, to the bairns of Lorraine, for her health, and for the reconciling of her Mother with her Brother. However, the Parliament's actions puts no small discontent and fear to her stomach. Queen Mother hes gotten little thir three moneth: her plate and jewells are selling; no marvell she should wryte, as they say, humble letters of submis-

tion to her son to live in France where and how he pleases. Yesterday Mr. Pym gave in to the Higher House, in 20 sheet of paper or thereabout, the charge of the Lieutenant: a world of foule poynts are proven. Before it can be wryten over in parchment, as the fashion is, it will be Tuesday; then it is like he shall be called, get two or three dayes to answer, and then be execute. While his head goe, the Bishop is lyke to dwell still with Mr. Maxwell, under his Black-Rod, bot no longer. The King's heart is no whit changed from these men; but we trust tyme will let him see the truth: we pray God, in the mean tyme, save him from courses that he and we all may repent. The ministers petition and remonstrance is remitted till Monunday: I think it must be delayed longer. There was a contrare petition drawn up for Episcopacie, which I have also sent yow, and the King's Speech: hands in the citie were getting to it, as they say, chieflie by Pembrok the Chamberlaine's meanes: bot it is thought they have let it fall, in despaire of successe. There is a petition to the Lower House, without the knowledge, so farr as I hear, of anie of us, albeit all of us be weell pleased therewith, that none of our fugitives brook benefite in England till first they have fatiffed our Church: this bill it is no doubt will passe. No more for the present comes in my minde. The Lord be with yow all. Dear Brethren, yow will have a care of my desolate flock; and as thir tymes requyre, if ever anie, yow will be diligent to stirr up your selves and your flockes to wrestling with God for a happie end of all our hopes, feares, cares, and travells.

Your Brother and Servant,

London, January 29th [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY HEART,

THE last week I wryt to thee and all friends at length: at this tyme I write to thee alone, that thou may know I am verie weell as thow could wish. I had never, (praised be God,) since I saw thee, the leift trouble, either of bodie or minde, or in any affair concerned me, so good hes the Lord been to me. Onlie in my long absence from my flock, house, and friends there, does whyles annoy mee, bot necessitie makes me quiet, and my conscience of



doeing some good in the public affaires, that concernes the glory of God, and the weell of the whole Isle and posteritie, does comfort me in that perplexitie. It is like I shall not win home till we come altogether, which will be, I hope, sometye in March.

This day, [the 6th of February,] the treatie is prolonged ane other moneth from the midft of February to the midft of March. We hope ere that be ended, that all our affaires shall be clofed, and the greatest adoes of the English Parliament also, to our great joy and of the English also. The other day, our foume was determined : all that past in that difficult demand, I sent it inclosed in my last letters; with the nixt, I shall send the same to my Lord in print; for our charge against Canterburie and the Lieutenant, with our Sixth demand, is cast in print; bot this carrier is not for it. Thow hes here inclofit the happie clofure, which is not printed. Our Commiffioners did stronglie solist all their friends in both Houfes : we had fundrie opposites; yet when it came to voyceing, not manie kythed. Three hundred thousand pound Sterling, four and fifty hundred thousand merks Scotts, is a prettie foume in our land, befyde the eighteen hundred thousand merks for our armie, these last four months, and tuentie-fyve thousand pound Sterling for the fifth month comeing. Yet the heartie giving of it to us, as to their brethren, did refresh us as much as the money itself. Thou may read the act of the Lower Houfe, and the paper of our thanksgiving. Our Seventh article, for the recalling of all the King's proclamations and declarations against us, will be past without difficultie in a day or two; so we come to the last, anent a solid peace betwixt the nations: This we will make long or short, according as the necessities of our good friends in England does require; for they are still in that fray, that if we and our armie were gone, they yet were undone.

The Lieutenant the last Saturday [30th of January] was sent for; he came from the Tower by water, with a guard of musqueteers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and curseing him to his face. Coming in to the Higher Houfe, his long charge, in manie sheets of paper, was read to him: for a while, he satt on his knees before the barr; thereafter, they caused him sitt down at the barr; for it was eight a'clock before all was read. He craved a moneth to answer; they ordained him to return on Monday with the reason of that his demand. On Monday he sent his petition in wryte, alleadging the gutt for his absence. Wednesday come a fourtnight

was appointed him to say, by word or wryte, for himself what he is able: what the event will be we will then know; while he be at a poynt, Canterburie will rest under the Black-Rod. On Wednesday [3d of February] both the Houses were called to receive the King's answer anent the Jesuite; the copie of the speech we have not yet gotten: it hes given verie great satisfaction to all; with much humming was it received. He told, that the reason of his repyving of that Jesuite was not for affronting justice, or staying the execution of any law, bot because in his Father's and Queen Elizabeth's reigne, no person had ever been execute for their conscience alone: however, he did remitt the man simplie to their discretion, being confident they were wise to consider what might be the consequences of his execution in forraign parts, where these of our religion were under the power of Popish princes. He protested his own sincere affection towards the true religion; promised by present proclamation to banish all priests out of the land within a moneth, under the pain of death to all that shall remaine or ever returne. He gave assurance that none at all should be permitted to come to the Queens their chappells, bot alone their domestick servants. The Pope's agent with his Queen, he assured, should quicklie be dismissed, and none again be received. On Thursday [she] sent a gracious message to the Lower House, that was also verie well taken, excuseing herself, that through ignorance of their law, she had moved these of her religion to contribute some moneys for the King's affaires; assureing she would doe so no more; also that she conceived, that the libertie of her religion contracted to her, permitted her to keep open intelligence with the Pope, and to admitt to her chappell these of her own profession: bot since she found them herewith offended, promised it should be so no more. Her voyadge to France for ten moneth, to prevene a consumption alreadie begun, and the marriage of Lady Mary with the Prince of Orange shorthlie, is more and more spoken of; and manie begins to think, that possiblie both their intentions are reall.

All here, praised be God, goes according to our prayers, if we could be quyte of Bishops; about them we are all in perplexitie: we trust God will putt them down, bot the difficultie to gett all the tapouns of their roots pulled up are yet insuperable by the arme of man. The deans and prebends, and other not-preaching ministers rents, will be taken away; for otherwise the country will never be able to supplie the King's necessitie, and

bear their other burdens ; bot these superfluous rents will doe all abundantlie. Yesterday ane order was given out to putt all churchmen out of the commiffion to the iustices of peace. The Minifters remonfrance these dayes bygone have been read in the Houfe by parts ; for it is long : They defyre not ane anfwer in hafte ; for they fear their friends in the Houfe be not ftrong enough to pull up that old oak ; bot manie teares here are weeklie fowne for that end ; we hope a harveft of fruits are comeing. We pray, preach, and print againft them what we are able moft freelie : manie a fore thrift getts both men and women thronging in to our fermons. This day Mr. Henderfone had a verie fweet conference with the King their alone, for the helping of our Univerfities from the Bifhops rents. I hope it fhall be obtained. A pitie bot that fweet Prince had good company about him. We hear no farder news than I wryt to my Lord from abroad ; onlie it is faid, that Baneer is befiedging the Emperor in Ratifbon, with a mightier armie than the enemy is like in hafte to oppofe.

London February 6th [1641].

R. BAILLIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

MY HEART,

I AM everie way fo weell as thou could wifh, and none in the companie better ; yea, I know none bot hes had some fashries bot myfelf. God continews his indulgence towards me. If there be any continuance beyond the midft of March, Mr. Blair and I refolves to preffe a dimiffion. God's hand is clear leading on, peice and peice, men againft their purpofes, towards his ends. No book here cryed up fo much by the adverfe partie, their Bifhops and Doctours, as "The Canterburian's Self-Conviction" : it is now at the preffe againe with a large Supplement. I have fundrie other things readie for the prefs. Have a care of thy familie exercife ; caft all thy cair on God ; learne to fpeak to him, and to rejoyce in his countenance. I love him, bleffed be his name better than ever, and committs all that concernes me to his good hand. Thou and I may daylie meet in him.

February 22d [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

## [TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

THOUGH yow before this should be wearie of provyding my place, I confesse it is no marvell; yet I must intreat yow earnestlie not to give over that labour. I should long ere now have returned to that charge myself, if these here, who have power to command, would have permitted; however, I hope now a little tyme shall fend us all home in peace and joy.

The clofure of the Sixth demand, and things that past that week, I sent home in a letter to my wife; with the which you are before this, I hope, acquainted. A stationer hes made bold, as all things now are printed, [to print] these our charges against Canterburie and the Lieutenant, with all that past on our Sixth demand, which here I send to you with two of the last Gazets for forraigne occurrences. There is a world of pamphlets here besyde, wherewith I may not burden the post. Our Seventh demand was past shortlie without much-question: we would have had presentlie all the proclamations, declarations, and pamphlets revoked; bot they would have us delay till the full clofure of the treatie; to this we acquiesced as reason. They would have it reciprocally: this we thought dangerous; bot we were content, if they would be pleased to make the Scotts Parliament judge what wrytes of ours should be revoked; for we knew of none; and our protestations being alone for our justification behooved to stand: to this they acquiesced. You may see the demand and answer here inclosed.

For the Eighth demand some dayes were spent in preparations. The first article of it, concerning the garisons and fortifications of Carlile and Berwick, though it carried no difficultie, yet the Peers finding, that all the articles of the Eighth demand did concerne the whole nation for all tyme coming, shew they behooved, before any answer, to acquaint both the Houses of Parliament with all we proponed: So they intreated, that we might give in so much as we might together, that the Parliament might not be too oft moved by too manie severall articles, which might be conjoyned. The King and Britoll also did much presse, that we would give in all at once we did require in our last demand; bot this being not possible for us, nor conducesfull for the ends

of the English, who required no such haste, it was agreed we should give in so manie of our articles on that demand at once, as might be a fitt subject for the Parliament's consideration and answer : so with the first, we gave in the second. That daintie paper anent the King and Prince's residence with us at some tymes, yow have it here inclosed. The truth is, albeit we had no hope to obtaine much of that reasonable desyre, yet it was thought meet to presse it, to be a ground and means to obtain the rest we were to desyre, as being too little a recompence for want of the King's person. The King was very well pleased with the motion ; bot the Parliament appeared as if they had been much displeas'd : for their satisfaction, we gave in the last, here inclosed, as ane explanation of our intention in this article. As yet the Parliament hes had no leasure to give us any answer ; bot we expect it this day. The last Tuesday, as I remember, the King came to the Higher House in his robes : after he had remembered them of their flowness, and how little they yet had done in any thing concerned him, he declared his willingness to satisfie them in their desyre of annuall or trienniall Parliaments. So he desyred the Lord Keeper to signifie his pleasure anent that Act, as it was conceived by both the Houses. The way of conception I wryt in a former letter. The Keeper's speech was not long : *Il Roy le veut*, was all. This did fill the two Houses and City with such joy, that they required permission, and obtained it, to expresse the sence of it, by ringing of all their bells, above a thousand, and setting out their bon-fyres. Bot as no worldlie joy is unmixed, so to-morrow there fell some discontentment betuixt the two Houses. On the Mononday, the Earle of Strafford had sent his petition to the Higher House for some longer tyme. My Lord Sey spake somewhat for the petition ; bot Essex against it. On Tuesday, the Lower House sent up a message by Mr. Pym, requireing, that no more tyme might be granted. Notwithstanding, on Wednesday, when Strafford appeared, his gutt and gravell, and pertinent speech, bot most of all his lawyers oath, that they had done all diligence to have their answers perfyte, and that yet it lay not in their power, for some days to come, to have them in any readyness ; all this obtained him eight dayes more tyme. This granted did so extreamlie grieve the Lower House, that they were near to have broken up, and give over all fitting, at least till Strafford were at ane end. When that motion was laid by, they were near to a protestation against the Higher House, as hurting the

priviledges of their House, by granting to any they had charged with high treason any delay of proceffe, any benefite of councell, or use of lawyers advice, any permission to answer by wryte : yet they did not protest ; onlie did notifie their grievances with great passion.

The Londoners, who had promised long agoe fixtie thousand pound Sterling, and had it [in] readines, keeps it still in hand. The Jesuite's re pryving was the first occasion ; and yet when the King hes given him over to their will, there is no more word of him, and I think they shall dismis him ; and now while they have reason of Strafford, they will give no money : this is their great weapon ; fo both the armies are in their third moneth. The English sojourns, we hear, plunders the countrey without reproof. The favour granted to Strafford is laid most on the back of the good Lord Sey : he did indeed most speak for it ; but no doubt these who were most for granting him bygone courtesies, will be his smallest friends when he comes to judgement. The Higher House, for satisfaction of the Lower, sent to the Tower to advertise Strafford, that he come on Wednesday fullie instructed, for no longer delay will be granted upon any alleadgencie. The week before there was a great commotion in the Lower House, when the petition of London came to be considered. My Lord Digbie and Viscount Falkland, with a prepared companie about them, laboured, by premeditated speeches, and hott disputts, to have that petition cast out of the House without a hearing, as craving the rooting out of Episcopacie against so manie established lawes. The other partie was not prepared ; yet they contested on together, from eight a'clock till six at night. All that night our partie solisted as hard as they could. To-morrow, some thousands of the citizens, bot in a verie peaceable way, went down to Westminster Hall to countenance their petition. It was voyced, Whether the petition should be committed, or Not ? by thirty-six or seven voyces, our partie carried it, that it should be referred to the Committee of Religion ; to which were some four or six more added, young Sir Harrie Vaine, Mr. Fynes, and some more, our firm friends. This Committee was appointed to consider all the remonstrance, all that was in the London petition, or in any other petition from the countrey, and of all to make their report, without determinating of any thing ; also they were discharged to medle as yet with the question of removeing the office. Before this Committee, everie other day, some eight or ten of the Remonstrants appears. Doctor Burgesse commonlie is their mouth ; we did suspect

him as too much Episcopall, and wished he had not been of the number ; bot he hes such a hand among the ministrie, and others, that it was not thought meet to decairt him ; yea, he hes caryed himself so bravelie, that we doe repent of our suspicions. The passages of the remonstrance that yet hes been called for, he hes cleared to the full contentment of all the Committee, except Mr. Selden, the avowed proctor for the Bishops. How this matter will goe, the Lord knowes : all [are] for the erecting of a kind of Presbyteries, and for bringing down the Bishops in all things, spirituall and temporall, so low as can be with any subsistence ; bot their utter abolition, which is the onlie aime of the most godlie, is the knott of the question ; wee must have it cutted by the axe of prayer : God, we trust, will doe it. The treatise I sent yow, of the Unlawfullness of Limited Episcopacie, is answered. They have sett me on a reply, which I have now ended : readilie yow may see it in print at once with a new edition of the Canterburians, much augmented. Think not we live any of us here to be idle ; Mr. Hendersone hes readie now a short treatise, much called for, of our Church discipline ; Mr. Gillespie hes the grounds of Presbyteriall government well asserted ; Mr. Blair, a pertinent answer to Hall's remonstrance : all these are readie for the presse. Dr. Twisse, to our great comfort, is here turned a Remonstrant. The convocation-men meet everie Wednesday, and reads their Latine Lettanie, and so departs till the next week ; they have yet gotten no commiffion from the King to medle with any thing. Their motion to petition the Parliament, that fifteen of them might be heard to debate matters with fifteen of the Remonstrant ministers is evanished ; as also the petition for upholding of the Bishops is stricken in the list ; albeit ane solid and pertinent answer to it be Mr. Barroues [Burroughs] and his colleagues, with Mr. Hendersone's preface, is walking up and down the earth, which here I send to yow. Dr. Twisse, if there be any disputt, offers to be one ; he is doubtles the most able disputer in England. We are, in this point, betwixt great hope and great fear ; bot faith helps the one, and diminishes the other. Yow had need there to assist us much by your earnest prayers, and the prayers of all the godlie in your flock. The matter will shortly come to some conclusion : all parties longs to be at ane end. If Strafford were once away, Canterburie will make no stay. Then things will runn ; bot if all can be done before the fifteenth of March, it is hard to fay.

The King hes spoken at length with all our Commiffioners apart, verie

fwetlie and pleafantlie. Johnftoun and Loudoun ufed great freedome, and was weell underftood. Rothes, and Loudoun, and Henderfone, feems to have great favour: the Marquefs rules all the roft, and is much commended be all. The laft day, feven of the Englifh Lords, all Commonwealth's men, were fworne Privie Counfellors; Effex, Hertfoord, Bedfoord, Britoll, Sey, Mandaveell, Savill. The Peers required we might fend for any of our nation we thought meet to be at the conclufion of the treatie, bot especiallie Argyle: In this, I think, we fhall doe their defyre. Some of the Lower Houfe hes been infant with our Commiffioners to fignifie the truth concerning our fugitive minifters and regents, a roll of whom they fent to us; to whom they preffed us to add fo manie more as we knew in the kingdome. Our advyce was, that none fhould be troubled who would, under their hand, give fome tollerable fatiffaction to the next Generall Affemblies. It is like there fhall be no more reft for thefe men in England and Ireland than in Scotland. Ane ordinance the other day paff both the Houfes, for diffolving prefentlie the Irifh armie; for two more fubfidies, beyde the former four for difarming the Papifts. The Queen's voyadge to France, and the marriage with Holland, yet holds. The combination of the Papifts with Strafford's Irifh armie, to have landed, not in Scotland, but Wales, where the Earle Worcefter, a prime head of the Popifh faction, had commiffion to receive them: thefe things are more and more fpoken of. Duke de Vanden [Vendofme], the Queen's bafe brother, for fear of the Cardinall, is here at Court.

London, February 28th [1641.]

RO. BAILLIE.

[TO THE SAME.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Thefe twentie dayes and above my minde did not ferve me to write any thing to yow, not fo much for the multitude of affaires, whereof, believe me, I have had no fcant ever fince I came here, as that I expected everie other week to fee our maine bufinefs come to fome clofe, that fo a man might have pronounced what was likelie to have been the end of all thefe commotions; bot becaufe that week does not yet appear, left you be too long wait-



ing for my letters, I doe now force myself to wryte how things goes for the present. The Marqueis [of Hamilton] being throughlie reconciled to the English, who not long agoe were little better affected towards him than to the Lieutenant and Canterburie, found it meet to bring some of the chief of them upon the Counsell. The first motion of it was bitterlie rejected by the King; yet the Marqueis, by his wisdome, brought him unto it: so, as I wryt before, seven of the most leading of the Lords, who were malcontent for the misgovernment of the Bishops, were sworne Counsellors: Bristoll, Effex, Bedford, Hertfoord, Mandaveele, Savill, and Sey. This, for two or three dayes, did please all the world; and to whom was England so much obliged as to the Marqueis, who had brought these men so near the King whom the countrey did most affect? bot incontinent fra some of these new Counsellors were found to plead publicklye for some delay to Strafford's proceffe, and to look upon the Scottish affaires not altogether so pleafantlie as they went, all began to turn their note, that it was rash imprudence so soon to put these men in possession of the honours which some of them wer thought alone to seek. Our Commiffioners were deeplie censured for advyseing the Marqueis to promote these men untymouflic, (albeit I heard Lowdown deeplie swear he never knew of any such motion till it was ended :) They were sclanderred as if they also had been to be admitted Counsellors of England and bedchamber-men, I mean Rothes and Lowdown: a foolish phansie which was never thought of, let be spoken. The Scotts were everie where said, for all their former zeal, to be so farr broken by the King, that they were willing to passe from the perfruit of Canterburie, and the Lieutenant, and Episcopacie in England. Some of our countrey, according to their naturall facultie, were thought to be the inventors and chief spreaders of these dangerous lies. The matter went on so farre, that the Londoners, after the money was collected, refused to give one pennie of it for our armie. Affaires thus standing, our Commiffioners presentlie, with some peice of passion, caused Mr. Alexander penn that little quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancie of our zeall against Episcopacie, and the two Incendiaries. This we gave in to the Peers, requiring them with diligence to communicat it to the Parliament. A copie of it fell in the stationer Mr. Butter's hand, who put it to the presse, and so through the city. The citizens were infinitlie weell pleased with it; their fainting courage returned. Bot Bristoll, the Speaker for

the English Peers of the treatie, was much displeas'd with our quarrelling of Episcopacie in England, and press'd us much to passe from this motion. When we persisted, he gave our paper to the King. To-morrow the King was enraged at it: bot after, by reason, he was a little calmed; the paper in print being put in hand, not by Bristoll, as the word went, bot by Holland, our good friend, mynding, as we know all, no evill to us. The King was so inflamed as he was never before in his tyme for any other busines; for the keeping up of Episcopacie in England, which we strove to have down, is the verie apple of his eye. This furie for some dayes did in nothing relent; the printer was committed; the paper was called ane hundred tymes seditious. The King told us we had in justice forfeited our priviledges; our old friends, the new counsellors, spake nothing for us; our old enemies of the Popish and Episcopall faction sett out their faces; manie of whom, we never doubted, did joyne with them to maligne us: diverse of our true friends did think us too rash, and though they loved not the Bishops, yet, for the honor of their nation, they would keep them up rather than that we strangers should pull them down. That faction grew in a moment so strong, that in the verie Lower House we were made assured by the most intelligent of our fastest friends, they would be the greater partie. This put us all in some peice of perplexitie: our armie could not subsist without moneys; such a light accident had put all our enemies on their tiptoes, made fundrie of our seeming friends turn their countenance, and too manie of our true friends faint for fear. All this came justlie upon us. What yow dow there, I know not; bot we here were fallen half asleep in a deep securitie, dreaming of nothing bot a present obtaining of all our desyres without difficultie. The Commissioners had sent for Argyle to be at the end of the treatie. The Marqueis had written for Lindesay. Amont had gotten a warrand to come up; bot at once, by post upon post, we desyred all to stay till a new advertisement. By this blast God wakened us; we fled to our wonted refuge, to draw near to God; the godlie in the city, in diverse private societies, ran to fasting and praying: by these our old and best weapons, we are beginning to prevaill, praise be to his holie name! By earnest entreatie, the King was moved to hold in his proclamation, wherein he said, he would call in our printed paper as seditious. We gave in a mollifieing explanation of our meaning; which, with the printed paper, I sent home in my last letter to my Ladie Mont-

gomerie. Here we were put in a new pickle : the English Peers were minded to have cause printed our explanation ; this doubtless this rash and ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before ; so the last evils had been worse than the first. Bot in the end of that explanation, we had professed, that we had yet more to say to the Parliament, according to our instructions, against Episcopacie : so before we had said all out, the King thought meet neither to publish his proclamation nor our explanation. Evill will had we to say out all our minde about Episcopacie, till the English were readie to joyne with us in that greatest of questions ; bot there was no remead ; the King urged that paper. Good Mr. Alexander being somewhat grieved with the event of the former wryte, sett himself with the more diligence to the accurat frameing of the nixt ; and, after some dayes delay, gave out that most dilligat expression of our defyres of unities in the ecclesiastick government in all the King's dominions, which here I fend yow. Bristoll was not weell pleased with it, and the King worse : yet the former furie was past ; neither was there here any provocation ; for our defyre is proponed in great modestie of speech, albeit with a mightie strength of unanswerable reasons. All that they replied, after some nights advysemēt, yow may read in their short paper, desiring us to desist, and not to move the Parliament in that matter. The reasons why we cannot acquiesce to their desire bot most have the Parliament's answer, are to be presented in the Treatie to-morrow ; so our paper, we hope, shall goe to the Houses one of thir dayes, who then will be in a prettie readines for it.

As for the English affaires, thus they stand. Yow heard [in] my former the great debate in the Lower House about the Ministers remonstrance, and Cities petition. My Lord Digbie, the Viscount of Falkland, Sir Benjamin Ridders [Rudyard], as yow may read in their speeches here inclosed, one in print two in wryte, did declaim most acutelie, as we could have wished, against the corruptions of Bishops ; bot their conclusion was, the keeping in of a limited Episcopacie. Learned Selden, and a great faction in the House, ran all their way ; yet God carried it against them, that not onlie the Remonstrance, bot also the Cities petition, which required the rooting out of all Episcopacie, should be committed. The Committee mett thryse a-week in the afternoon ; some sixteen of the Remonstrant ministers attended them. They required satisfaction punctuallie in that head which concerned the government : it

seems the complaints against the doctrine, the worship, and other things, were so clear, that they needed no farther probation. The Ministers, by their Speaker, Dr. Burgese, gave to the Committee full contentment, and so much the greater by my Lord Digbie and Mr. Selden's frequent opposition; the citizens also made good all the parts of their Petition, which the Committee required to be proven. All this, after long tyme, being done, Mr. Crew, who was in the chair of that Committee, made a favourable report to the House, That they had found the Bishops sole ordination and jurisdiction, their intermeddling with secular affairs, their too great rents, and manie other things concerning them, to be true grievances. Here it was where the better syde bestirred themselves, and God stranglie did assist them: to propone the rooting out of the Bishops had been by pluralitie of voyces to have established them: they therefore resolved to proceed *ordine resolutivo*, to take down the roof first to come to the walls, and, if God would help, not to stay till they raised the foundation: However to goe on so farr as was possible; leaving, without any legall confirmation, what now they cannot winne to till a better tyme. On Tuesday the 9th, as I remember, they gave them their first wound: after a long debate, at last unanimousslie, not ten contradicting, the Lower House decreed to move the Higher House, by bill to take from them voyce in parliament. The next day they did the same for the Starr-Chamber, High Commission, Counsell, and all other secular courts. One of these dayes they are to cast down their cathedrall-deanries, and prebendries; also to spoyll them of their usurped ordination and jurisdiction, to erect presbytries in all the land, and distribute, in ane equall proportion, the rents among all the paroches for preaching ministers. These things being concluded below, as it is expected they shall be unanimousslie, let Selden and some few others gnash their teeth as they will, all will be cast in one bill, and be given in to the Higher House, where it is hoped it will gett a good hearing. When Episcopacie is made a poor plucked crow, whether our paper, and the Citie's, and many other, will at this tyme gett the neck of it clean thrawn off, only God does know. We are somewhat hopefull, and would be more, if more earnest prayers were made to God for that effect. The Bishops, to save the life of their office, hes invented a trick which we trust shall irritat the Lower House the more against them: they have moved the Higher House to appoint a committee for religion, to consider both of innovations, and what of the old is meet to be reformed, consisting of eight

or ten Earles, as many Lords, and as many Bishops, with power to the Bishop of Lincolne, who shall fitt in the chyre of that committee, to fummond, against Friday, some of these who are reputed the most able and orthodox divines of the land, to witt, The Primate of Armaugh, Prideaux, Ward, Brommerik [Brownrigg ?] Holfwoorth, Featly, Haket, and Westfield; and of the Remonstrants, Tuiffe, Burgesse, Young our learned countreyman, Whyt, Marshall, [and] Hill, to be present and give their advice. It is expected that this will be a spur to the Commons, not by their accustomed slowness to suffer their committees to be prevented, and so frustrate, by this new devised one.

Bot that which is the great *remora* to all matters is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterburie he is so contemptible that all casts him by out of their thoughts, as a pendicle at the Lieutenant's eare. The charge which the House of Commons gave in to the House of Peers against both, yow have here in print. So great dealing in this long delay of tyme hes been used for Strafford, that himself and his friends became insolentlie confident of his escapeing at least with life: yet their courage is somewhat cooled, beholding, on Saturday last, after long, sharp, and dangerous debaites, the Houses weell near fullie agreed, that on his tryall, both the Houses shall fitt together in the large outer-hall of Westminster: that the Lower House shall fitt there, not as a House, with their Speaker, bot as a Committee, without their Speaker, to remove when they will to their own House; that they shall manage the proceffe and witnesses as they find meet; that for matter of fact there shall be no counsell; that in matter of right, when his counsell shall interpret a law against their minde, that in that case they will retire to their House; and being undoubtedlie conjunct makers of lawes with the Peers, they will be also conjunct interpreters of everie contraverted law. Mr. Stroud, the other day, fell on a notion, to which the most did greedilie gryp, that is like to end the longsome debates about Strafford's counsell or pleaders. He told the House, that they had charged Strafford of High Treason; that they had found the articles of the charge treasonable; that they had voyced their witnesses depositions to be satisfactorie: so it concerned them to charge as conspirators in the same treason, all who had before, or should thereafter, plead in that cause. If this hold, Strafford's counsell will be rare. This day the carpenters are buffie to sett up the seats for both the Houses; when that is done, the Lieutenant must come to his sentence, and then all affaires will run. When at once the head of Strafford and the root of Episcopacie are

strokin at, there is some blind feares that the King, not being yet able to abide it, may yet hazard the breaking up of the Parliament. The Irish armie is not like to dissolve. Worcester will not come to the Parliament, pretending sickness. Herbert, his sone, is much at Court; the papists in Wales follows him much. The proclamation against papists, as yow may read it in print, is sharp enough, yet it is feared they are bot too strong, and too weell armed. The King's armie in Yorke is thought to be in some better posture than before. Some furnishes divisions in Scotland. The noise of the Queen's voyage to France is dilled downe; no moneys for her furniture will be gottin in haste; and the Cardinall hes no will of her Mother. All these things, if we be not mad, will set us on our watch. God, in his meer mercie, must end what he hes begun, or yet all may goe verie quicklie to a horrible confusion: never was tears and prayers more seasonable and more necessar. We were not weell pleased with the manner, albeit exceeding weell with the matter, that the Lower House should have joyned with the King and the Higher House, to have required us to give in all the articles of our last demand together. We would be most gladlie at an end; yet, if we were readie to goe, as we cannot be in haste, they know and proclaime that they were undone; yet the unstabilitie and fearfullness, and cleaving to their moneys of too many of them, will make us trust them lesse, and see the more to our own affaires. The index of our last demand, and all that yet is past upon it, yow have here. When my Lord Eglintoun hes perused them, I know his Lordship will communicat all, both wryte and print, to yow.

The Marqueis, whatever he hes been, yet now is the best instrument we have to keep the King's minde in some tollerable temper; bot malice and envy will not let him goe on to do in both nations all good service in quiet. The Lieutenant's friends finding it his apparent good to have the Marqueis joyned with him in danger, laboured to have him accused of treason also. The Popish-Episcopal faction seeing him evidentlie unite with the countrey to draw the King from them, did co-operate with all their power; bot the articles were so frivolous which they could invent against him, and his favourers in both Houses so many and mightie, that he was glad and desyreous to have that accusation discuffed; bot the intenders of it grew so faint, that their purpose seems now to be evanished. Yet behold he fell in a greater danger: by his friends in the Houses he had obtained, for the King's pleasure, some

delay of tyme for Strafford's answer; by this they made the King believe that his power in both the Houses was so great, as it was easy for him, if he would endeavour it, to gett Strafford's life saved. They wrought it so, that if he denied to deall for Strafford he should offend the King; if he assayed to deall farder for him, he should lose the Parliament and us all. Yet it is lyke the man, in his great wisdome, will gett both the King and the Parliament keepest, and let Strafford goe where he deserves.

All the English ministers of Holland, who are for New-England way, are now here: how strong their party will be here, it is diverselie reported; they are all in good termes with us: Our only considerable difference will be about the jurisdiction of Synods and Presbyteries. As for Brownists, and Separatists of many kynds, here they mislyke them weell near as much as we: of these there is no considerable partie. Anent private meetings, we know here no difference we have with anie: Our questions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutuall satisfaction, if we were ridd of Bishops; and till then, we have agreed to speak nothing of any thing wherein we differ. Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Baroues [Burroughs], Mr. Simonds, have all written verie gracious treatises of sanctification, which I minde to bring with me; all of them are learned, discreet, and zealous men, weell seene in cases of conscience. It were all the pities in the world that wee and they should differ in anie thing, especiallie in that one, which albeit verie small in speculation, yet in practise of verie hudge consequence: for, make me everie congregation ane absolute and independent Church, over which Presbyteries and Generall Assemblies have no power of censure, bot onlie of charitable admonition, my witt sees not how incontinent a Nationall Church should not fall into unspeakable confusions, as I am confident the goodnes of God will never permit so gracious men to be the occasions of, let be the authors.

How matters goe abroad, you may see in the printed Gazets I send. The Portugall Ambassador here getts no audience; he is labouring privilie for it: if he cannot obtain it, he goes for Holland, whither onlie he gives out he is directed, and comes into England alone by wind and weather. The Hollanders hes a prettie navie, with men and munition, readie for Lisbon. The Duke of Lorraine hes been now some weeks in Paris, fullie reconciled with the French King; for Lorraine, they say, he must be content with Auverne, and some other lands in the heart of France, where he shall not be able to

sturre: bot to make all sure, the King keeps his first wife from him, the heretrix of Lorraine, to whom he mindes to be heir, letting the Duke enjoy his second wife, which he did marrie in the Emperour's service, when the other did stay behind him in France. The King of France, as yow may see in the Gazet, hes gotten a Frenchman governor of Brisack; by this meane all Bernard of Weymar's conquestes in Alfatia, are joynd with Lorraine to his crown. The fair Spanish province of Catalonia hes taken him not only for their protector, but for their true King. He is like, by his too great growth, to draw on himself the fear and invy which before was peculiar to Spaine. This is the reason why Holland, jealous of the French greatness, are so earnest for alliance with England. Every other week the young Prince of Orange is here expected with his royall and very pompous traine. The Palatine was bot very drylie welcomed at his first comeing: the King had written to him not to come so soone, bot the letters missed him; yet, now the King begins to speak of his help.

This is all comes in my minde for the present. The Treatie is continued to the midst of Aprill: it seemes ere then all will be closed that concerns us: I will assay to be dismissed before. I trust yow will not fail to continue your care for my flock; I thank yow all, Dear Brethren, for your bygone assistance. I promise, by God's grace, if I were at home to give to every one of yow the lyke assistance on occasion. The Lord be with yow all. Yow must not fail, as ye love the glory of God, and the weelfare of the Church and State in all the King's dominions, both in your own dayes and for after generations, to stirr up your own soules, and these of your flocks, to earnest supplications; for all now is in ane apparent way of prospering as we could wish; and yet there are secret ways in hand, more than we know, and will speak of, to undoe all. Bot there is a God who hes done great things for us, and will triumph over the devill, and all the wickedness of men be who they will: Let us only have a conscience that, come what will, may comfort with the sweet remembrance of our endeavours to doe our duty, and to call upon his name for the weelfare of Sion.

Your Brother and fervant,

R. BAILLIE.

London, Mononday March 15th [1641.]



Our post hes stayed beyond our expectation. After long delay, all the answer the Peers gave to our long paper of Episcopacie, was a desyre not to give it in to the Parliament: to this their paper you see our replie. At last, after manie passionat words from Bristoll, we were advyfed it wes our good to lay by our paper of Episcopacie till Strafford's busines was ended; and so we have done. The seats and lofts, or, as they call them, the scaffolds of Westminster-hall, are now readie. Monoday is the first day of Strafford's cause; some thinks his processe will be short: you shall know with the nixt. To mollifie the King, they have given him, the other day, the tunnadge and poundage for the nixt three yeares, and some three subsidies, which, with the former, makes nyne. The stop of trade here, through men's unwillingness to venture these three or four yeares bygone, hes made this people much poorer than ordinare: they will no wayes be able to beare their burden if the Cathedralls fall not. On the Committee for religion in the Higher Houfe, are all the best Lords: we are made to hope, that against the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good meane of undoeing the Bishops. The Portugall Ambaffador is over to Holland; one exprefflie for England is landed: after long debate at the Councill-table, it is resolved he shall have audience, especiallie since the King of Spaine did receive the Bavarian Ambaffadors, as of the Prince Elector Palatine, for all that Bristoll, then in Spain, could say to the contrair, bot most of all because the Portugall offers libertie of religion, and other fair conditions, to the English merchants. They are speaking of Sir Thomas Roe going to Ratisbone yet once from the King. They wryte that Burgundie hes sent to Parise, to treat for their subjection to the Crowne of France.

Fryday, 19th [of March, 1641.]

[LETTER TO THE PRESBYTERY OF IRVINE, CONTAINING A JOURNAL OF THE  
EARL OF STRAFFORD'S TRIAL.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Since, much besyde my expectation, my stay here is continued, my letters to yow would have been more frequent, except I had been waiting to have

seen busines come at last towards some finall conclusion, or at least to such a poynt that a man might have made some certain conjecture when and in what fashion the end was likeli to be ; bot this, after so long expectation, not yet being possible, I must leave it to farder tyme, and give yow some accompt of what is past since my last, about the 18th of March.

Yow heard of our ingyving the Index of all the articles of our last demand, and of our earnest desyre to have the Treatie concluded so soon as they could wish. For some dayes there was hot contestes betwixt our Commiffioners and my Lord of Bristoll for our paper of Episcopacie; he requireing we would passe it by, or else draw it short to a simple proposition without reasons, so that it behooved us to have in that paper to the Houses of Parliament, as it stood for our exoneration before God and man, and that we would acquiesce to the Parliament's ansuer therein, whatever it might be. At last, being advertised that the present giving in of that paper, might move division in both Houses, betwixt these who were diverslie affected towards Episcopacie, and that any division among them, till Strafford's proceffe were closed, might prove unhappie; we were contented to lay by for a time that article till Strafford's affair were over, and go on in the rest of our articles concerning our last demand: and, to the end we might make good our word of our desire to be at an end, the Commiffioners divided the articles among them, and before the end of March had all reddie. We gave all in before any ansuer could be gotten to any one of them. I have sent all to yow here in some four or five sheets of paper. Since, we have been pressing them from tyme to tyme to give us ansuers, who before urged us to give in our propositions; bot to this day no ansuer satisfactorie to one poynt can be obtained. The world now seeth that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constant attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the cause; and truelie it is a great part of the reason why our businesse, and all other else, have been so long suspended. Among manie moe, I have been ane assiduous assistant of that nation, and therefore I will offer to give you some accompt of a part I have heard and seen in that most notable proceffe.

Westminster Hall is a roome as long as broad if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supponing the pillars wer removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage like to that prepared for the Assëmblie of Glasgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole House

from wall to wall, and of the length more than a thrid part. At the north end was set a throne for the King, and a chayre for the Prince; before it lay a large wooll-seck, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earle of Arundail; beneath it lay two other secks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancerie, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or fyve Clerks of the Parliament in their black gouns; round about these some fumes covered with green freefe, whereupon the Earles and Lords did sitt in their red robes, of that same fashon, lyned with the same whyte ermin skines, as yow see the robes of our Lords when they ryde in Parliament; the Lords on their right sleeve having two barres of whyte skines, the Viscounts two and ane half, the Earles three, the Marquefs of Wincester three and ane half. England hath no more Marqueffes: and he bot one late upstart of creature of Queen Elizabeth's. Hamilton goes here bot among the Earles, and that a late one. Dukes, they have none in Parliament: York, Richmond, and Buckingham are but boyes; Lennox goeth among the late Earles. Behinde the formes where the Lords sitt, there is a barr covered with green: at the one end standeth the Committee of eight or ten gentlemen, appoynted by the House of Commons to pursue; at the midft there is a little dask, where the prifoner Strafford stands and fitts as he pleaseth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is a dask, for Strafford's four secretars, who carries his papers and affifts him in writing and reading; at their side is a voyd for witnesses to stand; and behinde them a long dask at the wall of the room for Strafford's counsell-at-law, some five or six able lawyers, who were [not] permitted to dispuft in matter of fact, bot questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the House below on the floore; the same that is used dailie in the Higher House. Upon the two sides of the House, east and west, there arose a stage of eleveln ranks of formes, the highest touching almost the roof; everie one of these formes went from the one end of the roome to the other, and contained about fortie men; the two highest were divided from the rest by a rail, and a rail cutted off at everie end some featts. The gentlemen of the Lower House did sitt within the raile, others without. All the doores were kepted verie straitlie with guards; we alwayes behooved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughbie Earle of Lindefay, Lord Chamberland of England, (Pembroke is Cham-

berland of the Court,) ordered the Houfe, with great difficultie. James Maxwell, Black-Rod, was great usher ; a number of other fervant gentlemen and knights affifted. By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The Houfe was full dailie before feven ; againft eight the Earle of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied with the Lieutenant and a guard of mufqueteers and halberders. The Lords, in their robes, were fett about eight; the King was ufually halfe ane howre before them: he came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action ; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he fpeaks what he will, bot no other fpeaks in his prefence. At the back of the throne, there was two roomes on the two fydes ; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles fitt ; in the other, the King, the Queen, Princeffe Mary, the Prince Elector, and fome Court ladies ; the tirlies, that made them to be fecret, the King brake down with his own hands ; fo they fatt in the eye of all, bot little more regarded than if they had been abfent ; for the Lords fatt all covered ; thefe of the Lower Houfe, and all other except the French noblemen, fatt difcovered when the Lords came, not elfe. A number of ladies wes-in boxes, above the railles, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the moft glorious Affembly the Ifle could afford ; yet the gravitie not fuch as I expected ; oft great clamour without about the doores ; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clattered ; the Lower Houfe men too loud clattering ; after ten houres, much publict eating, not onlie of confections, bot of flefh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye ; yea, manie but turned their back, and lett water goe through the formes they fatt on : there was no outgoing to returne ; and oft the fitting was till two, or three, or four a'clock.

1. The firft Seflion was on Monoday the 22d of March. All being fett, as I have faid, the Prince in his robes on a little chyre at the fyde of the throne, the Chamberland and Black-Rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford ; he was alwayes in the fame fute of black, as in doole. At the entrie he gave a low courtesie, proceeding a little, he gave a fecond, when he came to his dask a third, then at the barr, the fore-face of his dask, he kneeled : ryfeing quicklie, he faluted both fydes of the Houfes, and then fatt down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hatts to him : this was his dailie carriage.

My Lord Steward,<sup>(6)</sup> in a sentence or two, shew that the House of Commons had accused the Earle of Strafford of High Treason, that he was there to answer; that they might manage their evidence as they thought meet. They desired one of the clerks to read their impeachment. I sent you long agoe the printed copie. The first nine articles, being bot generalities, were past; the twentieth-eight of the farther impeachment wer all read. The clerk's voyce was small, and after the midst, being broken, was not heard by manie. My Lord of Strafford was, in his answer, verie large, accurat, and eloquent; consisting of a preamble, wherein he shew, of eight or nine articles, the good service he had done to the Crowne and countrey dureing the tyme of his employment, and of particular answers to the twentieth-eight articles of the charge. The reading of it took up large three houres. His friends was so wary that they made three clerks read by turnes, that all might hear. I marked that he did stryve to cast all the blame upon Sir Harie Vaine; also that the Irish armie was to land at the Troon, and to goe first to Aire; and that they had spies in our armie before Newburne, who told them our great straits for want of victuall; also that he laboured to clear Traquair of the cause of the last warre, as if Traquair had onlie made a narration according to a prior discourse, which in the Privie Councill was made by a noble and great personage; whether the Marquis, or the Earle Holland, or who else, we know not: onlie he dissembled, that that prior discourse, made by whomsoever, was taken out of information from Scotland, which are to be seen in tyme and place. After all, Strafford craved leave to speak; bot the day being so far spent, to two or three a'clock, he was refused, and the Lord Steward adjourned the House till the morrow at eight of cloak.

2. The second Session on Tuesday 23d. The King and Queen, and all, being sett as the day before, Mr. Pym had a long and eloquent oration, onlie against the preamble of his answer, wherein he laboured to shew, that all these meritorious acts whereof Strafford did glorie, were nothing but disservices; that no praise of making good lawes in Ireland could be due to him, who made his own will above all law; the Parliaments he had kepted there, though they

(6) In the following Journal of the Earl of Strafford's Trial, it has not been thought necessary to retain the peculiar orthography of Baillie's amanuensis, in regard to many of the names mentioned; such, for instance, as Lord Stewart, Glen, Queim, Lofties, Bramble, &c. for the Lord High Steward, Glyn, Gwyn, Loftus, Bramhall, &c.

were more in number than that land had seen in fiftie years before him, yet they were no benefite, since Parliamentarie freedome was suppressed in them. This was proven by a number of witnesses. Sir John Clotworthie, my Lord Ranulagh, and others, being called, came to the barr, kissed the book, presented to them by one of the Clerks of the Parliament ; deponed that fundrie who had voyced or reasoned against bills presented by the Deputie in Parliament, were threatened by him, or his inteer friend Sir George Ratcliffe. The first witness, Sir Pierce Crosbie, who, for voyceing against the bill of powder, had been by Strafford cast out of the Councill, was excepted against, as one who pretended to be wronged and grieved. The Lords adjourned his deposition till the morrow ; at which tyme they decerned, that although Sir Pierce had been degraded, and was prisioned by Strafford, and was lyable to answer for breaking of ward, and fleeing out of the land, yet treason being the King's cause, and he acquiring no benefite to himself by his testimonie, his deposition should be received, bot with consideration. This was a precedent ; so that thereafter no exception of wrongs, either received or alleadged, did sett any witness. What he bragged, of advanceing the King's rent, and making it sufficient to defray the King's ordinar expence in Ireland, which before him was not ; of his advancing the customes ; of benefiteing the Church ; all this by witnesses was proven to be naught ; that, long before his comeing, no monie came out of the English Treasurie for the Irish affaires after the year 1621, except seven thousand pound a-year for maintainance of some shipping on the Irish coast, which yet was defrayed by the Irish rent or contribution the year before his over-comeing. No marvell he had payed ane hundred thousand pound that the King was aughtin there, and left in the Treasurie ane other hundred thousand pound ; for he had gotten first six subsidies, and then four subsidies, notwithstanding the King in Ireland was for the present in great debt ; that he had advanced the customes from two to fifteen thousand pound a-year, bot for more gain to himself than to the King ; that he [had] taken out of the Treasurie fundrie great sourses of money for his own use ; that he advanced the Church-rents indeed, bot that he did it onlie to please Canterburie ; that he did it against law, that rapine of men's estates was no sacrifice pleasant to God ; that his care of the Church might be seen in the persons whom he had advanced, Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn, my Lord Cork's under-coatchman ; that how weell law and justice was administred by

him, the Remonstrance of the Irish Parliament did declare, which they required to be read as a testimonie of his great injustice. He excepted, that he was not charged with their remonstrance; that it was to prove a charge by a charge; that there was a correspondence and conspiracie betuixt these of Ireland and these of England against him. Maynard pressed, that the Remonstrance might be read, not as a charge, bot as a publict testimonie of his injustice, to contradict what he said in his preamble of his justice in Ireland: He craved justice in name of all the Commons of England, who were sclandred as conspirators by my Lord of Strafford. For this rashness, Strafford on his knees craved pardon, and declared on his oath, though few believed him, that he understood none in the Honourable House of Commons, either English or Irish, bot some of both kingdomes, not members of Parliament. The Lords fand the gentlemen of the House of Commons desyre to have that Remonstrance read reasonable. So when one at the barr had kissed the book, which is the order of their oath, and attested the present paper to be a true copie, which was ever done in all the papers that were read, one of the clerks did read it: by hearing of this Remonstrance, Strafford losed much of his reputation.

When Pym had ended, the Earle required tyme, if it were bot to the morrow, to answer so heavie charges, manie whereof was new. After debate *pro* and *contra*, one of the Lords spake of the adjourning their house, and pressed their priviledge, that at the motion of any one Lord the House behooved to be adjourned; so the Lords did all retire to their own House above, and debated among themselves the questioun for a large half-houre. During their absence, though in the eye of the King, all fell in clattering, walking, eating, toying; bot Strafford, in the midst of all the noise, was serious with his Secretars, conferring their notes and wryting. The Lords returned, the Steward pronounced their interloqutor, That the matters spoken being all of fact, and that onlie in answer to his own preamble, he should make ane answer without any delay. So, without signe of repining, the Earle answered something to all had been said; instanced some of his good lawes; made some appologie for Bramhall, Athertoun, Gwyn; read a list of good divynes which he had sent for from England, and had provyded weell; confessed he had taken out of the Treasurie fifteen thousand pound, wherewith he had bought to the King lands of two thousand pound rent; also, that he had borrowed from the Thefaurer

twentie-four thousand pound, which was now repayed : bot for that he produced a warrand under the King's hand to take out of the Treafurie fortie thousand pound for setting up a magazine of tobacco. It was thought that letter was bot latelie purchafed. He shew, he had a greater heart than to make my Lord of Canterburie's pleasure the end of his actions ; that he took his present afflictions from God for his other sins ; that he was confident to take off the evill opinion which the Honourable Houfe of Commons had conceived of him. He protested, he was the same man [he was] before when he was one of their number, and well respected among them. Mr. Pym replied shortly and weell, referring the generalls to be proven by particulars, as they fell in the charge to be handled.

3. Wednesday 24th. Mr. Maynard handled the first of the twentie-eight articles. By way of preface, he resumed, to make Strafford odious, the chief of the things spoken the former day, pressing the grievousness of his crime, to bring in, by force of armes, in England and Ireland, ane arbitrarie government. The Lower Houfe had appointed some eight of their number in a Committee to stand at the barr and plead by turne, as they thought meet to divide the articles. On the first, fundrie sworn witnesses did depone, his threatening to obtaine ane larger power to punish than was before ; also, that in his new commission and instructions were insert claufes of a power of the Chancerie and Starr Chamber, whereby he and his colleagues were enabled to decyde any kinde of causes otherwayes than the law did provyde, which no president of Yorke before had ever attempted. Besyde, that he had obtained ane article in his instructions, to hinder prohibitions or appeals from his Court to any other, and had committed fundrie for bringing of prohibitions, even before these instructions were obtained. In his answer, he required permission, to retire a little to ane other roome, for collecting of himself, and better preparation to answer every article : this was refused. He proved, he was in Ireland, or at least not in York, after the tyme they alleadged these instructions were purchafed. It was replied, they pressed, and had proven the matter, whatever became of the precise circumstance of tyme : it was alyke whether he or his deputies did execute ane illegall commission obtained by him. He made ane generall answer, and almost in every article repeated it ; though the poynt alleadged were proven, yet it would be bot a misdemeanour ; that ane hundred misdemeanours would not make one felonie, and ane hundred felonies not



one treason, being a cryme of a diverse kinde and nature. It was alfe often answered, that his treason was the subverfion of all the fundamentall lawes, and introducing ane arbitrarie and tyrannick government; that every artickle was bot ane evidence of his words and deeds to evince this his purpofe and endeavour. He alleadged, that what was charged in the firft article, was bot ane enlargement of his own jurifdiction; and this in a judge was a very chafte ambition. It were tedious to report all their quick paffages.

The third article, That he would make the King's little finger heavier than the loynes of the law, this was proven by fundrie. Among other, Sir David Fowles, whom he had crufted, came to depone. He excepted againft him as one who had a quarrell againft him. Maynard produced his own decree, fubfcrived by his own hand, That whereas Sir David had brought before him the fame exception againft a witness, he had decerned, that a witness for the King and Commonwealth behooved to be received, notwithstanding any private quarrells. When he faw his own hand, he faid no more, bot, in a jefting way, Yow are wyfer, my Lord, than to be ruled by any of my actions as paterns. For the matter, he protested, he had fpoken the clean contrare: that they had found the little finger of the law heavier than the loynes of the King; fpeaking to thefe who, by law, and pleading againft the fhip-moneys, had fpend much more than the King had required of them; for this he produced Sir William Pennyman for a witness, who both here, and manie tymes elfe, deponed poynt blank all he requyred. This knight was one of the Lower Houfe. Mr. Maynard defyred him to be pofed, (for no man there did fpeak to any other, bot all the fpeech was directed to my Lord Steward: all the questions, any requyred to be asked, were asked all by him onlie): Maynard requyred Sir William to be pofed, when, and at what tyme, he was brought to the remembrance of thefe words of my Lord Strafford's? All of us thought it a verie needlefs motion. Sir William answered, Since the firft fpeaking of them they were in his memorie, bot he called them moft to remembrance fince my Lord Strafford was charged with them. Maynard prefentlie caught him, That he behoved to be anfwerable to the Houfe for neglect of dutie, not being only filent, bot voyceing with the reft to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free. There arofe with the word fo great an hiffing in the Houfe, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping. Strafford protested, he would

rather committ himself to the mercie of God alone, giving over to use anie witnes in his defence, before anie, for witnessing the truth in his behalf, should incurr anie danger or disgrace.

4. Thurfday the 25th of March, the first day of the year in England, Maynard handled the third article, shew, that Ireland by diverse laws had all the priviledges of Magna Charta, and was governed by the common law in England, being for the most part English blood; yet that my Lord Strafford had avowed them to be a conquered nation, whom the King might use as he pleased, and that the chartours of Dublin were annuled; notwithstanding that the Irish Commissioners had obtained, in the year 1621, instructions from King James to Deputie Falkland, bearing the government to be by the common law, and the Deputie or Councill should not medle with anie actions of inheritance, except these that concerned the Church, or the first plantation, or which were recommended from the Councill of England. My Lord Cork was first called to depone. Strafford excepted, and required ane information against him to be read: bot being a councillor in Ireland, he was received, and no information against him was heard. He and other three or four deponed clearlie the words of the article; adding, that Strafford had repeated them in the face of both Houses of Parliament; saying farder, that the instructions were drawn from King James by narrow-hearted petitioners who did not understand the rules of government.

My Lord Strafford required farder to answer to things objected the former day; bot was refused. He required permission to retire and advyse about the present objections; bot all which could be obtained was a little tyme's advyement in the place he was in. So hereafter it was Strafford's constant custome, after the end of his adversaries speech, to petition for tyme of recollection; and, obtaining it, to sitt down with his back to the Lords, and most diligentlie to read his notes, and wryte answers, he and his secretars, for ane halfe hour, in the midst of a great noyse and confusion, which continued ever till he arose againe to speak. He prefaced the misfortune of the most of his prediceffors the Deputies of Ireland, who, after their best services, have fallen into publict challenges; also the great infirmitie of his body, and greater of his spirit; that he wished earnestlie to see ane end of this cause; that were it not for the cause of his motherles children, he rather would losse his life, than with such a longsome and bitter toyle in his spirit to

defend it ; that the article, though proven, was not treasonable ; that words, according to the statute of Edward the Sixth, not challenged in 30 dayes after their speaking, were no treason ; that the conquesse of Ireland, and power to the first conquifors to impose lawes, was not doubtfull ; that he had spoken this of King Charles ; that he had remembered, in the beginning of the Parliament, this antient condition of that kingdome, to amplifie so much the more their present happines under the legall reign of King Charles that the chartours of Dublin were truelie faultie in manie things, and prejudiciall both to the Crowne, to the Religion, and wealth of the land, and City itself, yet that he had never questioned them. Maynard replied to all *ex tempore* verie weell : I did marvell much at first of their memories, that could answer and reply to so manie large alleadgences, without the missing of anie one poynt ; bot I marked, that both the Lieutenant when they spake, and they when he spake, did wryte their notes, and in their speeches did look on these papers ; yea, the most of the Lords and Lower House did wryte much dailie, and none more than the King. That is strange in this great judicatorie, that nothing at all is dyted, bot in a continued speech all spoken, and the clerks take what they can ; so that in the pronouncing of the sentences, the Judges who wants their own wryte-notes, hath much to doe in their memorie. So long as Maynard was principall speaker, Mr. Glyn lay at the wait, and ufwallie observed some one thing or other, and uttered it so pertinentlie, that six or seven tymes in end he gott great applause by the whole House.

5. Fryday 26th. Mr. Glyn handled the fourth article, of decideing at the Councill-table causes of inheritance, as that of my Lord of Cork's, upon paper petitions, and equalling Acts of Councill to Acts of Parliament. The day before, Mr. Glyn had begun to discourse on the article, and called my Lord Ranulagh, a privie councillor of Ireland, to depone. Strafford requyred he might be interrogat, Whether or not it was the custome of Deputies before him, to decide such causes at the Councill-table ? and whether or not it was not his oune ufwall practice, in Connaught, where he was president, on paper petitions to decide causes ? Glyn excepted, that he should not be posed with such questions, being self accusations. When this grew to ane hot contest, and the House was going to adjourn, the Lower House wes content to referr all to the morrow. So at the beginning, my Lord Steward shew the Lords opinions, which was allwayes a decree, that my Lord Ranulagh should depone his knowledge of the

practise of the Deputie at Councill and superiour judicatories, bot should not be questioned anent the practise of inferiour judicatories and his oune. My Lord Cork, the richest by farr of the King's subjects, satt among the Lords with his hat on dailie, bot in his black cloak : he spake softlie, bot evill ; bot witnesed fullie and to a word, as Strafford told him after. All this was in the charge : other three also did so. Strafford, after his half houres delay, came to his answer, regrated (as oft before and after) the want of tyme to bring his papers and witneses out of Ireland : yet, as Glyn could weell tell, there was few, either men or papers, he could have use of, bot they were alwayes, by one good luck or other, readie at the barr. He requyred a certificat to be redd from the Councill-table of Ireland ; bot was refused, because none could attest on oath the truth of the copie ; bot he obtained the reading of ane order of the Lower House in Ireland, for seasing on his papers, on his tobacco, and the most of the goods he had there, as if he had been already condemned traitor. Of this outrage he complained tragicallie ; bot Glyn shew, that the matter belonged nothing to the purpose in hand, and that there had been no more done, bot some of his goods seased for securitie of great sounes, whereof he and his officers was indebted to the Crowne. He triumphed, that by accident he had gotten a certificat that morning, that Gwyn, the coatchman-vicar was Mr. of Arts, and required it to be read ; bot was rejected as impertinent. The Councill-table's order against my Lord Cork was read : It proved no more, bot that the Councill had joyned with him in that, as in manie other illegall aetiones. He shew, that the Councill of Ireland had much more power than the Councill of England ; that it was necessarie to be so, for the governing of that barbarous and unquiet people. He fell out here in a daintie discourse of keeping the King's prerogative and priviledges of the people in ane equall ballance ; shew, that however King James's instructions had restricted the power of the Councill of Ireland in manie things, yet that expresse the determination of ecclesiastick possessions, such as these of my Lord of Cork was, remained in their power. For his words magnifying the Councill Aets too much, they were proven, he said, bot by one witness : as for Sir Pierce Crosbie, he valued not his testimonie ; he had never regarded him so much as to speak to him at table so familiarlie : for this he called my Lord Castlehaven, who, at the tyme alleadged, was at the table, to witness. He deponed, that some such thing was spoken at that tyme to Crosbie by

Strafford. He vilified also the testimony of my Lord Killmallock against him ; because he had sworn that Ratcliffe was his echo, a thing impossible. My Lord Digbie made a grave reply to this, that the oath of a witness is not to be applied to every severall word of his deposition ; that the words challenged might have a good and true sense. Strafford did extenuate his own words ; that he might have said an Act of Council was binding, to witt, in cases not provided for by Parliament ; and to the tyme a Parliament should provide. Glyn and Maynard replied sharply, that his designe was well manifested by these his words, to bring in ane arbitrarie government without law ; and how much he scorned lawes, they called for another witness to depone. This he vehemently opposed, that no reserved witnesses, after the examination was closed, should be heard. They alleaged the practise in all courts, to call for witnesses, ever while the probation of the charge was closed ; that all the articles were bot ane and the same charge ; besyde, that he, in his answer, had brought new matter, which they behoved to refute by these witnesses. Bristoll required the adjourning the House ; the Lords, after half ane houre's absence in their own House, returned, and found it reasonable that their witness ought and should be heard. He deponed, that when the Lower House of the Irish Parliament had opposed the Deputie's bill concerning the felling of powder, he said, he did not regard it ; for he would make ane Act of Council thereanent, which should be as binding as ane Act of Parliament. It were tedious to sett down what passed daylie, almost from eight to three ; I onlie poynt at some principall things, which I brought away on my memory without any wryting.

6. Saturday, the 6th Session, 27th of March, the day of Coronation : We were deived all day with the ringing of bells. The Lords that day waited half ane hour, and the King a whole [hour], before Strafford came : at last he came, and excused his delay with the contrariety both of wind and tyde. Glyn fell on the fifth article, his practising of his arbitrarie government according to his word ; his sentencing a peer of the land, my Lord Montnorris, to death ; his hanging of a souldiour in Dubline, by martiall law, in a councill of war. My Lord Montnorris was called to depone : for all Strafford his exception, yet the cause of treason being the King's, and having no gaine by his testimony, was admitted. He made a long and pitifull narration of Strafford's oppression : That being at table with my Lord Moore and my Lord Loftus, discourse falling

in concerning the Deputie's scutching of a gentleman, with a rod, of his name, and of the gentleman's treading by accident on the Deputie's guttie toes, it was alleadged he had said, that man had a brother in England who would not be content with such a revenge for such ane affront; that of these words spoken in Aprile, he heard nought to September, wher one night he receaveth from a messenger a warrand to be at Councill to-morrow in the Castle chamber: when he came there, he inquired of other Councillors the reason of the meeting, bot none could tell him. When the Deputie came, he shew, he had called the Councill of Warre to take order with my Lord Montnorris, one of the crouners of the armie, for his mutinous words against him the Generall; that then he arose, and stood at the table-end; thereafter the King's letter to the Councill, to see the Deputie repaired in the dangerous wrong he heard was done him by my Lord Montnorris, was read; at the reading whereof, he said he fell on his knees much amazed. Being called to answer, he requyred a copie of his charge, some tyme to advyse, and counsell to plead for him. All these was refused, and he instantlie requyred to confesse his words; or, if he denyed them, he had my Lord Moore's and my Lord Loftus's deposition, subscryved, to convince him. He was readie to have sworn that he had not spoken the alleadged words; bot having no tyme granted, he would neither confesse nor deny, and so he was removed. The Deputie required present sentence. Moore and Loftus deponed; he was found to have offended against two articles of discipline, the one importing banishment, the other death. Manie inclyned to make him culpable of the first; bot the Deputie urged both or neither: so he is called in, the sentence of death pronounced against him, the Deputie promiseing nothing shall aile his life; bot in the mean tyme committeth him to close prifon, wherewith in a few dayes, with grief and displeasour, he fell in danger of present death. Upon the physitian's oath, he is permitted to goe to his oune house; bot so soon as he recovers, he is committed again; he is divested of four eminent places he possessed in the state; his wife most hardlie could escape to England to compleane to the King: when she had gotten the King's letter for her husband's deliverie, and on her knees in the streets had supplicat the Deputie in that behalfe, nothing could be obtained till he had subscryved the justice of the sentence against him: this for a long tyme refuseing, at last he subscryved the forme was sent him, without reading it, and so came out of prifon. The most of all this was witnessed by my

Lord Ranulagh, and my Lord Dillon, privie counfellors. The other part of the article, his executing one Tho. Denwitt, who after a long want of pay, craving it from his captain, was bidden be gone to the gallows; he went his way, bot was brought back, and said to have stollen ane quarter of beefe: for this he is sentenced to die; and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputie's lady to be earnest for his life, yet, without mercie, he was execute.

In his answer, Strafford alleadged, that martiall law was in use in Ireland, albeit not in England; that his commiffion carried him to use it; that he had put in no other article for mutineers, than my Lord Wilmott had done before him; that in my Lord Arundail's articles the last year, and in my Lord Northumberland's this year, were the same claufes; that for example it were necessare that fugitives and thieves should die; that in that Councill his voyce was bot one. As concerning my Lord Montnorris, he alleadged the confession of his fault under his own hand; that his mutinous words were dangerous, the armie being on foot, and in motion: the King's letter for his punishment was read; that his censure concerned not him, he had no voyce into it; the Councill's letter to the King was read; that no evill was done to him, and nothing intended bot the amendment of his verie loose tongue: if the gentlemen of the Commons House intended no more bot the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartilie give them thanks; that his not denying a share of that sentence, was not ane confession of his voyceing in it, or his procureing of it, bot his honour repaired thereby; that my Lady Montnorris courtesie was to him above all meafour displeasing; that the King intended him not pardon till he should reallie acknowledge his oversight.

To all this Maynard and Glyn made a satisfactorie reply, That martiall law had no more place in Ireland nor in England; that the benefite of Magna Charta, ordaining no man to be sentenced to death bot by a jurie, was common alyke to both. They required my Lord Loftus, late Chancellor, who fourtie yeares together had been a proveft-martiall, in what cases he had used martiall-law? Strafford opposed much the hearing of supplementall witnesses: his great friend, Clair, Bristoll, and Savill, did dispute so much for that, that the House was almost adjourned upon it; bot my Lord Steward pressed the other dayes decree, that when the defendant, in his answer, furnished new matter, the accuser should have libertie upon it to examine new witnesses. So Loftus testified he had never used martiall law, bot upon manifest rebels;

and that my Lord Falkland's instructions carried expresse the cafes of warre and rebellions. My Lord Ranulagh witnessed, that the armie was no more on foot or motion then it wont to be ; that alone four companies of foot, and two troupes of horses were now and then training at Dublin. They pressed that no danger should come by words six moneths after they were spoken ; that the King's letter was procured by Strafford ; that he was the procurer and urger of the sentence ; that though he voyced not, bot satt discovered, yet he did not remove with my Lord Montnorris ; that the Councill's letter to the King, makes him the chief author of that judgement ; that the King required onlie reparation ; that the death of a Peer was too much for the speaking of the treading upon his toes ; that ane illegall commission should not be taken from the King. Finding the unexpected length of the proceffe, they shew their purpose to omitt some articles for giving of tyme. Strafford refused to consent, unless they forewarned him of the article they were to fall upon two nights before. They shew it was reasonable he should be readie always to answer on all ; bot however not obliedged they would ever forewarn him a night before, of the articles the day following to be handled.

7. Mononday 29th. Glyn handled the sixth article, the dispossessing of my Lord Montnorris of a portion of land, upon Ralston's paper petition. We did all think that half ane hour would easilie have discuffed that little article, but it spent all that day. Ralston's petition was read, the decreet thereupon ; witnesses were heard for Montnorris possession, and for his dispossessing without farder law. They professed they would not examine the equitie nor the inequitie of the matter, bot onlie the forme of proceeding against the statute, against King James's instructions, dischargeing the Deputie or Councill to meddle with causes of inheritance ; they pressed onlie his subjecting the goods of the Peers to his will, without law.

In his answer, he cunninglie brake in upon that which they expresse declined, the equitie of the matter. My Lord Montnorris, by clear coosenage and oppression, having spoiled Ralston of these lands, he read some articles of his commission, which enabled him to doe justice upon such petitions by himself, either in a Court of Requests or in a Court of Chancerie ; he caused read a letter of the King's, revocking these instructions, which were never kept, nor could never be kept ; for such was the povertie and barbarous ignorance of manie there, that to follow the ordinarie longsome course of



law were their utter undoeing. He produced manie judgements of Deputie Falkland, and the late Lord Justices, in the lyke cafes ; he would have done the lyke in the precedents and assises, bot was stopped ; for the lyke practise, in former Deputies, he brought fundrie witnesse ; he required the Primate of Armagh's deposition to be read : Upon this rose ane long contest. He had moved, on Saturday, that his witnesse that through sickness might not come to the barr, a commission might be granted to some Lord to goe and take their oaths. This was not much opposed ; so in the afternoon he obtained ane order in wryte for this end. The Commons was not content with this : He pressed that the order might be obeyed. At last they urged his transgression of the order, and of all equitie, it not onlie being obtained without their advertisement, bot also used without their knowledge ; either the words or mind of the order behoved to be according to the practise of all Courts, that the contrare parts should be present at the examination to give in their crosse interrogatories : by this reason Armagh's deposition was not read. He alleadged no benefite accressed to himselfe by his decree to Ralston ; and falling again on Montnorris's imprisonment, brought in witnesse to prove, that the cause of his long imprisonment, was not his contempt of the Councill of Warre, bot debaits in the Starr-Chamber. The order in all the proceffe was, for the Commons to prove their article ; when they brought witnesse, he objected what he pleased ; when they had ended, he, after half ane hour's collection, did answer, without interruption, so long as he pleased : onlie when he brought his witnesse, bot not on oath, they opposed what they thought meet : when he did close his answer, they made ever the last replie, for that is their priviledge who pleads for the King, against which he might say nothing, except some matter clearlie new were brought, which they did not except he gave occasion, as here it fell out. He had gloried much in his innocencie of that decret of Ralston, that no profite came to him by that judgement. Glyn shew, that daylie there came to their hands so much new matter of Strafford's unjustice, that if they had their articles to frame againe, they would give in as manie new as old. Strafford stormed at that, and proclaimed them ane open defiance. Glyn took him at his word, and offered instantlie to name three and twentie cafes of injustice, wherein his own gaine was clear. He began quicklie his catalogue with Parker's paper petition, whereupon he dispossessed a certain Viscount of a good portion of land, for his own use. Strafford find-

ing himself in ane ill taking, did foone repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his libell; onlie he protested, that in that Parker's land, his name was onlie used; that he was onlie intrusted in that bargaine for the use of another. They brought diverse negative witnessses to depone, they had never known causes of inheritance discussed by the Deputie or the Councill before Strafford. One of his witnessses they proved infamous and perjured, by ane Act of the Councill of Ireland; of this he professed his difremembrance. The King's letter, revocking his father's instructions, they said, was procured by his misinformation, and that he did not keep the tenor of it. The statute alleadged by him of the King's prerogative, Maynard shew was to be understood, not of anie new judicatorie, bot of the power the King's agents had to plead anie of his causes before what legall Court they pleased, without astriction to anie one. Mr. Stroud was applauded for his quick remark, That Strafford did oppresse Montnorris, not onlie in his life, honours, libertie, lands, bot in his verie fould, keeping him prisoner till he forced him to subscryve, against his conscience, the justice of his own condemnation.

Mr. Glyn offered to goe on to another article. My Lord Strafford plead-ed his infirmitie. The Steward compleaned of the expence of tyme. The Advocats pressed for the Commons expedition. Strafford, That however his bodilie infirmitie was great, and the charge of treason lay heavie on his mind, yet that his accusation came from the Honourable House of Commons did most of all pierce through his fould. Maynard told, that by the flow of his eloquence, he spent tyme to gaine affection; as indeed, with the more simple fort, especiallie the ladies, he gained daylie much. He replied quicklie, that rhetorick was proper to these gentlemen, and learning also; that betwixt these two he was lyke to have a hard bargain. Bristoll was buffie in the mean tyme, goeing up and doune, and whispering in my Lord Steward's eare; whereupon others not content, cryed, To your places, To your places, my Lords. At last the House was adjourned till the next morning.

8. Tuefday the 30th of March. Glyn shew, that however they would not declyne nor mince any part of any their articles, yet for saving the great expence of tyme, they would passe the seventh article, and the first part of the eighth: on the latter part thereof, he insisted, dilaiting my Lady Hibbots's cause, the [widow] of the late Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. Her husband had left

to her a lease of the most of his lands for 99 years ; the heir, one Thomas Hibbotts, a fillie old fool, is glad to bargaine with her, for the hereditable right of twentie-five hundred pound a year for eighteen thousand pound Sterling. When the wrytes are making in Dublin, one offers him fyve hundred pound more ; of this he shew the Ladie ; she is willing to give him that much : when the wrytes are made, she is informed, that it was necessare for her securitie to have from him a wryte of recoverie : because the wryte required some tyme, and his desyre to be in England was great, he would not wait upon it ; whereupon the Ladie refuseth to pay the money. He petitions the Deputie to cause her keep condition. Sir Robert Meredith presents a petition in the simple man's name, not onlie for his money, bot by his knowledge for breaking the bargaine. The Ladie is summoned before the Councill ; the bargaine is declared null ; she is ordained to put the old man in present possession of the land, or else goe to prifon ; and everie moneth she delayed to fulfill the order, to have her fyne of fyve hundreth pound Sterling doubled. When the old man is put in possession, Meredith, for my Lord Strafford's own use, buyes the land for three thousand pound, and from the Lady's sone receaveth seven thousand pound ; so of this injustice my Lord Strafford receaveth four thousand pound of vantage. All this was clearlie proven by old Hibbotts himself, Mr. Hoy, the lady's sone, who payd the moneys. My Lord Montnorris deponed, that the most of the Councill was for the Ladie. My Lord Dillon deponed, it was so as he heard. My Lord Cork could not speak of the number, bot that the Deputie spake in passion, that if he had thought they would have made a partie against him, he needed not have brought that action there.

In his answer he said for spareing of tyme, he would cloffe to the poynt, and answer to nothing bot to the charge alone : and good reason had he so to doe ; for he had found himself oft catched in extravagancies : he would speak nothing of the justice or injustice of the fact, that being a cause depending in another Court ; that the Deputie had power to determine of petitions, as from his commiffion, and practise of former Deputies of Ireland, he proved before ; that this order, as all others of Councill, was according to the voyces of the most part ; that his threats to prifon and fine the Lady for disobedience to the Councill, was just ; that Meredith's bargaine was for his use he denyed ; bot finallie, what evir misdemeanour was in it, there was no treason wherewith

he was charged. Maynard assumed all, applied it vehemently, that he had subverted law, and brought in an arbitrary power on the subject's goods, for his own gain.

He went to the next article, a commission to the Bishop of Downe to imprison all of the meaner sort, who refused to come to appear to his Courts; or when they appeared, to satisfy all his orders. A copy of this commission was desired to be read; he opposed, that a copy of a warrant could not make faith. They told, if it were so, the principal not being recorded, but in his power to be called in when he would, it should never be possible to prove any warrant, when the party had suppressed the principal. Sir James Montgomerie attested the truth of the copy, and his knowledge of the great vexation that came to verie manie by it for three yeares. Mr. Glyn shew, that the Earle Strafford was now better nor his word; he had not only made Acts of State equal to Acts of Parliament, but also his own Acts above both, in giving power to Bishops against law, to vex and imprison the bodies of the King's subjects. He answered, that his warrant was not produced; that such letters of assistance to Bishops had been given before him: for this end my Lord Primat's deposition was read. He required, that some passages of my Lord Falkland's book should be read; but that book being but the private record of ane secretarie, was rejected. His secretarie Little deponed, that he had drawne that order to the Bishop of Downe, according to a prior paterne he had seen. Strafford confessed, on the Bishop's desire, he had sent him such ane order, but had done it to no other; and hearing it was not altogether legall, he had recalled it; that the gentleman had made him better and worse than his word, as he conceived it to make for his purpose. Glyn applied it, shew that the Primate testified onlie that he heard his predecessor the Bishop of Meath say, that at the papists desire, to save the proesse of excommunication, he had gotten letters of assistance which did not square with the case in hand; that his Secretar's testimony was not to be heeded, he being himselfe guiltie. He offered to goe on to the next article; but Strafford desired to have that article superceeded till my Lord Cottingtoun (who was sick) his deposition might be had. After some debate, the House was adjourned till the morrow.

9th Session, Wednesday, March 31st. This day I was absent; for being Moderator of our Session, I behoved to call a meeting to advyse anent the or-

der of the Faſt, wherein we were advertiſed from Newcaſtle, to joyn with our nation on the 4th and 6th of Aprile : bot, as I heard, the matters that paſſed that [day] were theſe. Mr. Maynard handled the tenth article, concerning his extraordinarie gaine in the farming the Cuſtomes. It was clearlie proven, that yearlie he would have thirtie thouſand pound advantage. His anſwer was, that the bargain of the Cuſtomes was put upon him againſt his will. My Lord Cottingtoun deponed, that when my Lord Strafford moved ſome of the Londoners to offer fifteen thouſand pound for the cuſtomes of Ireland, to my Lord Portland Theaſurer, that they quicklie repented, being much more than ever theſe cuſtomes had payed before ; that no man would come near that offer, yet at laſt Sir Arthure Ingram had come and offered ane hundred pound more, if ſo be my Lord Strafford would be a partner with him ; that my Lord, with much dealing both of my Lord Portland and the King, was made to joyne. He ſaid, that the augmenting of the book of rates was againſt his advyce, and that, before he medled with theſe cuſtomes, while the Lady Dutcheſs of Buckingham's leaſe did ſtand ; that if the cuſtomes were raiſed, the traffique could not be diminifhed ; that the making of a good bargain was no treaſon. Maynard fumbled up all, That as he found out a ſtrange diſcipline of the tongue in my Lord Montnorris's caſe, by a ſentence of cutting off the head, ſo he had made in a few years, by good compt, large three hundred thouſand pound Sterling off the King ; the rates was heightened before he gott the cuſtomes bot onlie one moneth ; if he were againſt it, why was [he] the firſt and ſole exactor of that augmentation ? and why did he thruſt out Sir Arthur, the firſt bargainer, ſo ſoon as the years of hudge gain did come ?

The eleventh article they paſſed. The twelfth they made it very odious, That tobacco, whereof they proved was ſold yearlie in Ireland five hundred tunne, which payed to King James but ten pound cuſtome, and never more then twentie, was raiſed by my Lord Strafford, to pay to the King five thouſand, and then ten thouſand pound, bot to himſelf at leiſt a hundred pound a year much more than the King's rent. He ſaid much for his defence : he that had oft loſſe of it ; that the regulating that ſuperfluous commoditie was by the King's letter committed to him ; that it was bot a monopolie at moſt ; that any pillored or whipped was for perjurie ; that there was proclamations in England for landing tobacco no where bot in London ; that the orders of the Lower Houſe in Ireland were acts of tyrannick and arbitrarie power,

to seaze on his goods and magazine. In their replie they remembered his slandering of the Parliament in Ireland.

10th Sessio[n], Thursday, Aprill 1st. Maynard opened the thirteenth article. The proclamations were read, dischargeing to sell any yarne but reeled in such a fashion; the warrand of my Lord read, to seafe for use all that could be found otherwayes dressed than the proclamation appointed; proven by many witnesse[s], that the warrand in many places was execute; that publict mercats were deserted; that carts full of spoyll were carried to Dublin, and delivered to my Lord Strafford's servants; that the officers brack up many houses; that they strake poor women, holding their yarne, till some died; that masters were disappointed of their rents; that thousands starved through his oppressions; that Sir John Clotworthie hardlie escaped punishment for wryting to the Deputie of these evils. He answered, that his intention in this matter was certainlie good; he found in Ireland great store of sheep, which, if weell used, might much prejudge the chief trade of England: that to putt down the wooll trade, he sett himself to countenance the trade of flax; that seeing the people, through their barbarous unskilfulness, hurt their own profite, he strove to direct them; that the proclamations were not his, bot the Councill's; that warrands to second proclamations were necessary and ordinarie; that when he found the people's untowardness to learn, he gave over the designe; that after his accompts, he had no profite, bot some one hundred pounds of losse by his trade; that for the misdemeanour of officers he could not answer. Maynard concluded, that intentions cleared not illegall actions; that his giving over before ten thousand was sterved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thousands; that the concurrence of the Councill excufeth not him who led them.

The fourteenth article was past: the fifteenth, as most important, was accurately handled. Mr. Palmer, one of the eight on the Committee for the Commons, a materiall man, bot not eloquent, nor quick, nor vehement, opened the article; shew it alone was treason, and more than the proof of the whole charge. He took onlie the mid part of it, concerning Savill's warrand to soldiers; shew that the Statute of Edward the Third and Henry the Sixth made at Dubline, did, in expresse termes, make the leavying of souldiers, and laying of them on the King's subjects, to be treason, violating the King's protection, and so his crown and person; that it was ordinar for my Lord to execute his unlawfull

jurisdiction, his decrees on paper petitions, by this unlawfull power ; giving a warrand dormant to a serjeant at armes, to lay one officer, and three, five, or ten souldiers of the nixt garison on any who difobeyed his orders, to eat up all they had till they had obeyed. A copy of a warrand to Savill was read. Strafford alleadged, a copy could make no faith in so high a bufiness ; bot this was rejected. Savill was required to attest the copie. He sware it was his subscription, and a true copie of his warrand for the substance, bot that he had not conferred the wryts. Maynard pressed it was enough, if witnesses did prove the warrand given by my Lord Strafford's authoritie, whether by a word or wryte. The House adjourned upon this debate. My Lord Steward at returne pleased both parties ; refused the reading of this copie, as not being sufficientlie attested, bot permitting them to prove by witnesses, the matter of any warrand. This they did abundantlie ; especiallie in the case of one Berne, who, on a paper petition, was charged to appear before my Lord Deputie to pay ane hundred pound debt, which he might have componed for fyve pound, bot refused, not thinking it due. By Strafford's warrand, ten of his trouppers at Dublin came upon the man's lands, eat to him the worth of five hundred pound, burned the most of his house, forced him to leave the countrie, and serve as a souldier in Flanders, being unable any more to keep house.

My Lord Strafford, feeling the weight of this article, after half ane houre's advisement. and retireing for easement, returned as a man loadened in mind. He answered ane hundred shifts, and said as much as any man could ; bot little, in my judgement, to the poynt. He remembered his impossibilitie to bring his proofs from Ireland, his obliedgement to be judged there, and by the Irish law ; however, he was willing to submit ane hundred lyves, if he had them, to their Lordships equitie : he produced a number of witnesses to depone, it was ordinarie there for the Deputie to give warrand for pressing of souldiers pay, and contribution monie : bot not one of them all deponed the case of ordinarie debts, or decreets on paper petitions. He alleadged, that the acts alleadged were old and antiquat ; bot I understood not his probation. He said, that in these statutes the King was not included, because not expresse mentioned, and so the King's Deputie was in the same case ; also that Queen Elizabeth's statute permitted the Deputie to leavie warre ; that it was a poor and unheard of warre which three or five or ten souldiers could make ; that he laid on no souldiers, whatever others did by his pretended warrand ; that

no warrant could be shewn ; that he was in Ireland at the tyme of the execution ; and a number of moe subterfugies : after all, he reserved himself to his Councill for his legall case. Palmer replied to all prettie weell, that Ireland was a portion of the English Crowne ; that he did answer there according to the Irish law ; that his taking of regall and foveraigne power and priviledge was the charge ; that the Deputie hath power to levie warre bot upon rebels, not in tyme of peace on the King's peaceable subjects, answerable to legall Courts ; that he declyneth also the question of law to be agitat by ane other in due place. Strafford offered to answer the first part of the article, bot was stopped : he oft triumphed, that they had alleadged crymes against him, which they were not able to make good. He humblie did supplicat the House of Commons to grant him one day of ease : this he obtained ; for all were over-wearied with so constant and long attendance ; so the House was adjourned till Saturday. On Fryday, both the Houses mett in their own places, and advyfed about other affaires.

11th Session, Saturday, April 3d. Palmer opened the sixteenth article ; His way to keep himself in possession of that arbitrarie power of his ; his stopping all to goe to England bot by his license ; his proposition for his power to the Councill-table of England was read ; his proclamation also in Ireland for that end was read ; witnesses brought to prove : his refusing of licence to fundrie who were going to complaine of his injuries ; and of his fyning in five hundred pound, and imprisoning of Parrie, for following his master the Chancellour to England. He answered, There was manie statutes for the residence of the subjects in Ireland ; that in England no noblemen went abroad without leave ; that his proposition to the English table is grounded upon clear reason, the stopping of needles clamorous complaints ; that the proclamation was by the whole Councill, and procured by the King's letter ; that thousands went over without challenge ; that if they were not restrained, they would goe to Jesuit's colledges, and keep correspondence with O'Neell and Tirconell.

Palmer replied weell to all ; That the statutes alleadged, none of them did imported a personall restraint of complaints of the Deputie ; that this kept all the Judges in a dependence upon him ; that by his proclamation his Deputie had hindered the Committee of Parliament to come over ; that there is no O'Neell nor Jesuite colledge in England ; that no complainers could



get over, whatever became of others ; he was to be answerable, as he professed in his proposition, for the justice of Ireland ; so the Council's concurrence prejudices them, but excuseth not him ; the Broad Seall excused not the Marquis, who accepted of *mixtum et merum imperium* from his misinformed King.

It was Mr. Whitlock's turne to speak next : He passed the seventeenth and eighteenth article, and opened the nineteenth, anent the Scottish Oath ; he shew he had heard how he had used the Irish subjects, and now he would declare his usage towards the Scots, who were under the same protection with the Irish and English ; that a new oath cannot be formed without an Act of Parliament ; that he framed, and put on the Scots a new and illegal oath, which they did not desire, as he saith in his answer. Sir James Montgomerie was called to witness. He made at the barre a verie long narration, That all the Scots of any note were written for by the Deputie ; that he mett them in my Lord of Airds' lodging ; he said, it was expected they should clear their disaffection to the ways of their countrey men ; that the bishops motioned the expedience of an oath ; that many of them thought that which he spoke, that to offer an oath were to make themselves subject to suspicion before they committed any fault ; that Strafford replied, Who would not take an oath should do worse ; that Ratcliffe brought to them to-morrow two draughts, the one mere railing, the other more mild ; this, he said, he might not change, for the Deputie had seen it ; yet they went to the Deputie's lodging, and required a copie for advysemēt ; this was refused ; the Deputie was content to put in the clause of equalitie with the rest of the subjects, but the clause of just and reasonable commands he would not hear ; that he administrat the Oath at the Council-table himself to all the Scots who were present ; that his commission was to take the oath of all above sixteen years ; that the instructions bare women also weell as men ; that the refusers were prisoned and fined ; that manie fled, and left their cornes and cattells ; (this Sir John Clotworthie and others testified ; one Salmon, an schoolmaster here, and John Loftus, witnessed the sentencing of Henry Stewart, and the rest ; ) that the Deputie declared the oath extended to all the ecclesiastick ceremonies present and to come ; that he would prosecute to the blood these that would refuse ; that the Scots were traitors, rebels, and mad ; that he would pull them up root and branch, if he [re]turned to that kingdome.

He answered, That the tyme of that oath did carrie great appearance of feares from the Scotts ; that there was of them in Ireland above ane hundred thousand ; that one Trueman was execute for a designe to deliver up the castle of Knockfergus to a great Lord in Scotland ; that the Councill thought it necessarrie to secure the countrey from that fear ; that they were privie to his letter and the oath ; that all the Scotts took it chearfullie, except Sir James Montgomerie ; that these who went away for this cause he would never stay ; that he knew not ane act of parliament to be necessar for ane oath at such ane necessare occasion ; that the same oath was pressed in England ; that he had the King's letter, under his own hand, for frameing that oath, which before he never revealed : if this was a treason, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over againe if he had the lyke occasion ; the greatnes of Henry Stewart's fyne was for the greatnes of the offence ; it was not exacted, and his [fyne] was ever readie to be releaved when obedient ; that the Primate will testifie, he declared that no part of it concerned the church affaires ; that he was not so farr divested of reason as to speak like a madman of his Master's nation, manie whereof hath done him courtesies, and none anie wrong ; that the schoolmaster was not to be valued ; he had sworn I spoke these words the tenth of Oötober, wheras I was in England the twentieth of September ; in a distance, he hath mistaken faction for nation : I might have spoken of my putting out of Ireland the faction of these who refused to swear alledgeance to the King ; that he spoke not of root or branch, or of the nation. He brought fundrie to depone they did not remember of any such words. Whitlock reponed in reply, That the witnesses depositions were contrare to his assertions ; that whatever the danger was, he should not use any unlawfull mean to oppose it ; that the oath of alleadgeance would have satisfied the King's defyre ; that his oath was a pattern to England ; that his ingratitude was the greater, since the Scotts never wronged him ; that his negative witnesse mistaking a circumstance of tyme did not weaken the substance of his testimonie ; Loftus concurring with him in the matter of it. Sir John Clotworthie being put to it, named a number of the Scotts who had fled, and left all ; also, to my great contentment, he cleared the foule slander of Trueman, shewing, that one Captain Giles, being sent to trap all he could find inclined to the Scotts, insinuate with this fillie man, and obtained from him a letter of recommendation to some in Scotland to employ him as a foldier ; this letter being produced, made Giles be

believed in all he pleased to alleadge of this simple man, without farder proofs; that Strafford did conciliat the Primat and Derrie; the Primate would have the refusing of the first part of the oath to be treason; the Bishop of Derrie said, the refusing of the second part of ecclesiasticall injunctions was treasonable; the Deputie would have both treasonable; that the penaltie of ane Premunire is just; bot his new oath of not protesting against any of his commands, carrying the King's name, was strange, and the punishment of it also: he usurps a power here more than royall; for *non est penes principem solum* to frame ane new oath, in all acts of parliament, you, my Lords, and the Commons, have [an] interest. Mr Stroud took notice of Strafford's profession to do this over againe. He said, he weell believed him; but that they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gavestone came to react himself.

My Lord Strafford regrated to the Lords the great straits of his estate. If true, it was the remarkable judgment of God. He said, he had nothing there bot as he borrowed; yet dailie he gave to the guard that convoyed him ten pound: by which he conciliat much favour, for these fellows were dailie changed; and where they lived, having gotten his money, they commended his liberalitie. He told, his familie were in Ireland, two hundred and sixtie perfonnes; that the House of Commons there had seafed all his goods; he supplicat, that the Lords might take course to louse that arriest from so much of his goods as might sustaine his wife and children in some tolerable way. If this was not false, alone to conciliat consideration, behold the power of God bringing that man, the most statelie house-keeper that ever Ireland did see, to that miserie, in a moment, where-to he brought manie.

Sunday, the 4th of Aprile, was a day of humiliation to us. Mr. Henderfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillespie did preach; and on Tuesday thereafter I, Mr. Borthwick, and Mr. Smith, to ane fair congregation; so manie considerable people as our roomes could hold. God helped us all, that we gott ever full libertie to powre out our soule, with our nation, to God: we trust God heard yow and us; and ever since we are getting our answers. The plotts of our enemies since hath been kything, and God going on to confound them in his own way, above man's witt and strength, as it may be you shall hear shortly.

12th Sesson. Mononday Aprile 5th. I could not be present ; for I was preparing for Tuesday's exercise ; but I heard the matters handled were these. Mr. Whitlock proponed, for the conjunction of the matters, and saving of tyme, to open together the twentieth, twentie-first, twentie-second, twentie-third, and twentie-fourth articles. Strafford pressed long to handle them severallie one by one, as before it was practised and agreed. Glyn told him roundlie, that it belonged not to a prisoner to prescribe the order of his proceffe ; they were to manage the proofes as they thought fitt, let him answer in what order he pleased. This they obtained. Whitlock discoursed upon all, first in generall : That as, after the pacification of Berwick, in Stewart's sentence, he had called the Scotts traitors and rebels ; so, at his coming to England, he had incensed the King against them ; and when the Parliament of England refused moneyes, he stirred up the King to invade with his Irish armie these of England, who would not be subject to his will. The first witness is my Lord Traquair. Being asked, What he heard my Lord Strafford say concerning the Scottish warre ? He said, he could not answer to so generall a question. Being asked anent his discourse at the councill-table after his relations at Whitehall and at York, he desired to see his depositions, for the refreshing of his memorie : for all the witnesses had deposed before the Committee of the Lower House long agoe : yea, some of that Committee, Digbie, as it is thought, had given particular information to Strafford of all their depositions. After all these prefaces, all that Traquair deposed was, That at York, his relation being repeated, Strafford said, that the injustice of these demands is a sufficient ground why the King should putt himself in posture of warre ; that at the first relation at Whitehall, he heard him say no more, and that all the number did fullie agree with him in that conclusion ; but he knew not who spoke first. Finding that not so much was deposed now by Traquair, as before by my Lord Digbie, motioned, that they referred themselves to what was deposed in wryte. After serious recollecting, Strafford replied, That this was not the practise of any court where the witness was heard *viva voce*. My Lord Mortoun was sick ; but his deposition was read. It did beare, that after my Lord Traquair's relation, once and againe, and the third tyme, Strafford avowed, that the Scotts demands were a sufficient ground for the King to make warre ; although Mortoun contradicted, shewing, that since the King had permitted the Scotts to petition against all their grievances, their petitioning

could be no ground of warre before the reasons of their petition were heard ; and the King expressely said, Mortoun had reason. Traquair being asked, denied he remembered such words of my Lord Strafford's. Sir Harie Vane, Mr. Secretary, deponed, that the 5th of May, after the breaking up of the Parliament, when he proponed a defensive warre, Strafford was for ane offensive. Northumberland was sick ; his deposition did bear, that Strafford perswaded his Majestie to goe vigorouly to ane offensive warre. The Lord Thefaurer, Bishop of London, deponed, that Strafford's opinion was for ane offensive warre, and that the Scotts should be reduced by force, after Traquair's narration, and that he marked no difference of judgement in any of that committee.

Concerning his designe in England, Primate Usher deponed, he heard him say, in Dublin, in case of necessitie, the King, by his prerogative, might leavie moneys as he pleased, having first tried his Parliament, if it supplied him not. My Lord Conway deponed, he said if the Parliament gave not these twelve subsidies, the King was justifiable before God and man to take some other course to supplie himself, though against their will :—Sir Harie Vane, that if the Parliament did not succeed, he would be readie to serve the King any other way :—Sir Robert King, that Sir George Ratcliffe, Strafford's intimate friend, said, the King had thirtie thousand men, and four hundred thousand pound in his purse, and a sword at his syde ; if he should want monie, who should pitie him ? that with the Scotts they might have peace when they pleased :—Sir Thomas Barrington, that he heard Sir George Wentworth, Strafford's brother, say, he conceived the Parliament would give no money ; that the Commonwealth was sick of peace ; it will never be weell till it be conquered againe. Bristoll witnessed, that Strafford said to him, after the dissolving of the Parliament, that he liked not his discourse, of calling another Parliament, the danger admitted not so slow a remedie ; the Parliament had refused to supplie the King ; he behoved to take another course ; that the King was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness and undutifullness of his subjects, or rather the disaffection of some particulars. Newburgh and Holland witnessed the same words. Northumberland and Vane deponed, that in the committee of eight for the Scotts affairs, he said, that his Majestie having tried all wayes, and being refused ; in this case of necessitie, and in defence of

the kingdome, he was absolved before God and man, and all rules of government; he had ane armie in Ireland, which he might imploy for reducing this kingdome. The Earle of Clare, and others, debaited with Vane sharplie, what this kingdome did meane? Maynard quicklie silenced him, Doe yow ask, my Lord, if this kingdome be this kingdome, or not?

In his answer, he went through everie article severallie, extenuated most of his words. What he said of the King, he meant ever of his just proceeding; for it was to be presupposed, that he would never doe nor command in any other way; that in Councill he behoved to voyce according to his opinion; that opinions might make ane heretick, if pertinacious, bot never a traitor; that chamber and table discourse, for argument, flum-flams, and fanfares, could not be treasons; that words of such a nature in King Edward the Sixth's days, were decreed otherwyse to be punished. It hes been the wifdome of this spirit to secure weell the subjects from treason. We would be loath to let loose that lyon which would devoure us and our posteritie, if treason be made as ordinarie as trespasses. Much adoe made for the last words witnessed by Vane. He swore he spake them not; made the Marqueis, the Thesaurer, and Lord Cottingtoun, depone they heard no such thing; and bore him witnesse, that he said, the King behoved to use his prerogative; that he marvelled at the goodnes of Mr. Thesaurer's memorie, better than his owne, and all the companie. Whitlock marked the shortnes of Cottingtoun's memorie, who said he heard not Strafford speak of extraordinarie wayes, which yet he confessed. He avowed no illegall action, neither from the King nor him; and followed on his counsell, that words of his brother, or Ratcliffe, concerned not him. The designe of the Irish army was for Scotland, as the Marqueis, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Slingsbie did depone; that he intended to fortifie Aire, and from thence to make all the countrey till Edinburgh pay contribution. Whitlock replied at length, That the words were to be taken as they were proven, and not as, by his commentaries, they were eluded.

13th Session. Tuesday, there was no sitting. On Wednesday, the 7th Aprile, Maynard did open the twenty-fifth article. The Lord Thesaurer depone, that Strafford, after the Parliament, advyfed to goe on rigorously and effectually with the Ship-moneys. Strafford confessed, he had not learned to be wifer nor his teachers, or to dispuitt what was pronounced by the Judges.

Maynard replied, that it was never judged, that for refuse of loan men should be prifoned, fyned, hanged. Wifeman deponed, that Strafford faid they would gett no good of the citizens till fome of the aldermen were fyned and prifoned. He confessed, according to the Earle of Berkshyre's testimony, that he thought the aldermen's refuseing, in fo neccessare a tyme, to give up the names of these they conceaved able to lend moneys, made them lyable to fyne and ranfome. Garaway, mayor the last year, deponed, that to the best of his remembrance, he faid, no good would be gotten till fome of the aldermen were hanged. While Strafford took vantage at the words "the best of my remembrance," Garaway stoutlie turned to him, and told out punctuallie, "My Lord, you did say it." He faid, he should answer with alse great truth, albeit not with fo great confidence as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did not speak fo; bot if he did, he trusted their goodness would easilie pardon such a rash and foolish word. It was also bot a single testimony; and the law provyds, that on single testimony no man shall be condemned of treason. Glyn remembered them what sentence he had procured on Montnorris for rash words anent his toes. Maynard shew their charge was bot one, that single witnesse for severall circumstances made manie for the whole.

In the twenty-sixth article, they had no witness to prove his concealling the leasing on the Mint, the imbaseing of the money; bot by diverse proved his avowing of the Citie's unthankfullness, and their deserving of much worse for their greater readinesse to help rebells than the King; of his letter from Leicester, that the King of France searched merchants books, and laid horsemen upon them till they payed what portion of their estate he pleased to demand; that if the King would doe foe, he had example of other princes; that this was a poynt worthie my Lord Cottingtoun's consideration. He confessed, the sense of his Master's service made him use expressions of the Citie's unthankfullness; that of all his charge these words of the Citie's helping of the rebells were worst, and since the gentleman deponed them, he would take with them and crave humble pardon; that he spake not to my Lord Cottingtoun; that he faid our King was more pious than to use such courtes as was mentioned in that foolish letter of my Lord Leicester's secretarie.

The twenty-seventh article, of leavying money on Yorkshire by fouldiers, was proved by fundrie. To these he answered, it was by consent of most of

the gentlemen, who delyvered to him, by my Lord Whartoun, a petition to repreſent their grievances to the King, and croune, and parliament, that ſo they would contribute for the entertainment of two regiments for one moneth; that he made them delete that claufe of a Parliament, knowing the King's reſolution to call it of his own goodneſſe, without petition from any; that he had the King's conſent and direction for levying of that pay, in preſence of the peers; ſome conſenting, none contradicting, which he took for their full conſent; that his commiſſion carried him to leavie ſo manie of the trained bands as he thought meet; that theſe who would not ſerve in perſon, were bound, in all reaſon, to ſupplie theſe who did.

Maynard and Glyn replied, that it was a leavying of warre upon the ſubjects by force of ſouldiers, to exact moneys by ſojours; that it was not [with] conſent of the ſhyre; manie were gone out of toun, fundrie diſſented, diverſe were papifts; theſe conſented bot for one moneth; his commiſſion gave him power to call perſons to ſerve the King, bot not for ſervice to exact monie: that the peers diſclaimed all ſuch warrand.

14th Seſſion. Thurſday 8th Aprile, the twenty-eight article they paſſed. All being fett, and the Deputie brought to the barr on his knees, after the accuſtomed manner, he was deſyred to ſay for himſelf what he would, that ſo the Houſe of Commons may ſum up all before the ſentence. He ſaid, he was prepared to anſwer the particular articles omitted, and that they would be pleaſed to ſay farther; bot for the ſumming up of all his anſwers, he was not prepared to anſwer, and for that craved humblie tyme till the morrow. They oppoſed that, ſhewing he had much more tyme for his defence than ever any, and the cauſe did allow: yet the Lords, after ſome debaite, did grant it. Alwayes in the afternoons, when there remained any tyme, committees, eſpeciallie for the enormities of churchmen, did meet and ſitt ſome houres.

15th Seſſion. Friday the ninth Aprile. All being mett, and waiting on, about nine Sir George Wentworth came, and declared to the Lords, that all the laſt night his Brother was ſo afflicted with the ſtone, that this morning albeit much better, yet he was allutterlie unable to ſturr out of bed. Maynard and Glyn preſſed they might goe on; that the excuſe was bot fained; and however, being heard on all the articles, his preſence was needleſs. The Lieutenant of the Tower being put to his oath, deponed, that Strafford ſaid to



him, he was unable to come. This so great unweellness was so much the more doubted, as for the witnessing of it, he sent onlie the groome of his chamber, a poor footman within sixteen years; and that to-morrow he was as vigorous as any day before. However, the conclusion was, that to-morrow, whether he was absent or present, they should not fail to go on.

16th Sessio. Saturday, 10th Aprile. All being sett, before the Deputie began to speak, Mr. Glyn pressed to hear some witnesses that they had reserved expresse on the twentieth article. Strafford pressed for the lyke favour, that he might, on some preceeding articles, gett leave to examine witnesses; thereupon aryseth a long debate. The Lords adjourneth. When they returned, their decreet was, the Commons should call what witnesses they pleased; and Strafford also. This the Commons stormed at. After much dangleing, Glyn declared, they were content Strafford should in this [have] equall favour with them; that they fought no more but witnesses to be examined upon ane article, and that these onlie which they had expresse reserved in the tyme: to grant more favour to Strafford than they craved, was manifest unjustice.

The matter was, young Sir Harrie Vane had fallen, by accident, among his Father's papers, on a note wrytten by him as Secretarie, the day of dissolving the last Parliament, wherein was contained the voyces which the Lieutenant, and Canterburie, and Cottingtoun, had given at the councill-board the fifth of May, the day when the Parliament was dissolved, for the Scotts warre, and for the illegall leavying of moneys. Mr. Pym had come in on Sir Harrie Vane in the tyme, and persuaded him to take a double of that note. The principall and all other papers concerning the dissolution of the last Parliament, at the fitting down of this, were burned. The copie by him was produced in the House, and did much confirm the mindes of all Strafford's witnesses; yet for young Sir Harrie's cause, a very gracious youth, they resolved to make no use in publict of his testimonie, except in case of necessitie, which then they conceived was clear. The Lords adjourned one houre large: at their returne, their decree was against the expectation of all. It kythed Strafford's friends were strongest in the Higher House; yea, to our great admiration, we learned that not a man bot Paget voyced otherwayes. My Lord Steward read the first part of it, That the Lords conceived, for gaining of tyme, that both the Commons and Strafford should use no farther witnesses.

The Advocats refused to give any answer, till they had the receipt of the decree ; so my Lord Steward went on, and read, Bot if the Commons thought meet to examine further witnesses, they might doe it in all the articles ; and they, as equall judges to both, conceived that Strafford might doe the same. Att once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him on what articles he would examine witnesses, as if he had no more witnesses. Indeed, whatever he professed, he told them sachie he had, and these he conceived as advantageous to him, as any they had for them ; yet if they would goe on, he would be content to quite that advantage. They did not believe him, but put him to name the articles. He named one, another, a third, a fourth, and not being lyke to make ane end, the Commons, on both the sides of the House, raife in a furie, with a shout of Withdraw ! Withdraw ! Withdraw ! gett all to their feet, on with their hatts, cocked their beavers in the King's fight. We all did fear it should go to a present tumult. They went all away in confusion ; Strafford slipped away to his barge, and to the Tower, glad to be gone lest he should be torn in pieces ; the King went home in silence ; the Lords to their House.

In the afternoon the Commons mett, presentlie resolved on a Bill of Attainture ; that is, to attaint and condemne Strafford in their owne House as judges, and thereafter require the Lords and King to confirme their sentence ; if they refused, to protest, and declare to all their shyres, that they had deserted the Parliament for denyall of justice. While they were on this advysement, the Lords sent a message to them for a conference. They shew, they had no leasure to conferr with them : bot after their conclusion, they sent up some to know the Lords minde ; for the matter was nothing concerning Strafford, for the Lords thought meet yet not to touch that wound, bot another matter, more pleasant to them, the entertainment of the Scotts army for another moneth. The other day, the Commons having found that the Lords, longer than ordinary, neglected to agree with the Scotts Commissioners for a further cessation, fell in fear, lest the King and Lords should keep the Scotts no longer, and so they were undone ; therefore the House, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to crave a furdur cessation bot only for a fortnight ; which tyme did much displease us, for we thought it shew their desyre also to be quicklie ridd of us : bot this difference betwixt the Houses made both at once faine to flatter us,

and give us many good words, albeit no silver; yet they say now that money in store is coming.

On Sunday the 11th following, Dr. Bray, in Westminster Church, made his recantation sermon for licensing Pocklington's "Altare Christianum," and "Sunday no Sabbath." The Lower House ordained the Mayor to see them both burned at Cheapside, and Bray the licenser to read out of a paper, his condemnation of a number of errors, which he had licensed. He did so with a great deal of feigned repentance, for the Lower House this year makes many hypocrites.

On Monday the 12th, with much ado, the Houses were gotten to accord, that the Lower House should come as before, by way of Committee, to follow what remained in their process, passing the debate of new witnesses, and keeping their bill of attainder on foot at their pleasure.

17. On Tuesday the 13th, all being set as before, Strafford made a speech large two hours and an half; went through all the articles, both these three which imported statute-treason, the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh, and others which was alleged, as he spoke, for constructive and consequential treason: First the articles bearing his words, then these which had his counsels and deeds. To all he repeated not [nought] new, but the best of his former answers; and, in the end, after some lashings and flogging, he made such a pathetick oration for an half hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave: doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. The speech you have it here in print. One passage made it most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect of his memory; others, and the most part, for a notable part of his rhetoric; some, that true grief, and remorse at that remembrance, had stopped his mouth; for they say, that his first Lady, the Earl of Clare's sister, being with child, and finding one of his whore's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he stroke her on the breast, whereof shortly she died. Mr. Glyn did follow with a speech three hours long; first did keep his method, and answered what he brought to all, prettily well; then after his own premeditated order, he went through all the twenty-eight articles as they lay, applying them well. The great length of the speech made him fag in the end. He referred the odiousness of the crime to the handling of another.

This was Mr. Pym, who truelie, to the confession of all, in halfe ane hour, made one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages of it, and no more but some, and these defaced, I send yow in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some common hand. To humble the man, God let his memorie faill him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to passe them: I believe the King never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolised prerogative. Strafford, after all, craved the benefite of his counsell from the Lords; the Commons said they would advyse.

The dayes following, there was daylie conference betwixt the Lords and the Commons to hear Strafford's counsell; at last, on Friday, the Commons agreed to it; so on Saturday the Houses mett as before. Mr. Lane, the Prince's Attorney, spake for ane half hour of the statutes of treason, shewing all he could, that none of Strafford's alleadged actions did come under them. After him, Mr. Gardner, Recorder of London, offered to handle any law question, when the Lords would propone a particular case; but till then they would say no more at random. For diverse dayes thereafter the House of Commons went on with their Bill of attainure. When it was readie and read three diverse dayes, at last it was voyced and carried, only fifty-eight contradicting. For this there was great joy among us all, and praise to God. These friends of Strafford's were much discountenanced by all honest men. Some printed their names, and fixed them on publict wayes. My Lord Digbie, their chief, was very near put in the Tower; but with many fair words he gott himself off: yet his credite in the House is gone; whereof we are glad, for he is a great patron of Bishops. The Lower House is more united than ever, and they say not far from a Covenant. They went with a bill to the Higher House. It was bot coldlie receaved there. My Lord Savill, one of the stoutest Lords in all England for the countrey and our cause at first, bot since we made him a councilour, clearlie the court-way for Strafford and all the court-designes; he thought the receaving of the bill into the House prejudiciall to the priviledge of the Peers. Essex took him presentlie up, and required him to explaine himself: while he is doing it, Stamford admonisheth him, he did not explaine the words he spake, bot others. He replied, that Stamford durst not

ſpeak fo to him in another place. He answered, if both were without the barre, he would ſpeak fo to him in another place ; and he durſt not challenge it. The reſt cryeth on them to withdraw. Stamford readilie removeth, Savill ſat ſtill till Effex cryed to him to remove. They packed it up betwixt themſelves thus and ſua. In the mean tyme the Commons was voyceing downe the precedencie of York, as a needleſs and hurtfull court. This ſtroke Savill to the heart ; for it was his great deſigne to be Prefident in Strafford's ſtead. When the Commons the other day voyced the Convocation-men in a fyne one hundred and fixty thouſand pound ſterling, Canterburie in twenty thouſand, Yorke's benefice in ten thouſand, Wren in five thouſand, the reſt proportionable, and their benefices to be ſequeſtred till that money be paid to the Lords of the Scotts Treatie, they excepted Savill from the faſhrie of that receipt, being taken up with the affaires of State, and laid that burden on Stamford, though none of the treaters. The Commons moved the Lords to crave the King's long delayed anſwer to their three propoſitions. Yeſterday they gott their anſwer, little to their contentment, (after we had given the Prince of Orange the complement,) we heard, in the Banquetting-houſe, where the King mett both the Houſes. To the firſt, of removeing Papiſts from Court, he ſaid he would doe it ; bot with alſe little ſcandall as can be. To the ſecond, of difarming the Papiſts, he was content it ſhould be done according to law. To the third, the diſbanding of the Iriſh army, he ſaid, he had been thinking oft on it, bot there was difficulties in it ; that it was his intention to diſſolve all the armies, and ſettle all his dominions in that peace wherein he received them from his Father ; bot for that end two things was neceſſare, the ſatiſfaction of the Scotts grievances, and money. Of the laſt they were the only maſters ; and the ſooner they provyded for it, it was the better : In the firſt, though he was judge, yet with their advyce, with all diligence he would take a finall courſe.

This day, Mr. St. John, the King's Solicitor, before both the Houſes, to ſatiſſie the ſcruples which might marre the Lords in paſſing the Commons Bill of attainure, did ſhew, in a ſpeech of three hours, how the facts proven of Strafford were high treason, expreſſie againſt many ſtatutes, and answered all the lawes ſeeming to import the contrarie : and however no law had made them treason, yet by a number of examples in their law, he ſhew how the Parliament might very legallie condemne his ſingular caſe, of everting all

law, of treason. Upon some feares of escape, the Lords, at the Commons desyre, hath commanded Sir William Balfour to keep him close prisoner. Bot no more now adoe, bot the Lords, one of these dayes, to confirme the bill; and then the King's confirmation must be had. Unhappie men putts the King dailie in harder straits. Had the Commons gone on in the former way of purfuit, the King might have been a patient, and only beheld the striking off of Strafford's head; but now they have put them on a bill, which will force the King either to be our agent, and formall voycer to his death, or else doe the world knows not what. The Prince of Orange's marriage is expected shall be solemnised on Sunday nixt. Whether the Princeffe, of ten years old, shall be sent to Holland presentlie, we know not.

All foreign news yow have in four or five printed gazets. All the papers of our Treatie yow have also. Whether our Parliament keeps the date, and our Treatie ends presentlie, I yet know not. They have now put the King on thoughts of comeing to Scotland in June; Our unfriends are the authors of these counsells; bot a very few dayes will open many secrettis. Pray to God for our cause and Church: God will help us against all, men and devills: No man is to be trusted; the best is naturallie false.

Dear Brethren, neglect not my place, fain would I be at it to disburden yow of that cure; you may believe me without oath. The length of this recompenses the delay of it so much the more, as preaching and printing gives me little spare tyme. The Lord be with yow all, and send us a blyth and short meeting.

Your Brother and fervant,

R. BAILLIE.

Our post hath staid some dayes longer than we expected; so know further, that on Saturday, the 1st of May, the King came to the Higher House, called for the Lower House, declared to them, that in his conscience Strafford was free of all treason. The speech yow have here, together with the Citie's last petition for justice. The Commons the day before had sent up to the Lords two bills; one for the Turkish pirates, which oft taketh slaves from the west part of England; another for the Romish pirates, to have the Cleargie out of all Civill power, and the Bishops out of the Higher House. The King in

private declared his resolution never to yield to such a motion. All these things coming together on the Commons, put them in a high mood. They thought themselves slighted in all things; they saw, that Strafford's paper informations did yet guide all; they went down to their House in great discontentment. Mr. Pym, lest they should break out in some rash distemper, advised to adjourn the house till Monday, without speaking of any purposes. His counsel was followed.

On Sunday, in the King's chapel, both the Queens being present at service, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York led in Princess Mary to the chapel, convoyed with a number of ladies of her own age, of nine and ten years, all in cloath of silver. The Prince of Orange went in before, with the ambassadors, and his cousins of Tremuill and Nassau: the King gave him his bride; good Bishop Wren made the marriage. At night, before all the Court, they went to bed in the Queen's chamber. A little after the King and Queen had bidden the bridegroom good-night, as their sone, he, as it was appointed, arose, and went to his bed in the King's chamber. The precipitation of this marriage is feared by manie.

We have mett at length sometimes with Dr. Rivett: he is one fullie in our minds, and against the Bishops. On Monday, some thousands of citizens and prentises awaited all day at Westminster, cryed to everie Lord as they went out and in, in a loud and hideous voyce, for justice against Strafford, and all traitors. In the afternoon, being informed, that the Lieutenant of the Tower had received a warrant to take in, upon his alleadgeance, ane hundred souldiers, with a captain, who had been Strafford's page, they gave in a paper of this. The Lords was faine to mitigate them with good words; also to fend for the guard of the Tower that night, Essex, Brooke, and Newport, with five hundred of the trained band of the Hamlets. All this tyme the Lower House was inclosed from seven in the morning to eight at night. After much debate, at last, blessed be the name of the Lord, they all swore and subscribed the wryte which here you have, I hope in substance our Scottish Covenant. God maketh our enemies the instruments of all our good. We see now, that it hath been in a happie tyme that so much tyme hath been losed about Strafford's head. Bot to-day, and hereafter, great things are expected, whereof you shall be advertised.

May 4th, Tuesday 1641.

This day was spent on the subscribing and swearing of the protestation in the Higher House. The Bishops have put their hand to it, and we like it all the worse. We are perplexed only for one point of it, which was passed partly through inadvertence, partly because no more could be obtained. In the doctrine of the church of England, in the articles of their conclusion, both bishops and ceremonies are expressed; for which cause diverse of the best refuse to subscribe in the City. Many commentaries are fetched to elude this; but the most satisfactory is, that at swearing and subscribing in the Lower House, it was declared expressly, by the doctrine they meant not the government and ceremonies, and that quickly they shall declare this, by ingiving of Bills against both. If this be, all is well; else not. Wednesday a sudden bruit ran through the city, that the Papists had set the Lower House on fire, and had beset it with arms: in a clap all the city is in alarm; shops closed; a world of people in arms run down to Westminster. When they come, they find the report altogether groundless. The matter was, about ten of the clock some coming out of the Lower House, had said there was hot work and a great fire within; which being mistaken, put the rash and foolish alarm abroad. The hot work was a most weighty matter indeed, the debating upon a designe, which is alleadged the English army was set on, to march towards London for dissolving the Parliament. If this be true, it will be the most dangerous piece for the Court that yet has been spoken of. However, all the servants of the King and Queen are commanded to attend, and no where to depart till they be tried in this strange affair. All their things hold out our affairs as if they were not. This is a feeding storme. At supper this night we hear that the Lower House, in the afternoon, has voyced, that it is a part of their sworn liberty, that no Parliament shall be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of the Commons House. The Higher House has, with one consent, voyced Strafford guilty of the facts charged, especially in the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh articles; only nineteen, who were either his allies or witnesses, went out before voycing. To-morrow, it is thought, they will find these facts treason, and his head to be forfeit. His petition to reply to St. John was rejected. Pembroke, Chamberlain of the King's house, Dorset of the Queen's, Newcastle of the Prince's, came and arrested all the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince, both men and wo-



men, that they sturr not without the King and Parliament's leave ; the fairest way that can be to stay the voyages (which they say, was intended presentlie after the Prince of Orange's dismissal,) of the King's to the armie, of the Prince's to Wales, of the Queen's to Portsmouth, whether long agoe they say her jewels went ; a place, they say, to be fortified for receaving of the French. These things are like to draw deep. The King is now verie sad and pensive ; yet no man hes the least intention against him : if they had, the Scotts, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts blood : bot the farthest is the punishing of false knaves, who hes too long abused the King and us all. The Mayor is commanded to keep a strong watch upon the Tower. Bot I must break off, and leave something till the nixt.

Dear Brethren, have a care of my flock. I hope now to winn home shortly. My best affections to yow all, both brethren and elders. This letter hes twentie-four pages, the other papers hes fortie-two pages. I have sent to my Lord also the seven last Gazets for forraign newes ; also Strafford's and Pym's speech, with the Covenant in print.

Your servant in the Lord,

May 7th [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MRS. BAILLIE AT KILWINNING.]

MY SWEIT HEART,

Gravesend, twenty myles from London, is scarce of paper. I am this farr in my way homeward, without any discontentment, by God's gracious assistance, since I left thee, bot in everie thing by all persons mett with as my heart could wish. This day, the wind and tyde are all faire, our companie and ship is good, we have with us the King's wyne and beer ; we are hopefull of a quick passage. I have been much longing to hear of thy estate ; and behold yesterday, while I am readie to depart from London, I receive my good Lady's<sup>(1)</sup> letter telling me that, on the twentieth of May, thou was, at four afternoon, delivered safe of a daughter ; wherein I much rejoyce and blesses my good God for this favour joynd to all the rest. My voyage will be much

(<sup>1</sup>) Lady Mary Leslie, second daughter of John Earl of Rothes, was married to Hugh Lord Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton.

the lighter of this good news. For recompense, shew to my Lady, and to her onlie, that my Lord, her Father, is lyke to change all the Court; that the King and Queen both begin much to affect him; and if they goe on, he is lyke to be the greatest courteour either of Scotts or English. Lykelie he will take a place in the Bed-chamber, and be little more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclynes, he may have my Lady Devonshyre, (\*) a verie wise lady with four thousand pound Sterling a-year. The wind now blows faire in his top-faile: I wish it may long continue; bot all things here are verie changeable.

My Sweit Heart have a care of thy health. It will be my great joy to finde at my comeing that thow and all my foure children, (the Lord bleffe them,) have been in good case in my absence. The Lord be with thee, my Sweit Heart: I hope to preveene this letter.

Thy owne,

Gravefend, June 2d, [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

Tuesday nine a'clock in the morning.

[TO LORD MONTGOMERY.]

MY LORD,

Gravefend is scant of paper. I am now going to ship. No more news than before. For the present, your Good-father is a good courteour: if it hold, he is lyke to be first both with King and Queen; but fundrie thinks it is so sudder and so great a change that it cannot hold. The King seems yet resolut to goe to Scotland, albeit the difficulties of the journey be great, and daylie on all hands increaseth. It is like this week two hundred thousand pound Sterling shall be delyvered for disbanding of the most of your armie, and good securitie given for the rest. They speak of keeping still in Newcastle the halfe of yow; bot I believe the Bill of abolishing bishops, to be agitat on Thursday, may work a great alteration in manie things; and to the end of this week nothing certain can be pronounced of any thing. I have taken course to be informed by letters how all goes. I have directed to send all

(\*) Lord Rothes at this time was a widower, his wife, Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of John Earl of Marr, having died 2d of May 1640. But he himself died in little more than two months after the date of this letter.

my letters to yow. Your Lordship, for your better information in my absence, may break all up that is directed to me, and clofe all in a paper, to be sent to your Ladie with the first occasion. It seems verie unexpedient yow should, on any occasion, leave the armie for a tuentie dayes; for in that time it is lyke manie things, now uncertain, shall be determined. Your letters from the Generall, from Balmerinock, from the Committee, wryting for Mr. Robert Blair and me by name, made us to goe before it was meet. When we heard that Mr. Harie Rollock, Mr. James Bonner, Mr. James Bruce, and others, were come up, all here, commissiioners and others, thought our comeing to Newcastle needles; which your Lordship will declare, if any inquyre why we came not. They would gladlie have had us staying when we were readie to goe; bot being so fairlie dismissed once, we would not ingadge againe, being so long absent from our charges. My man, James Laurie, give my letters with him to the Generall-Major Baillie, to Meldrum and Durie; prevade not to obtaine him his pay; your Lordship must assist him with the Generall to obtaine my most reasonable desire. The master is calling us a shipboard: I must break off. The Lord be with your Lordship.

Your Lordship's fervant,

Gravefend, June the 2d, [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

Tuesday morning, ten a'clock.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSINE,

Your letter with Robert Gray, and your book, I received, for which accept manie thanks. For some part of recompence, receive, herein inclosed, a compt of the most part of my voyage, in the autographes of these my letters, which I caused keep for this verie end, that yow might understand all that I had written, or the most part of it. My long letter anent the Lieutenant yow received before; some of my letters are away, bot yow have here enough. Upon the sea we were fra Wednesday morning till Mononday. God was verie gracious to us in this most dangerous sea; we were once tattered on a sand-bed, had the wind been as it was the day before, or all the day after, our vesshell had been dung in shards; as it was, we spake to two

catches [ketches] to ryde one on everie fyde of us : it pleased God the day fell calme, and when we had been prifoners fra fix houres in the morning, the evening tyde lifted us up and put us to the sea. After that, we had some storme for fixteene houres, our ship fell leek, it was verie evill ballast, and heiled much; bot our chief danger was about the Holy Island: the wind served us not to go about the blind rocks, where there are frequent shipwracks, we behoved to go through them, we fell in a calme, so at verie midnight we fell among them; great was the fear of the whole companie, yet God brought us through that death, blessed be his name! I resolve, if I may goe be land, never more to faile that coast.

When we come to Edinburgh, we fand ane verie evill spirit had been stirring, and much prevailing both in Church and State, a wicked plott, desperate, devilish, and new, to have accused in the presence of the King and Parliament, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Rothes, of words, at least of highest treason, and to have proven them by suborned witnesses. The ground of this is not yet found out, you shall hear more of it at once; bot had it succeeded, we had all fallen in a woefull miserie and ane bloodie butcherie; bot God strangelic discovering it, hes made it evanish and turne much to our good. The same evill spirit was stirring in our Church; great heat betuixt fundrie ministers and fundrie people; great murmurings and fear as if divisions for Brownistick questions had been apparent. I wondered to see so much dinn on no ground to compt of; I dealt earnestlie with Argyle to draw together some of the wyfest humors of both, and draw them to some agreeance before the Assëmblic. This I hope, before now, will be done, so, in despyte of the devill, we shall have no trouble from these toys. How all will goe expect to hear after the Assëmblic. Argyle hes made Mr. Johnstoune to wryte to me to make haste to come to Edinburgh for the settling of these things: I mynde to ryde to-morrow. This day our Parliament sits down. The question of Episcopacie letts not the King yet winn home; the Lower House hes passed the Bill for taking away root and branch, for which immortall glory be given to the name of the great God, who can doe all he pleases, in his tyme, by meanes unexpected. The Higher House is expected will let that same Bill passe; and that the King, who yet remains most averse from swallowing down that most bitter pill, will be at last brought to it. In the mean tyme, the event of that Bill and tryall of the plotts there to

have violented the Parliament and City of London, holds all things fra conclusion. Traquair and Balcanquall they fay are fled. Our Parliament is defyred by the King to goe on, for by no meanes we would hear of farder procraftination, with affurance of his coming down in the beginning of the nixt moneth. Our Affemblye fitts down at St. Andrewes on Tuefday nixt. Glafgow is to preffe my transportation, I and all my friends are fhortlie to oppofe : the event is the Lord's.

I have read bot parcells of your book ; all that I hear fpeaks weell of it : I wifh fundrie words and phrafes were examined by fome there who hes skill, if they be *fatis Latina* : I doubt of fundrie, bot truelie my skill in that facultie now is fo fmall that I dare fay nothing ; however, polifh you ftill, fo much as you may, that you may perfyte that work, which in my judgement will both bring profite to our caufe, honour to our countrey, and deferved commendation to you for ever ; you fhall not want the beft information I, or any I can move, is able to furnifh. By all meanes preffe Paget by printing his book, alfo Rivett as he promifed, and what you can with Voetius, and Cloppenburgh. If my Paralell, my Antidote, my Queftione of Epifcopacie, my Replie to the Modest Advertifer, be not yet come to your hands, you muft write to London to Robert Inglish, or fome other, to call for them at the fhop of Mr. Gillibrand in Paul's Churchyard, at the Brafen Serpent ; they will be about ane fixpence the piece : the two laft were not printed out when I come away, bot now I hope they are. Continue to write at length your forrane occurrents. I was ever feared for a revolt in France, fo greivous hes that government been thefe manie years. If Caffilion be routed, and Lorrain played the falfe pultron, it is lyke France will be forced to let Spain draw breath, which were a great pitie. No appearance for help to the poor Palatine yet here ; yet at laft it is lyke, when a new heart is put in our Court, as the face of it is much changed alreadie, there will be great and powerfull affiftance given to him from this. If the Swedds and confederats can keep the fields till the nixt Spring, it is lyke the Britifh Army may appear in Germany for fome better purpofe than hitherto. I wifh how you could finde a way to get your great men fett on a profitable ftudie : a pitie that Salmafius, Voffius, and Heinfius fhould fo triffe their dayes about toys ; I think Dr. Rivett, if he laid it to heart, could move the Prince and State, or elfe the *Curatores Academiae*, or the provinciall Synods, or all of them, to

interceed, so farr as their preffing request or authoritie or rewards could goe, to have these great spirits sett on work on these things which are most profitable for the Reformed Churches, especiallie to vindicate antiquitie from the hands of Baronius and other Papists; bot not in such a longfome, fruitles, humanistick way as Casaubon and Montague hes begun; for this way is infinite, and one Centurie by all three shall not be past through till they die. A pitie of pities that there should be so little witt, zeale, or authoritie in all these lands as to gett use made of all these treasures God hes given them. Sett your minde to see what ye can doe to help it. I wish Salmasius be no worfe employed than on the Pope against Petavius: Yet it were better to contemne opposites, and sett himself to delyver his own minde. Yow know that by setting Stapleton, Durie, and others on Whittaker,<sup>(3)</sup> they diverted that man from farr better work; but I must end. The Lord be with yow and your wife.

Kilwinning, 15th July [1641.]

R. BAILLIE.

Thursday.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSIN,

Since your last, the first of August, you have, I think, received two of mine, and this is a third (if vertue were in length) worth any six of yours. That fellow of Ranthrow [Renfrew] yow wryte of, I tryed of the brethren of Dumbarton and Pasley to be ane slight man, without letters or good manners. All he sayes of his Irish persecutions and testimonies from us, seem to be allutterlie false.

The carriage of our Affembly was thus. Since the Affembly of Aberdeen [1640] there was a continuall heart burning betwixt the favourers of Mr. Harie Guthrie and Leckie; as in my discourse of that Affembly yow may see, I foretold. As I came from London through Edinburgh, I fand the misunderstanding so great, that I advyfed Argyle to take notice of it in tyme; and when Mr. Archibald Johnstone came home, I wryt to him to

<sup>(3)</sup> William Whitaker, D.D. an eminent English Divine, who distinguished himself by his Controversial Writings. He died in 1595.

draw some of the parties together for advyement how to preveene discord. For all that both could doe, at my coming to Edinburgh on Saturday, the 17th of July, I fand Leckie, and many that favoured him, peremptor, not only to accuse Mr. Harie Guthrie, bot to have the Acts of Aberdeen about meetings and read prayers cancelled. They were much galled with the slanders went upon them for the abusers of privie meetings, and other things falselie fathered on them. On the other part, Mr. Harie, and many with him, were no less resolute to defend all that passed in Aberdeen, and to have sharp censurs concluded in the next Assembly against all that were for novations, not approved by our Church. With those mindes went too many to St. Andrewes, as it had been a place of combate. Our only remedie against such scandalous debates were our prayers to God, which carefullie were offered, the Sabbath before we came from home, in a solemn humiliation for a blessing to the ensueing Assembly. This labour we found was not for nought; for at once we fand the good hand of God with us above expectation.

The King had sent his warrand to my Lord Weems to sitt, with as ample a Commission as either Hamilton or Traquair. His Majestie intended this service for Southesk, by Traquair's advyce, who yet had too great hand in affaires; bot Mr. Henderfone diverted the King from that man, towards whom the countrey had so evill ane eye. For what special respects Weems fell to be next, I doe not know; however the modestie and simplicitie of the man made him displeasing to none.

When we came to St. Andrewes, our first perplexitie was about a Moderator. Mr. Henderfone was passionatelie desired in so hard a tyme; bot there was [no] certaintie of his presence. Mr. Harrie Rollock, on whom the voyces would have fallen next, had of purpose absented himself. The rest who were mett were esteemed so far engaged to the question to be debated: judge what strait then of men was there, when the lyke of me, who to this day had declyned to moderate a Presbyterie, was shored to be leeted for to moderate a Generall Assembly. Yet, after much secret advyement with his Grace the Commissioner, on Mononday, with much adoe, that difficultie was overcome.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the first day of the Assembly, the last moderator, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, preached the 122d Psalme. According to his way, he went over it all. His much kything of lecture was not to all favourie; bot

his falling flatt on all the particular questions in hand, eagerlie enough, as if our Kirk were presentlie burning with schisme, did favour to none of so much prudence as the tyme did require. The matter was nothing helped in the afternoon ; Mr. David Dickfone, antecedent moderator, as appeared to many, too passionatelic vindicating the credit of religious people from unjust flanders, and urgeing the repentance of such Ministers, who, with their conformitie, had brought latelie our Church to the brink of ruine, did highlie offend very many who were not farr from challenging him publicklic, as contradictorious to Mr. Andrew [Ramfay.] The first day of our Assemblic is appointed for fasting and humiliation. Of this disposition there was not so much this day among us as needed. After sermons we mett in the hall of the Old Colledge. Mr. Andrew did pray ; the commissiions received by Mr. Archbald [Johnstoune] ; many of the commissiioners were members of parliament ; diverse others also, upon the certain expectation of the Assemblic's translation to Edinburgh, had not come over. His Grace's commissiion in Latine was read ; one claufe thereof importing the Assemblic's translation, at the Commisfioner's advyce, was demurred on by the Clerk, as intrinsing on the Assemblic's liberties ; yet it was not publicklic questioned. A letter from his Majesty to the Assemblic, so full of grace and favour as we could have wished, was read : the copie yow have at (A). The answering of it was laid on Mr. David Lindesay of Belhelvie. His draught in the end of Edinburgh Assemblic was read ; bot it was so long and luxuriant, that our Mr. Henderfone was caused to make that short, decifed, and nervous answer you have at (B).

The Parliament had sent over a Commisfioner to us, one from ilk estate, Cassills, Auldbar, Provost of Dyfart, intreating, without any prescription, that, in regard many of them were members of the Assemblic, [but] could not, without detriment to the publick, attend at St. Andrewes, we would be pleased to translate the Assemblic to Edinburgh ; also that we would be pleased to enter in no weightie action, especiallic in choosing a Moderator, wherein they desired to have voyce, before we returned to Edinburgh. In the translation there was no difficultie, bot in the delay to choose a Moderator the difficultie was hudge. The most thought the Assemblic could not be constitute, and was so incapable to perform any act, let be so great a one as to move a translation, before a Moderator was chosen. Some leading men, who would have had the moderation to themselves, or to these who did favour their intentions, did urge a



present election. The matter was remitted to the next session; wherein, to our great comfort, it was determined with far greater ease than any expected. Many of us thinking the delay impossible to be obtained, had concluded to voice to [for] Mr. James Boner; yet to-morrow, the earnestness of the Commissioners from the Parliament, the Clerk finding in the Register some such old practice, the certain hopes of Mr. Henderfone's near return, his Grace permitting the matter to our own option, (whileas before some about him had made him declare oft, that that delay would legally evacuate his commission,) Mr. David Dagleish overcoming in boldness his good friend Mr. Harie Guthrie, and stoutly reasoning the sufficient formalitie of continuing, by voices, the old Moderator, *ad hunc actum*, to transferre, and to choyse a new Moderator in the beginning of the translated Assemblée, by pluralitie of voices it was clearly carried. We took that for a certain preface of God's assistance in all subsequent purposes.

The next Session was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 27th. No more but a supplication of D. Houy<sup>(4)</sup> read, wherein he complained, that after his long service in the Kirk and Divinitie-schools, he had been made to demitt his place, by threats, in his extreme old age and extreme povertie. The case was very invidious, and reflected much on his colleagues in the Town and New Colledge. The matter, I heard, was, that he, as Principall, had given warrant for lifting of the New Colledge rent, whiles to a wicked knave his son, whiles to Dr. Panter, and to others; so that no compt could be made by him of much money. Mr. Samuel Rutherford, I think, caused complain of this to the Committee of Estates when we were at London. They sent over Newton and William Ridg<sup>(5)</sup> with a commission, rigorous enough, either to gett a compt of him, or to lay him in ward. Upon the fear of this evill, he offered to demitt his place; and his dimission was taken, reserving fyve hundreth merks a year to him for his intertainment. When his supplication came to be considered in Edinburgh, his good friend Mr. Henderfone guided it so, that, with ane great deall of commendation to the old man, large as great, I am sure, as he ever deserved, it was voyced, that his dimission should be rendered to him; that, according to the acts of

(4) Dr. Robert Howie. He was brought from Dundee, in July 1607, to succeed Andrew Melville as Professor of Divinity, and Provost of St. Mary's or the New Colledge, St. Andrews.

(5) Sir John Leslie of Newton and William Rigg of Athernie.

our old Assemblies anent failed ministers or professors, he should all his lifetime enjoy his full rent and honour, without any diminution.

When we came back to Edinburgh, to our great joy we found Mr. Henderfone and Mr. Gillefpie come home. That week was spent in privie consultations for accommodating the feared differences. Argyle and Caffills drew together in Loudoun's chamber the Ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Cant, me, and some others. All the Ministers of Edinburgh were chaffed at their people's carriage toward them : they would have been at the simple discharge of all privie meetings, bot those of a familie ; and for this the Act of Aberdeen was alleadged by them and many moe : for this the other partie would have had that Act recalled or exponed. I marvell much of both their forgetting the meaning and occasion of that Act, sett down at length to you in my letters. Then it was at last agreed, that Aberdeen Acts should be altogether miikend ; that a draught should be made for ordering these meetings now in question. The paper drawne up by Mr. Henderfone the 10th of June, which pleased all weell that I had conferred with, bot mislyked [by] the Ministrie of Edinburgh, and above all Mr. David Calderwood could not abyd it : the clause into it of the number, which I lyked best, did most mislyke them ; they alleadged the permitting of any to meet, in the smallest number, was ane establisshing by ane act the thing itself. Many meetings there was for little purpose. It was appointed, that Mr. Dickfone and Mr. Blair should meet with Mr. Henderfone and Mr. William Colvin, and sett down their mindes. Their draught was long, and too generall. It was laid again on Mr. David Dickfone, with whom he pleased, to wryte down his minde. That forme also did not please. At last Mr. Henderfone affayed it. His modell lyked us best ; yet Mr. David Calderwood started mightilie at it. We defyred Mr. David to dyte what he pleased : notwithstanding we were all refreshed with a certaine hope of a solid agreement ; for Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Blair, and the rest who were suspected of innovating, did purge themselves fullie of all such intentions, and were readie to receive any of the modells any had proponed. And being posed, what was their minde anent all the novations ? Mr. Andrew Ramsfay could enumerat such as, omitting Glory to the Father, Kneeling in the pulpit, discountenancing read prayers, and the rest. They gave answer to satisfaction, that betwixt us and them there was no discrepantie at all. At last Mr.

Henderfone fell on that modell, which thereafter was voyced and printed. This happie concord, whereof Argyle and Mr. Henderfone were the happie instruments, will, we trust, have a great blessing to this whole land, which every where began to be fashed with idle toyes and scruples.

On Tuefday, the 27th of July, we mett before noon in the Grayfriars. After prayer, Mr. Andrew Fairfoull required that his commiffion might be given to Mr. Henderfone, in regard that the Presbytrie had chofen Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Alexander Henderfone if he fhould be prefent, and him only in cafe of Mr. Henderfone's abfence; fo, albeit Mr. John Adamfone had, at his own hand, put in his own name in the commiffion, at the firft meeting in St. Andrewes, and he had voyced there as commiffioner, yet Mr. Henderfone being now prefent, he required to be free of the burden, which he had undertaken only in cafe of his abfence. While the matter is going to voyceing, Mr. David Calderwood, albeit no commiffioner, did reafon very paffionatelie, that Mr. Henderfone was incapable of a commiffion; in this Mr. Henderfone did fecond him: alwayes, when it came to voyceing, Mr. Henderfone's commiffion was unanimouflic received. The nixt queffion was, about the lite for a new Moderator. The old fafhion was, that the former Moderator lited whom he would, and the Affemblic added whom they pleafed: Ane overture had pafft att Aberdeen, that every Provincially Synod fhould have one of their number to be on the lites for Moderator, one to be on the committee of Bills, one for the Reports, and one for the Overtures. The Northlandmen preffed much to have it fo; bot it was found unreafonable; and that overture, not being an act, and not being booked, was rejected. Yet they got Belhelvie eiked to the lite which Mr. Andrew [Ramsay] gave in. Mr. Henderfone declined earneftlic the burden of Moderation: alwayes the moft of the votes fell on him. The noblemen were for Mr. Harie Rollock, fome for Bonner, fome for Belhelvie, none at all for Adamfone, Dagliesh, Somervell, Mr. A. Blackhall. No more was done in that feffion; only Argyle told us, that the Parliament was content to have bot one feffion in the day, and that in the afternoone, hopeing the Affemblic would be pleafed to make bot one feffion alfo, and that in the forenoon, that fo the Commiffioners might gett both Affemblic and Parliament attended. This was agreed to.

Wednefday 28th. The Moderator read the overtures which I had drawn

up, and were enacted at Aberdeen, for ordering of the House. He did presse them all; yet, through negligence to exact them thereafter, we fell at once into our old misorders. Alwayes we expect that the exact order the Parliament hes now taken for ruleing of their house, will make us, ere long, follow their good example. He read also a list of names for the committees of Bills and Reports. Now for the Overtures: till those of Aberdeen were considered, verie hardlie would he permitt any to be added to those of his own number: for assessors to himself, he shew, he would advertise privilie those whom most he needed. Four were named to appoint preachers for all the Churches, of which Mr. James Bonner, my good friend, being chief, by his favour I gott my self shifted of that burden, as in all this Assembly I did what I could to hold my self quiet, and weell near mute. Mr. David Calderwood fell on again impertinentlie, and verie peevishlie, as if it had been almost a null, an evill constitute meeting, for being translated without a Moderator permanent, and choosing of him for Moderator who had no commiffion. Mr. Henderfone dealt verie patientlie, and respectfullie with him: at last his Grace commanded him to silence.

The Moderator did cause read some letters, which was given him in England for the Assembly. The first was from a number of our gracious brethren of the ministrie at London and about it, congratulating our happie proceeding, shewing their hopes to gett our discipline established there, telling that some of their brethren, who were for Independencie of congregations, were great hinderance to that designe; also that they did give out that some of the most eminent men in the ministrie with us, inclined their way. The men they meant be (Mr. Henderfone told us) were Mr. David Dickfone, and Mr. Andrew Cant; bot none in all the Assembly were more against Independencie than these two. The matters, after some dayes, were voyced; all in one voice rejected that conclusion, <sup>(6)</sup> as contrare directlie to our Covenant; and appointed Mr. Henderfone to wryte a courteous answer to our Inglissh brethren; which he did verie accuratelie: if I can, yow shall have the copie thereof. The nixt was from one Mr. Durie, for assistance to his Negociation of peace among Protestants. Whill some were beginning to say somewhat to the man's

<sup>(6)</sup> As to Independency. In the MS., it is "Rejected that confusion." The Letter there referred to "from some Ministers in England," dated 12th of July, and the Assembly's Answer, 9th of August, are printed in the Acts of the General Assembly 1641.

prejudice, I excused all, so that his motion was received; and it was laid on Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gillefpie, and me, to frame an answer. We left the labour to Mr. Blair, who did it weell enough, in a fair gentile generall, appointing him, when he pleased, to keep correspondence with the ministers of Edinburgh. A third was from Dr. Sibbald of Aberdeen, supplicating for his books, which at the prior Affembly were taken from him. It was granted he should have all except some of his sermons, whereon a part of his proceffe was grounded. A fourth was from Mr. John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, supplicating that his place, for a little tyme more, might be kept for him. It was rejected as unreasonable, and his Presbytrie ordained to plant his place; yea, order was given, that none who had delayed so long to come in the Covenant should be received, without a singular measure of satisfaction and tryall, to be approved by the Generall Affembly. The Moderator did fall on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechisme, a Directorie for all the parts of the publick worship, and a Platforme of Government, wherein possible England and we might agree. All did approve the motion; and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with libertie to vake from preaching whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did decline to undertake it, yet it will lie on him; and readilie in this he may doe some good.

Thursday 29th. The Moderators of the Committees had no matter prepared for the Affembly; so we putt off that session with generall discourses, especially upon the matter of translation, which had most troubled us in bygone Synods, and was lyke to doe so in this also. Ane Committee was appointed to find out overtures for that difficult matter. Leif I should be prejudged, I got on it my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay. Glasgow also, by their importunitie, gott on Dr. Strang and Mr. David Dickfone. The Presbyterie of Glasgow, it were long to tell yow the way how they shifted both Mr. David Dickfone and Mr. Robert Ramfay from being commissioners. This was verie evill taken by the whole countrey, and turned over to Glasgow's prejudice: yet Mr. David was used no other wayes by the Affembly, nor if he had been a prime commissioner. This Committee did nothing for a day or two, and that, it was publickly compleaned, because Dr. Strang and Mr. David, for their own interest, did marr the rest; so they, and with

them my Lord Eglintoun and Mr. Robert Barclay, were removed from that Committee. Thereafter they blocked a number of tolerable overtures; the conclusion whereof was remitted to the next Generall Affemblic. The Moderator advyfed the Towne of Edinburgh, and other prime Burrowes, to intertain abroad some good fpirits, who might be their owne, if they proved apt for their fervice. Also he fhew the expediencie of calling home one Mr. Thomas Young<sup>(1)</sup> from England, the author of *Dies Dominica*, and of the *Synctymnias* [*Smectymnuus*] for the moft part; and of Mr. Colvin from Sedan, to whofe commendation he fpake much: If he hath done any thing in print, let us have it, and wryte what yow know of his abilities. There was a Committee appointed to confider the ftate of our farre remote Churches of the Ifles, of Lochquaber, of Orknay, and Shetland. Some prefent courfe was taken for Lochquaber, and it was laid on Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. Andrew Affleit [Affleck], to goe in the fpring and vifit Arran and fome near Ifles. There was a Committee appointed to confider the advancement of the weell of Colledges and Schools. All their confultations we hope in tyme will produce good effects.

Fryday 30th, came in a number of particular bills: yea, fome dayes thereafter, there came more than two hundred, for augmentation of ftipends, for dividing or changinge of churches; all which, without reading, were referred to the Parliament: regraits for the increafe of enormous finnes in the land, the removeing of monuments of fuperftition, from diverfe parts of the countrie, yet remaining, was recommended to the Prefbyteries. Mr. John Guthrie, Bifhop of Murray, fent out of the tolbooth, to the Affemblic, a fupplication to conferre with the Moderator, and fome others. All the fubject of his difcourfe with them, as alfo of diverfe conferences he had before with the Minifters of Edinburgh, was onlie a ftiff wrangling about the formalitie of the proceffe of his excommunication. He fent in another fupplication thereafter for the fame end, bot was neglected; for he and others of thofe men,

(1) This learned Divine probably never received fuch a call to settle in his native country. He was afterwards a Member of the Affembly of Divines at Westminster, and for fome years Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He died at Stow-market in 1655. But what in our day may be regarded as his chiefest diftinction, he was private preceptor to Milton; and of his pupil's affection (as Mr. Todd obferves) for his early tutor, his Fourth Elegy "Ad THOMAM JUNIUM præceptorem suum," &c. and two Latin Epiftles, are public testimonies.

seems to be obdured in perversness: yet it is lyke, that if the King and we had settled sure in Parliament, there is few of them, if any, bot will supplicat to be permitted to doe all that shall be prescryved.

Saturday 31st, onlie particular bufiness was handled, not worth the wryting. Aberdeen, in their commiffion from the Generall Affembly, had mett and decerned Mr. George Gillespie, then at London, for their towneminister, and Mr. Edward Wright for their divinitie-professor, in Marifhall Colledge. Mr. George's cause came then to be handled. His Grace<sup>(8)</sup> did plead, that those fifty years he and his people had been vexed with a most weak minister; that he had gotten Mr. George admitted the first in Scotland without the Bishops consent. Mr. George spake weell for himself; that he nor his people were never advertised till the decret was past, and diverse other things. The dispute was long and hott: it was remitted to the next session. Argyle spake of the regrate manie ministers made [respecting the] under payment of their stipends, desired the Affembly to find overtures for reamead, and promised the Parliament would consider what should be proponed.

On Sunday afternoone, before the commissioners, I heard Mr. Blair teach very gravelie for peace, and abstinence from all such meetings, as in former tymes had been very profitable, bot now were unexpedient, unlawfull, and schismaticall. This some did mistake, bot the most tooke it very weell from him. Truelie, I bear that man record, that in all his English voyages, in manie passages of the Affembly, private and publick, he did contribute as much to the pacifieing of our differences as any, and much more than manie. That day ane very unhappie accident fell in the hand of a minister, Mr. Thomas Lamb, who had been depofed by the blind Bishop of Galloway, for diverse quarrells. The ministrie of Edinburgh had obtained to him a church in the Presbytrie of Peebles. The man had alwayes been of a verie contentious humour. They say he had striken a man, whereof he died. However his Presbytrie, for his perversness and contentions, had suspended him. He had appealed to the Generall Affembly. The committee, on Saturday, had agreed them, and remitted him to the Presbytrie. On Sunday, after both sermons in Leith, he told Mr. James Power that he was displeas'd with that accord, and would complean to the Affembly, both of the committee and his Presby-

(8) The Commissioner to the Assembly, John Earl of Wemyss. Gillespie continued as Minister of the parish of Wemyss until his removal to Edinburgh in 1642.

trie. Immediatelie goeing to ease himself among the stufte, a young man to whom the stufte belonged, fell upon him with evill language, taking up his cloake and gloves : after some mutuall jarring, when he had gotten his cloak and gloves again, he fell in some quarrelling with the young man, and with his whinger stroke him, whereof presentlie he died. He wrote a pitifull supplication to the Assēblie, to obtain some delay of his execution, till his wife and friends might come to him. This was granted. He obtained easilie a letter of Sleans from the partie ; bot we think the Constable will cause execute him; and so much the more, because he a minister, on the Sabboth-day, had committed that villanie in the tyme of the Assēblie and Parliament.

Monunday, the 2d of August, the Parliament satt not, so wee had two sēssions. The forenoon was taken up with the busines of Aberdeen. Mr. Andrew Cant laid out Aberdeen's necessities patheticklie ; Mr. David Lindsay and Provest Leslie, shew their proceeding in Mr. Gillespie's election to have been punctuallie according to the words of the commission. Notwithstanding the Moderator, desyreing Mr. George's stay still in Fyfe for the use of St. Andrewes, did so state the question, for all the Northlandmen could say to the contrare, and notwithstanding also of Argyle's evident seconding them, his abode at Weems was carried by pluralitie of voyces. Yea, when they pressed Mr. Edward Wright's transportation, albeit all that favoured Mr. David Dickson did voyce for them, yet they lost that cause also ; in regard [it was] manifest, that before the meeting of that committee Mr. Edward was admitted to the church of Glasgou, and before his citation to come to that committee, or his knowledge of Aberdeen's intention, he was agreed with Glasgou, and had obtained his dismissal from the Presbytrie of Stirling. Mr. Robert Ramfay had sett the town of Glasgou on that man, whereof now I suspect he repents : the man is learned and blameless ; bot it is not lyke Mr. David's way, nor among the most prudent. Factions among that people and Presbytrie is lyke to grow : I wish they come not to a shamefull hearing, and that quicklie, on the occasion of Mr. Hew Blair's election to that toun's ministrie. Sir John Scot's petition, to have a description of our Shyredomes, by some in everie Presbytrie, to be sett before the mappes<sup>(9)</sup> yow have in hand, is granted.

<sup>(9)</sup> Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, was a chief promoter of the important scheme for illustrating the Topography of Scotland, by the publication of a series of County Maps, from original sur-



In the afternoon Mr. Andrew Keer, minister at [Carriden,] being transported by the Provinciall Synod of Louthian to the burrough of Lithgow, had appealed to the Generall Affemblic. His appeal was voyced null. This preparative made Glasgou too eager to call my cause; but they found the cause manie wayes unlyke. At Aberdeen there had been much adoe for planting of Innerneffe. The Laird of Streichan, patron, had presented Mr. James Anan. More than the two part of the parish speaking Irish, obtained Mr. Murdoch Mackainze, a bold weell-spoken man, to be conjoyned to ane equall stipend and burden. This equalitie Mr. Murdoch urged, and refused to preach to the Irish congregation bot day about, so everie other Sunday they sang dumb. After some dayes travell, it was thus agreed, that a third man should be gotten to those who had never more nor one before, to preach in Irish upon fyve hundereth merks, the Towner to pay three, the two ministers each one. We being agreed privatlie, the Moderator thought it tyme to move the question about Meetings, and regrated the sinister rumors thereanent. It was remitted to a committee in the Moderator's chamber. After two afternoons conference, Mr. Henderfone fell on the modell yow have in print, (D.) On Wednesday he read it once, twyce, thrice. Many required delay to voyce till to-morrow, and a copie of the wryte. All delay was flatlie refused; bot anie man was permitted to say what he would, if it were to ten at night. Mr. David Calderwood was impertinent still in his opposition. Mr. Harie Guthrie, and these who were in this poynt, were feared should be more opposite than he had been. All called, to the Committee, and read at length. Some who craved delay were shortly taken up. Fear of a-ryseing and fomenting needlesse scruples, if that paper had run a-showing through the city, before it had been concluded, made the Moderator peremptorie refuse that which now is every day practised in our Parliament, and I think were more necessare to be practised in our Affemblic, except in some few extraordinar cases. The paper that day was voyced, and unanimooslie assented unto; yet fundrie voyced it too generall and insufficient.

Tuesday, the 3d of August, was taken up by a very factious question of veys, accompanied with Descriptions. The Maps, at this time, were engraving in Holland; and the work, which was completed in 1654, formed the fifth volume of Blaeus "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," or the sixth of the "Atlas Major, sive Cosmographia Blaviana," when re-published at Amsterdam, in 1662.

your good friend Sir John Scot. He had promised to Mr. Mungo Law, second minister at Dyfart, in the presbyterie of Kirkaldie, a presentation to the Kirk of Kilrinnie, in the presbytrie of St. Andrewes. The Presbytrie of St. Andrewes not very curious to crave his transportation, Sir John, in the Provinciaall of Fyfe, urges his transportation. In the voyceing, not only the whole Presbytrie of Kirkaldie getts voyces, bot some borrowes two ruleing-elders getts voyce. Upon this, and some other informalities, Sir John did appeall to the Generall Assamblee. By strong sollicitation, by a world of mirrie tales in the face of the Assamblee, he getts a sentence for his appellation, to the great indignation of the Synod of Fyfe, and the Moderator's malcontentment. Sir John held him with that advantage, and durst not pursue his maine poynt, anent the minister's transportation, which made manie take him bot for a wrangler, who did feek more the Synod's disgrace than any other contentment. Overtures for planting of Univerfities, burrows, schools, were read; also a letter of the King's to the Assamblee, in favour of Panmure, requyreing the Minister of Monikey to be transported [to] some other church of his Majesties presentation: the defyre, with the man's own consent, was granted.

Wednesday, the 4th: Mr. William Bennet was ordained, according to the Act of Aberdeen, to transport to Edinburgh. Mr. John Colines, after long opposition of the presbytrie and parochine, was ordained to be received to the church of Campsie. His presentation to the tack of Chancellor of the Chapter, wherein also he was obliged to ratifie the patron's tack, was ordained to be rectified. Mr. Andrew Logie, deposed at Aberdeen according to the Provinciaall [Synod's] appointment, was restored to his owne kirk: Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Birkenboug fashed the Assamblee much, that he [Logie] might be obliged to receive a new presentation, that a new edictum might be served, and so, that the Assamblee's act of reponing him to his own church should be evacuat; bot his motion being found to be from particular respects, it was misregarded.

Thursday, the 5th: Aberdeen did supplicat for Mr. Andrew [Honeyman's] transportation to their Colledge. Arthure Arkine, had, of his own liberalitie, given him five hundred pound during ane old man's life, the man was but twenty-four years, and extreame unwilling to flitt. Arthur Arkine, a weell deserving gentleman in our cause, when he began to plead, was so choaked

with tears, that he became filent, and removed. This accident made the Affemblic so compaffionat towards him, that, by pluralitie of voyces, he obtained his poynt. Thofe three rebuts in end weell near efferat Aberdeene : by way of indignation they crave leave to have back their depofed Doctōrs ; yet they gave in the fourth bill for Mr. John Ofall [Ofwald] of Penketland. His miſfortoun was to be laſt, elſe he had better reaſons of ſtay than any of the former three ; yet to pleaſe Aberdeen, all he could ſay was miſregard-ed ; and he, full fore againſt his heart, was ordained to flitt.

Here came in my long-delayed action. After much altercation betwixt the paſſionat parties, and ſome calme diſpute betwixt the Principall and me, by the favour of the Moderator, I got the invidious queſtion eſchewed anent my appeal, and the ſtate made, Tranſport, or Abide ; when, after I had read the Reaſons (D.) I here fend yow, there was not twentie voices of the whole for my tranſportation. I did foreſee that this favour may readilie tranſport me, ere it be long, to places where my life will be much more miſerable than it is like it would have been in Glaſgow ; bot yet I thought it was incumbent to me, in conſcience, to uſe all lawfull meanes to keep me with my people. I took it to have been a finne to have neglected this dutie for the preveening of croſſes never ſo apparent. The Laird of Leckie gave in to the Committee of Bills a complaint of Mr. Harie Guthrie's ſlandering of him at Aberdeen. Of this Mr. Harie complained in the face of the Affemblic. This was like to blow up that fyre again which we thought had been extinguifhed ; yet even here alſo God was favourable to us. That matter was referred to us the Moderator's Affeffors. We laboured ſo into it ſome nights, that at laſt we gott the parties agreed, both in a wryte, read to the Affemblic, under their hands, declareing their good opinions each of other : for Leckie did truelie witneſs, that he knew no blame to Mr. Harie, neither in doctrine nor lyffe ; and Mr. Harie teſtified, that he never had a thought that Leckie, or any of his familie, was guiltie of theſe ſlanders he complained of. Of this pacification we were all moſt glad.

Being deſirous to have the Affemblic at an end, it was appointed to keep her ſeffions twice in the day, and to diſpenſe with the abſence of ſo manie of our Parliamentarie members as could not be preſent in the afternoon with us. The reſt of that day, and much alſo of poſterior ſeffions, was miſſpent with the altercation of that bardifh man Mr. David Dagleifh, and the young

Constable of Dundie. He had obtained from his father to Mr. David a presentation to the personage of Dundie. The custome was, that of all the tithes, the Constable payed bot to the church five hundred pound, the Towne gave to the parson's supplie five hundred merk. The Toune not having much will of Mr. David's ministrie, refuses to pay the old five hundred merk. Mr. David refuses to transport from Cowper till the Constable secure him in a sufficient stipend. The Assembly of Aberdeen ordains Mr. David to transport with diligence, and refers the question of stipend to the decision of the Committee of Estates. The Constable supplicats the Assembly to move Mr. David either to accept the charge, or give back the presentation. This Mr. David peremptorie refused, intending by his presentation to erect a stipend to that place, and then readie to leave it, if all doe not imbrace him. Mr. David's strang<sup>(1)</sup> replies to the Moderator would have been taken in worse part, if the Constable's naughtiness, in proclaiming, of the whole personage four or fyve chalders of victuall was too much for him to pay to the church's use, had not offended us all. My Lord Fleeming's petition, to have a new Presbytrie erected in Biggart, of thirteen near adjacent churches of Lanerk and Peebles, was referred to the visitation of the bounds. It was regrated by the Moderator, that Mr. David Calderwood, who deserved so weell of our Church, was so long neglected: He was recommended to the first commodious vacant roome. Lykelie he shall not be in haste provided<sup>(2)</sup>: the man is sixtie-fix years; his utterance is unpleasant; his carriage about the meetings in this Assembly, and before, hes made him less considerable to diverse of his former benefactors. The case also [of] Mr. James Fairley, late Bishop of Argyle, was much regrated; that he having given so long agoe all satisfaction, that yet no place could be gotten to him<sup>(3)</sup> to deliver him from that extremitie of povertie wherewith long he had been vexed.

Fryday the 6th: A world of Bills came in to be referred to the Parliament. Among the rest, one of Anna Inglish, complaining, that her husband, young Aiket Cunninghame, having received above fortie thousand merks in portion

(1) Not "Mr. David Strang replies" as in the printed copy, but "Mr. David [Dalglish's] strang or bitter replies," &c.

(2) The transportation of John Oswald to Aberdeen (see the previous page) made room at Pencaitland for the venerable Historian of our Church in his declining years.

(3) Fairley soon after this was appointed Minister of Lasswade.

with her, had deserted her, after frequent tormenting her with stroakes and hunger, he debofhing all with harlots in Paflay. We fent two with this Bill to the Parliament to get present order. The juftice of God was in this matter. The damfel's father had left her to be married to Mr. H. Montgomrie of Hafilhead, his wife's near coufine. After, his wife falls in a conceit with Allan Lockhart, and gives herfelf to him; and, by his perfuafion, makes her daughter, when fcarce twelve years, without proclamation, to be married to his coufine Aiket. For her reward, her husband Allan leaves her to pay ten thousand merks of his debt, which made her a poor vexed widow, and her fucces, as yow heard. Wee were fashed with a bill of young Savill, a fyne gentleman, who required, that ane Littetour, (\*) whom the patron Lindores had thruft on his church, fhould be tranfported. The gentleman, for the weell deferving of his houfe, was much pitied; yet, feeing the young man was admitted, and the moft of the parochie did accept him, it could not be helped, till the young man found commoditie to transport, which was not like to be fudden. The Prefbyterie of Wigtoun compleaned of their moleftation by one Magie, a notar, a criminous fellow, too much fupported by that good man the Earl of Galloway. This bill being referred to the Parliament, they enjoyned the Earl of Galloway to goe home without delay, and fetch in that knave to fuffer juftice. There was no remead; his Lordfhip behoved to goe away to that unpleafant fervice. One Thomas Frazer in the Tolbooth, being condemned to die for murther, did fupplicat us to be relaxed, before his death, from the fentence of excommunication: fome was fent to vifit him. His true repentance being reported, Mr. Andrew Cant was ordained, on the Sabbath, after his fermon in the great church, to relax him. On Mononday he died penitent. Dr. Scrogie of Aberdeen fupplicat to be admitted to our Covenant. The tryall of his repentance was remitted to the Provinciall Synod. In the afternoon, manie overtures by Mr. George Young, clerk of the References, were read. Clappertoun's fupplication, to enter in our Covenant, was referred to the Provinciall [Synod] of the Merfe.

Saturday the 7th: When Mr. David Dickfone, in the queftion of my tranfportation, had declared his intention to have als much help from me, in profefling in the Colledge, as he gave by his miniftrie to the towne, the Moderator, and others then there, not generallie lykeing of mixing thefe two

(\*) So in the MS.—Query, John Littlejohn, Minister of Collesie.

offices, everie one whereof required a whole man, Mr. David, lest anie rub or marr from this should come to him in his ministrie, which verie profitablie he did discharge, gave in a bill to have the matter cleared. It was gladlie condescended, that it should be leafume for him to exercife so much of the ministrie there as he fand himself able without detriment to his profession; the Principall not being fore-acquaint with that bill, except[ed] fomewhat for the preparative, wherewith Mr. David was not weell pleased. It was moved, that the declarations which the Earle of Traquair had alleadged he had made in the Assëmblie, but verie fallsie, and had obtained to be registrate in the books of Council, should be torne out and cancelled. This was referred to the Parliament; who, after the confideration of the truth of our alleadgeance, sufficentlie verified by manie witnesfes, did cause rent out of the Council-books, according as we required, these full [false?] declarations. Two motions came in here, which was like to procure us great fashrie; yet, both by God's help, were brought to a peaceable conclusion.

The Parliament sent in to us the Earle of Louthian, one from the Barrons, [and] one from the Burrowes, requireing our judgement of the Band; the tennor whereof was read. The reason why they required our declaration in that matter, was, because they said the Earle of Montrose had professed, the other night in his examination before the Committee, that however that band was burnt, yet all the subscribers were yet by oath obliged to the matter of it; also they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrose's hand, after the burning of the Band, full of vaine...<sup>(1)</sup> humanities, magnifieing to the skyes his own courfes, and debafeing to the hells his opposites. Here great wisdom was requisite. It was remitted first to the afternoon, and then till Mononday. Sundrie of the banded Lords compeared: we feared their stirring. Montrose's advocate required to be heard. A supplication to us, wryten by his hand, was read, defyreing our good opinion of him, offering to answer all we could lay to his charge, to our full satisfaction. He said, that Band was destroyed by the Committees of Parliament; that the paper was but a private memorandum for himself, never to have gone without his charter-kift, had not my Lord Sinclair been pleased to make it publick;

<sup>(1)</sup> A blank space of half a line occurs in the MS. between the two words "vaine" and "humanities," and a similar blank, (twelve lines below) between "obligation" and "onlie," but probably nothing material is wanting in either place.

that which was alleadged of his words in the Committee was not anie part of his written depofition; that he had onlie fpoken of a common guiltinefs of all the fufcryvers with him; that he had fpoken of their obligation...onlie in relation to his accufation. Balmerinock, moderator of that Committee, fpake verie patheticklie for the truth of Montrofe's words. The Affemblye paffed by what concerned Montrofe, or any particular perfon; and, in answer to the Parliament's queftion, a Committee appointed for that end, drew up that wyfe answer, penned by the Moderator, as yow have it, (E.) making that Band to be unlawfull, and not obligatorie of anie; making thofe that will not fufcryve this cenfureable, and paffing in thofe who fufcryves, what is bygane and weell buried by the Committee of Parliament. The banders that were prefent, Kinghorne, Seaforth, Lour, did prefentlie fufcryve. Mr. Blair and Mr. Rollock was fent up to Montrofe to acquaint him with what was paffed. He fpake to them with a great deall of refpect to the Affemblye, feemed to infinuate his willingnefs to fufcryve what the Moderator and Clerk would require. Some made the motion, which the Moderator did much applaud, that as fome from the Parliament had been verie happie instruments to take fome differences away, which were lyke to aryfe in the Affemblye; fo it were meet to offer to the Parliament the labours of anie they thought meet in the Affemblye, to help to remove what difference was betwixt the members of Parliament. This motion was from zeall to peace, bot not upon confideration of prefent circumftances; that the difference was not betwixt anie particular men, bot alleadged crymes of high treafon againft the State, which could not be [by] counfells, being cited, and they ftanding to their defence. Yet Dr. Strang and Mr. Andrew Cant, who were to carrie our answer to the Parliament's queftion anent the Band, were burdened with the forefaid overtures; the impertinencie whereof the Parliament mifkent, and paff without ane answer. All this paff on Mononday before noone.

The other motion, which on Saturday before noon perplext us, was the Moderator's petition of libertie to tranfport from Edinburgh. At the beginning we took it bot for jeft; bot it proved earneft. He affured us, his voyce was for no church of the Towne; that continuallie he was [unhealthie] there, and not fo anie where elfe; that to keep him there were to kill him; that in the act of his tranfportation from Leuchars, there was ane exprefse claufe of libertie for him to tranfport when the publick commotions were fettled, if he found

that towne difagree with his health. The Towne of Edinburgh was extream averfe; beyde the loffe of that incomparable man, thought it a dangerous preparative to have anie of their minifters tranfported by Affembles. They offered to buy him a houfe, with good air and yards; to preach onlie when he would; to goe freele, if his health were not tollerable. They were fo much the more averfe, becaufe St. Andrewes fue at that tyme in a bill for his tranfportation to be Principall of their Colledge. He preffed his libertie, fhewing his great earend out of England was [to obtain this relief] from the Affembly.<sup>(6)</sup> Some imputed his earneftnefs to fome malcontentment from fome of the wyves fpeeches, the laft year, of him [when confulting] for their weell, againft their humour in innovating; bot he affirmed health was the onlie ground of his petition, and if it fhould not fail, notwithstanding of his libertie, he fhould not remove; and if he did remove, he would not go to St. Andrewes, bot [to] fome quiet little landward charge.

After noone there was a long debate for the Prefbytrie of Sky. Glasgou Affembly had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Argyle. Upon the petition of one, Edinburgh had annexed it to the Provinciall [Synod] of Rofs. They had kepted neither. Argyle pleaded for the renewing of the Act of Glasgou; Seaforth for the fealling of the Act of Edinburgh. After long debaiting of reafons, it was referred to the Commiffioners of the Affembly to the Parliament to determine.

Mononday the 9th, before noone, beydes the things already faid, the Prefbytrie of Newcastle wrote a letter of complaint, that there was a great neglect in manie Prefbyttries to fupplie the armie with minifters: It was provyded for. The afternoone was our laft Seffion. The answers to the King's letter, to the Englifh letters, to Durie's letter, were read. The drawing up the Directory, of [the] Catechifme, of the Confeflion, [and] of the Form of Government, that was laid on Mr. Alexander [Henderfon]. His libertie was voyced, and granted,<sup>(7)</sup> to the no fmall mifcontent of Edinburgh. Hence thanks were given to God for his fenfible and moft fpeciall affiftance; 23d Pfalm fung. Nixt Affembly voyced [to be held] at St. Andrewes the 27th of July [1642.] Commiffioners [appointed,] to the number of thirtie or

<sup>(6)</sup> This fentence in the MS. reads, "showing his great earend (errand) out of England was *troublesome this reafon* from the Affembly," which has no intelligible meaning.

<sup>(7)</sup> Henderson, it is well known, never availed himfelf of this liberty to leave Edinburgh.



fourtie, with some elders sixteen. Those of a province might serve by turns ; so, after the first meeting, I got leave to goe home.

Yow have here an accompt of the Assemblies, so farr as my weak memorie, without anie notes to count of, can furnish. What I shall hear of the Parliament, of Montrose's proceffe, of the King's proceedings, who came here, to our great joy, on Saturday the 14th, yow shall shortly receive. What information I got from London, yow have here inclosed ; the evill illegible wryte [of] Sir Thomas Dishintoun contains a journall of that Parliament for some weeks.

Your Coufine to serve yow and your wife, and all others,

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

Killwinning, August 20th, 1641.

[SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND,  
IN JULY AND AUGUST 1641.]

THE proceedings of our Parliament, if you desire to know particularlie, crave them at other hands ; for the present, take those from me. A summe of the Clerk's minutes, and other papers and conferences, gave me information.

On the 15th of July, the day agreed upon in our treatie at London for the fitting of our Parliament, the Nobilitie in a reasonable number, the Commissioners of shires and burrows so full as ordinarlie, mett in the New Parliament House, weell prepared and hung, without ryding or robes. The first action, after prayer to God, was the election of my Lord Burghlie to be Prefes. The Committee of Parliament had sent long agoe for some of the Commissioners at Court. Dumfermling and Loudoun, at their parting, had received letters and instructions from his Majestie. The letter was an earnest desire of some farther prorogation : you have the copie of it at (G.) The instructions had some demands, that the Parliament would be content of the artickle in the Treatie concerning the election of the Officers of State, as he had expressed it ; that they would accept of Traquair's submission, the double whereof yow have at (H.) together with Traquair's earnest desire to be tried of those things Walter Stewart had deponed against him : His Majestie demanded also to passe from all that were cited to the Parliament,

unless some crimes should be proven against them; in speciall, that the keepers of the Castles of Edinburgh [and] Dumbarton might be restored to their dignitie and late estates; that no more new Acts should be proponed which might derogate to his Royall power, honour, or benefite; lykeways they delyvered all the articles of the Treatie, that they might be taken to consideration. Here was matter enough for manie dayes debate; yet that same day, and some following, it was resolved, that the Parliament could be no longer prorogate; onlie, for the King's satisfacti<sup>o</sup>n, it was promised, till the 17th of August, they should passe no definitive sentence on anie matter of weight, unless necessitie constrained them, onlie they would agitate and prepare matters. Traquair's submissi<sup>o</sup>n they did reject: to the demand, they thought meet to suspend a particular answer till it were given to his Majestie in person, or to his Commi<sup>s</sup>si<sup>o</sup>ner; as for the Treatie, they gave doubles of it to everie Estate for their tryall with diligence. These things they signified to his Majestie in a letter, subscryved by some of everie Estate, appointed for that end. When these things were voyced and concluded, my Lord Loudoun shew, that the desyre of prorogation had come from the English Parliament; that his Majestie had given him warrand to shew his contentment for their fitting for prepareing of matters, if their affaires did permitt no delay.

The 16th of July, a committee was appointed for ordering of the House: Kinghorn, for the Constable, his pupill, Marr, for the Marishall, his nephew, not yet come; Louthian and Almond for the noblemen; Power<sup>(s)</sup> and Dun for the barrons; Glasgou and Dundee for the burghs. Their orders were very punctuall and acurat: none to be absent or late without a fyne, none to be present bot the members of the House. Durie and Craighall intreated, that the Lords of the Sessi<sup>o</sup>n, as those who were Judges to the lawes, might be present at their making, according to the old use and wont: it was flatlie denied. Mr. Archibald Johnstoune required, that some of the Ministers, commi<sup>s</sup>si<sup>o</sup>ners of the Generall Assamblee, might have place for hearing: that motion was rejected by Argyle with storme, as makeing way for churchmens voyces in Parliament. Bot the greatest difficultie, the young Noble-

(<sup>s</sup>) According to Sir James Balfour, the Members of this Committee, for the Barons were (Forbes) Laird of Craigievar, and (Erskine) Laird of Dun, and for the Burghs, the Commi<sup>s</sup>si<sup>o</sup>ners of Aberdeen and Dundee.

men they were very malecontent to be removed from these places where their birth called them at once to be judges after their fathers death; but there the Barrons were peremptor to have roome for the affeffors: if any of the noblemen's fones got place, in this they were so ftrait, that one day they refused to voyce while Angus, Montgomerie, and Maitland, were removed out of the Houfe. The young noblemen were so much the more moved, as they foresaw the Barrons intentions, by this preparative, to question their places of dignitie, which both of late they had gotten; for before King James went to England, noblemens eldest fones were bot Masters, and their younger brethren pretended not to take places of Barrons. This unexpected motion was lyke much to increase our divisions; which, without that occasion, were enough before. Yet, on all hazards, the Members of Parliament flood to their mark, resolving to have all prejudicial novations reformed. The young noblemen, lest they should have seemed to be for any other new or old faction, satt still in their malcontentment, till the King, the fountaine of their honour, should come and decyde the question.

That day Erkine, Fleeming, and the Master of Naper, presented supplications, in name of Montrose, Naper, and Keir, that they might have full audience in Parliament. This motion spent much tyme in diverse sessions. First, the supplications were refused till subscribed by the parties supplicant. After the subscription, it was granted they should all be heard, at what tyme the Parliament thought it convenient; but in the mean tyme they fand it reasonable to hear the information of the Committee, anent the causes of their imprisonment, and all their proceedings with them. Thereafter they called Montrose. When he came, he demanded what they had to say to him? It was replied, that upon his oft and earnest supplicating for a hearing, they had sent for him to give him a full audience. All he did say was two or three fair generalls, that they would find him innocent of all that was furnished against him. Having ended, they sent him back again to the Castell, and heard read a verie odious lybell against him; whereupon they voyced him to be cited to answer within fifteen dayes. Naper and Keir spake, bot the same purpose, in generalls, of their innocencie, and confidence to answer satisfactorilie to all challenges. They descended to no particular: [whether] because they thought not expedient as yet, or because they were commanded to descend to no particular of their cause, wherein they were to

be heard in tyme and place to the full, I doe not know ; bot concerning their proceffe, and their plott, fo farr as I am informed, yow fhall hear hereafter ; for yet all is not difcovered.

In the afternoone the Incendiaries that were all called. Sir Lewis Stewart compeared, desired to know what he was charged for, and offered to anfwer. He was remitted to the Parliament's beft conveniencie. Loudoun fpake for him, telling the King had defyred him to affure the Parliament, that Sir Lewis had ever given him counsell of peace. Loudoun fo honeftlie and effectually did difcharge himfelf of the King's commandment towards the Parliament, diverfe began to mifunderftand him, as if he had turned ane agent for the King : yea, this moft falfe fufpicion did fo farr increafe with fome, and my Lord Dumfermling's earneftnefs to be back to Court for his private affaires was fo great, that Loudoun had weell neer been fhuffled of a commiffion to returne ; which exceedingly had prejudged us in our common affaires ; for the Englifh did deal with none of our Commiffioners with that truft they dealt with Loudoun : alfo his moft ingenuous freedom ever with the King, kept him from that meafure of favor which a little complacencie might eafily obtained. Yea, fo farr was that moft happie and gracious instrument grieved with the ungrate mifconstructions of fome, that he petitioned the Parliament to be difcharged of his commiffion, to be exonered of his negotiations bygone, if they found him faithfull. This made Argyle and friends, yea all, awake. They answered, that of his faithfullnefs none did doubt ; that to exhoner him of his commiffion, they could not till the Treatie were clofed ; that he behoved to returne with the Treatie when it was revifed, as after fome dayes he did, and he onlie. As for Dumfermling, Argyle obtained to him fome ten dayes, after that he alfo fhould be fent up with fome inftructions for difbanding of the armie. It was appointed that fome of everie Eftate fhould goe to St. Andrewes, and intreat the Affembly might transport to Edinburgh.

Saturday 17th : My Lord Weems prefented a commiffion from his Majeftie, to attend, in his place, the Generall Affembly. He defyred a warrand from the Great Seal : it was granted. The reft of the day was fpent on the Treatie, and ordering the Houfe.

Monoday the 19th : Orders for the houfe were voyced and concluded. A letter to the Commiffioners with Loudoun, to deal with the Englifh Parlia-

ment, for fending home the Incendiaries, and to complaine of the compts of their fhyres, which were lyke to exhauft much of their brotherlie affiftance.

Tuefday 20th : The Articles of the Treatie were read. Afternoone, the letter to his Majeftie, and the Commiffioners with Loudoun, read and fubfcrived. Two of ilk ftate ordained to receive the bills offered to the Parliament. Argyle and the Advocat petition that a warrand may be given to the Juftice-Court, fince all courts in tyme of Parliament, without a warrant, did vaike, to fitt on Mr. John Stewart. It was granted ; and affeffors alfo appointed to fitt with the Juftice-Deputs in that caufe ; Elphingftone, Edernie, Dumbartan, and Balcolumie, <sup>(9)</sup> for the Lords of Seffion.

Wednefday 21ft : Before and afternoone was fpent on the articles of the Treatie ; on my Lord Balmerinoch his demand in name of the Committee, to have their proceedings with thefe in the Cattle approved or difproven.

Friday 23d : A proclamation voyced for difpenceing Sheriff and Burrowe Courts to fitt till the laft of Auguft. Afternoone, it was voyced that the artickles produced by the Committee, were fufficient grounds of citeing the Earl of Montrofe, Lord Naper, Lairds of Keir, Blackhall, and Captaine Walter Stewart. The advocats which the Committees had appointed for the publick, Mr. Roger Mowat, Alexander Perfone, James Baird, Thomas Nicolfone, together with Sir Thomas Nicolfone, and the King's Advocat, were ordained to draw up the fummonds, and every poynt of the lybell to perfue.

Saturday 24th : Mr. John Stewart condemned to die, by ane old act of Parliament, he fupplicat the Parliament for mitigation of his cenfure. It is true that none ever died for no tranfgreffions of that act, and Balmerinoch being condemned for ane alleadged tranfgreffion, was thought to have gotten great wrong, and the preparative may prove very dangerous. Whereupon fome of the Juftices were verie fcrupulous to pronounce fentence. Yet Mr. John was ftryving with [at] the life of Argyle, Hamilton, and Rothes ; and by confequence at the overthrow of our Treatie of the peace, and welfare of the whole Ifle. It was therefore thought neceffare to make ane example ; fo much the more, as his friends, for whofe pleafure his lies were invented, were giving out, that all was bot collufion betwixt him and Argyle, who undoubtedlie

<sup>(9)</sup> These Assessors were Lord Elphingstone, William Rigg of Atherny, John Semple commissioner for Dumbarton, and Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, one of the Lords of Session.

would purchase him a free remission. Those tales made Mr. John be remitted to the Judges, who would nor could not dispence with his execution. Blair, Cunninghamehead, [and] Caldwell, my neighbours, gave in supplications to have their wards and marriages past to themselves gratis, seeing their fathers had died of sickness contracted in the publick service: their desyres were granted. Articles of the Treatie were put in mind, and by voyces concluded, and Instructions formed for the Commiffioner carrier thereof. Diverse bills dailie of particular persons were read and answered.

Tuesday 27th: The Preses and Clerk ordained to subscribe a warrant for two of everie state to subscribe the Treatie. Ordained, in the tyme of the Assembly, the Parliament should have bot one session a day. In the afternoon, Montrose, Keir, and Naper wes heard, as was said. Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the Castle. The reason of his long libertie was thought to be Argyle's favour, to whom, they say, he made confession of fundrie of the plotters mysteries. Committees for the Incendiaries, and other purposes, appointed.

Wednesday the 28th: Committees appointed for these in the Castle, for the Incendiaries, for the Bills, for answering our Commiffioners letters, anent disbanding of the armie, and delay of payment of eighty thousand pound. Montrose petitioned to have Mr. John Gilmore, Mr. John Nisbitt, and Mr. Lues Stewart, appointed to plead for him. It was granted, that all advocats should be appointed to consult who were required, except these who were required to pursue; as for pleading, it was taken to farther advysemēt.

Thursday 29th: It was denyed to Montrose to meet for consultation with Naper, Blackhall, and Keir; also it was appointed that they should answer to what interrogatories the Committee pleased to propose to them; though after their citation it was ordained, that all the members of Committees who were absent, or came after the hours, should be fined in the same penalties which were ordained for absence or lateness in the Parliament. Every Committee had power to doe all things they thought necessary for their business, providing they determined nothing, bot onlie prepared matters to be reported in face of Parliament.

Friday 30th: Instructions to our Commiffioners at London, and the armie, and payment of eight[y] thousand pound, also for a commission to them to examine witnesses at London upon the Incendiaries, were twyce read and

voyced, and my Lord Dumfermling voyced to be their carrier. Stevin Boyd warranted to take up still the Castle rewlis [rents] for paying to Colonell Lindfay his two hundred merks a moneth, and to his sojourns their payes. Colonell Lindfay was directed to admitt my Lord Montrose's friends who pleased to come to him; yet in such a number at once as he might command; also, that it was not needfull for him to be present with the advocates consultations. The Lieutenant-Generall was ordained to make proclamation, that all officers and sojourns not members of Parliament, should repaire to the armie with diligence.

Saturday 31st, Sunday 1st of August, Mononday the 2d, no fitting.

Tuesday the 3d: A supplication was given in by the Earl of Arroll Constable, that the Towne of Edinburgh should be caused to delyver to him Mr. Thomas Lamb, for his slaughter committed in tyme of Parliament. After some dayes debate, the Town of Edinburgh, protesting that no dammage hereby should befall their privileges, was made to delyver the said criminall; especiallie since they acknowledged the slaughter to have been committed without the bounds of their jurisdiction. Fyntrie gave in a supplication in Montrose's name, to have the double of the depositions of Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. John Robertfoun, Naper, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, and Mr. John [Stewart,] and [Col.] Cochrane, and of his owne. It was voyced, that Montrose should first answer to his interrogatorie, before he gott those depositions. Monroe supplicat that monies at last might be provided for his regiment. Justice-deputs petition for the Parliament's advyce, in giving out their sentence against Edward Skular, who was convicted by ane affise, albeit the probations were bot presumptions. The petition, after voyces, was remitted to the Justices, and they ordained to proceed according to law.

Wednesday 4th: The Estates ordained, that the half of every Estate, in a committee, should make a quorum; also that the Committee of Bills should have power to subscryve fummonds for citation of parties and witnessse. It was proponed by the Committee for the Incendiaries, and agreed to by the Estates, that the Incendiaries, if they did not, at their first comeing, present themselves to the Parliament, should be imprisoned by any Judge-ordinare; that who did conceall them, should be punished as contemners of the orders of Parliament; also that any member of Parliament should be used as a witness, without prejudice of his voyce as a judge. Caffills, Durie, and Irwine,

were ordained to interrogate Riccartoune. His supplication and proceffe before the Committee, and his intercepted letters, were read.

Thursday 5th : Sundrie supplications, anent passing of signators, answered. Upon the Presbytrie of Wigton's supplication, the Earle of Galloway ordained to bring in within fifteen dayes, one Magie, a troublesome knave. Balmerinoch complained, that Keir had refused to answer some interrogatories of the Committee : The Estates ordained him to answer to all.

Tuesday the 10th : Loudoun's letter the sixth of this instant from London, and the rest of the Commissioners, except Rothes who then was dangerously sick, was read, bearing the King's resolution to take journey the tenth, and to be in Edinburgh on Friday the thirteenth ; also the sending away of all the carriers in carts, and forty-one thousand pound to be payed presently, the rest of the eighty thousand pound to be given for the armies debts in the North-countries ; the finishing also the Treatie, except what concerned the trade, which behoved to be referred to a Committee. Argyle, Marishall, and Almond, were ordained to meet the King, with the best horse of Merse and the three Louthians, on Gladsmure, neir Haddingtoun, on Friday. For to make all the members of Parliament so fast to the Church and State as was possible, and to be without danger of temptation and Court-corruption, an oath, after long advyement, was agreed upon, in manie things the same with the English protestation, to be taken, now and ever hereafter, by all the members of Parliament, before they get leave to sitt and voyce ; the first draught of this oath yow have at (K.), thereafter it was mended in some words, and ordained to be printed. A warrand given to Zester, Kerse, Aberdeen, with Mr. Archibald Johnstone, Mr. William Hay, Mr. James Durham, to see the rolls and Exchequer-compts since the year 1630, to make their reports before the Committee for Incendiaries. Lykelie from them ane great eik will be putt to Traquair's proceffe, which before was long and odious aneugh. Possible I may send yow the abreviat of it, if it were once closed.

Wednesday the 11th : The Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie craved, that the declarations of the Earl of Traquair [which he] had caused register in the Counsell-books, being contrare to his true declarations in the face of the Generall Assemblie, might be torn out of these registers. After tryall this was granted ; and, in face of Parliament, they were torne out, ther double yow have at (KK.) Colonell Lindefay being sick, he gott warrand to put in his



place, for charge of the castle, any for whom he would be answerable. He named Steven Boyd, his predecessor, whom the Committee, for his too great respect to his prisoners, had shifted of that charge. President Spotswood offering himself to the Parliament's tryall, yit a frie ward in the partie (?) castle.

Thursday the 12th : It was agreed that a Preses every Parliament should be chosen, and continued till the election of a new one ; likewise that no particular business should be handled till the generall were ended. Sundrie supplications read and answered.

Fryday 13th : Two of every estate, to witt, Argyle, Almond, Innes, <sup>(1)</sup> Kers, St. Andrewes, Aberdeen, together with the President and Clerk, were appointed to give the King information of all that had past in this Session of Parliament. A proclamation ordained, that no Nobleman cited to the Parliament, should claime to sitt or voyce before he be tryed ; and that no Nobleman who has been out of the countrey, though not cited, be permitted to sitt or voyce before they swear the covenant, also the band to maintain the acts of Parliament, and the oath, in face of Parliament. Noblemen, Officers of State, ordained to take place according to their creation, except the Chancellor. It is declared, that the act of constitution of the Parliament excludes all Officers of Estates.

Saturday 14th : Advocats for the State calls the Earle of Montrose : he offered himself to answer, and defyred no continuation. The Estates thought meet to delay till the 24th day. To the committee for redressing of infolencies of the North, many supplications referred. Langtoun's bill to have Wigtoun discharged the office of Usherie, referred to a committee.

His Majestie, on Fryday, dyned with the Generall in his house at Newcastle, did give a good countenance to all he saw. On Saturday came to Edinburgh ; bot with a small traine : yet the Palatine, Duke of Lennox, Hamiltoun, Lord Willoughbie, was with him. On Sunday, Mr. Alexander Henderfoun, on the 11th of the Rom. ult., had a good sermone to him in the forenoon in the Abbay church. Afternoon he came not ; whereof being advertised by Mr. Alexander, he promised not to do foe againe. Mr. Alexander in the morning, and evening before supper, does daylie say prayer, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and say prayer againe. The King hears all

(1) In the MS. " James, Kers," &c.—The persons nominated for the Barons were the Laird of Innes and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse.

duelie, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a Liturgie, or any Ceremonies. On Mononday the King came not abroad.

Tuesday 17th: After Mr. A. Ramfay's long sermon on Rom. 5. "Being justified," &c. the King came in coach to the Parliament House. He spake very graciouslie: The Preses, and then Argyle, answered him with cordiall harangues of welcomes. His Majesty offered presentlie, without delay, to put his scepter to the thirty-nine Acts of Parliament enjoyned in the Treatie. He was intreated, according to the order of the House, to suspend till the morrow: at which tyme he pressed againe that he might ratifie the Acts. He was intreated to delay till the returne of the Commissioners who were present at the Treatie: at last he was intreated so to doe. The question of the Usherie depending, Langtoun too rashlie takes a rod, and putts himself in possession of the place: The King herewith offended, commands to committ him for his presumption. It was agreed on, at Argyle's motion, that when any matter of debate did occur, two of everie state should be appointed to acquaint his Majesty. This was done in the afternoon; for they told the King, it was hardlie taken that Langtoun, a member of the House, should be committed without advyce of Parliament; and did require, it should be enacted and recorded, that neither he, nor any of his successors, should committ any Member of Parliament, without the Parliament's advyce.

Wednesday 18th: The Covenant, oath, and band, was read in presence of his Majesty, and approven. The Marquis Hamiltoun, Mortoun, Roxburgh, Lanerick, and others, did subscribe and swear as before the King and Parliament. Burghlie the preses required to dimit his place, as was conditioned to him, in consideration of his weakness. His Majesty spake to his commendation: He obtained ane act of exoneration and approbation of all his carriage in that charge. His Majesty did nominat, to be elected in Parliament, for preses, Balmerinoch: to him went all the voices.

Thursday [19th]: The Duke of Lennox, Earles Annandale and Dumfreis, did swear the covenant, band, and oath, and so took their places. The Commissioners at London their letter, for disbanding of the armie the 20th of this instant, was read. After some motion of the King, that they should march on a bridge of boats, over Tweed, it was concluded, with his Majesty's consent, they should come alongst Berwick bridge. No Parliament man was permitted to goe to the army bot the Lieutenant-Generall.

It was appoynted that everie Eftate should meet dailie from seven a'clock to nyne; that the feffion should be from nyne to twelve; that the committee should sitt from three to fix; with power to call any member of Parliament before them, or other, and to remove them also; lykewayes, that any member of Parliament should be permitted to sitt in their owne place, in any committee. The Procurator for the Church was ordained to present for the Church what he thought fitt. Sir John Hay offers himself, but supplicats he might be permitted, for his health, to keep his own house for some dayes. Dr. Arnot and Maclure are appointed to vifit him, and to report, on their oath.

Fryday 20th: His Majestie presented a manifesto, emitted by him in favours of the Palatine, there recommended by the Parliament of England to the Parliament of Scotland. It was read, and taken to consideration. The petition of the Noblemens eldest sonnes, to sitt and hear in Parliament, [with] the overtures from the Generall Affemblic for univerfities, churches, and schooles, were lykewayes taken to advyement, also overtures anent the Commiffariots.

Saturday 21st: Montrose's petition to have [his] cause discussed, was referred to his committee. After manie deliberations, since he refused to subscribe the submission, which the King did see, and not disallow, the cognition of his cause was cast by till the Parliament had dispatched their more weightie affaires. Some of every Eftate was appointed to meet in the Duke of Lennox's chamber, for the Palatine's affair. They drew up a heartie consent to the King's defyre, which the Parliament did inact, their readines to assist his Majestie in a parliamentarie way, to regaine the Palatinate when ever he requyred. The controverfie betuixt the Marifhall and Constable, also betuixt the Marifhall and Macers, were referred to Committees.

Tuesday the 24th: My Lord Loudoun asked instrument of his production, in face of Parliament, of ane exemplification of ane Act of the English Parliament, wherein they ratifie the Treatie; also ane exemplification of ane other Act, for securing the payment<sup>(?)</sup> of the two hundred and twentie-one thousand pound sterling, the remainder of the brotherlie assistance; both which Acts were under the Great Seall of England. Also that he produced the copie of the Treatie, which at his last going to England was delyvered to him by the

(?) In the MS. "for securing by public of" &c.

Parliament of Scotland. The Estates are appointed to meet, by themselves at two o'clock, and all together at three. In the afternoon they agreed upon, and subscribed the instructions to the Generall for paying of the Armie.

Wednesday, the 25th of August [1641.]

[TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSINE,

As in my last I promised, have now what comes to my mind of the course of our publick affaires since the 25th of August, where my Diurnall of our Parliament did end. The tyme now is so long,<sup>(3)</sup> and my memorie so weak, that the course of weeks, let be dayes, I cannot follow; bot of the matters of greatest moment have a part, as I can remember.

Before I came from London, his Majestie's voyage for Scotland was resolved; upon what grounds, it is bot onlie conjectured. My Lord Rothes was become a great courtiour.<sup>(4)</sup> The Queen began to speak honourable and affectionatlie of our nation, and, in found earnest, to think of her convoying the King to Scotland. It was thought the heartie agreeance, and fullie satisfieing of our needlesse irritat land, would be a soveraigne help of the continuall harsh rancounters of the English Parliament. Befydes, as it appeared afterward, about that tyme Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable affurances for convincing of Hamiltoun and Argyle of capitall crymes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers. Our Commiffioners of the best nott, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by all meanes laboured to make the King's voyage difficult. Few did believe it possible; notwithstanding he was peremptor, and did goe. The first thing his Majestie assayed in Parliament was, to touch without all delay with his scepter the thirty-nine acts of the former Session. To the most the motion was very plausible. It was given out to be ane act of forward zeall to perform what

<sup>(3)</sup> This letter has no date in the MS.; but it must have been written either at the close of 1641, or the beginning of the year following.

<sup>(4)</sup> It is singular that Baillie should thus make mention of the Earl of Rothes, and take no notice of his death, which happened at Richmond upon Thames, on the 23d of August 1641.

was promised in the Treatie; onlie some two or three espyed the danger of this action; who incontinent drew up first a short nott, then a larger paper, demonstrating the great prejudice that the treatie of peace, and the libertie of the land, would receive, by such ane unreasonablen and undefyred ratification. You have the first at (A.), the next at (B.) These informed so weell the Parliament, that the King's offer was first shifted for a tyme, and then clean laid by as prejudiciall; and, after much debate, the forme of publishing both these Acts, and of the whole Treatie, which yow did see in print, was agreed upon. For ane safe proceeding in all things, before the King's comeing, there was fundrie cautions enacted, whereof I writ to yow before, excellent orders for the House, which yet are not come to my hands, whereby the Officers of Estate for the most part, all the Lords of Session, all not members of Parliament, were excluded. Earles eldest sones took this in verie evill part; seeing the Barrons, by that beginning intended to spoyle them of that honour, which latelie, by the King's favour, had been bestowed on them, and to reduce them to the old state of mere Masters: yet they resolved patience; for the leading young nobles were Angus, Montgomerie, Maitland, who, for fear of increasyn division, were content to swallow down their grudge. It was much feared that the Burrowes should fall foule with the Barrons, who did claim everie one a full voyce; while as, in King James's dayes, the two Commissioners of a shyre had been in possession of one onlie suffrage:<sup>(5)</sup> yet this difference was quietlie carried, for love of peace, in so dangerous ane tyme. Sundry papers also were scattered, for holding the members of Parliament right, and ordering of affaires before the King's comeing; one whereof you have at (C.) Bot the tough dispute betuixt the King and Parliament was about the election of the Officers of State, of the Counsell, and of the Session. Upon this poynt much dispute had been in the treatie at London. We alleadged it was our law, and old custome, to have all these elected by the advyce of Parliament; that the election of these by the King alone had been the fountain of our evils, and was lyke to be a constant root of corruption, both in Kirk and State, if not seen to. His Majestie took the nomination of these to be a speciall part of his prerogative, a great finew of his government, the long possession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of the Kings in

(5) In the MS. "one onlie suffering yet" &c.

England. Much dispute in private and publick wes for this great matter. The equitie of our States demand yow may see at (D.) yea, these good hands whilk were alwayes readie to cast in write reasons for all that we craved, caused disperse lykewayes other two papers; one, for the precedencie of noblemen according to their creation to statesmen (E.); another, for exclusion of all statesmen from voyce in Parliament, except the Chancellour (F.) When these things with great difficultie were obtained, there fell in, for the nomination of the persones to the places vaiking, questions unextricable. For the Counsell and Session there was not much dispute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privie Seall, or the Advocat, Thefaurer-depute, or Justice-clerk: bot all the question was for the Chancellour, the Theaferer, and Register. The King made no question to satisfie that desyre, which was univerfall, about my Lord Loudoun's advancement; it was resolved he should be Thefaurer. Bot when his Majestie found it more easie to find abilities for the Theaferie, than the Chancerie, he changed, and declared Loudoun Chancellour, against both his own mind and his friends. The objected difficultie of the smallness of that office fees, was presentlie helped by the addition of ane pension of ane thousand pound sterling. For the other two offices arose unhappie debates. For their quiet settling, it was propounded, and long pressed, that the verie nomination should be by the advyce of the States; the reasons you may read at (G.) When little here could be gotten obtained, it was urged, that the States, in their advyce, for eschewing personall offences, might voyce by sheduls, as yow may see at (H.); bot this was counted a noveltie, and rejected. Factions began here evidentlie to appear. The most and best part of the Estates were content to have Argyle Thefaurer; bot others esteeming that ane insupportable greatness, did make the King peremptor in refuseing that motion. Upon this rock there was a long sticking. The King did nominate one day, in face of Parliament, [the Earl of Mortoun], whill Argyle topes this nomination, as of man unmeet, because of irresponsableness to the law for his debts, there fell a verie foule flying betwixt the two; the end was that Mortoun was past by. So much the lesse lykeing had the States to him, in regard of some contumelious words cast by him some dayes before upon their president, Balmerinoch, who took them in verie evill part, and refused to proceed till Mortoun was forced to give him publick satisfaction. The nixt on whom his Majestie pitched was

Almond. This motion was also rejected. Argyle had been before allways to that man a most special friend; but he said, he behooved to preferre the publick good to private friendship, and so did avowedlie oppose that motion; as indeed it was thought Almond, in that place, might have been als good a head and leader to his old friends, the banders and malecontents, as any other of our nation.

Upon these jarres whole moneths were mispent. It was generallie thought, that from these divisions the last plotts which brake out did either arise originallie, or were resumed, when for a while they had sleept, and were laid asyde, when before his Majestie's coming, all what was alleadged, about Montrose's intentionns to accuse Hamiltoun and Argyle in face of Parliament, was made grosse odious; and by the beheading of Mr. John Stewart, the confest calumniator, the progresse of these designes were chocked. Behold, at this tyme, these same, or the like counsell, are taken up againe. My Lord Kerr, in God's mercie, makes vent to them in his drunkenness before their maturitie. That very insolent youth, without all provocation, one day, after too much drink, will bot cartell the Marqueis of Hamiltoun as a juglar with the King, and a traitor both to him and to his countrie. This message he sends to the Marqueis with his no less furious and drunken second, the Earle of Crauford. The Marqueis received the challenge in the chamber of pefrence; bot finding Crauford in drink, he answers modestlie, that gif to-morrow he would returne, he would give him ane answer. This filled the whole Parliament with high indignation, that a member of theirs, of the Marqueis's qualitie, should be so abused, at his Majestie's elbow, by drunken fooles. While in face of Parliament, a complaint is made of it to the King, the Marqueis, on his knee, did supplicat the King for Kerr; to whose father he professed his manifold obligations: He excused Crauford, as if he could doe no lesse than delyver his commerad's message; bot withall the wise man did make use of the injurie, and humblie required his Majestie's and the Parliament's declaration of their judgements in the matter itself. By this meanes he obtaines, by way of act of Parliament, both from the King and State unanimooslie, a declaration of his most loyall and faithfull service to that day; and my Lord Kerr is commanded to crave him pardon in these words, (J.) prescryved, and regiftrat in the records of Parliament for Kerr his perpetuall infamie.

Sundrie wyfe men even then did begin to smell some worfe thing ; bot at once there brake out ane noyse of one of the most wicked and horrible plotts that hes been heard of, that putt us all for some dayes in a mightie fear. It was noised everie where, that upon Captain Walter Stewart's relation, that Hamiltoun, Argyle, and Lanerick, onlie for companie, should have been called for out of their bed, that same night it was revealed, by Almont, as it were to the King's bed-chamber ; when they should have come, they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delyvered to the Earle of Crauford, waiting on with armed sojourns at the foot of the back stairs<sup>(6)</sup> in the garden, by them to be cast in a close coatch, and carried to the shore ; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the King's shippes, which for some weekes had been in the Road, for no other purpose that was known, that should have been the prison out of the which they were to be brought before the Parliament to answer challenges of the highest treason ; bot if in their arresting, they should have made any resistance, Crauford and his sojourns were readie to have stabbed them. Cochrane was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Muffelburgh to command the causeway of Edinburgh ; and that night, with the assistance of manie friends in the toun, to have made fast, or killed, if need had been, so manie of the Parliament men as were suspected might have been headie for the prisoners relief. Wayes were made to delyver the castell to Montrose and his fellow-prisoners. The Kerrs, Humes, Johnstouns, and the most of the borderers, were said to be in readines, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh ; the sojourns of Berwick also, who yet were not disbanded. These horrible designes breaking out, all the citie was in a flouht. Hamiltoun, Argyle, [and] Lanerick, took a short good night with the King, and fled to Kinneill. The citizens kepted a strong guard that night. Manie of the weel-affected noblemen caused watch their houses. To-morrow the King came up in a coatch to the Parliament, and near fyve hundred of sojourns, and the worst affected men about him, with their armes in a minaceing way : they brake in to the midst, near hand of the Parliament's outer hall. The States were mightilie offended, and would not be pacified till Leslie had gotten a commiffion, verie absolute, to guard the Parliament, with all the bands of the citie, and regiments yet on

(6) So in the 4to. MS. and no doubt correctly. In the later MSS., "at the foot of the Blackfriars," &c. But the passage alludes to the garden behind the Palace of Holyrood.



foot, and some troupes of horse, which, according to his printed warrant, he did quickly and diligently. Crauford, Cochrane, and others, were made fast. Great ado there was for their tryall. The King complained much of the vile slander which Hamiltoun's needless flight and fear had brought upon him. He profest to detest all such base treacheries as were spoken of; urged a present tryall, in face of Parliament, for the more clearing of his innocencie. Yet this way was rejected as verie unmeet, for the reasons at (K.); and a committee appointed for a more accurate tryall in private than could have been publick. Manie evill favoured things were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the King, neither much which did reflect on the Duke, Almond, or William Murray. A part of the confession of the accused you have at (L.) The Parliament in England fell in great feares at the same tyme of some mischievous plotts for the lives of their pryme men: bot so soone as our stories had come to their eares, they sett the trained bands about the doores to be their guard, and sent down instructions (M.) to their Commissioners to make known their deep repenting of our affaires. My Lord W. Howard, and some foure of the Lower House, had been attending all this while in Edinburgh, for keeping good correspondence betwixt the Nations and Parliaments; the King had refused to sett his seall to their commission; wherefore the English Parliament took offence at the Duke of Lennox and William Murray, who were thought at that tyme to guide all the Court much at their pleasure.

In the meantyme, Hamiltoun, Argyle, and his nephew Gordoun, lay quietlie at Hamiltoun without any convocation of friends. The King vented much malcontentment against Hamiltoun; and if the late Declaration had not secured him, was near to have intended a citation of him to answer for poynts of treason: yet for his clearing, this paper was sent amongst the hands of the States (N.); and after some two or three weeks absence, upon the King and Parliament's letters, which you have at (O.) they all returned, and at once seemed to have als great confidence in the King as ever. Sure their late danger was the meane to increase their favour with the Parliament; so whatever ruleing they had before it was then multiplied. The Marqueis did not much meddle; bot the leading men of the Barrons and Burrowes did daylie consult with Argyle. He had been verie forward for accommodating the business both of the Incendiaries and plot-

ters with Montrose, and these who were cited to the Parliament. He had, the day he fled, brought all things verie near to that poynt the King desyred. At his return, he began where he left. The great knott was, that the oath which he had invented, obliedged the Parliament, in direct termes, to ane accurate tryall of all Incendiaries and plotters. To elude this oath, the accommodators used manie distinctions. About it Mr. Henderfoun and Mr. Blair had been in contrare termes: In our meeting, who were commiffioners for the Church, Mr. Henderfoun spake for the passing of the tryall; I contradicted him at some length. Mr. Archibald Johnstoun was verie infirme, and dangerouffie sick for the tyme; yet I moved him to draw up that paper, as he did manie moe, which yow have at (P.); for all that we were troubled with the question. Sundrie of the Parliament would have the in-vie of refuseing the King's demand to fall on the Church; bot by ane overture cast in by our good friend Mr. George Young, we gott the thorne put in the right foot; for they had stated, by good Southesk's advyce, a verie captious question to us, Whether, in conscience, the tryall of the Incendiaries or plotters might by the Parliament be dispensed with? If so they did conceive the passing of that tryall was the meane of the countrie's peace, &c. We required, before we could give ane answer, our interrogators declaration, Whether they in conscience, thought, that the passing of that tryall was a sure meane of peace, without which it could not be had? Upon this, without farder troubleing of us, the States resolved, as yow have in the printed act, for taking the tryall, for their oathes sake, bot remitting the sentence to the King. A little before the King was like to be verie peremptor; for he menaced to raise or leave the Parliament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a publick tryall of that plott was alleadged against Hamiltoun and the rest. Bot herein he had ane hard enough rancounter; for a verie strang declaration was drawn up, which yow have at (Q.) and had past the Committees of Burrowes and Barrons, which so moved his Majestie and his cabbincouncill, that, without farder delay, they yielded to the tryall of a private committee, whereat the King should not be present, and all the members should be sworn secrecie till the tryall were ended.

All this while the common affairs were interrupted, as yow may mark in the dates of the Acts of Parliament. We had obtained some triffling Acts for the Church; bot that which we most intended verie hardlie could be ob-

tained, our Commiffion for fettling the churches and fchooles. We had here few or no reall friends. The Advocate, (7) with his idle curiofitie, put us to infinite difficulties. When we had gotten him fomewhat fatiffied, then fundrie of all the Eftates carped for their own intereft at everie other claufe of it. All that we could obtaine was that forme yow fee in print, and fuch men on it as we have bot fmall confidence in, as fince it hes proven; for when we expected, that Church-buffinefs fhould have been taken in the firft place, upon pretence of the publick affaires, all that concerned us was rejected to June's flow feffion; yea, the churches of the Weft will not come in thefe two yeares yet to come. This I took for a great oversight in fome from whom I expected, in wifdome towards their own ftanding, more favour towards the Church. We were at that tyme preaching fome of us verie zealoullie againft both the old and new Plotters; for which we gott thanks. One fer-mone I had in the Parliament Houfe which was weell lyked. Good Mr. Henderfoun all this while was verie filent, and under mifconftuction with the chief of his old friends, as if he had been too fpareing with his Majestie in thefe dangerous occafions, and that in his fermones fome fentences did fall from him prejudiciall to the States proceedings. Bot furelie that man is moft gracious: he was a good instrument, after much difficultie, to obtaine to the Univerfitie of Edinburgh both the Bifhoprick and Priorie. Glasgou was pitiful- lie croffed by the Duke [of Lennox], who muft needs have the Temporalitie of that Bifhoprick; the Spiritualitie fell to the Towne-miniftrie, which is bot a fmall thing. Bot, to content Glasgou, the Bifhoprick of Galloway was given to the Colledge, deduceing a ftipend to its Cathedrall, and what will fall to the augmentation of Minifters. Aberdeen Univerfitie got the Bifhop- rick. Edinburgh had gotten the gift of their own, and of Orkney; bot they fand that both were all fpoyled by prior gifts; fo they took themfelves to be near difappoynted. Richard Maxwell, to ingadge his hammermen to the King, got to their Meddlen Chappell, (8) the moft of Dunkell. The Dean- rie of the Chappell, (9) fome four thoufand merks a-year, fell to Mr. Henderfoun.

(7) Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate.

(8) Magdalene Chapel in Edinburgh. See the "Ratification in favouris of the beidmen of the Hospitall callit the Magdalene Chappell, (quhair of the Hammermen of Edinburgh ar Patrones.)" November 17th, 1641. (Acta Parl. vol. IV. p. 6.)

(9) The Chapel Royal at Holyrood.

Argyle, Isles, I suspect to Argyle. Roffe, Murray, and Caithness, are divided to Northland gentlemen and ministers, who are bot of verie small deserving. The Bishopricks were so quicklie, and so much against our mindes dilapidat, that we were near to have made a protestation in Parliament in the Church's name. The fear of this protestation made our Univerfities to come the better speed.

The question about the Offices of State did here againe waken. Most adoc was for the Register. Hamiltoun was bent to have it for Orbistoun; but Durie, by William Murray, gott the King and the Duke to be passionatlie for him. The bodie of the weell affected Estates thought that place the just reward of Mr. Johnstoun's great and verie happie labours. Manie papers rann against Durie, amongst the rest this at (R.); notwithstanding, by Argyle his meanes most, whereof manie wondered, Durie<sup>(1)</sup> gott the prize; and Mr. Archibald was made content with knighthood, and a place in the fession, and two hundred pounds of pension. For the Thesaurie, since it could not be gotten to Argyle, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be gotten drawn; and, in the meane tyme, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commiffion of fyve, two of Hamiltoun's friends, Glencairne and Lindsey, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Thesaurer-Deput.

Att this tyme it was when the Irish Rebellion brake out.<sup>(2)</sup> At the first hearing, our Estates offered to the King and the English Parliament, to send over in haste ten thousand well-armed men; the way of raising you have at (S.) If present use had been made of that offer, manie a life of our friends had been saved; bot manie miserable impediments have hindered that to this day. There are not over of our men above five thousand, who yet does among the rebels what they will. This Rebellion made both the King and us to haste all affaires; so in some eight dayes as great and precipitat haste was used, as in three moneths before they had been needles protraction. A committee was appointed; the minuts whereof, the 4th and 5th of November, see at (S 2.) which in two or three nights did agree all things privatelie with the King, most according to Argyle's minde; whereupon the num-

<sup>(1)</sup> Sir Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, was appointed Lord Clerk-Register, 13th November 1641.

<sup>(2)</sup> The news of the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion was communicated to the Scottish Parliament by the King in person at the morning session on the 28th of October.

ber of malcontents in all estates grew against him ; but without any just cause : so our Parliament ended, after so long sitting, somewhat abruptly. The King behoved to be gone ; and yet he made no such speed as was expected ; for at York he stayed some dayes, and was long ere he came to the Parliament, which presently he the mouths of all, that the Irish Rebellion, and new plotts in England against the Parliament, were invented by the Queen, and not against the King's mind : but in many declarations his Majesty he since put all such suspicions out of every equitable mind : however, too many to this day will not take satisfaction.

There was appointed a Committee of our Estates to attend the Parliament of England, not so much for the perfecting of our Treatie, as to keep correspondence in so needfull a tyme. None of the former commissioners were employed, but Sir Archibald Johnston, and Sir John Smyth ; for the most of all the rest were fallen in the country's dislike, complying too much with the King. Certainlie Dumfermling, Waughtoun, Sherriff of Teviotdale, Rickartoun, Clerk of Dundie, did tyne all credite with the Estates. Our new Commissioners obtained warrant of Parliament to choose for their service what ministers they thought meet. They agreed on Mr. Harie Rollock, and Mr. Borthuick. It was thought the King was evill furnished of preachers ; for his stay was long : Mr. Henderfoun, on whom it lay to provide for two every Sabbath, and one upon the Tuesday, could not get men according to his mind. The Commissioners of the Assemblie behoved to make some of their number to pray daylie in the Parliament, at the entrie and in the end of the action. These who were most able, did decline both preaching and prayer, and these who were least able, were soonest intreated. In the end of the Parliament, the Advocate's idleness put the King on an humour of protesting of saving his right. This dangerous novelty, of casting all loose, his Majesty at last was moved to give over, most by Mortoun's persuasion. The author, for this, and other his needless offices, obtained to his sone Sir Thomas,<sup>(3)</sup> not onlie a place in the Session, but also, to the indignation of the nobilitie, a patent to the Generall Justiciarie, at least for one year. Poor Mr. Elphinstoun, who had it before, was cast by without any challenge, as a man contemned by all. The King made all the haste he could, and strove to

(3) Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the second son of the Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, was appointed one of the Lords of Session, and Justice-General, in November 1641.

give contentment to all. Manie moe pensions given than ever will be payed. Sundrie Earles and Lords, bot a world of Knights, were created. Among manie referrs from our Generall Affemblic to the Parliament, there was one verie good, for ordering of the levies of our countrey men who went abroad to serve Popish Princes, as yow may see at (T.) It had been a pitie bot the Parliament had taken some notice of it.

Also the Parliament was in a fair way, before the breaking out of our wicked plotts, to have put over sea, to Germanie, ten thousand brave and well armed souldiers for the Palatine. And for the advancement of that service, this letter (W.) was drawn up by Robin Meldrum, (who is yet a man altogether, bot verie unjustlie and imprudentlie, neglected by our state,) and sent away be the King to the Queen of Swedden: bot mischeant instruments, as these twentie years bygane, so to this day, misleads so the Court, that nothing can be gotten done for that poor Prince. Never such order in anie Parliament among us. The whole States mett daylie in the forenoon, and sometyme in the afternoon also. Oft the severall States had their afternoone, and ever the committees, which were manie, for facilitating of all buffinesses of importance. No Actt past till it were first read to the whole States, and doubles of it given to everie State for advyement, at least for one day, except in the last two or three dayes, where manie acts could not, it seemes, for haste have that leafurelie confideration.

A MEMORANDUM FROM MR. ROBERT BAILLIE FOR THE TOWNE AND  
COLLEDGE OF GLASGOW. (4)

First Desyre.—That the Towne may have a new warrand, under the King's hand, for election of their Magistrates.

Reasons.—1. This power is common to all Regall Burghs, such as their old Chartours makes them. 2. The King, in their late signatour, hes expressed particularlie that favour. 3. Their service deserves it, as weell as any burgh

(4) This paper occurs in the MS. immediately preceding Baillie's letter to his Wife, from Gravesend, on the 2d of June 1641:—it must evidently be some months later, probably in October, as it doubtless refers to the anticipated distribution of the Bishops Lands, which took place in November that year; see *supra*, page 395.

in Scotland, as my Lord Marqueis [of Hamilton] can weell instruct. 4. If it should be denied, it would cast that City on the dependance of some Noble family or Statesman, which might be an occasion, as of old it was, of great trouble to that countrey fyde.

Second Defyre.—That the King would be pleased to give affurance to maintain, out of the Bishopricks, a Minister in the High Church.

Reasons.—1. The Bishops did ever, by themselves or chaplaines, take upon them to supplie that place: their fall ought not to prejudice the Church of one preacher at least, in their roome. 2. The Towne would be overburdened to provyde that place, being over-charged with the stipends of so many more, both ministers, readers, schoolmasters, hospitalls, and such publick works as exhaust their rents.

Third Defyre.—That the fair and famous High Church of Glasgow may not be permitted to decay: it is neither equitie nor possibilitie for the Towne to keep it up. Fyve or six chalders of bear, if it be presentlie bestowed by the King, will uphold it; bot if long delayed, all the Bishopricks will not repaire the ruines of that building, which is Scotland's only Paull's.

Fourth Defyre.—It is all the reason in the world that the Bishops Hospitall should have a part of the Bishopricks, if it were bot some few chalders of victuall. For the present, the full rent of it, in my opinion, is within fifteen pounds Sterline.

Fifth Defyre.—Whatever his Majestie will be pleased to bestow on a Preacher, on the fabrick of the High Church, on the Bishops Hospitall, it would be put in a signatour for the Towne, to be defrayed out of the Bishops milnes lying within and near the Towne.

#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNIVERSITIE.

The King being willing to help all the Univerfities out of the Bishopricks, your Lordship<sup>(s)</sup> have [has] reason to see Glasgow provided with the first.

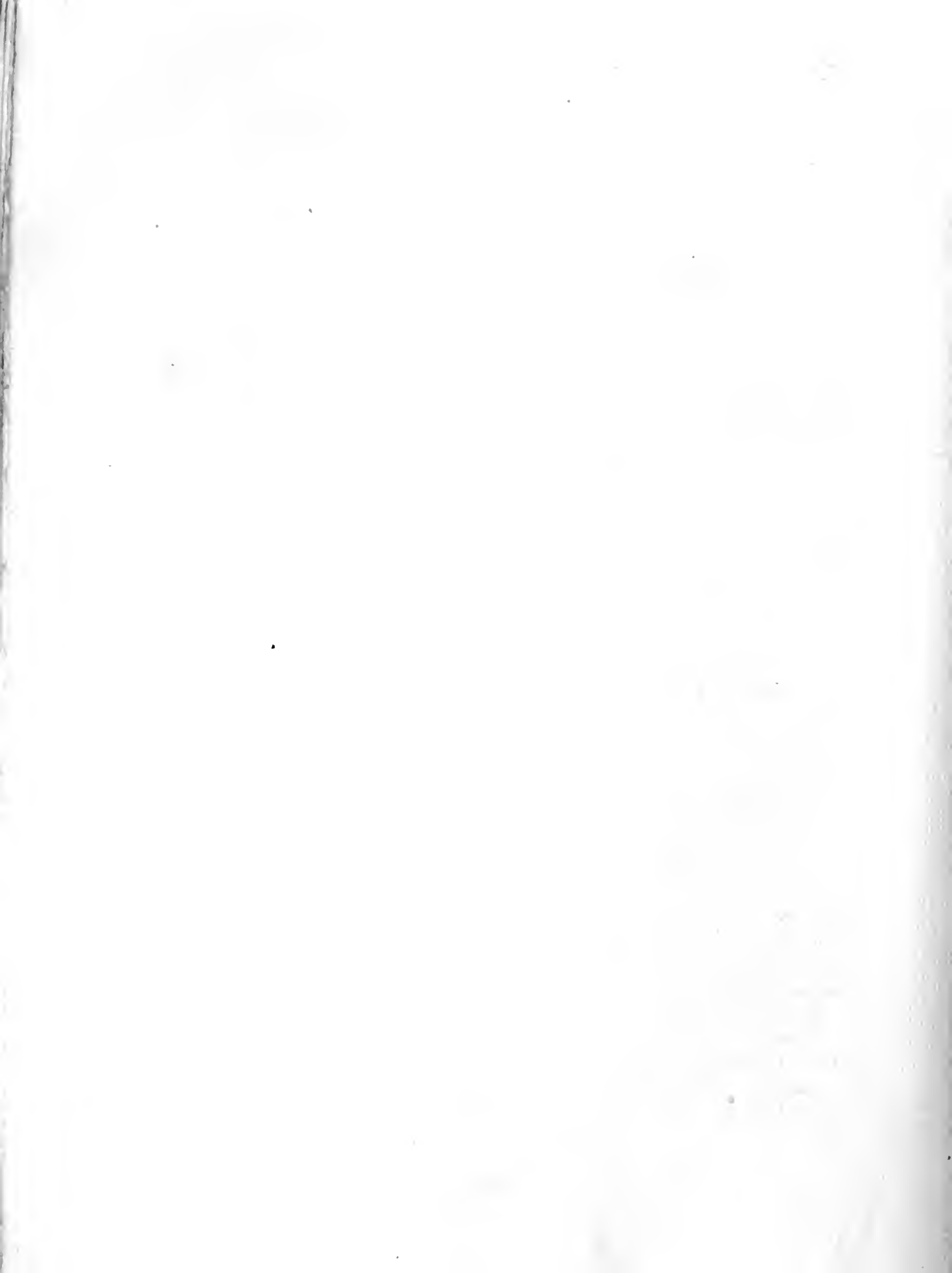
It is founded by the Houfe of Hammiltoun, yow are one of its plants, the most of your friends have [had] their breeding there. It is verie poor for the maintainance of ane Principall, a Profeffor of Divinitie, a Profeffor of Phyfick,

(<sup>s</sup>) James Marquis of Hamilton.

five Regents, fourteen or fifteen Bursars, a collector, a steward, a beddall, a porter, some cookes; I think about twenty-eight founded persons: They have not for table and stipend four hundred pounds of rent. It were a pitie bot at the least four hundred pounds out of the Bishoprick, and one hundred pounds out of the Subdeanrie, might be gotten, for augmentation of stipends alreadie founded, for the maintenance of three new Professors, (one for the Contraverfies of Divinitie, one for Mathematicks, one for the Orientall Tongues,) for at least six Bursars of Divinitie, for some yearlie rent to the Bibliothek, also for maintaining and enlarging the fabrick of the House: Whatever is gotten, God and the King and your Lordship shall have the thanks.



APPENDIX  
TO  
VOLUME FIRST  
OF  
BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.



## APPENDIX No. I.

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### LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME FIRST OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.XLI.

[THE following is an accurate List of the several Papers which are interspersed in the MS. Collection of Baillie's Letters. A considerable number of these papers were printed at the time as separate Tracts: others obtained an extensive circulation in Manuscript, and many of these copies are still preserved. It has been thought sufficient, however, merely to indicate references to such as have been published in works that are easily accessible. The titles of the abbreviated references are as follows:—

*Acta Parl.*—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Mr. Thomson's edition.

*Baillie*,—Appendix No. II, of the present edition of Baillie's Letters and Journals.

*Balfour*,—Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne. Edin. 1824, 4 vols. 8vo.

*Burnet*,—Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton, by Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. Lond. 1677, folio.

*Large Declar.*—His Majesty's Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, [by Walter Balcanquhall, D. D.] Lond. 1639, folio.

*Records*,—Records of the Kirk of Scotland, &c. from the year 1638, by Alexander Peterkin. Edin. 1839, large 8vo.

*Rothes*,—Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, from August 1637 to July 1638, by John Earl of Rothes. (Printed as a Contribution to the Bannatyne Club, by James Nairne, Esq.) Edin. 1830, 4to.

*Rushworth*,—Historical Collections, &c. Lond. 1682-1701, 8 vols. folio.

*Spalding*,—History of the Troubles in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1645. (Bannatyne Club edition,) Edin. 1828, 2 vols. 4to.

*Stevenson*,—History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the Accession of Charles I. Edin. 1753-1757, 3 vols. 8vo.]

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## APPENDIX No. II.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO  
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND,  
M.DC.XXXIII.—M.DC.XLI.

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### I.

CHARLES THE FIRST TO BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 12.—Adam Bellenden was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane in 1615. At this period, as the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was conjoined with that See, and the Bishop usually resided in Edinburgh, Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen in 1635, (as intimated in the letter No. XI.) to make room for Dr. Wedderburn, whom the King and Laud thought would be more serviceable as Dean of the Chapel, in promoting their views. See *supra*, page 161.]



REVEREND Father in God, and Trusty and Wel-beloued Counfellow, Wee greet yow well. Wee have thought goode, for the better ordering of Divine Service to be performed in Oure Chappell Royall there, to fett downe some Articles vnder oure owne hand to be observed therein, which Wee fend yow here enclosed. And it is oure speciall pleafure, That yow carefully see everie thing performed, according as Wee have directed by these oure enclosed Articles; And likewise that yow certifie to the Lords of oure Privie Counfell, if any of these appointed by oure former letters to them to communicate in oure Chappell Royall, shall not accordingly performe the same, to the effect such order may be

taken by oure Counfell therein, as by oure fayds former letters to them Wee did appointe. Wherein expecting your diligence and care, Wee bid yow farewell. From oure Court at Whitehall, the eight day of October 1633.

To the Reverend Father in God, and oure Right Trusty and Welbeloued Counselloure The Bishope of Dumblane, Deane of oure Chappell Royall within oure Kingdome of Scotland.

[Indorsed.]—The Letter and Orders for the Chappell Royall.

## II.

### THE ARTICLES FOR HIS MAJESTIE'S CHAPEL-ROYAL.

October the 8th, 1633.

[The Articles referred to in the preceding Letter, have not been preserved along with it; but they are inserted in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 205, from which they are here given. Rushworth introduces them with the following notice,—“ The Bishop of London (Laud) being lately translated to be Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he, by vertue of his place, as the greatest man in the Church, thought fit to advise His Majesty for a Reformation in the Church of Scotland, and began with the Royal Chappel in these following Articles sent in His Majesty's name, with a Letter to command obedience.” He also subjoins a copy of the Letter, which corresponds with the original above printed.]

#### CHARLES REX.

OUR exprefs Will and pleafure is, That the Dean of our Chappel, that now is, and his fuceffors, shall be Assifant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews, at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.

That the Book of the Form of our Coronation lately used, be put in a little box, and laid into a stand, and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel fuceffively.

That there be Prayers twice a-day, with the Quire, as well in our absence, as otherwise, according to the English Liturgie, till some course be taken for making one, that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church.

That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the Blessed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that our Chappel, the first Sunday of every month.

That the Dean of our Chappel that now is, and so fuceffively, come duly thither to

prayers upon Sundays, and such Holy-days as that Church observes, in his Whites, and preach so, whenever he preacheth there; And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary occasion of his Diocese, or otherwise, according to the course of his preferment.

That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of our Chappel, That the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Sessions, the Advocates, Clerks, Writers to the Signet, and Members of our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion, once every year at the least, in that our Chappel-Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the Kingdom. And We likewise command the Dean aforesaid to make Report yearly to us, how We are obeyed therein, and by whom; as also, if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why?

That the Copes which are consecrated to Our use, be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose; and to be used at the celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel-Royal.

### III.

#### CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE LORDS OF COUNCIL AND SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

[This letter "Anent communicating in the Chapel Royal," is transcribed from the "Books of Sederunt," or the Register of the Court of Session. The Chapel Royal, says Rushworth, "being thus ordered, was declared to be for a pattern of the intended Reformation, to all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Parish-Churches in Scotland."]

CHARLES R.

RIGHT Trusty and Well-Beloved Coufin and Counsellor, and Trusty and Well-Beloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee were formerly pleased to require the Lords of our Privy Council to give order, by publick proclamation, or otherways, as they fould think fit, that they, and you of our College of Justice, and Members thereof, fould communicate twice [once] every year in our Chapell of Holyroodhouse: Bot now, being willing, for good considerations, that the Communion be oftner celebrated there, and to nominate such times as we have thought fit for that purpose, IT is our pleafure, that every first Sunday of the months of July and December yearly, you prepare and address yourselves, with your Advocates, Clerks, Writers, and all other members of that Judicatory, (to whom you shall cause intimate this our pleafure,) to our said Chapell, to participate of that Holy Sacrament, that others, by your example, may learn to observe the laudable order in that

cafe prescribed : wherein fail you not, as you tender our princely respect and pleasure, and as you will answer to the contrary ; for Wee will not suffer you, who should precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other subjects to contemn and disobey the orders of the Church. So, requiring you to cause these our letters to be registered in your Books of Sederunt, Wee bid you farewell.

From our Manor of Greenwiche,  
13th May 1634.

## IV.

THE WARRANT OF CHARLES THE FIRST FOR ESTABLISHING  
THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION IN SCOTLAND,

OCTOBER 1634.

[From a contemporary copy in Wodrow MSS., 4to. Vol. LXXVII. No. 16. The Original Warrant or Signature does not appear to have been preserved, but agreeably to this Warrant, a Commission (in Latin) was passed under the Great Seal, and is recorded in the Paper Register, (vol. iv. fol. 24;) which also presents similar blanks, in regard to some of the names.]

OUR Sovereane Lord ordeanes a Commiffion to be granted vnder [his] Hienes Great Seall of the Kingdome of Scotland, making mentioun y<sup>t</sup> quhairdivers complaints have bene made to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> be the most Reverend Fathers in God and the Reverend Fathers the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, vpon certane advocatiouns and suspensions granted by the Lords of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counfall and Sessioun, at the instant sute of parties callit before the judicatories of church discipline. For removing of that inconvenient, and to the effect no wicked, scandalous, nor disobedient persone pass vncensured and escape without punishment, his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, as being Supreme Judge of all persones and causes, alswele civill as ecclesiasticall, within the Kingdome and all vtheris his Ma<sup>ties</sup> dominions, have gevin and granted, lyk as his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, be the tennor heirof, geves and grants full power and commiffioun to the most Reverend Fathers in God and his Ma<sup>ties</sup> right trustie and wele-beloved Counfallors, the Archbishop of S<sup>t</sup> Androis, Primat and Metropolitane of Scotland, and the Archbishop of Glasgou ; to his Hienes trustie counseill and counfallors, George Erle of Kinnowll Lord High Chancellor, W<sup>m</sup> Erle of Mortoun Lord High Thesaurer, Thomas Erle of Hadingtoun Lord Privie Seall, James Duik of Lennox, James Marques of Hammiltoun, William Erle of Merchell, George Erle of Wintoun, Alex<sup>r</sup> Erle of Linlithgow, Jo<sup>n</sup> Erle of Wigtoun, Jo<sup>n</sup> Erle of Kinghorne, Ro<sup>t</sup> Erle of Roxburgh, Alex<sup>r</sup> Erle of Galloway, John Erle of Annandaill, John



Erle of Lauderdale, W<sup>m</sup> Erle of Dumfreis, W<sup>m</sup> Erle of Queinsberrie, W<sup>m</sup> Erle of Stirling, David Erle of Southask, John Erle of Traquair, Jo<sup>n</sup> Erle of Weymes, Ro<sup>t</sup> Erle of Ancrum; To the Reverend Fatheris in God, the Bishop of Ed<sup>r</sup>, the Bishop of Galloway, the Bishop of Dunkell, the Bishop of Aberdene, the Bishop of Murray, the Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Breichin, the Bishop of Dumblane, the Bishop of Argyll, the Bishop of Caithnes, the Bishop of the Isles, and the Bishop of Orkney; his Ma<sup>ties</sup> trustie coufing Mungo Vicount of Stormont, his Hienes trustie coufings and counfallors George Lord Gordoun, Archibald Lord Lorne, and Jo<sup>n</sup> Lord Erskin, and his Hienes right trustie and wel-beloved Ro<sup>t</sup> Lord Dalzell, and Ro<sup>t</sup> Lord Kirkcubru<sup>t</sup>; his Hienes trustie counfallors, Alex<sup>r</sup> Maister of Elphinstoun, Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairne kny<sup>t</sup> his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Secretar, S<sup>r</sup> John Hay of Baro kny<sup>t</sup> keiper of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Register and Rolls, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hope of Craighall kny<sup>t</sup> barronet his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Advocat, S<sup>r</sup> James Carmichaell of that Ilk Justice-Clerk, S<sup>r</sup> James Galloway M<sup>r</sup> of Requeists, and to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> trustie and wele-belovit S<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Spottifwood of Dunypace Kny<sup>t</sup> President of the Session, S<sup>r</sup> John Scot of Scottistarbret kny<sup>t</sup> Director of the Chancellerie, S<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Gordoun knight barronet, S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Scrymgeor of Dudope, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Sinclare of Rosline, S<sup>r</sup> Walter Stewart of Mynto, S<sup>r</sup> John Spottifwod of Darrie, S<sup>r</sup> Jo<sup>n</sup> Hammiltoun of Bargeny, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Cuninghame of Capringtoun, S<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Greir of Lag, S<sup>r</sup> John Charters of Amiffeld, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Mure of Rowallane, S<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Maxwell of Pollock, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Douglas of Cavers, S<sup>r</sup> Patrik Agnew of Lochnew shiref of Wigtoun, S<sup>r</sup> John M<sup>c</sup>Dougall of Garthland, Sir James Baillie of Lochend, S<sup>r</sup> Jo<sup>n</sup> Auchinmowtie, of Gosfurd, S<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Mongomrie younger of Skelmurelie, S<sup>r</sup> James Lockhart younger of Ley, S<sup>r</sup> Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck younger, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Scot of Harden, S<sup>r</sup> Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Slait, S<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Innes younger of Balveny knight barronet, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Vrqhart of Cromartie, knight, Jo<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Cloud of Herreis, Jo<sup>n</sup> Campbell younger of Caddell, Campbell of Ard-kinlase, Lawmount younger of that Ilk; and to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> wel-belovit Doctor Andro Bruce deane of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, M<sup>r</sup> James Hammiltoun deane of Glasgou, Doctor Alex<sup>r</sup> Gladstanes archdeane of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, Doctor Theodor Hay archdeane of Glasgou, Doctor Walter Whytfurde subdeane of Glasgou, Doctor Ro<sup>t</sup> Howie provest of the New Colledge of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, Doctor George Martene provest of the Auld Colledge of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, Doctor Patrik Panther professor of Theologie in the New Colledge of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, Doctor John Strang principall of the Colledge of Glasgou, Doctor John Douglas, Doctor David Monro persone of Kinuchar, M<sup>r</sup> James Hannay Deane of Ed<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Withart persone of Restalrig, Doctor Jo<sup>n</sup> Mitchelfone minister of Brunteland, Doctor George Withart minister at S<sup>t</sup> Andros, Doctor Henry Scrymgeor minister at S<sup>t</sup> Phillanes in Fyffe, M<sup>r</sup> Coline Campbell minister at Dundie, D<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Barroun professor of Theologie in the Colledge of New Aberdene, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Annand minister at Air, M<sup>r</sup> John Tennent persone of Calder, M<sup>r</sup> Andro Ramsay and M<sup>r</sup> David Mitchell ministers at Ed<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> George Hannay minister at Torphichen,

M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Maxwell minister at Stow, M<sup>r</sup> James Logane minister at Smailhame, M<sup>r</sup> Patrik Durame deane of Ros, M<sup>r</sup> George Monro chancellor of Ros, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie minister at Tarbet, Doctor James Elliot, M<sup>rs</sup> John Bell, Ro<sup>t</sup> Wilkie, John Maxwell, and Zacharie Boyd, ministers at Glasgou, M<sup>r</sup> John Hay perfone of Renfrew, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Birfbane perfone of Erskin, M<sup>r</sup> Walter Stewart minister at Kilpatrick, minister at Cambufnethan, M<sup>r</sup> Michael Wallace minister at Kilmarnock, M<sup>r</sup> George Lindfay perfone of \_\_\_\_\_, M<sup>r</sup> John Lindfay perfone of Carstairs, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Ramsfay minister of Dumfreis, M<sup>r</sup> Jo<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> perfone of Hoddum, M<sup>r</sup> George Buchannan perfone of Kirkpatrick Juxta, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Bennet perfone of Ancrum, M<sup>r</sup> Jo<sup>n</sup> Maitland perfone of Ediltoun, M<sup>r</sup> Abraham Henderfone minister at Whithorne, M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> [Hammiltoun] minister at Mongoff, M<sup>r</sup> James Hammiltoun minister at Wigtoun, M<sup>r</sup> James Scott minister at Tunglan, M<sup>r</sup> David Leitch minister at Dundrennan, M<sup>r</sup> Henrie Guthrie minister at Stirling, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Spittell perfone of Fawkirke, M<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Balcanq<sup>n</sup> minister at Tranent, M<sup>r</sup> George Sydferfe minister at Colbrunspeth, M<sup>r</sup> James Burnet minister at Lawder, M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Kinneir perfon of Whitson, M<sup>r</sup> Murdo M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie perfon of Dinguell, M<sup>r</sup> Dougall Campbell, minister at Knapdail, M<sup>r</sup> Donald M<sup>c</sup>Gillnorith minister at Innerara, Frazer Deane of the Iles, and M<sup>r</sup> Patrik Stewart minister at Bute, Constable of the Threue, S<sup>r</sup> Jerome Lindfay S<sup>r</sup> Hendrie Hay, M<sup>rs</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Nicolfone and Thomas Aikinheid, Comissars of Ed<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> James Weymes comissar of S<sup>t</sup> Andros, M<sup>r</sup> James Sandilands, comissar of Aberdene, the Comissars of Elgin, Invernes, and Ros, present, and who fall be for the tyme being, M<sup>r</sup> Ro<sup>t</sup> Murray, comissar of Stirling, Adame Cuninghame, comissar of Dumfreis, the Comissar and Proveist of the Citie of Glasgow, the Comissars and Proveists of Wigtoun and Kirkcubru<sup>t</sup>: Or to any sevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bishop being one of the number, to sumond or call before them, at quhatfomevir tyme or place it fall please them to appoint, all and findrie perfones within the Kingdome of Scotland, and dwelling within the provinces of S<sup>t</sup> Andros and Glasgou, that ar ather scandalous in lyfe, doctrine, or religion, speciallie all traffiquers, intercomouners, refetters of Jesuits or seminarie priests, all herars of mafs, all excomunicat papists, recusants or non-comunicants, all incestuous or adulterous perfones, all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the Church, or for that caus excomunicated, all abusers of religious perfones and places, and disturbers of divyne service, and things therevnto belonging, and all blasphemars, curfars, and swerars; and not onlie to call the saids transgressors, and everie ane of them, bot lykewayes all perfones quhatfomevir within the said Kingdome suspected to be guiltie of the afoirsaid crymes, or any of them, and to try and to cognosce of the afoirsaid crymes and offences, and if they fall find any man guiltie and impenitent, to geve directioun to the minister of the parich quhair the said impenitent perfone remaines, to proceed against him or hir, and pronounce sentence of excomunication against them; and if the minister disobey the said directioun, to suspend, deprive, incarcerate, and punish, as they fall think fitt. Attour, with power

to them [to] punish, incarcerat, fyne and confyne, any that fall be fund guiltie of the saids crymes and offences, or fall prove contumacious, or refuse to compier before them; with power lykwayes to the saids comissioners to call before them all ministers, preachers, M<sup>rs</sup> of schooles, colledges, and vniverfities, exhortars, and letterars, within the saids bounds, that fall be deleat vnto them for preiching or speiking in publict against the present state and government of the kingdome and church, or against any of the conclusions of the bypast Generall Affembles, particularlie against the Acts concluded in the Generall Affemblic haldin at Perth in the moneth of August 1618 yeirs, and whom they fall try disobeyars of the saids acts, writers of lybells and pamphlets against any of the constitutions of the Church, the imprinters of the saids lybells, pamphlets, or any vther bills, without his Ma<sup>ties</sup> licence and warrand, or the licence of these who fall be authorized by his Henes to that effect, to censure and punish, by suspensiou, deprivation, fying, committing, and incarceration, according as they fall find the qualitie of ther offence to deserve. As also with power to receive and discus all appellations made vnto them from any inferior ecclesiasticall judicatories, and to inhibite the saids inferior judicatories to proceed in any cause that they fall judge impertinent, and not to belong to their cognition, and to censure the saids judges whom they fall find to behave themselves partiallie in any cause concerning the foirfais. Comanding the captane and leutenant of the guaird, the provest and baillies of Burrowes q<sup>r</sup> it fall happin the saids comissioners to reside, the Shirefs and Baillies of regalities to searck, seik, tak, and apprehend all such delinquents, and present them before the saids comissioners, vpon the warrand of any fevin of them, ane Archbishop or Bishop being one of the number. Comanding lykwayes the captanes and constables of his Hienes castles and houfes, and the keepers of prisons and vtheris places of firmance, to receive and deteane these that fall be directed vnto them by the saids comissioners vpon warrand as said is, As they will answer vpon their disobedience and vttermoost perrill; ordaning farther the Lords of Privie Counfall, vpon the certificat subscrivit by the saids Comissioners, or any fevin of them, an Archbishop or Bishop being ane of the number, to direct letters of horning for payment of the fyne imposed by the saids Comissioners, in case of the delinquents disobedience or refusall to compeir, when they are cited before them. Of which letters and charges, no suspensiou or relaxation fall be granted without the testimonie of ane of the Archbishops or Bishops beiring obedience to the decree of the commissionars and satisfioun of the pairties. And maks constituts, and ordeanes Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Hay, comissar-clerk of Ed<sup>r</sup>, clerk of the said High Commission during all the dayes of his lyftyme, with power to him to creat deputs vnder him, in ather of the saids tuo provinces requyring the saids Comissioners, to receive the oath of the said M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>., for dew administratioun of the said office, with power to them to appoint fiscall, officers, and all vther members of Court, and to direct sumonds and precepts in his Hienes name, for citing quhatsoever pairties or persones in any of the causes forfais; which precepts fall be sealed with ane of the Archbishops or Bishops seals

and subfcrivit be the faids clerks, with power to fummond witnes in any of the forfaids caufes vnder the paine of fourtie pundis money of Scotland ; and if the faids witneffis reufe to compeir, or the faids parties decerned in a fyne, delay to mak payment of the famyne, Ordaining the Lords of Privie Counfall to direct charge vpon the certificat of the faids comiffioners, as is above fpecifeit. Of the which fynes the ane half fall perteane to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and the vther half to be imployed vpon the charges which the faids Commiffioners fall be forced to mak in the executing of the faid Commiffioun, and if any remainder fall be, the fame fall be beftowed to pious vfes, at the fight of the faids comiffioners. And generallie all and findrie vther things to doe and exerce that are neceffarie in the premifes, or may be thought onawayes requifite for his Hienes fervice, and according to the intention of this prefent commiffioun, inhibiting the Lords of Secret Counfall and Seffion to grant no advocation from the faids comiffioners in maters of the qualitie foirfaid, bot to remitt the tryall and censure therof to the faids comiffioners. Comanding, laftlie, all his Ma<sup>ties</sup> lieges whom thefe things may concerne, to anfwer and obey the faids Commiffioners, or any fevin of them, ane Archbifhop or Bifhop being an of the number, and their officers and minifters quhatfomevir vnder all hieft paine that may follow, and ordeanes thir presents to be an fufficient warrand to the Direfter of the Chancellarie for wryting of the fame to the Great Seall, and to the Lord Chancellor for appending the faid Seall therunto, without any farder precepts to be direct therupon,—Given at our Honnour of Hamp-toun Court the twentie-ane of October, the yeir of God I<sup>m</sup>. VI<sup>c</sup>. threttie-four yeirs.

## V.

ANE ACCOUNT OF PAPERS INTERCEPTED BETUIXT ARCHBISHOP  
LAUD AND THE SCOTS BISHOPS.

[From a contemporary MS. in the Editor's poffeffion. The above title is the indorfation of the paper, in a later hand, with the date 1637 added. It appears, however, that it was not before the year 1640 that the Papers here referred to came into the poffeffion of the Covenanters.]

To Remark and remember God's providence in bringing to our hand fome principall authentick Autographes betuixt the B. of Canterbury and our Prelatis, quhilk contributes to the difcovering of their plottis and projeftis. And firft, amongft utheris we haiff gone through, of memoires, intituled "MEMOIRES FOR MY LORD B. OF ROSS, OF MATTERIS TO BE PROPONED TO HIS MAJESTIE AND MY LORD CANT. HIS G.," all writtin and subfcrivit by the Archbishop of St. Androis, August 8, 1634 ; of the fame dait, and subjoind with the firft draucht of the Book of Canones fent up to be correctet, and no doubt correctet

with the same hand to quhom it is sent; as fra the dait, so fra the conjunctione of the King and Canterbury in the title, ye may cleirly perceave the same, and the dependance of our Prelatis from Canterbury, to quhom, equallie with the King, they mak ane accompt of all things: As in the first directione, they give ane accompt anent the Liturgie, the Canones, and the Psalmes. In the 2, anent the filling of voyd places in the Church. In the 3, anent the Communion in the Chappell. In the 4, anent restraint of wageing to Communion. In the 5, anent the Hie Commiffioun to be a constant judicatorie, or undoing the Presbyteriall discipline, whereupon the B. of Ros obtenit a letter from the King to the Counsaill, superscryvit be the King, 20th of October 1634, whereof we have the principall. In the 6, 7, 8, 9, ane accompt gevine of all that was injoynd at St. Androis; anent the featis of the Kirk; anent the comensment of the Univerfitie; anent the doctorateing of Clyft ane Inglishman, and the degradeing of one Bastock. In the 10, anent the Commiffioun of Surrenderis, that ane new injunccion be sent doune to prohibit all other churches but these of the Ereccion. In the 11th, anent the Commiffariat of Argyle. In the 12, anent the B. of Ed. relict. In the 13, 14, 15, 16, anent the Pryorie of St. Androis, where mentione is maid of founding a Cathedrall in St. Androis, and in bringing the Pryorie to greater integritie after these dayes. In the 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, all anent the Exchequer for ane new Comiffioun to reforme it; that few noblemen be on it; that the President *sine quo non*; that the forme be conforme to that of England; that the [office] of Thesaurer and Comptroller be separted; that the annuitie be put in ane churchman's hand to bring in church livingis againe; that all signators pas in Exchequer; that the manageing of his rentis be intrusted to men responfabill and comptrollabill. The 25 anent Balmerinoch and his lybell. The 26 anent the two comiffions for the Chappell rentis, the Erle Roxbruche's kirks. Be the quhilk Memoires, even in all fortis of matteris, sent by our chiefest Prelat unto the B. Canterbury, yow may perceave his meddling in all our effaires, and their absolute dependance on him therein as the Primus and principall mover, author, and director, from quhom all did and most flow, especially wherin his Ma. was to haiff any hand, or give any countenance, and particularlie anent the Service-Book and Book of Canones, wherin our greatest Prelate gewis ane accompt to the B. of Canterbury, as equally joynd with the King, ewen as schollaris does unto their masteris.

Lykas we haiff ane uther autographone intituled, MEMOIRES FOR MY LORD B. R. all writtin and sub<sup>t</sup> by the B. of St. Androis hand, but without a dait, quhilk beginnes thus, "My Lord Cant<sup>y</sup>. defyred to be informit," and than goes one, In the first article he schowis both how the Chancellor had the place before St. Androis, and how it fuld be redrest be ane act of Counsaill. In the 2, anent the Liturgie, that they had done all that was possibill. In the 4, anent the Canones, to gett a varrand for the printing. In the 5, anent the kirkis that are voyd, your Lo. will acquaynt my Lord Canterbury with our opinione. In the 6, anent the Comiffioun of Surrenderis, that all continuatione of erectit

kirkis. In the 7, your Lo<sup>d</sup> may tak occasion to speak of the Pryorie to my Lord Canterbury, and learne quhat is done, and schow how necesarie it is. In the 9, that the Annuitie be used for buying of the erectit Lordschips, and a comiffioun grantit to fyve perfones therefor. In the 10, anent the reduction of the laite Patronages, that Bischops be dischargit to give collatione therupon. In the 12, anent Lindores to Mr. Andro Leirmonth. In the 13, that Wederburne be brought to the Chappell. In the 14, that the loftis of the church of Ed<sup>r</sup> be takine doune. In the 16, touching my Lord Balmerinoch, ye fall schow my opinion to my Lord Canterbury. Quherby he may perceave that nothing was done or micht be done in this Church quherof Canterbury was not the pryme and *primum mobile*; especially anent Service-Book and Canones, and all other our church changes.

We haiff ane letter writtin all be the hand of the B. R., [Bishop of Rofs,] bot unsubscreyvit, to the B. of Canterbury, quhilk is the scroll of the principall whilk he has sent away, quherin he acknowledgis and admires Canterbury's wisidome in the governing and directing of this Church, and all the effaires therof.

We haiff a letter of my Lord Sterling's to the B. R., 17th February 1636, quherin he schawis my Lord Canterbury delyvered our new printed Book of Canones to the Kingis Majesty, with ane direction to him for tuo letters to be drawine up for the Kingis hand, concerning the authorizing of the Book. Quherby ye may perceave Canterbury medling therein.

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[The following Letters from Archbishop Laud to the Bishops Bellenden and Maxwell, says Lord Hailes, "were made part of the Charge by the Scottish Commissioners against the Archbishop in December 1640. It does not however appear, that they were ever produced in support of that charge. See *Troubles and Trial of Laud*, p. 89. 91. The Letters are now in a very imperfect condition; some parts of them are worn away, others much defaced; the Editor has, from conjecture, supplied a few words, and distinguished them by *Italics*." (Memorials, &c. in the Reign of Charles the First, p. 3.) The Original Letters are now in a very frail, as well as a mutilated state, which rendered it desirable they should be printed in a more full and accurate manner than accorded with Lord Hailes's plan, who omitted several passages which he conceived did not "serve to illustrate the History of those times." The words that have been supplied are now printed within brackets. It will be seen from the Inventory of these Papers, which is given in this Appendix under the date June 1641, that only a portion of them has been preserved.]

## VI.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 13.]

MY VERY GOOD L<sup>d</sup>.S. in X<sup>po</sup>. [Salutem in Christo.]

You are much beholding to my L<sup>d</sup>. Sterling; and for my selfe, I did you the best service I could, and am glad your troublesome suites are at an end. I hope that w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King hath now done will preserve you against your pressing necessities, thorough w<sup>ch</sup> I pray God fend you a good passage: But for Westminster foes, they did very much wrong you, whoever they [were], y<sup>t</sup> made those relations to you of y<sup>t</sup> great Sume; for my former [letters told] y<sup>e</sup> truth to you.

Concerning your preferme[nt, until any better] place falls, I can promise nothing; but I assure [you, his Majesty] hath a very good opinion both of you and your service; and therefore I [can not] doubt but y<sup>t</sup> he will take you and your estate into his consideration. At this time you have given his Ma<sup>tie</sup> good content, and he expects that you continue in y<sup>t</sup> course; and lett him still receive a note whoe they be that conforme, and whoe not, for I see his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is resolved to goe constantlie on, and therefore you must not fayle.

I have considered howe much reason you speake concerning y<sup>e</sup> poore Singing men, and have received their Petition w<sup>ch</sup> you sent enclosed. I must needs say their case deserves a great deale of commiseration; and the very first time y<sup>t</sup> I gott access to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, after y<sup>e</sup> receipt of your letters, I acquainted him w<sup>th</sup> their necessities, and he, like a gracious and a good Prince, was very much moved w<sup>th</sup> it, and commanded me to deliver their Petition to my L<sup>d</sup> Sterling, y<sup>t</sup> some course might be taken for them; and this, God willing, I will doe soe soone as ever I can meete w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be this day, and soe soone as I can drive it to any good issue, you shall heare from me. Soe, in hast, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Lambeth, Jan. 14,  
1633 [1633-4].

Your L<sup>d</sup><sup>s</sup> very lovinge friend and Brother,

To the R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God, my very good L<sup>d</sup> and Brother  
the L<sup>d</sup> B<sup>p</sup> of Dunblane, at Edenburrow, these.

[Indorfed.] Anent his encouragment, and anent non-communicants.

## VII.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 15. William Forbes, the Bishop of Edinburgh, who is mentioned in this letter, died 1st of April 1634, or little than two months after the date of his patent. His successor in the Metropolitan See was David Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X<sup>po</sup>.

I am right sorry for the death of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Edenburrow, the loss being very great both to the King and the Church. I acquainted his Ma<sup>tie</sup> how needfull it was to fill y<sup>t</sup> place with an able Successor; and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you desire, shewe his Ma<sup>tie</sup> what your desires were, and what necessityes lay vpon you. After much consideration of the buynes, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> resolued to give the Bp.ricke of Edenburrowe to my Lo. of Brehen; and for yourfelfe, he commanded me to write exprefly to you, y<sup>t</sup> he did not take it well, y<sup>t</sup>, contrary to his exprefs command, you had omitted prayers in his Chappell Royall, according to the English Litturgye, w<sup>th</sup> some other omiffions there, w<sup>ch</sup> pleased him not; besides, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath heard y<sup>t</sup> there have been lately some differences in Edenburgh about y<sup>e</sup> Sufferings of Christ, &c. and y<sup>t</sup> your Lord<sup>p</sup> was some cause of them; or, at least, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if y<sup>e</sup> late Bishop of Edenburrowe his care and temper had not moderated them; and this his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is not well pleased w<sup>th</sup> neither: And this hath been y<sup>e</sup> cause, as I conceive, why his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath past you over in this remove; and you shall doe very well to applye your selfe better, both to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, and y<sup>e</sup> well ordering of y<sup>t</sup> Church, leaft you give iustt occasion to the Kinge to passe you by when any other remove falls. I am very sorry that I must write thus unto you; but y<sup>e</sup> only way of helpe lyes in your selfe and your owne carriage; and, therefore, if you will not be carefull of y<sup>t</sup>, I doe not see what any freind can be able to doe for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious consideration, for your owne good, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, Maye 6th

W: CANT:

1634.

To y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo. and Brother,  
y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent the Liturgie, and his Sermon.



## VIII.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 16.]

MY VERY GOOD Lo.

S. in X<sup>po</sup>.

MY haft att this time forces me to write very breefely : And thefe are to lett you knowe, that I writt nothing in my former letters but as the Kinge was enformed, and my-felf by him commanded. I have nowe read your Lord<sup>ps</sup> letters to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> hath in fome part fatiffyed him, but not altogether.

And for y<sup>e</sup> firft, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> faith, y<sup>t</sup> though y<sup>e</sup> Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Chappell Royall did abfent themfelves for feare of arrefts, having not to pay ; and y<sup>s</sup> that might hinder y<sup>e</sup> fer-vice in y<sup>e</sup> Chappell in a folemne and a formall way of finging by them ; yet his Ma<sup>tie</sup> thinkes you might have gott a Chaplaine of your owne, to have read the Englifh Litur-gye, that foe y<sup>e</sup> worke, for y<sup>e</sup> maine part of it, might have gone on ; And for y<sup>e</sup> pay-ment of thofe menn, I thinke your Lord<sup>p</sup> knowes I have done all y<sup>e</sup> good offices I cann, but have it not in my power to mend all y<sup>e</sup> difficultyes of y<sup>e</sup> time.

Concerning y<sup>e</sup> difturbance y<sup>t</sup> was in Edenburrowe, if any wrong was done your Lord<sup>p</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> muft lye vpon y<sup>em</sup> whoe mif-reported you to y<sup>e</sup> Kinge, whoe ere they were. And howfoeuer, y<sup>e</sup> Kinge took it not ill you advifed y<sup>e</sup> then Bifhop of Edenburrowe to appeafe y<sup>e</sup> differences, for that was very worthily and defervedly done by you. But as farre as I remember, y<sup>e</sup> charge layed upon you to the Kinge, was, y<sup>t</sup> in your owne Ser-mon, w<sup>ch</sup> you preach'd about y<sup>t</sup> time, you did rather fide w<sup>t</sup> one partye, than either re-preffe or comepofe the difference. Though I muft needs confeffe to your Lord<sup>p</sup>, that, by reafon of the multitude of bufyneffes w<sup>ch</sup> lye vpon me, I cannot charge my memorye w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> particular.

You have done very well to acquaint the L<sup>ds</sup> of Counfell and Seffion, &c. w<sup>th</sup> his M<sup>ties</sup> refolution concerning y<sup>e</sup> Communion in y<sup>e</sup> Chappell Royall. And I doubt not, if you continue to doe y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> looks for in y<sup>e</sup> courfe of y<sup>r</sup> Church, and w<sup>ch</sup> is moft juft and fitt to be done, but y<sup>t</sup> you will eafily recover his Ma<sup>ties</sup> favour, and finde y<sup>e</sup> good of it. Soe, in haft, I leave you to y<sup>e</sup> Grace of God, and reft

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> very loveing Freind and Brother,

Lambeth, July 1st,

W : CANT :

1634.

To the Rt Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo.  
and Brother, the Lord Bp. of Dvnblane, thefe.

[Indorfed] Anent Reading of the Liturgie, and his Sermon at Edinburgh.

IX.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 17.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in Xpo.

I HAVE a second time mou'd his Matie concerning yem yt obeyed or difobey'd his commands in receiueing ye Communion in ye Chappell att Hallyrudhouse, and you shall not fayle to receiue his Maties answere by my Lo. [of Roffe]; foe yt I shall not need to be farther troublefome to you in yt parti[cular.]

His Matie is fully fatiffyed yt ye English . . . . . in ye Chappell Royall before my Lo. of Roffe. . . . . and in all things else, onl . . . . . fatiffyed me concerning . . . . . his Matie such fatiff . . . . . doubt not but your L . . . . . foe much to your fi . . . . .

Your . . . . .

Gentlemen of the Chap . . . . . to moue his Matie conce . . . . .

and he told me yt a little before his, . . . . . d fince ye . . . . . your Lordp halfe ye money was payed unto yem. And yt ye other halfe was payed before to one, I think of theire company, whome themselves employed to receive it; whoe, it seemes, was a Bancroft, and either runne away with their money or mispent it, or else ferued his owne turne wth it. Now, what to say to this, I cannot tell, for ye Chequer is not in yt cafe yt I can thinke it fitt, (or if I doe,) I am sure ye Lo. Treasurer will not thinke foe, yt ye Kinge should paye ye fame summe twice; and yet, I must confesse, it falls very hard upon ye poore men to beare ye losse; but they should have been wiser in ye choyce of their agent. Notwithstanding, if there can be any hope in this case to releue yem, I shall doe my best, and, for ye future, my Lo. hath promised me they shall be duly payd. Soe, I leaue you to ye Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lordps loueing Freind and Brother,

Croyden, Octobr 4,  
1634.

W: CANT:

To the Rt Reve . . . . .  
my very good L . . . . .  
Lo. Bp. of Dun . . . . .

[Indorfed] Against these the . . . . . municat.

## X.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 14.]

[Mr. Edward Kellie, who is mentioned at the close of this letter, was by a writ under the Privy Seal, appointed Receiver of the Fees of the Chapel-Royal, 26th of November 1629. There is an original and interesting paper by him, preserved in the General Register House, entitled, "Information touching the Chappell-Royall of Scotland," dated at Whitehall 24th of January 1631, which has been printed in the Appendix to Mr. Dauneys "Ancient Scottish Melodies," p. 365. Edinb. 1838. 4to.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

S. in X<sup>po</sup>.

I AM very very glad to heare your resolutions for the ordering of his Maties Chappell Royall, and y<sup>t</sup> you are resolved to weare your Whites, notwithstanding the malicioufnes of foolish men. I knowe his Matie will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satisfiied both concerning your Sermon, and all thinges else committed to your trust, you may, as opportunity serues, expect from his Matie all reasonable thinges; and I shall not be wanting to give you all y<sup>e</sup> assistance y<sup>t</sup> I can vpon all occasions; of w<sup>ch</sup> I heartily pray you not to doubt.

My Lo. y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Traquare is now come, and I shall take y<sup>e</sup> first oportunity I can to speake once more w<sup>th</sup> him about y<sup>e</sup> Gent. of y<sup>e</sup> Chappell, and shall showe him what your Lord<sup>p</sup> writes concerning one Edward Kelly, whome you mention; and what anfuere foever I can gett, you shall receive from me. Soe, in haft, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Lambeth, Jan. 12,  
1634 [1634-5].

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> very loveinge Friend and Brother,

W: CANT:

I have spoken w<sup>th</sup> my Lo. Traquare, and he tells me, (if I mistooke him not,) y<sup>t</sup> paym<sup>t</sup> was made to Kelly w<sup>th</sup> relation to the Gent. of the Chappell, and y<sup>t</sup> your oune hand, as well as others, is to some agreement y<sup>t</sup> was made thereabout. The paper was not then about him, else he had shewed it me. Your Lord<sup>p</sup> therefore shall doe very well to speake w<sup>th</sup> him againe about this particular. As for the time to come, he hath assumed to me they shall be duly paid.

To y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother,  
the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrewe, these.

[Indorfed] Anent wearing of the Whites.

## XI.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO THE SAME.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio. Vol. LXVI. No. 19.]

MY VERY GOOD LO.

S. in X<sup>po</sup>.

THE Kinge hath been acquainted with yo<sup>r</sup> care of the Chappell Royall, and is very well pleased w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> conformity that hath been there att y<sup>e</sup> lait reception of y<sup>e</sup> blessed Sacrament; and, for my part, I am heartyly glad to see in what a faire way y<sup>r</sup> Church-busynesses now are in those parts. I hope, if y<sup>e</sup> B<sup>ps</sup> be pleased to continue their good example, and their care, all things will settle beyond expectation.

The Kinge hath declared his pleasure concerning y<sup>e</sup> Bp.ricke now void, and hath given you y<sup>e</sup> Bp.ricke of Aberdeen, as you well heare more att large by my Lord of Roffe. But being an Vniversity, and a place of consequence, he will haue you reside there, and relies much upon you for y<sup>e</sup> well ordering of y<sup>t</sup> place. I am very glad y<sup>e</sup> Kinge hath been soe mindfull of you, and given you soe good a Testimony vpon this occasion of your remove. Soe, I leave you to y<sup>e</sup> Grace of God, and rest,

Lambeth, May 19,

Your Lord<sup>ps</sup> very loveinge Freinde and Brother,

. 1635.

W: CANT:

To the Rt Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother,  
the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorsed] Anent their encouragement.

## XII.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 20.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

S. in X<sup>po</sup>.

MY Lo. Sterling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in what forwardnes your Liturgye there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And, by y<sup>e</sup> King's command, I have sent for Yonge y<sup>e</sup> Printer, y<sup>e</sup> better to prepare him to make ready a blacke letter, and to bethinke himfelse to send to his seruants att Edenburrowe, y<sup>t</sup> soe, against y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Sterling's comeing, all things might be in y<sup>e</sup> better readines, w<sup>ch</sup> is all y<sup>e</sup> service I can doe till his Lord<sup>ps</sup> come.

I am very glad your Canons are alsoe in soe good a readines, and y<sup>t</sup> the true meaning

of y<sup>t</sup> one Canone remaines still under y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine. I hope you will take care y<sup>t</sup> it may be fully printed and paffed with y<sup>e</sup> rest: 'Twill be of great use for the fetleng of y<sup>t</sup> Church.

I thanke you for your care of D<sup>or</sup> Wedderbourne: He is very able to doe service, and will certainly doe it, if you can keepe up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated, as well as my Lord of Brehen, but I perceive he is not; what y<sup>e</sup> reason is [I know] not, but 'tis a thousand pittyes y<sup>t</sup> those uncertantyes abide w<sup>th</sup> him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him, I would not have him sticke att any thinge, for y<sup>e</sup> Kinge will not leave him long att Dunblane, after he hath once settled y<sup>e</sup> Chappell right, which I see will settle apace, if he keepe his footing. My letters are gone to y<sup>e</sup> Bp. of Aberdeene, by the King's command, to differt his protestation concerning y<sup>e</sup> Chappell, [and] to leave y<sup>e</sup> rents presently to Dr. Wedderbourne; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from y<sup>e</sup> Kinge to take of the Annats from y<sup>e</sup> Bp. ricks; and D<sup>or</sup> Forbes being y<sup>e</sup> late B<sup>ps</sup> Exequutor, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for y<sup>e</sup> Annats of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers, y<sup>e</sup> Kinge is resolued not to tuch y<sup>em</sup> att this time.

Concerning y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> you mencion about fitting of y<sup>e</sup> Chappell, both w<sup>th</sup> silver vessells and other ornaments, upon y<sup>e</sup> sale now to be made of some stufte of y<sup>e</sup> King's; I thinke my Lo. of St. Andrewes will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all y<sup>t</sup> yow desire; and then, if you do not see y<sup>e</sup> Chappell well furnished, y<sup>e</sup> blame for ever be yours.

The Bp. of Brehen is come, and my L<sup>d</sup> of St. Andrewes hath written att large by [him,] and I have given my Lord's Grace answere to all y<sup>e</sup> particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my [Lord, I hold no]thing certaine in Court till it be done; yet I have that affiance in my Lo. Marqueffe, [that I am confi]dent, he will passe Arbrothe, full and wholly, Præcinct and all; and his [Majesty is of the] same opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lo. of St. Andrewes feare [and yours is cause]lesse.

[The next passa]ge in your letter is only an expreffion of an apprehension w<sup>ch</sup> you [have for your over]throwe, and that if they can bring you into disgrace w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Kinge, [they will find easier passa]ge to damnify y<sup>e</sup> Church. I pray trouble not yourfelfe w<sup>th</sup> these [conceits; but f]erve God and the King, and leave y<sup>e</sup> rest to their protection. It may be such [a fear were] fitter for me, and perhaps I have juster cause of apprehensions, would I give way to [such thoughts.]

In the next passage you are more confident; hold you there, & lett no man stagger [you in the fer]wife of God and y<sup>e</sup> King. But wheras you write y<sup>t</sup> some w<sup>ch</sup> have promised, and [protested f]aire to me concerning y<sup>e</sup> Church, have, in all Judigatures, since your last return, gone [against] y<sup>e</sup> Church, I pray name y<sup>em</sup>; for I am loth to mistake persons, and then I shall not [spare] to acquaint y<sup>e</sup> Kinge w<sup>th</sup> what they doe; and, in y<sup>e</sup> mean time, you have noe cause to doubt, either y<sup>e</sup> change of y<sup>e</sup> King's countenance, or his giving full credit to any against y<sup>e</sup> Church, till y<sup>e</sup> Church be heard.

You need not feare any thing in my Lo. of Roxborough's bufynesse, for I doe not beleue y<sup>e</sup> King will erect any other Bp.rick in haft. God blisse him, and make him able to better those which are already, and stand in need of helpe. I doe not heare of any alteration to y<sup>e</sup> lesse or y<sup>e</sup> more about y<sup>e</sup> Exchequer there; but should there be any, I haue moued his Matie y<sup>t</sup> nothing be concluded till my Lo. of St. Andrewes judgment be knowne, according as yow desire. As for y<sup>e</sup> instance you make, in y<sup>e</sup> Annuity of Tithes, I read y<sup>t</sup> alfoe to y<sup>e</sup> King; and you cannot but remember y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King hath said enough to you in y<sup>t</sup> par[ticular: Let this] be enough.

My Lo. for y<sup>e</sup> clofe of your letter all y<sup>t</sup> I can say is this, my assistance you shall have in all iust and honorable wayes for y<sup>e</sup> Church; but y<sup>e</sup> Kinge is soe gracious of himselfe, y<sup>t</sup> you may be better able att any time to doe your owne bufynesse w<sup>th</sup> him then I am to doe it for you, being not able to vnderstand many difficultyes of your bufynesses. Yet, confidering my presence is heere, where yours cannot alwayes be, I shal be euer as ready to serue you as I haue been, y<sup>t</sup> is, to y<sup>e</sup> vttmost of my power. Soe, wishing you all health and hapines, I leave you to y<sup>e</sup> Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lord<sup>s</sup> very loueinge Freinde and Brother,

Croyden, Sept. 19th, 1635.

W: CANT.

To the R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and  
Brother, the Lord Bishop of Rosse, att Edenburrowe, these.

[Indorsed] 19 September 35, His gladnes for their being at the presse, especiallie that one Canon vnder the curtaine.

### XIII.

DR. JUXON BISHOP OF LONDON, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 21. The Book of "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical," &c. so often referred to, bears on the title, "Aberdene, imprinted by Edward Raban, 1636." 4to, pp. 43.]

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

Vpon the receipt of yo<sup>r</sup> former letters, I p[resentlie] repaired to my L: Grace of Canterburie, and gott a dispatch of what you desired to have explained in yo<sup>r</sup> Common Praier Booke; and I hope ere this it hath found the waye to Edinburgh, that yo<sup>r</sup> presse stand not still; for I was enforced, w<sup>th</sup> signification of the haft it required, to leave the care of conveiance vpon his Grace; because, my letters coming from Newmarkett, (where the Court then was,) by an vnknown hand, I knew not well how to gett it returnd.

With yo<sup>r</sup> letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month, I receaved yo<sup>r</sup> Book of Canons, which per-

chance at first will make more noise than all the Canons in Edinburgh Castle; but when men's eares have beene used awhile to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at first; and, perchance, find them as usefull for preservation of the Church, as the others for the Comonweale. Our prayers heer are for yo<sup>r</sup> happie proceedings in that great service, wherewith I rest,

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippes assured friend to serve you,

London Houfe,  
17<sup>o</sup> Februarij 1635 [1635-6.]

*Guil: London:*

To the right Reverend Father in God, my verie good  
Lord, the Lord Bpp. of Rosse, these bee, Ed<sup>r</sup>.

XIV.

THE EARL OF STIRLING, TO MAXWELL BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 22.—Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Author of the Monarchick Tragedies, was created Earl of Stirling in the year 1633. At this time, he held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland.]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERIE GOODE LORD,

I THANKE yow verie hartely for yo<sup>r</sup> Booke of the Cannons, w<sup>ch</sup> I receaued yesternight. I was present in the morneing when my Lord of Canterburry delivered the Booke to the King, w<sup>ch</sup>, as soone as his Ma<sup>ties</sup> had reade some parte of it, he delivered unto mee; and I was glade to heare him so well pleased therewith. I finde some erroures in the Printer, by mistakeing or renverfing of letters; and therefore have the more care in lookeing to that in printeing of the Service-Booke, for Yong the printer is the greatest knave that euer I dealt with; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necessity you must [leave.]

[Since] the writeing hereof, I receaued a letter from my Lord of [Canter]burry, signifying his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure for two letters that should be [drawen] vp for his hand, concerning the authorizeing of the Booke [of Ca]nnons; w<sup>ch</sup>, God willing, shall come home with the next packett. I hope my Sonne will take such a course, with yo<sup>r</sup> advice, concerning the Psalmes as shall be fitt, to whom I referre the same; and still remayne,

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> verie affectionate friend and servant,

*Stirling*

I fend yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> these inclosed letters from my Lord of Canterburry, to be delivered by yow according to their severall directiones.

[Whyte]hall, the 17 of Feb<sup>r</sup><sup>u</sup>. 1636.

To the right reverend Father in God, and my verie goode Lord,  
my Lord Bishope of Roffe.

[Indorfed] 17th Februar 1636. His purchasing the King's authorizing the Canons.

XV.

ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL AUTHORIZING THE SERVICE BOOK,  
WITH HIS MAJESTYS WARRANT :—OCTOBER 1636.

[Registrum Secreti Concilii, fol. 179.]

Apud Edinburgh, 20 Decembris 1636.—Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Dumfries.	Naper.	Advocat.
Thefaurar.	Angus.	Deputie Treasaurer.	Justice-Clerk.
Glasgow.	Binning.	Clerk-Regifter.	

ACT ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKE.

Forfamekle as the King's Maiestie, euer since his entrie to the imperiall Crowne of this his ancient Kingdome, especiallie since his late being heir, hes diverse times recomendit to the Archbishops and Bishops heir, the publishing of a publiſt Forme of Service in the worship of God, whiche his Maiestie would have vniformelie obserued in this Kingdome; and the same being now condescended upon, although his Maiestie doubts not bot all his Maiesties subjects, both clergie and others, will receive the said publiſt Forme of Seruice with such reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt his Maiestie thinking it necessair to make his pleasure knowne twiching the authorizing the booke thairof, Thairfore the Lords of his Maiesties Privie Counsell, according to his Maiesties speciall warrand and direction, Ordains letters to be direct, to command and charge all his Maiesties subjects, both ecclesiasticall and civill, be open proclamation at the Mercat Crofes of the heid Burrowes of this Kingdome and other places needfull, to conforme themselffs to the said publiſt Forme, quhilk is the onlie forme quhilk his Maiestie, (having takin the Counsell of his Clergie,) thinks fitt to be used in Gods publiſt worship heir: Commanding heirby all Archbishops and Bishops, and others presbyters and churchemen, to take a speciall care that the said publiſt Forme of worship be dewlie obserued and obeyed, and the contraveaners condignlie censured and punished; and to have a speciall care



that euerie Parish betuix and Pasche next, procure unto thameselffs twa at the least of the saids Bookes of Commoun Prayer, for the use of the Parish.

FOLLOWIS HIS MAJESTIES MISSIVE FOR WARRANT OF THE ACT ABOUWRITTEN.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT Reuerend Father in God, right trustie and weil-belouit Cousins and Counsellors, right trustie and trustie and belouit Counsellors, We greit you weil. Whereas since our entrie to the Crowne, especiallie since our late being in that Kingdome, We have diuerse times recommended to the Archbishops and Bishops there, the publishing of a publict Forme of Seruice in the worship of God, whiche We would haue vniformelie obserued therein; And the same being now condescended vpon, thogh We doubt not bot all our subjects, both Clergie and others, will receaue the same with such reuerence as appertaineth; Yitt thinking it necessarie to make our pleasure knowne, tuicheing the authorizing of the Booke thaireof, We require you to command, by opin proclamation, all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civill, to conforme thameselfes in the practife thairof, It being the onlie forme which We, (having takin the Counsell of our Clergie) thinke fitt to be used in Gods publict worship there: As alswa We require you to inioyne all Archbishops and Bishops, and other Presbyters and churchemen, to take care that the same be dewlie obeyed, and the contraveeners condignlie censured and punished; And to take order that euerie Parish procure to thameselfes, within such a space as you shall thinke fitt to appoint, two at least of the saids Bookes of Common Prayer for the use of the Parish; wherein you will doe us most acceptable seruice, and for which these shall be your warrant. We bid yow farewell, from our Court at Newmercat, the 18 of October 1636.

XVI.

DISCHAIRGE BE THE PRINTER FOR THE BOOKS TO THE  
CHAIPPELL.

[The Original indorfed as above, is preserved in the General Register Houfe.]

WE, Robert Bryson, Bookfeller, and I, Evan Tyler, Printer, by these presents grants us to have received from Mr. George Halyburtoun, all & whole the sowme of Ane hundred fourty-four pounds, four shillings Scots money, being the just price of the Liturgies, which are given in to the Chappell Royall. In witnes whereof we have subscribed our names, At Edinburgh this fifteenth of April 1637 years.

ROBERT BRYSONE.

EVAN TYLER.

## XVII.

ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD, TO DR. HALL BISHOP OF NORWICH.

[The Original is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, inserted in a copy of "The Booke of Common Prayer, and Adminiftration of the Sacraments: And other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Young, &c. 1637." Folio. The copy (marked KK. e. 24.) is printed on large paper, but it has been rebound and cut down, and does not, as usual, contain King James's Psalms, dated 1636.]

MY VERY REVEREND AND HONO<sup>LL</sup> GOOD LORD,

I WAS desired to present zo<sup>r</sup> Lo. with one of the copies of our Scottishe Liturgie, which is formed so nigh to the Inglish, as we culd, that it might be knowne how we are nothing differen in substance from that Church. And God I befeeche to keep ws one, and free ws from those that craife divisions. Zo<sup>r</sup> L. will be pleased to accept this litle present, as a testimonie of our Churches love, and sent by him qho truly loveth zo<sup>r</sup> L. and will still remain,

Zowr L. most affectionat Brother,

SANCTANDREWS.

[Indqrfd.]—To my very Reverend good Lord and Brother,  
my Lord the Bishop of Norwich.

## XVIII.

LINDESAY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, TO THE PRESBYTERY OF  
DALKEITH.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 40.]

WELBELOUED BRETHREN,

A GREAT number of the Ministers of this diocefs, thinking the day of the Synode had beine the last Weddinfday of Apryll, did come to this Towne, and finding themfelues mistaken, presentlie returned to their owne homs, w<sup>t</sup> whom I spake not. These presents therefore are to defyre yow to keipe preceisslie the tyme appointed, w<sup>ch</sup> is the last Weddinfday of Majj, for at that tyme there [are] fundrie things that I haue to impart vnto yow, and in speciall concerning the Service Books that are to be receaued in our Church; of the w<sup>ch</sup> books it is thoght expedient, that presentlie everie Minister and Congregation buy two vpon the common charges of the parish, one for the vse of the minister, and the other for the reader, or him that shall assift the minister in the service. The price of the Booke I think shal be 4lbs. 16sh. y<sup>t</sup> is 9lb. 12sh. the two. The matter is of no great

moment, and the impoyment verie necessar and profitable, as experience shall prove. I hope y<sup>r</sup>fore yee will not faill everie one to bring in your moneyes and receaue your books, for it is appointed that the Printer be payed, and the buiks taken off his hand, betuix this and the first of June. In the meane tyme I expect that yee will observe the commemoration of Christ's Ascension, on Thursday the 18th of May; and on Sunday the 28th thereafter, called Whitsonday, a commemoration of the descending of the Holy Ghost, w<sup>ch</sup> haue beine and are solemnly observed throw all the Christian world, to the hono<sup>r</sup> of him who is the God of order, vnity, and peace; to whose grace I leaue you, and shall euer remaine,

Yo<sup>r</sup> loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 28 April 1637.

DA : EDENB.

To his welbeloued Brethren the Moderator and remanent Brethren  
of the Exercise of Dalkeith, these.

#### XIX.

#### INSTRUCTIONS HOW THE SERVICE CAME TO BEE MADE DELIVERED TO MEE BY THE KING.

[Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI. No. 36. The above title is the indorsation of this paper in the hand-writing of Dr. Balcanquall. It evidently was drawn up by the Earl of Stirling, then Secretary of State for Scotland. The original is mutilated in the several places marked with points, or where words have been supplied within brackets.]

KING JAMES, of blifed memorie, who knew most perfectly the defects of the Church of Scotland, shortly after his coming to the Croun of England, out of his religious and pious care of God's glorie, and tender affection to that poore Church, *in quâ natus et renatus*, beganne seriously to think vpon the esta[blishing of a] Liturgie there.

After many though[ts for that purpose, he] obtained that in a Generall Affembly at [Aberdeen in the year 1616,] it was enacted that a Booke of Co[mmon Prayer] should be framed; and, by Act of Affembly, so many were trusted with it to draw it vp, of whom I am sure Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Cowper B. of Galloway was one.

Then a Booke of Common Prayer was formed and delivered to my Lord Archb. of S<sup>t</sup> Andrew's, w<sup>o</sup> after hee had reuifed, it was sent vp to King James, who did take the paines to peruse and consider it, and gave order to the Deane of Winchester to doe the like, the same was returned to my Lord of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews, with his Ma. directions what hee would have to be changed, omitted, or added, to make it the more perfect.

Before it could be brought *ad vmbilicum*, God called that blifed King to Glory.

King Charles shortly after his entrie to the raigne, air not only to his Father's crowne, but pietie, vrged the same w<sup>t</sup> a most pious care and fatherlie affection. This very Booke

*in statu quo* King James left it, was sent to his Ma. and presented to his Ma. by myselfe, (whether the same was done or not by the B. of Ross then, now Archb. of Glasgow, I darre not confidently averre, but I thinke hee it was). His Ma. took great care of it, gave his Royall judgement, and I returned home and signified his Ma. pleasure to my L. St. Andrew's, and hee to such of the Clergy as hee thought fit.

There was during this time much paines taken by his Ma. here, and My L. St. Andrew's, and some others there, to have it so framed, as wee needed not to be ashamed of it when it should be seen to the Christian world, [and] w<sup>t</sup> that prudent moderation that it might be done in that [way which might occasion] the least offence to weak ones there.

In God's mercy . . . . . that it was framed so as the . . . . . it, and put their hands to it, w<sup>o</sup> I shew to his Ma.; and thereafter his Ma. gave His Royall approbation, writte to the Councell for authorising of it, and to the BB. to be cairfull, in all prudent and convenient speed, to put it in practise, and that it should goe to press, that this might be the sooner and better done.

To facilitate the receiving of the Booke of Common Prayer, a care was had besides to make it as perfect as could be, so lykwise that howsoever it should come as neare to this of England as could be, yet that it should be in some things different, that our Church and Kingdome might not grumble as tho wee were a Church dependent from or subordinat to them:

His Ma. prudent pietie was such, that tenderly caring for the peace of this Church, some things were kept in our Liturgie which as yet our Church could not be vrged with, and some things which the weaknes of the greater part would except against: that the turbulent heire might get no advantage by our Booke to disquiet the Church, and that ours might the more [smoothly] be received His Ma. in a gracious moderat . . . . . ned vnder his hand, dispensed w<sup>t</sup> ye BB. not . . . . . vpon any but such as were willing . . . . . their flocks to doe it.

And yet [His Majesties] care and prudence was more, that when all was concluded, and the Booke ready for the press, to prepare men the better to receive it, gave order to all Archbishops & BB., till our owne should be printed and fully authorized, to cause read the English Service booke in their Cathedralls, to vse it morning and evening in their owne houses and colledges, as it had been vsed in His Ma. Chappell Royall in the yeir of God 1617. The BB. vpon a remonstrance made to his Ma. that seeing their owne was shortly to come forth, desired that all should be continowed till their owne were printed and fully authorized: to which his Ma. graciously accorded.

In 1636, at farthest in the beginning of 1637, the Booke was printed, sent to his Ma. presented to the Councill, authorized at His Ma. command, publick proclamation made to all churchmen to beginne the practise at Easter 1637. His Ma. at this tyme, at euery occasion, put the BB. in mynd of their dutie, and not to be negligent.

The Bifhop of Edinburgh not being able to beginne at the appointed day, the Bifhops meiting in June and July, carefull to obey his Majeftie did think fit, before the Seffion raife, (that fo it might be knowen in all the corners and parts of the kingdome,) that the reading and vfe of it fhould beginne in Edinburgh and all the neireft adjacent churches; and knowing that all were not alike affected to fo pious a worke, ordaining intimation to be made the Lord's day before the 23 of July, that the Service was to beginne and continow, fearing that fome difaffected would prevaricate in the intimation, caufed print the intimation, and intimat it in all the churches of Edinburgh, in the printed order.

What a barb[arous] hub-hub was then, wovld to God it were buried in [oblivion. After] that the Toune of Edinburgh, fearing His Ma: [difpleafure,] yea puritans themfelves condemning it . . . . . exprefsly . . . condemning the factis . . . . . either knowledge of it, or hand in it, and promifing obedience (. . . . . was put vpon Rascallis and Coal-ftellers, but how juftly, let fubfequent actions and events declare:) His Majeftie was fo gracious, that he pardoned the Toune, accepted of their excufe: Such was His goodnefs all this tyme, not one, no not the bafeft, cenfured.

The 23 of Auguft, a Councell day, appointed to meet folemnly, to know His Ma. pleafure, expected to returne before then; their came to that diet fome few Minifters from Fife, and fome from the Weft, being charged to buy and receue the books, to fufpend. Nothing was done then to curbe them, but at Councell table fpeking that their was a fire in all the parts of the kingdome. Quherevpon, in the nixt Councell day, noble-men and numbers of Minifters did appear w<sup>t</sup> petitions, and crying out againft the Booke as Popifh fuperftitions. After which petition and petitions were fent to his Ma. At this tyme, if I miftake not, my L. D. of Lennox, occasionally being at home, did bringe vp their Petition. They encreafed in number, and then fpoke againft Service-book, Canons, Hie Commiffion, &c. Declarations were given in to the Councell; and heir you would admire to fie the tennor of that A&t at Dalkeith, which they pretend as their warrand for meiting, which they abufed to the eftablifhing of their [Tables. His] Ma. was gratiofely pleafed to declair, by op[en Proclamation, hee] intended no novation in Relligion, &c.; [but that the conte]mpt of the Proclamation concluded at Lin[lithgow,] commanding them all to repair home, would be look't to. Traquair written for came vp. At Stirling was a gracious proclamation, to affure His Majeftie's fubjects of the fyncerity of Relligion. Heir was made the firft proteftation againft authority, which *in terminis* meits & oppofes the proclamation. After that, Privie Seale was fent home. Then the Covenant was put on foot, &c. After that, his Lordfhip's panis did proue fucefffull: His Lordfhip can give you information of this. Then the Marquis of Hamilton, &c.

## XX.

INFORMATION FROM THE EARL OF STIRLING TO  
DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Wodrow MSS., Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 26.—This paper has no date or signature, but it relates to matters which occurred in 1637, and appears to be a continuation of the preceding article.]

THE Councill gave out letters, chargeing euery minister to receive two Service Bookes for every paroch church; but M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Henderfon, and two other ministers with him, in name of the rest, gave in a petition the next day, that they might have some reasonable tyme to see the Booke and consider of it; wherevpon the former charge was suspended. The Service Booke was begun to be read in the church of Edinburgh vpon a Sondag, when the Lo. Treasurer was forth of towne, and the Councill not present, which made a great mutinie in the church, and the service was read with difficultie, the church doores all being shutt; and as soone as the sermon was ended, they threw stones at the Bishop, and entered in a great tumult. There was a tumultuous multitude that came about the Towne Councill-house, the Clerk Register being then Provest, vrgeing him to signe what they demanded, till the Lo. Treasurer came and releued him.

The Towne of Edinburgh being pressed to receive the Service Booke, offered once to do it, so they might have men to read it to them; and they gave in a petition that they might not be vrged to vse it till the rest of the Borroughes did consent to the receaving of it, and they would abstaine, in the mean tyme, from joyning in petition with them. They could have no answer, but that they must either receive it presently, or joyne with the rest, which they did, though it might then have been prevented.

The Councill, vpon this, was removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and the Lo. Roxbrughe was sent home with a commission from his Majestie, and a proclamation, shewing that no innovation in Religion was intended; but it was so farr from settling the busines, that they proceeded to more high demands then before, and of others then concerning the Service Booke.

Thereafter, the Session being removed to Sterline, and the troubles still encreasing, a proclamation was made there, expressing his Majesties gracious intention and sincerity in Religion, and withall, chargeing all men, vnder paine of Treason, to retire themselves to their owne houses; but this was encountred with a protestation, and no obedience given to the charge.

After this, they made a Covenant amongst themselves, and a Bond of mutuall aide, for

profecuting their caufe in eftablifhing of the Religion in that eftate which they conceived to be the purity thereof, and confirmed the fame by an oath and fubfcription of all fuch as they could, by any meanes, draw to adhere to them. The Minifters, taking a liberty, even out of the pulpits, to abftract from the authority of Bifhops, thereby to incenfe the people againft them; and all fuch of the minifterie as would not condifcend to their Covenant, the Prefbyteries either deprived, fufpended, or filenced, for any fault they could finde out, (or, they fay,) could be pretended againft them.

[Indorfed in Balcanquall's hand.] From my L. Sterlin.

## XXI.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

(1.) Apud Edinburgh, 13 Junij 1637.

## ACT ANENT SERVICE BOOKES.

FORASMEIKLE, as by act and proclamation, made and published heretofore, It was commandit and ordained, that everie Prefbyterie within this Kingdome fould have had a care that their parochiners fould have bene furnished and provydit, betwixt and Pafche laft, with twa of the Bookes appointed to be univerfallie receaued throughout this Kingdome, for the publiſt forme of Service in the worſhip of God, as in the act and proclamation made to this effect at lenth is conteinit: Quhereunto, altho great numbers of the miniftrie of beſt learning and foundeſt judgement and gifts, hes given dewtiful obedience, and hes conformed thameſelfes to his Maieſties royall will and pleaſure in this point, Yitt there is ſome others of the miniftrie who, out of curioſitie and ſingularitie, refuife to receaue and embrace the ſaid Booke, and does what in thame lyes to foſter and interteyny diſtractioun and troubles in the Kirk, to the diſturbing of the publiſt peace thereof, without remeid be provydit; Thairfore, the ſaids Lords ordains letters to be direct, charging the whole Presbyters and Miniſteris within this kingdome, That they and euerie ane of thaim provide and furniſhe themſelfes, for the uſe of their Pariſhes, with twa of the ſaids Bookes of publiſt Service, or Commoun prayer, within fyfteine dayes nixt after the charge, vnder the paine of rebellion and putting of thaim to the horne; and if they faille, to denunce, &c. and to eſcheit, &c.

(2.) Apud Edinburgh, 28 Julij 1637.—Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Dumfries.	B. Ros.
Theſaurer.	L. Lorne.	B. Brechin.
Glaſgow.	L. Alexander.	L. Deſkford.

Priue Seale.	B. Edinburgh.	L. Naper.
Winton.	B. Galloway.	Clerk-Register.
Wigton.	B. Aberdeen.	Justice-Generall.
Kingorne.	B. Murray.	Deputie-Treasurer.

## ACT ANENT SERVICE BOOKES.

The Lords of Secret Counsell having heard the Prouest and Bailleis of Edinburgh tuiching the proposition made be thame, and courfe taken conforme thereto, for a peaceable exercife of the Service-booke, and securitie of the perfonis employed, or who fall be prefent and affist at the pra<sup>c</sup>tife thair of; The Lords ordaine the Proveft and Bailleis to advyfe amongs thaimfelffs anent ane obligatorie a<sup>c</sup>t to be given be the Toun for the reall performance of what they fall undertake in the buffines abone mentioned, And allowes thame to publishe, by touck of drwm, the Orders to be established be thame for keeping of thair Toun in peace and quyetnes, and preventing of all trouble and commotioun within the fame.

(3.) Apud Ed<sup>r</sup> 29 Julij 1637, in the Chan<sup>rs</sup> looding—Sederunt.

Chancellor.	Kingorne.	L. Defkford.
Treasurer.	L. Alexander.	Clerk Register.
Priue Sea <sup>l</sup> .	B. Galloway.	Justice-Generall.
Glafgow.	B. Aberdeen.	Blakhall.
Wintoun.	B. Brechin.	

## THE CLERGIE'S REPORT ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKE.

The whilk day the Archbifhop of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdome, for himfelfe and in name of the remanent Bifhops, reported to the Counsell, That, in regard of the late trouble and infurrection raifed upon Sunday laft, for oppofing the Service-booke, and upon new emergent occafions and confiderable refpects, It wes thought fitt and expedient be thame, That there fould be a furceaffe of the Service-booke till his Maieftie fould fignifie his pleafure twiching the redrefse and punishment of the authors and a<sup>c</sup>tors of that diforderlie tumult, and that a courfe be fett down for the peaceable exercife thair of, to the glorie of God, his Maiefties honour, and the good of this Citie; And in the meane time, to the effect his Maiefties good and loyall fubjects be not defrauded of the comfort of the word, the faids Bifhops had appointed and given order that, in the whole churches of this Citie, fermon fall be made at the accuftomed times, by regular and obedient Minifters, and that a prayer fall be made before and after fermon, and that neither the Old feruice nor the New established feruice, be vfed in this interim: Whiche report and conclufion, takin be the faids Bifhops, being heard be the Counsell, They remitted to thame to doe therein according to the power incumbent unto thame in the dewtie of thair offices.



(4) *Apud Edinburgh, 25 Augusti 1637.*

DECLARATION ANENT THE SERVICE BOOKES.

The Lords of Secreit Counfell, understanding that there has been a great mistaking in the Letters and charges given out upon the Act of Counfell made anent the buying of the Service-Bookes, the saids Lords for removing and clearing of all such scruples, declares that the said Act and Letters extends allanerlie to the buying of the saids Bookes and no farther.

XXII.

THE SUPPLICATION OF CERTAIN MINISTERS OF FYFFE, GIVEN IN  
TO THE COUNSELL, THE 23<sup>D</sup> OF AUGUST 1637.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals: Compared with other Copies.]

MY Lords of Secret Counfell unto your Lordships humbly meanes and shewes we your fervitors, Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup>. Henderfon minister at Leuchars, Mr. George Hamilton minister at Newburne, and Mr. James Bruce minister at King's Barnes, That where we wer requyred of late, by the Moderator of our Presbytery, to receive tuo coppies of the new Booke of Common Prayer, and declaring our selves most willing each of us to receive one of the said Bookes to read, that we might know what it containes before we could promise to practife it, alleadging, that in matters of God's worship we are not bound to blind obedience; it was refused us, and taken out of some of our hands; and yet we are now charged with Letters of horning, directed by your Lordships, upon a narrative that we have refused the saids Bookes out of curiosity and singularity, to provyd every one of us tuo of the saids Bookes for the use of our Parishes, which hath made us, who wer never acquainted with any charge from authority, and knowing no other way so just and voyd of offence, to have recourse to your Lordships, most humbly intreating, that the Charge may be suspended, for the Reasons following:—

1. Because this Booke is neither warranted by the authority of the Generall Affembly, which is the representative Church of this Kingdome, and hath, ever since the Reformation, given direction in matters of God's worship; nor by any Act of Parliament, which in things of this kind hes ever been thought necessary be his Majestie and the Estates.

2. Because the liberties of the true Kirk, and the form of worship and religion received at the Reformation and univerfally practised senfyne, is warranted be the Acts of Generall Affsemblies, and diverse Acts of Parliament, especially of the Parliament 1567, and the late Parliament 1633.

3. The Kirk of Scotland is ane free and independant Kirk, and their pastours should be most able to discern and direct, what doth best befeeme our measure of Reformation, and what may serve most for the good of the people.

4. It is not unknown to your Lordships, what disputing, division, and trouble hath been in this Kirk, about some few of the manie Ceremonies contained in this Booke; which being examined (as we shall be ready, a competent tyme being assigned be your Lordships to show,) will be found to depart far from the forme of worship and reformation of this Kirk, and in poynts most materiall to draw neir to the Kirk of Rome, which for her heresies in doctrine, superstition and idolatry in worship, tyrannie in government, and wickedness every way, is als Antichristian now, as when we came out of hir.

5. The People hath been otherwayes taught by us and our predecessors in our places ever since the Reformatione, and so it is likely they will be found unwilling to the change when they shall be assayed, even where their pastors are willing, in respect whereof, the saids Letters of horning, hail effect and executions whereof, ought to be suspended simply in tyme coming. Therefore, we beseech your Lordships that we may have letters directed, charging the persons who has caused use this Charge against us, to compeir personally, bringing and producing the said Letters of horning, with the executions and indorfations thereof, at ane certain day, to be seen and considered; and in the meantime to be suspended, and your Lordships answer, &c.

### XXIII.

#### INFORMATIONS GIVEN TO SEVERALL COUNSELLERS.

[From the same.]

1. This Booke of Common Prayer hath no warrand of a Nationall Assembly, which in all Nations ought to direct, and in this Nation hath directed, in the matter of God's worship ever since the Reformation.

2. It hath no warrand of the Estates of Parliament, without whose consent to alter the Form of worship, and to enjoyn all his Majestie's subjects to receive every form of religion, under the pain of rebellion, we desyre to be considered how important this is.

3. The Form of worship here is ratified be the Parliament 1633, and consequently all different Forms are forbidden.

4. This Kirk is a free and independant Kirk, no less then the Kingdom is a free and independant Kingdom; and as our own Patriots can best judge what is for the good of the Kingdom, so our own Pastors should be most able to judge what form of worship be seemeth our Reformation, and what serveth most for the good of the People.

5. This Booke destroyeth all the order of our Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, and puts the censure of doctrine, the admiffion of ministers, and the whole government of the Kirk, absolutely in the hands of the Prelatts.

6. It establisheth a reading ministry; whosoever can read the Booke can be a minister,

and he who is best gifted must say no more nor he readeth, whether in prayer, baptism, communion, &c.

7. It preferyveth Apocrypha to be read, as if it wer the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles; hath many grofs poynts of Popery, and openeth a wide door by generalities and ambiguities of speech to many moe, as we shall be ready and are most desirous to be imployed, to manifest in particulars, upon a competent tym granted to us by authority.

## XXIV.

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL  
OF SCOTLAND.

[From the Same.]

## (1.) THE COUNCELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

ACCORDING to the warrant of your Majesties commandement, wee have been most willing and readie to give all concurrence and assistance to my Lords of the Clergie for establishing of the Service-Booke; and notwithstanding of that barbarous tumult (occasioned allenalie, for any thing wee can yet learne, by a number of base and rascall people,) wee were very hopeful in a short time, without any further trouble or importunity to your Majestie, to have brought it to practice: but having appointed a meeting of Councill upon the 23d of August instant, in this extraordinarie time of vacation, expresse to think upon the best expediencies for advancing of that Service, wee found ourselves farre by our expectation, surpris'd with the clamours and feares of your Majestie's subjects from almost all the partes and corners of the Kingdome; and that even of these who otherwayes hes heretofore lived in obedience and conformitie to your Majestie's lawes, bothe in Ecclesiastical and Civile businesse, and thus wee finde it so to increase, that we conceive it to be a matter of high consequence in respect of the generall murmure and grudge in all fortes of people for urging of the practice of the Service-Booke, as the like hath not being heard in this Kingdome; so that wee dare not longer delay, nor conceill it from your Majestie, not knowing whereunto the same may tend, and what effects it may produce; neither dare wee dyve further in the tryell of the cause of the said feares or remedies thereof, till it shall please your Majestie, in the deepnesse of your Royal judgment, to prescribe the way, after hearing of all the particulars, either by calling some of your Majesties Councill, bothe Clergie and Laitie, to your Majestie's owne presence, to the effect a course may be taken for pacifying the present commotion, and establishing of the said Service-Booke, or otherwayes by such other meanes as

your Majestie in your oune great wisdome shall think fitting ; and wee have appointed the 20th of September for attending your Majesties pleasure hereanent, which wee, as becomes humble and faithfull subjects, and these whom your Majestie has honoured with your Royall commandments, will follow and obey : and so, with all our most humble prayers for your Majestie's long and prosperous reign, we humbly kisse your Royall handes, from Edinburgh 25th of August 1637.

TRAQUAIR.  
ROXBURGH.  
PERTH.  
LAUDERDALL.

JO. ROSSE.  
W. BRECHIN.  
ALEXANDER.  
NAPER.

ST. ANDREWS.  
MORTON.  
WIGTON.  
WINTON.  
SOUTHESK.

DA. EDINBURGH.  
THO. GALLOWAY.  
JO. HAY.

THOMAS HOPE.

JA. CARMICHELL.  
JO. HAMILTON.

(2.) THE KING'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL.

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, &c.—Wee have considered your letter, and do find that our former directions have produced verie small effects ; neither doe you hereby propone any new expedient, but onlie that you desire that some of the Clergie and Laitie should be sent for to deal with us therein, which wee conceive not to be fitt ; and by a needlesse noyse, would make it appear, that either wee have a verrie slack Councell, or verie bad subjects which wee will never beleive, having had soe great a prooffe of their affection heretofore ; but rather will that a sufficient number of you doe still attend at Edinburgh, or neere thereabout during the vacation tyme, till the Service-Book be settled ; and wee are not well satisfied neither with you nor with our Town of Edinburgh : that after that the Service was read upon the Sondag in the afternoone, it should have bene intermitted immediately thereafter, and that no delinquents, who were authors or accessorie to that insolencie and ryot (committed in the tumult that day), were nowayes censured to terrify others from attempting the like ; and it doth likewayes seeme verie strange unto us, that the Ministry of Edinburgh, haveing offered to beginne the reading of the Service prouyding that they were secured from indemnity, and releved by our said Cittie of the foresaid charge within a moneth thereafter, that the said offer was not accepted, which wee will you yet to accept, and see it performed ; and it is our pleasure that everie Bishop cause read the Service within his oune diocie, as the Bishops of Ross and Dumblane have already done ; as lykewayes that yee warne our Burrowis, particularlie that none of them make choyse of any Magistrates but of such for whom they will answer for their conformitie : So expecting that yee will extend the uttermost of your endeavours, by doing what is necessary, and preventing any inconvenients that

may occurre, that Wee may have a good account with diligence, Wee bid you farewell. From our Court at Oatlands, the 10th of September 1637.

(3.) THE COUNCIL'S LETTER TO THE KING.

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

WE received your Majesties letter concerning the Service Booke, and according to the prescript and direction thereof, we are serioullie applying ourselves toward the performance of what your Majestie hes committed to our care. For which purpose, we have appointed a constant Counsell to reside here at Edinburgh, and have required the Prelats prefence, and written to these that were absent, for establisching the Service within their severall diocies; and have accordinglie given order to the Burrowes to make a right choise of conforme and well affected perones, for the charge of the Magistracie, this ensuing year.

By our former letter, we certified your Majestie of the generall dislike and prejudice conceived against the Service Booke; which, at this Counsell-day, hes beene more fullie evidenced by the numerous confluence of all degrees and ranks of perones, who were earnest and humble Supplicants for oppofeing the acceptation of the Service Booke, as by their petitions, extending to the number of three score and eight, may more clearlie appeare; whereof we have herewith sent to your Majestie three copies, one in name of the noblemen, barrons, and gentlemen, one from the ministers of the Exercise of Auchterarder, within the diocie of Dumblane, (where your Majestie is informed the Service is practised), and the third from the cittie of Glasgow; together with the list of the remanent petitions: The effect and substance of all which resolves in one alleadgance, that the Service enjoyned, is against the religion prefentlie professed; or that the same is in orderlie brought in without the knowledge or consent of a Generall Assemblie, or contrare to the Acts of Parliament, or disconforme from the Service used and received in England, which the Petitioners undertooke to qualifie and make good; wherewith we have forborne to meddle till we receive your Majesties gracious resolution thereanent.

We doe humblie crave pardon to expresse our unspeakable greefe to find that your Majestie is not satisfied with the sinceritie of our faithfull endeavours in this particular service. For the better clearing of the truth and ingenuitie of our proceedings therein, we have sent to your Majestie's Secretar a more full and particular accompt of all that was moved or concluded in Counsell concerning that buffineffe. We have alwayes beene dewtifullie inclined to further the performance of your Majesties royall commandements, and shall still continue, as in deutie bound, to answer the trust which your Majestie hes reposed in us; and so humbly entreating your Majestie to be graciouslie pleased not to hearken to wrongous suggestions which may prejudice us in your Majestie's favour, we pray God to blesse your Majestie with a long and prosperous

reigne, and we rest your Majestie's most humble and obedient subjects and servants, &c. Edinburgh, the 20th of September 1637.

(4.) LETTER FROM THE LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARLE OF STIRLING,  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

OUR VERY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

THE Earle of Roxburgh having, upon the seventh of this instant, exhibitt to his Majestie's Counsell his Majestie's letters directed to them; to witt, one for a frequent meeting of the Counsell, for obedience whereof letters wer ordained to be directed to all those of the Counsell who wer not present; which wes done: the other letter was the letter of trust, and withall commanding the Counsell to take the readiest way for vindicating his Majestie's honor, and settling the peace of the Kingdom. Thereafter the Earle of Roxburgh did signifie his Majestie's pleasure anent the places of Counsell and Session; according to which, the Lords preferring his Majestie's commandments to all particulars, ordained the Counsell to sitt att Dalkeith till the first of February, the Session then to begin, and to hold at Stirling. Thereafter, the Earle of Roxburgh represented his Majestie's favor and declaration anent the mistake of his Majestie's intention in the matters of the Service-Book; according whereunto the Counsell ordained proclamation to be made, (whereof we have herewith sent your Lordship ane double,) which wes published at all the publick places of this Kingdom, and which we caused to be done at Linlithgow before our removeall, and thereafter at the mercatt crofs of Edinburgh, in most solemne manner, with displayed coat of armes and found of trumpet; which gracious expreffion wes accepted in all humility and thankfulness be his Majestie's subjects. Thereafter, the Counsell met at Dalkeith on Tuesday and Wednesday, being the 12th and 13th days of December, where they entered upon consideration of the way of the tryall of the tumults in Edinburgh, and of the cause, effects, authors, actors, and whole circumstances thereof; and continued the matter till Tuesday next, upon ane motion made to the Counsell be the Provest of Edinburgh. Thereafter, some few of the noblemen, barrons, burgeses, and ministers, in a most humble and modest way, according to the order taken the 15th of November, desyred to be heard, and made offer to give in ane petition; but the Counsell, being carefull to follow his Majestie's gracious commandments and directions, which wer represented to them by the said Earle of Roxburgh, entred in a serious consideration how farr they might receive petitions, and of what nature; wherein the Counsell debated and laboured the most part of Tuesday and all Wednesday, and finding some things to tend to informations against the Bishops in their carriage concerning the Service-Book, the Lords absolutely refused to receive any thing of that nature, and expects to hear no more of this petition; and upon Tuesday we are to meet again at Dalkeith for prosecuting this matter according to his Majestie's commandments. And so we rest. From Dalkeith, the 14th December 1637.

## XXV.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN'S SPEECH TO THE LORDS OF PRIVY  
COUNCIL, 21st of December 1637.

[From the same, compared with other manuscript copies.]

MY LORDS,

A more weighty and stately cause than this, for the which we compeir before your Lordships at this tyme, we never pleaded before any judge on earth; being for the defence of true Religion and established Lawes, on the which dependeth the weelfare both of Church and Commonwealth, our condition of lyf, liberty, and temporall estate in this transitory world, and our eternall happiness in the world to come; our duty to God Almighty, the Supream King of Kings, and our alledgeance and duty to our Sovereign Lord and Master the King: And as the public form of God's worship is the most comfortable and solemne action of us his creatures on earth, so the greatest grievance we can sustaine is the alteration of Religion, which, by the Innovations complained of, is pitifully changed, in Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline, contrare to severall laudable Acts of Parliament and the Constitutions of the National Assemblies of our Church, by the illegall introduction of the Book of Canons, Ordination, High Commission, and Service Book, called the Book of Common-Prayer, in which are sown the seeds of diverse superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrines, so as the Romish Masse is in the main and substantiall points made up therein: which whole Innovations, as they are fraughted with heaps of absurdities, and intollerable pollutions, in the matter, tending to the undermyneing and extirpation of true Religion; so, in the manner of inbringing, they want the warrand of Generall Assemblies, the only representative body of the Church, or allowance of Parliament, but are unlawfully introduced, contrare to both, by the Prelats. First, by causing set forth ane Book of Canons, wherein it is ordained, that, "Whosoever should affirm that the form of worship in the Service-Book, and administration of the Sacraments, doth contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or is corrupt, superstitious, or unlawfull in the worship of God, shall be excommunicate;" which Book of Canons was the forerunner and usher to the Service-Book, printed thereafter: which Service-Book, by the Bishops conveyance, was, by Act of Counsell, ratified, long before it was either printed or seen; and thereafter, being thus sheltered by some shadow of authority, by publick proclamatione, it came forth, charging all his Majestie's subjects to conform themselves thereunto, as the only form of God's publick worship to be used within this Kingdom; and ministers, ere ever they had seen it, were charged to accept and buy the same for the use of their Parishes, upon an implicit faith, under the pain of rebellion; whereupon they were forced to supplicat your Lordships, by giving in an Bill of suspension in the moneth of August, being charged in the moneth of July before: And your Lord-

ships wer pleased to restrick the charge to the buying of the Book allanerlie, and did write to his Majestie the difficulties of establishing it. And the subjects finding themselves thus insnared betwixt two extremities, by danger of rebellion and excommunication on the one hand, or of forsaking the way of true Religion and breach of our Covenant with God on the other hand, could find out no safer nor more legall way nor humbly to supplicat your Lordships against these Innovations, so farr tending to the overthrow of true Religion and our lawfull liberties. For preventing whereof we resolved to proceed in that most orderly and legal way whereby to eschew all imputations of factious convocations, or tumultuous dealing, and which might best testifie our loyalty to the King our Master, by selecting one or tuo of the gravest ministers within each Presbitry, and one or tuo discreet Gentlemen from every Shyre, to præfer our complaints, and remonstrat our just grievances to your Lordships; by whose mediation, the matter might be represented to the King's Sacred Majestie, from whose justice redresse was humbly craved and expected, and supplications at divers tymes were given in name of the nobility, gentry, ministry, and burrowes, to that effect; as the petitions themselves, especially that which was given in the 25th of September, and upon the 18th of October, doth clearly proport: At which tyme, by warrand from his Majestie, procured, as we apprehend, by the Bishops, the course of our supplications wes interrupted, and the Counsell at this tyme discharged to medle with any Church busines; and the Supplicants, by open proclamations, wer charged to depart off the Toun within the space of 24 hours, under the pain of rebellion; whereby we were constrained to give in that supplication the 18th of October, containing ane complaint against the Archbishops and Bishops as the contrivers, maintainers, and urgers of the Service-Book and such other grievous Innovations; and so, in obedience to the proclamation, that meeting wes dissolved, and the Supplicants did return to the severall places of their residence in the country, till the earnest desyre of an gracious answer of our former demands, whilk was alwayes longed for from his Majestie, made us return to Edinburgh the 15th of November, as a tyme convenient of our meeting, being coincident with the term and doun fitting of the Session; where we might lykwayes consult and advyse of the most expedient way of representing our humble desyres and remonstrating our just grievances to the King's Majestie. But my Lord Thesaurer, with the Earle of Lauderdale and the Lord of Lorne, having, out of their respect to his Majestie's service, and the quietness of the countrie, signified to us that so frequent a meeting might be misconstrued, and produce some dangerous effects, even contrair to our intentions; to testifie how much desyrous we wer to carrie our selves in that humble and respectfull way which might be most pleasant to his Majestie, (as we hope your Lordships will bear us witness,) and that the important business so deeplie concerning us all might be attended and prosecuted by a few, that frequent and numerous meeting was dissolved, and Commissioners chosen for attending his Majestie's answer, and to doe what else might conduce for furthering our lawfull desyres; who have remained in



Edinburgh, till the Earle of Roxburgh's coming from Court, with whom his Majesty's answer was expected, at whose return the Privie Counsell was appointed to convene at Linlithgow the 7th of December; where we likewise intended to have gone to get his Majesty's answer of our former demands; but being defered by my Lord Thesaurer and the Earle of Roxburgh not to appear at Linlithgow, upon assured promise, that our petitions and desires should be judicially heard in Counsell the next week thereafter: in obedience whereof we did stay at Edinburgh, where, after your Lordships returned from Linlithgow, there was a publick declaration shewing that his Majesty doeth abhorre all superstitions of Popery, or violation of the laudable lawes of the Kingdom: By which signification of his Majesty's gracious pleasure, we are still more and more confirmed of his Royall care for preservation of true Religion established in this his ancient and native Kingdom; and are encouraged, with the greater confidence, to remonstrate and so prosecute our just exceptions and complaints against the Service-Book, and other superstitions and unlawfull innovations, which we offer to prove, in tyme and place convenient, to be contrary to our true Reformed Religion, contrary to the laudable Lawes of the Kingdom, contrary to his Majesty's gracious Declaration. And seeing, after so long and patient attendance, our earnest desires doeth tend to the preservation of true Religion, (which is the very salvation of our soules,) his Majesty's honor, and the subjects lawfull liberties, we beseech your Lordships, out of that duty ye owe to God, to the King, and your native countrey, that ye will be pleased to read and ponder our Supplications, and give such an answer thereto, as the justice of our cause and the equity of our demands doeth deserve; and if this shall seem ane matter of such importance as your Lordships will not give ane determinate answer therein till ye know his Majesty's royall pleasure, we humbly crave, that these our pressing grievances, and just desires, may be fully represented to his Majesty by the hand of your Lordships who have the honor to be intrusted, as prime Officers of State, and as his Highness particular servants, with his Majesty's royall commandments; whose faithfull counsell and travell is most requisite in this business, which doeth so highly concerne God's glory, the King's honor, and the good of his subjects.

And in respect that, by the whole strain of our Supplications and complaints, given in to your Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops are our direct parties as contrivers, devisers, introducers, maintainers, and urgers of the Books, (the one whereof is called the Book of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, the other is called the Book of Common Prayer,) and other unlawfull Innovations and just grievances complained of by us, we crave, that the matter may be put to tryall, and the Prelates our partie taken order with, according to the lawes of the Realm, and not suffered to sitt as judges, untill our cause be tryed and decyded according to justice; and so, the saids Prelates being our only parties, upon whom we have at this tyme justly complained, must be declyned as our judges, seeing they cannot be both judge and party, according to the laudable Lawes

of this kingdome, and of all nations in the lyke cafe: And our Declinature ought to be sustained as relevant againt the Prelates, notwithstanding they have purpofelie absented themselves at this time, becaufe if the matter and action depending shall not receive a present decision, but shall happen, by answer or letter from his Majestie, to be remitted back to the Counsell, the Chancellor and Bishops who are Counsellors, will be judges in the complaint given in againt themselves; and the Chancellor, with fixe or seven of the Bishops, making vp a quorum of the Counsell, may doe and determine of our cause and petitions, now depending, as well as they past an Act of Counsell for approving the Service-Book, before it was either printed or seen; which Act, we persuade ourselves, had never been past, if either there had been a frequent Counsell, or if the Bishops had not been the predominant ingredient at that tyme. And where, by our Petitions, it is craved, that the matter may be tryed, and the Bishops, as the partie delinquent, taken order with, according to justice, we declare, that our desyres doeth chiefly tend to the preservation of true Religion, and the subjects lawfull liberties; neither doe we crave the Bishops blood, nor revenge on their persones, but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truelie remonstrat to his Majestie; that after due tryall of the wrongs, such order may be taken, as the evils may be remedied, and the power that they have abused may be so restrained, as the lyke evils may be prevented in tyme to come.

## XXVI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF PRIVY COUNCIL  
CONTINUED FROM No. XXI.

## ACTS ANENT THE PRESENT COMBUSTION IN THE COUNTRIE.

(5) Apud Stirline, primo Martij 1638.—

Sederunt.

Thefaurer.	Lauderdail.	L. Elphinston.
Privie Seale.	Southeck.	L. Naper.
Winton.	L. Angus.	Clerk Reg <sup>r</sup> .
Perth.	L. Lorne.	Justice Generall.
Wigton.	L. Doune.	Deputie Tre <sup>r</sup> .
Kingorne.	B. Brechin.	Advocat.
		Justice Clerk.

THE q<sup>th</sup> day, the Lords of Secreit Counsell being conveenned in Counsell, and having at lenth reafounded upon the causes of the present combustion within the Countrie, and of this present meiting, they declare, that the caus of this meiting is to represent to his

facred Ma<sup>tie</sup> the trew estat of the Countrie, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and the Hie Commiffion; and to thinke upon the best way how his Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be fatiffied in honour, and the peace of the countrie fecured.

Thereafter, the Clerk of Reg<sup>r</sup>. produced ane letter from the Lo. Chan<sup>r</sup>. excufing his not keeping of this dyet according to his promife; and the Lord Privie Seale declared, that he had receaved the like letter, and to the fame effect, whiche he had communicat to the Lord Treafurer, who immediatlie difpatched a letter to the Lord Chancellor, defyring his L<sup>p</sup>. to keepe this dyet precifely. And in refpect thairof, and feing the Lord Chancellor wes not come, The Lords thought meit to continue all further doing in this mater till the morne, at eight of the clocke in the forenoone, whilk they appointed to be thair nixt meiting, and to fitt till twelffe, and to meit at twa after noone, and fitt till fax. And the faids Lords ordains the faid Lord Chan<sup>r</sup> his letter, produced be the faid Clerk Reg<sup>r</sup>. to be infert and regiftrat in the Bookes of Privie Counfell, *ad futuram rei memoriam*: Of the quhilk the tenor followes:—

Please your Lordships to excufe my abfence frome this meiting whiche I promifed to keep, but am hindered by diverfe vrgent occafions. Your Lo. knowes my minde in the cheefest buffines whiche is to be intreated, whiche I affure myfelfe will be the mynd of all good clergie men, that is, to lay afide the Booke, and not to preffe the fubjects with it anie more, rather then to bring it in with fuche trouble of the Church and Kingdoms as we fee. But I fould wifhe all this to be fairlie caried, without anie taiche to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honour, and the opening of a doore to the diffobedience of ill affected people, q<sup>rof</sup> I know your Lordships will be carefull; and fo befeeching God to bleffe yo<sup>r</sup> Counfells with a good fucceffe, I take my leave,

Refting yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. humble fervant, (fubfcribitur) SANCTANDREWES.

Ed<sup>r</sup>. the laft of Februar 1638.

(6) Apud Stirline, 2 Martij 1638.

*Sederunt, ut die prædicto.*

The q<sup>lk</sup> day, The Lords having entered vpon confideration of the prefent estat of the Countrie, and caufes of the generall combuftion within the fame, They all in one voice conceaue that the feares apprehended be the fubjects, of Innovation of Religion and difcipline of the Kirk established be the Lawes of this Kingdome, vpon occasion of the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commiffion, and the forme of introduction thairof, contrare or without warrant of the Lawes of this Kingdome, ar the caufes of this combuftion.

(7.) Apud Stirline, 3 Martij 1638.

*Sederunt, ut die prædict.*

The Lords having tane to thair confideration what farther fall be done for compefc-

ing and fetling of the present combustion within this Kingdom, and dissipating of the convocations and gaddings within the same, seing proclamations are already made and published, discharging all suche convocations and unlawfull meetings, the Lords, after voting, finds, they can doe no farther nor is already done heerin.

It being after propounded, what nixt wes to be done, It wes resolved, that one or two of the Counfell should be sent to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, to acquaint his Ma<sup>tie</sup> with the trew estat of maters heir; and it being voted whether one or two should be sent, it was voted that one should goe, and choice wes made of the Justice-Clerk.

*Item*, the Lords having entered vpon consideration of the remedies, and conceaving that the Service Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commission, as is sett down, ar the occasion of this combustion, and that the subjects offers thame, upon perrell of thair lyves and fortunes, to cleere that the said Service Booke and others foresaids, conteane diverse points contrare to the Religion presentlie profest, and Lawes of the Kingdome in mater and maner of introduction, The Lords thinkes expedient that it be represented to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> gracious consideration, if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will be pleased to declare as ane act of his singular justice, that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will take tryell of his subjects greevances and reasons thair of, in his owne time, and in his owne way, agreeable to the Lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be pleased graciously to declare, that, in the meane time, he will not preffe nor vrge his subjects therewith, notwithstanding anie act or warrant made in the contrare.

(8.) INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS MAJESTEIS COUNSELL TO THE LORD JUSTICE-CLERK,  
WHOM THEY HAVE ORDAINED TO GOE TO COURT FOR HIS MAJESTEIS SERVICE.

IN the first, Yow ar to receive from the Clerk of Counfell all the Acts past since our meeting vpon the first of Marche instant.

*Item*, You haue to represent to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, that this dyet of Counfell wes appointed to be solemnelie kept, be the advice of the Lord Chan<sup>r</sup> and remanent Lords of the Clergie, being at Ed<sup>r</sup> for the tyme, who assured ws that they should keepe the dyet preciselie; but at our meeting at Stirlin, we receaved a letter of excuse from the Lord Chan<sup>r</sup>, whiche forced ws to proceed without his Lordship's presence, or anie others of the Clergie, except the Bishop of Brechin, who attended with ws three days, but removed frome ws before the closing of our opinions in this buffines.

*Item*, That immediatlie after that we had resolved to send yow with a letter of trust to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, we did send ane letter to the Lord Chan<sup>r</sup>, acquainting him with our proceedings, and desyring him to consider thair of, and if he approved the same, to signe thame, and to caus the remanent Lords of the Clergie neereft vnto him, and speciallie the Bishop of Brechin, who wes ane care and ey witness to our consultations, to signe the same, and by thair letter to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, to signifie thair approbation thair of; or if his L<sup>p</sup>

did find some other way more convenient for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honour, and the peace of the countrie, that his L<sup>p</sup>, be his letter to the Lords Treasurer or Privie Seale, would acquaint thame therewith, to the effect they may conveene the Counsell for consulting hereanent.

*Item*, That yow shew to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, that his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsell, all in one, finds, that the causes of the generall combustion in the countrie, ar the feares apprehended be the subjects, of innovation of religion and discipline of the kirk, established be the lawes of the Kingdome, be occasion of the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and High Commission, and the forme of introduction thairof, contrare, or without warrant of the lawes of the kingdome.

*Item*, Yow ar to represent to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> our humble opinion, that feing (as we conceive) the Service-Booke, Booke of Canons, and Hie Commission, (as it is fett down,) ar the occasion of this combustion; and that the subjects offers thame, vpon perrell of thair lyves and fortouns, to cleare that the said Service-Booke, and others foresaids, conteane diverse points contrare to the true religion presentlie profest, and lawes of the kingdome, in mater and maner of introduction: That the Lords thinkes it expedient, that it be represented to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> gracious consideration, if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be pleased to declare, as ane act of his singular justice, that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will take tryell of his subjects greivances, and reasons thairof, in his owne time and in his owne way, according to the lawes of this Kingdome; and that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be pleased graciouslie to declare, that in the meane time he will not presse nor vrge his subjects therewith, notwithstanding of anie act or warrant made in the contrare.

And incaise his Ma<sup>tie</sup> fall be graciouslie pleased to approue of our humble opinions, yow ar thereafter to represent to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> wife and grave consideration, if it fall not be fitting to consult his Ma<sup>ties</sup> counsell, or some suche of thame as he fall be pleased to call to himselfe, or allow to be sent frome the Table, both anent the time and way of doing.

And if his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, (as God forbid,) fall dislyke of what we have conceived most condeuceing to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, and peace of this Kingdome, yow are to vrge, by all arguments yow can, that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> doe not determine vpon anie other courfe, vntill some at the least of his Counsell frome this be heard to give the reasons of thair opinions; and in this caise lykewayes, yow ar to represent to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> consideration, if it fall not be fitting and necessarie to call for his informers, togidder with some of his Counsell, that in his owne prefence he may heare the reasons of both informations fullie debated.

And yow fall lykewayes shew his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, that the Counsell, having takin to thair consideration what farther wes to be done for compescing and satling the present combustion within the kingdome, and dissipating of the convocations and gadderings within the same, feing proclamations ar alreadye made and published, discharging all suche convocations and vnlawfull meittings, The Lords, after debating, finds they can doe no farther nor is alreadye done heerin, vntill his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure be returned to thir our humble remonstrances.

## (9.) MISSIVE TO HIS MAJESTIE ANENT THIS MATER.

[Other letters of the same date from Members of the Privy Council to the King and the Marquis of Hamilton, are given by Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton: a work, it is scarcely necessary to mention, which contains a number of very important original letters relating to this period.]

MOST SACRED SOUERAIGNE,

THE Estate of this Kingdome is fuche, That since this last proclamation, the expreffion of the subjects thair feares, and apprehension of alterations in religion, and of these other things conteanit in their petitions, ar come to so great hight, that we conceave ourselves bound in dewtie to represent the same to your Sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> be one of our owne number, and be him likewayes to acquaint your Ma<sup>tie</sup> with our humble opinions and advices anent the remedeis; and having for this purpose made choife of SIR JOHN HAMILTON OF ORBISTON Knight, and Justice-Clerk, We humbelie intreate your Ma<sup>tie</sup> may be graciouſlie pleased to give credit vnto him, in what he fall deliver concerning thir maters. And so praying God to bleſſe your Ma<sup>tie</sup> with a long and happie rayne. We rest,

(Subſcribitur.) TRAQUAIRE, ROXBURGH, WINTON, PERTH, WIGTON, KINGORNE,  
LAUDERDAILL, SOUTHESK, ANGUS, LORNE, DOUNE, ELPHINSTON, NAPER, J. HAY,  
S. W. ELPHINSTON, JA. CARMICHAELL, S. THOMAS HOPE.

Frome Stirlie, 5 of Marche 1638.

## (10.) MISSIVE TO THE CHANCELLOR.

OUR VERIE HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

WE received your L<sup>ps</sup> letter and excuse anent your L<sup>ps</sup> not keeping of this meiting of the Counsell, whilk be your L<sup>ps</sup> owne propoſition and motion wes appointed and found moſt neceſſarie to be at this time and in this place, and we expected to have been aſſiſted with your L<sup>ps</sup> beſt advice and opinion in thir great and weightie affaires now in hand, wherein the bodie of the eſtat is too neerlie intereſt. But ſeeing your Gr<sup>s</sup> other adoes withdrew you from this meiting, and we finding the neceſſitie and importance of the buſſines to be ſo vrgent as it could not admitt anie delay, we therefore entered to the conſideration of the cauſes of the preſent evils and remedies thair of; and having ſpent three dayes thereupon, and debated and digeſted all that could be ſaid thereanent, wherein as we fall answer to God, We caried our ſelves without all priuat reſpect, and had nothing before our eyes but the glorie of God, his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s honnour, and the peace of the countrie. In end, we agreed vpon ſome articles to be remonſtrat to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> be Sir Johne Hamilton of Orbiston, Justice-Clerk, the copie whereof your L<sup>p</sup> fall heerewith receive marked by our clerk; and if yow approve of our judgements, we intreate your L<sup>p</sup> to ſigne the ſame, and to ſend the ſame to the Biſhops of Glaſgow and Ed<sup>s</sup>. requeſting thame and fuch of thair number as fall be in Ed<sup>s</sup>. or Glaſgow, to ſigne

the fame. And we ar the rather moved heereto, that the Lord Bifhop of Brechin wes ane care and ey witnes to all our proceedings, and affented and affited all that wes done heerin ; and we thinke it lykeweyes verie neceffar, that if your L<sup>p</sup> approue heiroy, yow fall testifie the fame to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> by your awne particular letter ; and if your L<sup>p</sup> thinkes vpon anie better courfe for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> fervice and peace of the countrie, we expect that your L<sup>p</sup> will acquaint us therewith, and with the reafons moving yow thereto ; and fend your anfwer in writt to the Lords Tre<sup>r</sup> and Privie Seale, who will be resident at Ed<sup>r</sup>. that, accordingle, they may conveene the rest of the Counfell to consult thereupon. And fo with the remembrance of our best affections, committing your L<sup>p</sup> to the protection of God, We rest,

(Subfcribitur ut fupra.)

Frome Stirlin, 5 Martij 1638.

The q<sup>ik</sup> day the Counfellers prefent, promiseit that they, nor nane of them fall, fend anie advertifement to Court tuicheing the proceidings of this meiting, till first the Justice-Clerk acquaint his Ma<sup>tie</sup> with the fame.

## XXVII.

Mr. DAVID MITCHELL, ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,  
TO Dr. JOHN LESLEY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 49. In some old transcripts this Letter is marked, by mistake, as having been addressed to (Henry) Lesley Bishop of Down.]

MY LORD,

THIS is the first occasion I [have] found to anfwere your last kinde letters. I can do no more bot humblie thanke your Lo. for the sincere proffers of your undeserved kindneffe. Truelie it is like ynough I will be brought to that neceffitie to leaue my charge here ; and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholding. It would make any man's eares to tingle to heare what a pitifull plunge this Church and Kingdome is in. The greater part of the Kingdome have subscribed, and the rest are daylie subscribing, a Covenant : It is the Oath of the King's House 1580, with frange additions, a mutual combination for refistance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have bin brought in since that tyme ; so as if the least of the subscribers be touched, (and there be some of them not 10 yeeres of age, and some not worth 2 pence,) that all fhall concurre for their defence, and for the expulfion of all papists and adverfaries (that is all that will not subscribe) out of the Church and Kingdome, according to the lawes, whereof a 100 are cited in the Carta. This goes on a pace. The true Pastors are brought in to Edb<sup>r</sup>., to cry out againft vs wolues ; and they, with our brethren here, M. A. Ram. M. H. Roll. and your whilome friend the Principall, (crying out that they are neither good Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe, nay,

nor in Covenant with God,) have made vs so odious, that we dare not goe on the streets. I have bin dogged by some gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatnings behinde my back, and then, when I was up staires, swords drawne, and, “ If they had the Papist villaine, O” ! Yet I thanke God, I am liuing to serue God and the King, and the Church, and your Lo<sup>p</sup>. Your Chiefe is chiefe in this businesse. There is nothing expected here but ciuill warre. There is no meeting of Counsell; the Chanc<sup>r</sup>. may not with safetie attend it, nor any Bishop: the verie name is more odious among old and young than the Devill’s. Galloway takes shelter under the Treasurer’s wings; he drawes him out to knowne dangers, and then makes a show of protection. Roffe keepes at home still, and keepes vp the Service in his Cathedrall, but I feare shall not be able long. What was told your Lp. of his disclaiming the Booke was most false: Dun and he never spake together. Concerning the other point of your postscript, y<sup>t</sup> the Booke is a transcript of King Edward’s Booke, that is not true neither. I know my Lord of Roffe sent a copie of ours to your Lp., and the other you may have and compare them. They are somewhat like in the Communion, and great need there was to returne to it *propter Sacramentarios*. But now, when all shall be discharged, Service Booke, Canons, and High Commission, they will not rest there: there is some other designe in their heads. There are still here 500 Commiffioners of the States; they relieue one another by course, as Castor and Pollux went to hell. They sit daylie and make new lawes; their protestations, and decrees beginne thus:—“ Wee Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgeffis, Ministers and Commons.” They depose Moderators of Presbyteries, and chuse new. M. Matt. Weemfs subscribed on Fryday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday, and discharged the Organ. I have neither more tyme nor paper. God send this Church peace, preferue yours, and send you better newes next. So wisheth

Edb. 19th Marche 1638.

your L<sup>ps</sup> humble Servant,

DA. MICHELL.

To the Right Reuerend Father in God, my verie honorable  
good Lord, my Lord Bishop of Raphoe.

## XXVIII.

### THE EARL OF LOUDOUN TO JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 52.]

RIGHT WORTHIE AND LOVEING FREIND,

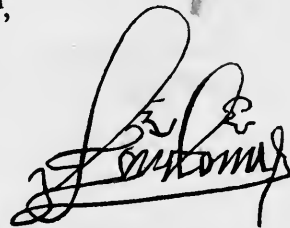
EFTER I hade closed the w<sup>in</sup> contained, I refaved yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 21 of Appryle, and I approve y<sup>t</sup> cours (which efter Rothes and Lindfay’s coming) is resolved vpon, in writting vp to the thrie Noblemen; and seeing o<sup>r</sup> Articles ar to be refyned and sent to them, as I doubt nott bott they wilbe exprest in modest termes, and vpon warrantable growndis, so it wald be wyslie adverted that our desyrs be nott too spairing, nor any thing ommit-



ted to be fought, which is necessar for remedie of the evils present and prevention of future: for althoe the demandis be never so moderat, wee may expect les, bott noe more then is craved. Bott I knowe thes who ar about the bufines are wyfe and weill affected, and God who hathe direct all their former steps, I hope will gif his gratiou saifiance in this passage alfo. A letter from Lorne of the 11 of Appryle, is come presentlie to my hand, schowing he came to Court one the Setterday befor, and was called the nixt day to waitt vpon the King; q<sup>r</sup> he stayer a full ho<sup>r</sup> and a-halfe w<sup>t</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> alone, and (with his Ma<sup>tie</sup> permiffione) hade verie frie conference w<sup>t</sup> the King: That he thought that the King wold have bein willing to take a fair cours, if things hade bein done in a right way, or that wee wold followe honest mens advyse. But this pairt was so generall and ambiguous, that I culd nott knowe his meaning, for he said he wold explain this poynt at meiting. Ther was noe thing determind anent o<sup>r</sup> bufines at the writting of his letter, nor hope y<sup>t</sup> a Generall Affembling wilbe granted. Wee ar nott beholding to the Steatifmen's report of o<sup>r</sup> cariadge; and if they offerr to joyne and interpone the King's authoritie to further otheris who offeris ther service to the King, they vndertake to effectuate all the King wold have done; so that ge write of Huntlie and M<sup>o</sup>Kaye seemes to be trewe; and if wee geild nott to that whiche shalbe declaired nixt concerneing the King's farder pleafour, (which I fear will nott be satisfactorie) wee may shortlie expect the worst; which is all I can find by what is writtin to me: Bott I am confident Lorne shall stand fast, and nott be moved w<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>r</sup> temptationis; so y<sup>t</sup> if Rothes knowe of a fuir bearar, or be to send one vp with the letter to the 3 Noblemen, he will doe weill to writt to him apairt, and w<sup>t</sup> fridome, or heaft back this bearar to me; that efter I knowe what is concludit, I may writt to him as shalbe thought most convenient. So trustig to heir from gow w<sup>t</sup> expeditione, I rest in heaft,

Lowdown, the 24  
Appryle 1638.

30<sup>r</sup> most loving freind,



I have writtin to the Earle of Rothes, acquainting him w<sup>t</sup> what I learned by Lorne's letter, and desiring to knowe what he will advyse me to writt to him, for till I knowe what is writtin vp to the 3 Noblemen, and o<sup>r</sup> demandis, I can nott resolve what to writt to Lorne. Therfor heaft back this bearar.

To my Right worthie and loveing Freind, Mr. Archibald  
Johnstoun of Wearastoun, Advocat, thes.

(William Dunbar ye schal delyver this to my Lord Balmerino.—A. J.)

## XXIX.

## LETTER OF SPOTTISWOOD ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII, No. 6.—This letter has no address or date, but the words, “to your Grace,” evidently denote the Marquis of Hamilton, as Lord Commiffioner, probably in August 1638.]

MY LORD,

THERE may be reafons very fufficient given for moving his Ma. to the Indicting of a Generall Affembly, as, firft,

The diftraçtiounis in the Church, which this is eftemed by many the beft and eafieft means to remove.

Nixt, the taking order with the exiled and deprived Ministeris in Ireland, that have taken their refuge hither, and are the comon incendiaries of rebelloun, preaching qhat and where they pleafe.

Thirdly, the calling of thefe Ministeris to an account, that have gone throw the country vfurpand other mens pulpitis, exacted peoples oathes to the Covenant, fo called, and miniftred the communioun to them that are not of their flock; befides the faftings and humiliations, by them indicted, q<sup>of</sup> they had no warrant.

Fourthly, the examinatioun of the Book of Comon Prayer, if there be any thing in it founding to Poperie and fuperfitioun.

Fifthly, to trie the Book of Canonis, if there be any Canon therin q<sup>ch<sup>o</sup></sup> is not concluded by Generall Affemblyes, or in comon praçtife of the Church.

And the main and laft reafon, is, That it is fupposed the grant heiroy may move thefe men to diffolve their meetingis, and leave the towne of Ed<sup>r</sup> free for the miniftratioun of juftice. There is no queftioun, at 30<sup>r</sup> G. motioun, and vpon o<sup>r</sup> humble requests that are Churchmen, his M. will be pleafed graciously to grant an Affembly: But as it [is] in his M. fole power to call an Affembly, the time and place muft be left to his appointment.

As to the maner and way of proceeding, it may be at lyfure confiderit and advyfit; and, in the mean time, 30<sup>r</sup> G. wold be pleafit to tak fome courfe for repreffing thefe feditioufe fermonis and preachers that are daylie preaching in Ed<sup>r</sup>, one q<sup>of</sup> this day made we have defyrit my Lord Register to report to 30<sup>r</sup> G. Oy<sup>wyfe</sup>, as we cannot look for any peace heir, we will tak the neereft way to fecure o<sup>r</sup> felis.

Qhat I wold further fay, I remit to my Lord Register, for I love not to trouble 30<sup>r</sup> Grace, nor to feem too bufy, but refis,

30<sup>r</sup> G. humble fervant,

*Samuel Angus*

## XXX.

## DR. BALCANQUALL'S PROPOSITIONS TO CHARLES THE FIRST.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI, No. 37. This Paper is indorfed in Balcanquall's hand, "My Propositions to his Majestie, at Oatlands." He appears to have accompanied the Marquis of Hamilton to England, in August 1638, to represent to the King the State of Affairs in this Country.]

If his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall think it not fitt to chastise his subjectis of Scotland w<sup>th</sup> a just warre, or at least not to doe it yett, these thingis must be taken as granted: First, that it is not to be imagined that they will ever renounce the Covenant: Next, that no satisfaccation can be given them without abrogating the Five Artickles of Perth, and granting them a free Parliament, and a free Generall Affemblic; and that they call Free, when there shall be no cautions treated of before hand, either for the matters to be treated of, or their maner of treatie.

Now, for a Parliament, the daunger is not so great, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> having a negative voyce, by w<sup>ch</sup>, he then giving them a stoppe, thingis can be no worfe then they are now, but rather better; for they can never be better prepared for force then now they are, and his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall gaine tyme for his designes: But the inconveniences of a Generall Affemblic are verie great, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> theirin having no negative voyce; for,

*First*, they will vndoubtedlie suffer no Bishop to be Moderator or President of it; w<sup>ch</sup> is a thing to that order most disgracefull.

*Secondlie*, They will vndoubtedlie, proceed to the accusation, deprivation, and excommunication of some of the present, and those the principall Bishoppis.

*Thirdlie*, The mildest thing that can be expected is, that they will so limite Bishoppis for the tyme to come, as that they shall be onely titular, and keepe their revennewe, but shall have no jurisdiction, and be made lyable to the censure of Generall Affemblics as much as any other ministers: These things are certainlie to be expected from the Affemblic; but besides, these things are justly to be feared from it:—

*First*, That they will repeale all Actis of Generall Affemblics whereby Bishoppis were erected; w<sup>ch</sup> they may doe, and then they are confident that all Actis of Parliament erectinge Bishoppis, being only Actis of Ratification of these Actis of Generall Affemblics, are *ipso facto* voyd, as being meerlie relative to thingis w<sup>ch</sup> they will now make *Nonentia*; and this poysonous tenet is put in them, and mainteyned by many lawers, though by others, as good lawers, rejected.

*Secondlie*, They will enact, that any Bishopp who shall euer be of the Privie Councell, Session, Exchequer, or any other secular judicature, shall be excommunicated and deprived.

*Thirdlie*, It is justlie to be feared, that all the rigid Actis w<sup>ch</sup> now they shall make, shalbe made additionalls to their Covenant, and so accordingly sworne vnto.

Yet their be probable inducementis for his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to grant them a Generall Assemblie, notwithstanding the other great daungers :—

*First*, Vpon the verie refusall of a Generall Assemblie to them, they will immediatlie indict one themselves, (for that they may doe it, after they have petitioned his Ma<sup>tie</sup> for one, and not obteyned it, the lawers have assured them,) and then all the former inconveniences will follow, and that with farr more violence, they being not restrained by the prefence and interlocutions of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commiffioners.

*Secondly*, The Lords, and many of the Ministers, in our communications with them, have protested, that they intend no totall destruction of the Episcopall Government, but onely restric<sup>ti</sup>on of it to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

*Thirdly*, If notwithstanding, these their promisses, they should goe on to take from Bishoppes those things w<sup>ch</sup> Actis of Parliament have given them, then his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commiffioner's Protestation to the contrarie will save their right, till it be discuffed *coram judice competente*, as well as they conceave their Protestation doth save their right.

*Fowerthly*, It may be hoped that the care and wisdome of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commiffioners may take of the edge of many mens forwardnes ; for we have seene that the singular dexteritie and wisdome, the infinite patience and indus<sup>tri</sup>e of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> present Commiffioner, hath gainèd tyme hitherto, and restrained them beyond all hope, from present violences and outrages.

*Fifthly*, If in that Assemblie, thingis goe the worst that may be, his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commiffioner's Protestation will make his Ma<sup>ties</sup> case to be no worse than it is now, but rather better, having gained tyme for ripeninge his designes ; and their case, I am sure, cannot be better then it is now, and the president of their indicting ane Assemblie of themselves is of dangerous consequence.

If his Ma<sup>tie</sup> be not pleased to grant them a Generall Assemblie, then Barwick must presentlie be looked after, els they will take it, and the Non-covenanters, especiallie the Ministers, must have present and private warninge to provide for their saifties.

### XXXI.

#### SOME DIRECTIONS SENT TO PRESBYTRIES,

27<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1638.

[Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII. No. 10.]

1. THAT everie Presbytrie have ane coppie of the Act made at Dundie the 7th of Mairche, 1597, concerning the number of Commiffioners ; the tenor q<sup>o</sup>f followis :—

“ Because ther hes bein no ordour hitherto anent the number of Commiffioners to be directed from everie Presbytrie to the Generall Affemblie, therfor it is statute and ordained, that, in all tyme comming, three of the wyfest and graiveft of the brethrin fall be directed from everie Presbytrie at the moft, as Commiffioners to everie Affemblie, and that none presume to come without commiffion ; and lykwyfe, that one be directed from everie Presbyterie in the name of the Barrouns, and one out of everie Brough except Edinburgh, which fall have power to direct two Commiffioners to the Generall Affemblie.”

2. That everie Presbyterie have ane coppie of the commiffion to be given to the Commiffioners ; wherof the tennor followis :—“ At the day of The quihilk day, efter incalling of the name of God, we the members of the Presbiterie of having diligentlie confidered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and diforders, difturbng our peace, and tending to the overthrow of religion, and liberties of the reformed Kirkis within this realme, quihilk hes come to paffe, efpeciallie through want of the neceffar remedies of a Generall Affemblie, alswell ordinar as *pro re nata*, injoyed be this Church for manie years, and ratified be Acts of Parliament ; and now expecting fhortlie, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a free Generall Affemblie, doe, by thir presents, &c.

[See the reft of this paper in the Large Declaration, 1639, p. 129, and in other works.]

### XXXII.

#### NOTE OF THE PRIVATE ARTICLES. 27<sup>TH</sup> AUGT. 1638.

[From the Same.]

1. THAT, iff anie man offer to enter in proces with Ministeris erroneus in doctrine, or scandalous in lyff, that they be not choysen Commiffioner ; and, iff the Presbytrie refus them proces, that they protest againes that refusall, and thereafter againes the election of these Ministeris, and therwpon to taik Instrumentis, and to extract the famin.

2. To have a speciall cair that informationes be tymouflic maid againes everie Bischope, with the fuir evidences thereof, anent their miscariadges in Synodis, Presbyteries, Hie Commiffion ; urging Intransis to fubfcribe vnwarranted Articles, receaving of brybes from intransis ; staying censure againes Papiftes, giveing licence to marie without asking of banns ; the prophanitie of their owin lyves, by drinking, whooring, carding, dyceing, fwearng, breaking of the Saboth ; the purchais of their Bischoprickes by brybes, their vnhonest dealing in civill barganes, and abuseing of their vassalis ; and these and sicklyk, commoun to all, or proper to anie, to be gathered and put in ordour by fum in euerie Presbytrie, to be trusted for that effect, and their diligence to be reportit against the 20th of September, leaft the noyse of all our complaintis againes the Prælatiſ evanifch at the Affemblie.

3. To remember the ministeris to be reddie for disputatioun about such heids as ar lyk to be agitated in the Affemblie; as, *De Episcopatu, de senioribus, de diaconatu, de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, præsertim in convocandis conciliis, et qui debent interesse in conciliis, de civili jurisdictione ecclesiasticorum eorumque officiis in civilibus, de rebus adiaphoris et potestate magistratus in illis, de liturgia præscripta, de ritibus ecclesiæ seu Liturgia Anglicana, de sacramento, de corruptelis liturgiæ et libri canonum, de quinque articulis Perthensibus, &c.*

4. To chuife thrie Commiffioners in everie Præbytrie quhair they can be had weill affected, and to vse all means how fewer may be chofen in evill disposed Præbytries: Let weill affected Barrounes and Minifers nixt adjacent indevoir for this.

5. Consultation would be had by the best affected among themselffis, befor the electioun, that in the chuifeing the voyces be not devydit, but may condiscend togidder on the famin perfounes.

6. To vse all meanes for eschewing in the electioun, as far as may be, Chapter-men quho have choysen Bifchopes, those quho have sitten vpon the High Commiffioun, Chappell-men quho have countenanced the Chappell-ceremonies and novatiounes, all quho have offered to reid and practeis the Service Buik, the Buik of Canounes, and Ministeris quho ar Justices of Peace, altho they have subscrivit the Covenant, unless they have desifted and acknowledgit the vnlawfullnes of their former doeing; becaus these and such lyk will be readye to approve these corruptiounes in the Affemblie.

7. That where a prym Nobleman and weell qualified gentleman may be chofen in sundrie Præbytries, that he be chofen in that Præbytrie where their is gryttest scairfitie of abill men.

### XXXIII.

#### LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO PRESBYTERIES,

28TH AUGUST 1638.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXII. No. 12.—It is indorsed in Warriston's hand, "Coype of the Letter to be sent to Presbyteries, 28th August:" It contains, however, the original signatures, as here given.]

#### REVEREND AND BELOVED BRETHREN,

IT is not vnknawin to yow how the pitiful cafe of our Kirk lying sick of many diseases in the want of her ordinare yeirlie Generall Affemblies, hath called these many yeires bygane vnto vs, her children and fervantis, to cry with her for help to our Lord Jesus, her husband, who now of late is risen vp for us, (blissed be his holie name). And haveing led

us along throw the course of lawfull meanes fit for her recoverie, doeth now call us by manie evidences as vnto a more deip humiliation for our finnes aparte, so also vnto a Generall Affemblic of the Kirk togidder; for obtaining whereof as we have often made supplication to authoritie, and long waited in all patience, so haveing removed quhat was objected, or we cowld conceave to be any hinderance of obteineing our just desyres, we are now at last in hope and exspectation thereof, our eyes in the mean tyme being fixed mainelie on the Lord Jesus, who as he hath a vncontrollable richt of gathering his awin people into Holie Affemblics, and ruileing his awin house and affaires in all the dominiounes of the Earth wher it pleaseth him to have a Kirk, so hath he this priviledge in a speciall manner in this land by long possessioun, (vnjustlie interrupted,) and Actis of Parliament confirmed so vnto him, as this parte of our service cannot evin befor men be quarrelled; speciallie now, quhen, for want heirof, his servantis of the Ministerie ar becum strangeris one vnto another, and ar as far from communioun of giftes as if they lived in fundrie kingdomes, yea ar begun to be devydit in judgement and affectioun, ther former peace and vnity turned in schisme and divisioun, the doctrine, once pure amongst us, now corrupted by Arminianisme and Popish erroris, the teachers thereof these fundry yeires bygane rewarded and preferred, quhen the faithful and peaceable pastoris wer censured and thurst from their places; and the Lordes people made to doubt of their religioun, not knawing what hand to turne vnto, and almost throwin into the pit of popish superstition and tyrannie, oppined wide in the late Service Buik and Buik of Cannones, which yitt wer bot the beginniges of greater evilles; So that if this remedie be neglectit, we sie no appearance of recoverie or settling of true religion amongst us, bot all must goe to confusion, and our Lord and his people heir be divorced ane from another, quhichould affect us more then the severing of our lyffis from us. These ar therfor to exhort, requeist, and to charge yow to consider the lawfulness and necessitie of vseing this remedie according to the printed Reasounes for a Generall Affemblic, and for the better preparation of the Commiffioners that they may be in readines vpon the shorter advertisement, when tyme and place shall be appointit, that ye would now in this strait exigent goe about preparation for the Affemblic. And efter the 20th day of September, the tyme appointit for the returne of His Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commiffioner, with your best convenience, chuse your Commiffioners, according to the directioun to be delyvered with these vnto yow, so that they may repaire hither to Ed<sup>r</sup>. befor the first of October, or so soone as may be, to convey with the rest of the Commiffioners, and to reseave His Ma<sup>ties</sup> last answer from His Ma. Commiffioner, fra q<sup>m</sup> we expect the present indicioun of a frie Generall Affemblic; and that to als short a tyme as the vrgent necessitie of this Church requireth, or vpon refusall y<sup>r</sup>of, (which God forbid), to advyse and resolve vpon such lawfull remedies as may cure our present evilles, and prevent the extreme miseris of the Kirk and State threttened y<sup>r</sup>by, q<sup>lk</sup> we ar perswadit will be sufficient motives to induce yow to vse all lawfull meanes, and to spare no paines that may con-

duce for fo guid endis. In confidence q<sup>o</sup>f, haveing given yow this loveing and tymeous warning, we remain, yo<sup>r</sup> Brethren and fellow servantis in the Lord,

THE NOBLEMEN, GENTRIE, BURGESSIS, AND MINISTERS WAITING AT EDINBURGH.

MONTROSE.	CASSILLIS.
LINDESAY.	
YESTER.	CRANSTOUN.
BALMERINO.	JOHNSTOUN. A. FORBES.
J. WEMYSS, fiar of Bogie.	GRAY, fiar of Naughtane. S. W. FOULIS.
WILLIAME HUME, Aytone.	A SWINTOWNE. BISCHOPTOUNE. S. F. HAMILTON.
J. CHESLY of Kerfwell.	C. ARD of Kilmound. BOUGHTRIG. AL. FORBES. LYONE.
A. DUNBAR of Grange.	J. WEMYSS, fiar of Bogie, (The signature repeated.)

(The following signatures are upon the oppofite page of the original.)

J. COCHRANE, Commiffioner for Ed <sup>r</sup> .	J. SMYTH, for Ed <sup>r</sup> .
THOMAS PATERSONE, for Ed <sup>r</sup> .	
JOHN OSBURNE, for Ayre.	GE. MASON, for Ayr.
Ro <sup>r</sup> RICHARDSONE, for Drumfries.	
GE. BRUCE, for Culros.	W. GLENDONYNG, for Kirkcudbry <sup>t</sup> .

Subfcriptione of Min<sup>rs</sup> Comiffioners fra Presbitries.

Jo. KER, at Saltpreftoun.	
M. DAVID DICKSON, Irwin.	
Mr. ANDREW CANT, Petfligo.	M. A. RAMSAY, Ed <sup>r</sup> .
M. R. CRANSTOUN, Skunye.	M. DAVID DALGLEISCHE, Cupar.
M. ROBERT MURRAY, Methven.	Mr. ANDREW AUCHINLEK, at Largow.
M. ALAN FERGUSOUN, at Straeblain.	M. A. BLACKHALL, Aberladie.
M. RT. MAIRTINE, at Ettrick.	Mr. JOH: CRAGINGELT, Alloway.
J. NORWALL, at Balphron.	M. JAMES HAMMILTOUN, at Drumfries.
W. GUILD, at Abd <sup>n</sup> .	Mr. WILLIAM MENYEIS, M. at Canemore.
Mr. ALEX. MAKGOWNE at Moufwall.	M. JOHNE MORAY, M. at Stramiglo.

#### XXXIV.

BAILLIE'S COMMISSION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1638.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters and Journals.]

AT IRWIN, the 25th September 1638.—The whilk day, after incalling upon the name of God, We, the members of the Presbtry of Irwin, having diligently confidered the manifold corruptions, innovations, and diforders, difturbing our peace, and tending to the



overthrow of religion, and liberties of our reformed Kirk within this realm, which hath come to pass especially through want of a necessary remedy of a General Assembly, as well ordinary as *pro re nata*, enjoyed by us many years, and ratified by Acts of Parliament; and now expecting shortly, by the mercie of God, the benefit of a General Assembly, which is indicted by his Majesty to be at Glasgow the 21st of November next to come, doe, by their presents, nominate and appoint Mr. DAVID DICKSON minister at Irwin, Mr. ROBERT BAYLIE minister at Kilwinning, Mr. W. RUSSELL minister at Kilburnie, as also JOHN LORD OF LOWDOWN ruling elder of the parochin of Newmylnes, in name of the barons, conjointly and severally, our lawfull Commissioners, giving and granting to them, our full power, commission, and express charge, to repair to the said Assembly indicted by his Majesty to be holden at Glasgow upon the 21st of November next ensuing, or when and where it shall happen to sit in any safe and commodious part within this Kingdom, and there with the rest, who shall be authorized with lawfull commission, in our name to propose, treat, reason, vote, conclude (according to the word of God and Confession approved by sundry General Assemblies, and received throughout the whole Kingdom,) in all Ecclesiasticall matters competent to a free General Assembly, and tending to the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ and good of religion, as they will answer to God and his Church thereupon, and to report to us their diligence therein: In testification of this our commission and charge, We have subscribed their presents:

Mr. MICHAEL WALLACE, Moderator, Mr. JA. FULLARTON, Clerk to the Presbytry, Mr. JO. BELL, Mr. A. DUNLOP, Mr. W. LINDSAY, Mr. R. BELL, Mr. H. EGLINTON, Mr. H. M<sup>c</sup>KAILL, L[ord] MONTGOMERIE for Ardrossan, CUNYNGHAMHEID for Stevenston, J. C[UNNINGHAM of] Aikett for Dunlop, BLAIR of Adamtown for Peirston, SOUTHOOK for Long-Dreghorn, Mr. R. BARCLAY for Irwin, T. NIVING of Munkriding for Kilwinning.

## XXXV.

SIR THOMAS HOPE, LORD ADVOCATE, TO THE EARL OF ROTHES.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS., Folio Vol. LXVI., No. 56. In printing this letter, the numerous contractions in the original have not been retained.]

PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS inclosure will give your Lordship satisfaction of what your Lordship commands, and the bearer will clear any doubt therein. He has told me of the resolution taken for hindering the Subscription; and I find your Lordship's letter incline that way, which makes me almost stupefied; for if I had not both conceived and cleared since it to be the greatest good that ever happened to God's Kirke since the Reformation, truly I could hardly have been so quick to have embraced it. But when your Lordship, (and others) whom God has blessed with that honour to be instrumental to bring his Kirke to this

happie estait wherein it is now, and to the full perfectioun quhair of thair is nothing inlaiking but that quhilk, on 2 Merche 1580, wes, be Actis of Kirk and Parliament, establischt for the government of Godis Kirk in this kingdome) dois seyme to oppugne it, I am brocht to suiche a perplexitie that I know not quhair to fix my mynd; for I dar not deny obedience to my Souerane quhair he commandis that quhilk is laifull, and aggreabill to Godis word, and quhilk ge both think to be so and hes interpret fo in your particulars expreffit in that quhilk ge haif fuorne; and, on the vther part, I can not find in my hart to think or construct ill quhat theis (quhom God hes fo mercifully and wonderfully blifsit in the beginning of this work) seymes to inclyne to. But I may and will fay, I find ane good warrand for myself to do quhat I did, and prayis to the Lord that thairs may haif als good succefe, as in hart I wische, onlie I feir that the courfe of oppositioun takin fall not produce to them according to thair pious intentionis; and I can not fay that intentionis ar a good warrand ather to refuse quhat is good, or to do that quhilk is contraire. The Lord direct zow all, and if ge wald eschew the feir of diuifioun, chok it in the entrie, be commanding ane absolut vnioun, quhilk is very easie if ge fall gif ordor to all to subscriue this, as one in substance with the other. Pardoun me, my Lord, if I haif exceidit the bounds of my ansuer, for the bussines and the feir of the event of it breckis my hart; but go quhat it will, I trust in God to haif both my lyff and soule for a pray. So committing zour Lordship to Godis grace, I rest,

Your Lordship's humbill feruitor,

Craighall, 2d October 1638.

THOMAS HOPE.

To the right nobill Erll, my Lord the Erll of Rothes.

XXXVI.

LINDESAY BISHOP OF EDINBURGH TO THE PRESBYTERY.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 42.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND WELBELOUED BRETHREN,

I AM informed y<sup>t</sup> yee haue summoned Mr. Daid Mitchell to compeire before yow, and to be censured for certaine points of erroneous doctrine deliuered by him from pulpit, as is alleadged, and y<sup>t</sup> yee are to proceid against him after tryall, if he be found guilty, either to suspension or deposition. And becaus it is ordained in y<sup>e</sup> Affembly holden at Glasgou in y<sup>e</sup> monethe of June 1610, and by Act of Parliament, holden at Ed<sup>r</sup> the 23 October 1612, it is statut as ane inuolable law to be obserued in all times coming, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Bishope of y<sup>e</sup> Diocefe associating to himselfe y<sup>e</sup> Ministerie of these bounds where y<sup>e</sup> delinquent serueth, is to take tryall of y<sup>e</sup> fact, and vpon just cause found, to deprive; and y<sup>e</sup> like order to be obserued in suspension of ministers from y<sup>e</sup> exerceise of

y<sup>e</sup> function ; These are y<sup>r</sup>fore to requyre yow not to proceide to any of y<sup>e</sup> forsaide censurs againt y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Daud, vntill y<sup>t</sup> I, affociating to myselfe, yow, y<sup>e</sup> ministerie of y<sup>e</sup> bounds, take tryall of y<sup>e</sup> fact wherevpon he is accused ; w<sup>ch</sup> I, by these presents, offer myselfe to doe at any convenient tyme and place to be appointed by vs w<sup>t</sup> commone consent. Otherwyfe, in my judgment, yee shall doe best to continue this proces, and all other of this kinde till y<sup>e</sup> Generall Affembly indicted by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> there all things may be handled without preiudice. So hoping yee will take this matter to yo<sup>r</sup> wife consideration, and direct some of your brethren to me w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> answere, y<sup>t</sup> after conference w<sup>t</sup> them, both yee and I may advyfe and doe y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> shall be found most expedient for y<sup>e</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> of God, y<sup>e</sup> peace of y<sup>e</sup> Church, and y<sup>e</sup> quietnes of our owne conscience at y<sup>e</sup> glorious appearance of our Saviour y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, who shall render to every one according to y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he hath done in y<sup>e</sup> body, whether it be good or euill, to whose grace I commende yow, and in him doe rest,

Your very loving Brother,

Halyrudhous, 9th October 1638.

DA. EDENE:

To his welbeloued Brethren, the Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Exercise of Ed<sup>r</sup>, these.

XXXVII.

DR. BALCANQUALL TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[Orig.—From the same Volume, No. 33. The letter has no Address, and is much mutilated ; but it evidently was addressed to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in October 1638.]

PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

[By yo]wr G. his letters to my L. Commiffioner, dated the 18 of this present moneth, yowr G. seemeth to expect from me, according to my promise, the Reasons why I conceive this present Assemblies indicted, cannot hold with his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor and saiftie. Trewlie, my meaning was, that I conceived nothing would bee concluded in it, either for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor or satisfiacion : my reasons are the same w<sup>ch</sup> my L. Commiffioner at Oatlands, [reprefer]nted to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, whairin their resolution, both w<sup>t</sup>terly to abolish Episcopacie and ratifie their owne Covenant, were demonstrated ; to which now may be added, the dangerows poynts w<sup>ch</sup> they mean to ventilate and establish their, w<sup>ch</sup> your G. will easily perceave by their Private Instructions, w<sup>ch</sup> I sent to yowr G. ; as also their dayly growing insolent proceedings, which yowr G. will easily perceave, by my last from Hamilton, and from Dalkeith yesterday. But whether it will more consist with his Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor, that the Assemblies should meet at the day and place assigned, I leave to yowr G. his mature advyfe. The Covenanters hope it shall bee either prorogued or dissolved, as will appear to yowr G. by the packet sent yesterday from Dalkeith.

In the last part of your Grace's letter, you intimat that you have reviewed the Devyns of Aberdeen's last Duplyes, w<sup>ch</sup> your G. propofeth to have printed with the rest: if they be the same duplyes w<sup>ch</sup> I sent your G. from Hamilton, then the Commiffioner will fend to them to divulge their copies, for the Devyns themselves do earnestly desyre it, as my L. Marquis will shoue your G.; for I confesse I advyfed his L. to make a stay of them till your G. were made acquainted with it, not only because the LL. Covenanters had in many places said that they hoped the . . . ministers should be drawn by the Aberdeen's men . . . the Covenanters mynd in a poynt for w<sup>ch</sup> his . . . , would give the Aberdeen's men, no thanks; but also because your G. in your letters, had intimate your dislike of farther replying, the first velitations, (as your G. trwly affirmed,) being more vigorous, the rest more languishing and verball. But your G. having received their duplyes from Hamilton, in your G. nixt letters, wee expect your G. advyse heirin, w<sup>lk</sup> shall bee accordingly followed.

The inclosed I showed to my L. Commiffioner; it is sent from a man of woorth, and a Covenanter, to whom I [have been] much beholden for intelligence in their secretest [acti]ngs. The latter part of it since it concerneth a . . . ws, great man, and at this tyme the most to bee looked [vn]to of any man in this kingdom; and being not willing to . . . e him, yet wnwilling that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> should not knowe of him [as much] as I do, I thought good to fend with the letter it selfe, humbly beseeching your G. to fend it failly back againe; for if the writer should but any way bee discovered, there were no more living for him heer, and wee barred of one of our best intelligencers.

The wther part of the letter concerneth that answere to the last protestation, w<sup>ch</sup> I mentioned to your G. in my last from Hamilton, written by the Principall of the Colledge of Glasco, the learnedst covenanter in Scotland, but so fearfull, that he darre not owne it, and indeed if he should be knowen; [beside]s his danger, we should loofe that great wfe which my L. Commiffioner maketh of him. My L. Commiffioner meaneth presently to putte it to the presse. One thing I desyre your G. advyse in, Whether I shall not cause to be printed after it, their generall and published Instructions to the severall Presbyteries for the election of their Commiffioners, as also their private ones, w<sup>ch</sup> they think are not knowen, that so the rest of the hoodwinked Covenanters may see how much they have been abused? or shall we reserve that private paper to wpbraid them with it in their teeth at the opening of the Affembly. I fend your G. lykwyse their newe Instructions, sent through the kingdoom, by w<sup>ch</sup> your G. may easily see what tumultuous and violent proceedings they [intend] to wfe, not without force, if they see cause. If your G. think fitte, this shall be printed too. I hope I shall have it by the nixt returne. God keep your G. is the heartie prayer of

Your G. most obliged and devoted,

[Halyrudho]use, this  
. . . 1638.

*Nb al. Balcanquhall:*

## XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN'S REASONS TO DISSUADE THE KING  
FROM SWEARING PROTECTION TO THE BISHOPS  
AT HIS CORONATION.

[From the same.—Charles the First was crowned at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, 15th of June 1633. As Sir James Balfour takes no notice of any opposition being offered to that article in the Coronation Oath, confirming to the Bishops, “all Canonical privileges and rights,” it is probable that the following Reasons were not publicly tendered; but the Nobleman who ventured on this Remonstrance is known as one of the most faithful, consistent, and zealous supporters of the Presbyterian cause in Scotland. He was for many years Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. In point of date this paper should have been the first Article in this Appendix.]

THE BISHOPS DEMANDS.—THE FOURTH ARTICLE OF THE KING'S OATH AT HIS  
CORONATION.

“SIR, We also beseech you to grant and to preserve to us of the Clergie, and to the Churches committed to our charges, all Canonick Privileges; and that ye would protect and defend us, as everie good King ought in his Kingdome to defend his Bishops, and the Churches under his government.”

THE KING'S ANSWER.

“WITH a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you and everie one of you, with all the churches committed to your charges, in their whole rights and privileges according to justice.”

1. Let it be considered if it be not most safe for the King not to take this article of the Oath; because it cannot stand with the largeness of the King's royall prerogative, to be cut short of his power to dispose of the privileges and possessions of the Prelacy of Scotland, to abrogate, or abridge the same as he sees fit, when it pleases his Majesty; but by taking his Oath his royall liberty is so constrained, as he cannot choose to do but what he has sworn, albeit it should be found to his hurt.

2. His Majesty's Father, of royall memory, knowing that the law of Premunire had no place in this Kingdom, did keep himself free, and retained this power over the Prelates of Scotland fast in his own hand, for his own especial reasons concerning himself, and the publick good of this Kingdom; and no reason the King should now be bound, and his Majesty with his successors, by this preparative, in worse case than his predecessors was.

3. The King being free of the personal Oath, may give privileges when he pleases, as well unsworn as sworn, and no reason his free favor should unnecessarily be thus bound.

4. It is undoubtedlie more honourable for the King to give to his servants of his own free will, than by necessitie and force of Oath; of his own bounty, than by craving of particulars closely conveyed in one generall, and far more safe to keep his servants in dependence upon himself, than to be astricted to him by Oath.

5. Neither the Nobilitie, Barons, nor Burrowes requireth any speciall Oath for maintenance of their rights and privileges, and the Kirk and other Kirk men will rest content with the first Article for maintenance of the religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this realm, no reason the Bishops should crave more.

6. Seing the particulars which the Bishops intend to have are not specified in this Oath, but their project involved in the ambiguous generality of all Canonically Privileges and whole rights, it were unreasonable to grant what they thus crave, except, first, their present possession, which they crave to be preserved, were tryed, and then what farther they wold have, were declared, and found so equitable in itself, and so convenient to the state of this Kingdom, as it were worthie to be sworn, and never to be changed, lest his Majestie's Oath should be subject to misconstruction hereafter.

7. If search be made for their meaning by Canonically Privileges, they doe not understand what the Canons of the Scriptures gives them, for that is granted in the Article for maintenance of true religion, and does not content. If they pretend to mean what the Canons of the Kirk of Scotland, with the Caveats of their admission gives them, let them be asked, if they will stand content with what they have thereby: But if they understand by Canonically Privileges and whole rights, what the clergie had before Reformation; and yet hes, where Poperie prevails, according to the native and originall sense of the word, and of this whole article, yet standing in the Coronation of Kings, as it was of old, whereby the clergie may have ground still to claim their old possessions, and the King forced either to grant all that they crave, or make such interpretations of this oath, as shall not stopp the obloquie of the clergie still urging the tenor of the article in the proper and native meaning, it is more nor becomes good subjects to crave; speciallie here in this Kingdom, wherein the Oath of Kings at their Coronation is reformed, and made far more equitable for King and subjects, if it please his Majestie to compare, as is found approved in Parliament 1567, ratified in anno 1581, and 1592. For which reasons it seems his Majestie should ponder this matter, lest, when their Canonically Privileges shall be explained in particular, the taking of this Oath shall overthrow the King's course about tithes, hinder that he cannot make himself immediat superior to the Bishops vassals, though he wold open a door to brangle rights to lands and rents, which the King's subjects doe quietlie possess, give ground to the Church for exemption from secular obedience, and subjection to imposts and taxations, and make way for many other inconveniencies, which not to have forseen, had been great simplicities in this Kingdom, and to have concealed from his Majestie, unfaithfulness. Δοξοι τω Ονω.

## XXXIX.

## THE EARL OF ROTHES TO LORD BALCARRAS.

[Orig.—Balcarras Papers, Vol. IX. No. 71.—This Letter, from its date, should likewise have had an earlier place in this Appendix.]

MY LORD,

When this new Book of Common Prayer was first introduced, and when we first went over to petition against it, advertisements com to us all, be our Ministers, and I did heir, that because they suspected your's, that your Lordship shuld bein aduertified be another Minister ; which being neglected as sundry war, I was defyred this day to signify to your Lordship a purpose we have to be in Edb. [Edinburgh,] & meit together on Wednesday nixt, for thinking fill on the best and fairest and most submise wayes for preventing thir threatned calls. For all the fals fugestions giuen out be fom, I dar say ther is nothing either yit don or intended, that is not legall & submise, and which can any way be justly accepted att. You may be a witnes to this, & then can justly bely thes raporters. This is mor then I us[e] to do, bot it is warrendable. My seruice to your Lady, & all hapines is wisched to yow, be

Leslie, ij Nouembre

Your Lordships cufin & seruand,

1637.

ROTHES.

To my honorid good Lord my Lord Balcarafe, thes.

## XL.

## LETTERS IN FAVOUR OF DR. BALCANQUALL.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVI. No. 33. The first letter, which is in Balcanquall's hand, is without name, date, or address ; but was no doubt written by the Marquis of Hamilton in his favour to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King's letter to the Marquis is subjoined from Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 100. As Balcanquall's name appears so prominently at this time, a few notices of his history may be subjoined :—

WALTER BALCANQUALL, D.D. was a native of Edinburgh, where his father (of the same name) was a minister, and died in August 1616. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and took his degree of M.A. 27th July 1609. He then entered at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, 18th Sept., 1611, where he was admitted a fellow ; and as Bachelor of Divinity, was incorporated at Oxford, 14th July 1618. He was one of the chaplains of King James, who appointed him Master of the Savoy ; and to this place, which he had vacated before his attending the Synod of Dort, he was again appointed in 1621. He was installed Dean of Rochester, 12th March 1624 ; and soon after, as one of George Heriot's executors, he took the management of carry-

ing through the noble foundation of Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh, the statutes of which were compiled by him in 1627. The following letter shows that he held the living of Adisham in Kent. His application for the valuable Deanery of Durham was successful. His predecessor, Richard Hunt, died on 2d Nov. 1638, and his appointment was probably in December, although not installed until 14th May 1639. The appearance of his work, "The Large Declaration," &c. (*vide pp. 140, 175, 208,*) about the same time, was the beginning of his misfortunes. On the march of the Scottish army into England, he fled hastily from Durham; and was declared an Incendiary. Having been denounced by the Parliament of Scotland, he presented this petition to the King, in September 1640, apparently without effect:—

"That whereas your Petitioner lyeth under a great scandal for your Majestie's Large Declaration, your Majestie would be graciously pleased to require the Right Honourable the *English* Lords Commiffioners for the *Scottish* Treaty, to call before them your Petitioner, and to give unto their Lordships a faithful and true account of that service." [Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1270.]

Balcanquall was deprived of his office as Master of the Savoy, by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, 7th June 1645; and, ere long, having found refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there on 25th Dec. 1645. He was interred in the parish church of Chirk, where a monument was erected to his memory, with an inscription, which is printed in Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 255. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 179, Fasti, p. 383.]

AND nowe I must be a verie importunat suitor to your Grace, in a buffines in w<sup>ch</sup> I should bee verie forrie to be denied. It is in behalfe of the Dean of Rochester; the Dean of Durham being dead, that he may succeed in that Deanry. If your Grace will moove his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in it, I doe beleeve he will not denye me this favor for him. His Deanry w<sup>ch</sup> is neer worth 300 lb. per annum, will be at his Ma<sup>ties</sup> disposing, his parsonage of Adisham in Kent, of w<sup>ch</sup> your G. is patron, and w<sup>ch</sup> he letteth for 320 lb. per annum, and a litle more: the house whairof hee built himselfe from the grownd, and w<sup>ch</sup> he hath made the best parsonage house in Kent, he will leave to your G. dispofall. This I must say, he hath been a faithfull servant to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in this wnluckie service. A great servant to your G. in perswading manie of this Covenanting clergie to beleeve wtherwyfe of your G. then . . . they had been made believe . . . of some use in this buffines and in any troubles w<sup>ch</sup> nowe after the Assemblye are lykely to be ginne. I dare be bold to say, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath no Chaplain can doe him the lyke service, especially in the poynt of intelligence; for he hath gotte a great hand with that part of the Covenanting clergie, whom he hath made resent the tyrannie of some of the rest of the ministers, and especially of the laitie and lay elders, even to a verie high discontentment, I hope ere long to ane open breach; by these men he cometh to knowe all the



secrets of that pairtie, w<sup>ch</sup> is of singular wfe to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service and me. And their-foir, if these troubles hold on, his residence at Durham, or near these pairts, w<sup>ch</sup> are near to his intelligencers, will bee verie wfeull. If he should misse of this, I am affrayed both he himselfe will be infinitely discouraged, as thinking his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and your G. do not regaird him ; as also that the pairtie with whom he hath heir correspondence will beginne to think so too, and so will not cair for continewing that correspondence w<sup>th</sup> him, w<sup>ch</sup> will be prejudiciall to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service. I beseech your G. by the most . . . . Ma<sup>ties</sup> and yowr G. welcome answer in this particular.

#### LETTER FROM THE KING TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

HAMILTON,

I HAVE heard this day that the Dean of Durham is dead, for the disposing of which place, though I may have many Suiters, and (which is more) though heretofore I have had divers Intentions upon the disposing of that place, for the better accommodating of my Service, the reason of which is now as forcible as ever ; yet I have thought fit not to dispose of it till I might (if your stay be not longer than I expect) speak with you ; and to shew you that I am not unmindful of the daily pains that at this time Balcanquall takes in my Service, I would let you see the case before I dispose of it, and have your Opinion, if he might not stay a little longer for another nearer my eye, and yet not dishearten him, when it may accommodate my Service another way ; and so I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

CHARLES R.

#### XLI.

#### LETTERS TO DR. BALCANQUALL, DEAN OF DURHAM.

[The following letters, although written at considerable intervals, are brought together for the sake of connection, and are now printed for the first time. How "Dr. Balcanquall's Wryttis," came into the hands of the Scottish Commissioners at London, in 1646, does not appear ; but some notice of them must have been transmitted that year to the General Assembly. The Minutes of the Assembly end abruptly in the middle of the Sederunt of June 15th 1646, but on the 17th of that month, (Index of unprinted Acts,) the Assembly suspended Mr. William Wilkie, and added, a reference to the Commission both concerning his relaxation, and Dr. Balcanquall's Letters. The Commission of the General Assembly, on the 24th of July 1646, having considered the reference of the Assembly concerning Dr. Balcanquall's Letters, &c.—therefore

for tryell thereof, appointed the Moderator to write to the Commissioners at London to send down any of Dr. Strang's or Mr. William Wilkie's Letters to Dr. Balcanquall, they have found there, that they may take the same to their consideration. The answer of the Commissioners, dated 29th September 1646, is still preserved, and is here subjoined. It is addressed—"For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Edinburgh." From this it appears that nine of Wilkie's letters were sent, but only six are known to be preserved; and one note by Dr. Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

SIR,

THE reason for which wee have so long detained the letters and papers heirwith sent, is, That it was our opinion, and likewise our Brother Mr. Henderfon's, while he was here, that they should not be made publict, but reserved to keepe the persons that wrote them in awe, and as a meane to winne them to a strict and circumspect cariage in their callings. And being now required to fend them to the Commiffion of the Generall Assembly, wee have directed them to yow, that yow may make such vse of them as yow shall think fitt, and wee remaine,

29 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1646.

Your very affectionat Brethren,

LOUDOUN. LAUDERDAILL.  
A. JHONSTON.  
SAMWEL RUTHERFURD.  
GEO. GILLESPIE.  
ROBERT BAILLIE.

There are 9 letters of Mr. Wm. Wilkie, one of Doctor Strang's, and a Treatise.

[Mr. William Wilkie, Minister of Govan, was a near relation of Robert Baillie, of whose communications, it will be seen, he availed himself to inform Balcanquall of the various proceedings of the Presbyterian party. Whether Baillie suspected Wilkie as one of Balcanquall's "busy fleas, still creeping among us," (*vide supra*, p. 174,) may be considered doubtful; but his letters certainly justify Lord Hailes in terming him "a sort of Ecclesiastical Spy," (*vide supra*, p. 1, *note*.) The Commission on the 17th of November 1646, having considered the petition of Mr. William Wilkie, and his penitence for his bygone miscarriages," relaxed him from this sentence of suspension; but three years later, it appears that the General Assembly in 1649, passed an Act of approbation of the sentence of his deposition. (Index of Unprinted Acts.)

The originals of all these Letters are contained in Folio Vol. XXV, of the Wodrow Manuscripts, which is now preserved among the Archives of the Church of Scotland; and Vol. XXXI. (No. 2,) contains "The Principal of Glasgow against the Covenant," being the Treatise referred to in the above letter from the Commissioners.]

## No. 1.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

WE long to hear if these papers and letters, directed hence to Hammilton, came saife to your hands, and what you have resolved anent them. No doubt you have hard what hes bein a doeing heir this weik. My Lord Boyd and Loudon came on Tuesday at night, and remained heir til the Fryday at afternoone. Boyd, with a greit number, came in to the Presbiterie, giveing in before them that famous lybel againt our Arch-bishop and his colleagues, (the tenor wherof you have sein since it came fra the east) whom they have styled ther the said Mr. Patrick and his Colleagues; which expreffion occasioned a mirrie mistake amongst the ruder sort of people on the Thursday, when it was red publickely in the Cathedral, before sermon, wher for Colleagues they tooke it to be the Colledge, and mervellid how they could challenge the said Mr. Patrike and his Colledge of incest, adulterie, drunknes, &c. for they believed that both the Bishop and we wer frie of these; also, they beleived that Bishops onlie should have bein removed by this reformation; bot for the Colledges, they mervellid why they wold remove these. Bot to leave sport, my hert wes trewlie sorie to sie such despightful and insulteing carriage; for they wer not content to give in that long lybel to the Presbiterie, and to send him the copy of it with a officer, which was al the legalitie they could vse, but fet up a wryter boy to reid it in the Reader's saite in church, by the knowledge of the Magistrats of the towne, the Lords and gentlemen sitting in one dask, and Mr. D. Dick, in ane vther, singing the triumph over the Bishop in his prætendit Cathedral. After sermon, the Lord Loudon came to the Proveist, desyreing him to convocat the Towne-Council: He refused, bot answered thus, that if he had to doe with any of them, he wold come to his chalmer with those he wold requyre. Bot after that, Loudon being enformed that the Church-Session fate at afternoone, by the expectation of any, he came ther with Boyd and vthers, requyred acesse, and haveing entred, had a harrangue of ane houres length, to the Ministers, Magistrats, and vther honest men ther, concerning the iniquitie and daunger of the King's Covenant, conjureing them, by al the powers of heaven and hel, that they wold not subscrybe it. The ground of his fear wes, the hearing of the course wes taken in sending for so many of the printed proclamations, and distributeing of them amongst ther burgeffis of al forts. His demande in the clofe was, that he might have ther assured promifes not to doe it, which he might report to the Tables, whence he had his direction. He pressed the Proveist to answer, whom if he had intangled, he knew the rest wold follow. He shuned to make answeir ther, it being the Moderator's place, Mr. John Bel: yet fearing leift that good old man should yeild too much, he was induced to answer, and that shairpelie enough; the fumme of it was, that since it was notar that they had given my Lord Commiffioner his Grace a delaying answer, and had taken it to ther deliberation, the matter not yet being come to a resolution, far les that resolu-

tion being signified to his Grace, he thought it did not become any Nobleman of the kingdome to requyre of them a simple negative or promise not to doe ; bot if the Towne, or any in ther name, wold prafume to answer so, it wer a vyld shame ; wherfor he could not, nor wold not say more, but that they wold advyse anent that he had spoken ; so he was dismissed with les content then he expected. After this, ther was dealing to have had the day appointed by the Tables to be our fast daye ; bot this lykwyse is denyed, and shifted handsomely, because it falls to be the day of the celebration of the Communion, so that Wednesday onlie is to be keiped heir. As concerning the Protestation you recommendit to me, I have verie good hopes to obtaine it ; for although I could get nothing done on Wednesday last, the Bishop's lybel haveing detained them so long, yit I have assurance of ther coming heir to towne the morrow anent that matter, when I beleive it shall have a good begining ; and as I find occasion, I wil daylie stryve to draw in these, one be one, that you wold glaidliest have. My collagues and I ar forie that since fundrie of the præcise people of the countrie hes gotten Aberdein's late reply, we should be defrauded of it ; so if you could help us to one of them, you wold oblige us al verie far. I wold also glaidlie know if you expect to be at Hammliton shortlie or not ; so craveing pardon for my long and tedious letter, I rest

Your W. servant in what I ame able,

Glasgow, 29 Octob. [1638.]

WIL. WILKIE.

The bearer heirof, Mr. Archbald Cambron is the brother of that worthie Monsieur Cambro ; he is pitifullie vsed by the Buchanans, and hes them cited before the Secret Councel. In helping him you doe a grit worke of charitie.

For the Right Worshipful Doctör Walter Balcanqual,  
Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 2.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I RECEAVED your letter with the Doctors of Aberdein their duply, for which I humblye thanke you. All heir ar hartlie glaid of ther intencion to be at this Assemblye. And you may be sure they wil not want lodgeing ; although my Lord Commiffioner his Grace, had not taken such particular cair to have them provydet, we could caus some of our students quyte ther chambers and confyne themselves in les bounds, or they laked. I shew the Principal what you writ concerning him, and how it was his Ma<sup>ties</sup> wil he should owne what he writ ; the reasons you referred to meating. He thocht it straunge, mervelling what they could be. Be way of conjecture I told him tuo. 1<sup>o</sup>. That in thir tymes so ful of misconstructions and præjudices, *non quid dicatur sed quis dicat*, is looked to. 2<sup>o</sup>. That it was dishonorable as I imagined, for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> cause to be pleadit by nameles men, as importeing both lake of authoritie dew to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> to protect, and lake of

courage and loyaltie in the wryter not to professe what he writ in the defence of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> just caus. He conjectured rather that it procedit fra some thing in the writ, or els that this is a course his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is not earnest for; and I find if it wer a matter that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Commiffioner wer resolved to through without being diverted to any mid course be the Affemblie, it wer easie to persuade him to avouch what he does. That vther poynt you intrusted to my cair I have agented so weil as I could, persuading these of the Ministerie to come into the Towne who I trusted wold be most willing; and haveing met privatelie we drew vp this, the copie whereof I have heir enclosed. I have got the hands of seiven alreddie to it, whereof the gritter part ar subscrybers of the countrey's Covenant. We keip it verie secreit, both because by this means I hope to persuade moe of the Presbiterie to goe on, who if it wer divulged might be diverted. As lykwyse I find the Principal and vthers of them accompt it full of hazard, it importeing their pleading of the nullitie of this præsents Affemblie, which how odious it wil be, any may judge. God willing, it shal be kept til the Commiffioner and you come heir; at which tyme if you find it conducible for the King's service, you wil adde courage to their faint herts. In the mean tyme what evir vse you make of the matter done be a Presbiterie, yet doe not specifye the place, for reasons above-mentioned, til once you be heir. If the Affemblie wil goe on illegallie in any thing, I hope the Commiffioner his Grace wil command the King's Advocat to plead his Ma<sup>ties</sup> right, who, if he deal sincerlie, will be able to convince them both in the matter of Laick elders, and their procedure against Episcopacie, both whereof ar illegal. So with my best wishes and prayers that God wold blisse you, and prosper your labours in this grit busines, I rest

Glasgow, 6th Novemb.

1638.

Your W. servant in what I am able,

WIL. WILKIE.

If any letters come in the packet at any tyme directed to me, I hope, Sir, you will give them to some who wil send them hither. I gate some of late, bot could not find that they had received these of myne which went vp with Master Paine fra Hammiltoun.

For the Right Worshipful Doctor Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester. Thes.

No. 3.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

I THOUGHT to have had the happines of seeing you before you had gone fra Hamilton, and came ther on Monday morning, being enformed, by a Gentleman that came thence, that my L. Commiffioner was not to take journey till Tuesday; bot being come ther I fand my enformation false, wherat I was not a litle forie. Alwayes haveing missed that occasion, I doe by these lynes præsents my hertie service and best wishes for your vnde-

ferred favoures shoven me at your being heir; and withal must make bold to intreat your favour to a poore youth, my Brother, whom you wil find before you at Court. He hes had goode education both at Cambridge and St. Andrews, and I hope shal prove ane able man. He hes written to me that I wold deal with your W. by the intercession of friends heir in his favours, to be Lecturer at Savoy: if you have not some neir friend to præfer to that place, it were a worke of charitie thus to respect him who is so chargeable to his Father, and I am confident you wold nevir repent it; the young man his giftes being such as wil give contentment, and haveing had thrie yeir education ther, wil have the language prettie weil. I am sorie bot his letter had come to my hands before I shed with you, that so I might have knowen your mynd, and if you have any obligement prior; bot I hope, if you have any tyme, by tuo lynes you wil signifie your mynde heirin, which I wil expect as the copestone of your former favoures. The Articles of Perth wer condemned yisterday in the Assëmbly, as being contrair to the National Covenant, and consequentlie abjured for ever out of this Kingdome; and Mr. James Forfythe deposed. I am certanelie enformed, by one that knowes it weil, that ther is one Barnes, a merchant of Ed<sup>r</sup>, that hes brought home 6000 muskets of late out of Holland, which ship was stopped by the States, til afterwards, that the King of France his legat did obtaine that it might be sent to a towne in France, for his master's service, and so, by this means, is come home heir. It is straunge if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of France, or any Prince, should funder the armeing of subjects against ther Prince. I pray God give wifdome to al that hes his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s ear, to direct him aright in thir tymes of so grit difficulties, and that he wold bliffe you in al your effaires, which is the wish of,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Glasgow, the 11th Decemb. [1638.]

WIL. WILKIE.

To the Right Worshipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual,  
Dean of Rochester, and Master of Savoy, thes.

No. 4.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I MADE bold not long since by letter, to tender to you a petition in favours of a Brother I have at Court: if it had bein my fortune to know the matter of my fute or we shed, I could have bein more confident to have obtained a goode answere; and yit I wil not diffide, bot what you may you wil. The youth I hope shal be worthie, at leif was accomplished so heir, and had the offer of a presentation to a church, wherto he was earnestlie desyred be Sir James Carmichael, the Thesaurer-depute; bot sieing no peaceable entrie in thir tymes, except he wold run the Countrey's way, he retired to England, to which he had always a mynd, be reason of his education some yeirs at Cambridge. If

your W. wold be pleased to favour him, yow wold oblige not a few to be thankful to you in his name ; my interest and affection makes me importunat, bot I know you have so much goodnes and love as to overseie such venial faults as this.

I beleive I neid not wryt occurrencis, you have them of more pryme men then I ; yit being alfe neir the fontane as any, with that Persian to his Prince, (of whom Ælian) I præsent you with a handful of Glasgou waters. Our Assamble, after the ratification of ther Church Register, abrogation of six former Asssemblies, explanation and reconciliation of the Covenants, abjuration of Episcopacie and Perth Articles, deprivation of all, and excommunication of most part of the Bishops, indiction and intimation of ane Assamble to be keiped at Ed<sup>r</sup> in July nixt, appointment for Committes, visitations, and provincial Synods, with a number of lesser constitutions, *tandem aliquando*, on Thursday last, being the 20 of this instant, it came to a final conclusion. The Moderator, I hear, had a speach in the clofe whollie eucharisticke, wherin he gave thankes, and exhorted al to doe so, to God and his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, for the Assamble they had gottin, to the Nobles and gentry for their paines and attendance, to the Towne wherin they had bein so weil intertained, and particularlie for ther commodious feat ; yet God knowes these thankes wer dew to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his Commissioner, for respect to whom onlie it was buildet. Then after some vthers of the ministerie had spoken, the Moderator, craveing pardon for his forgetfulnes, gave thankes to my Lord Argyle, by whois præfence and counsel they had bein so much comforted and strenghtned : Wherat my Lord arose and had a long harangue, first intreating all præsent not to misconstrue his too late parting, and kything for them, protesting he was alwayes their way, bot had delayed to professe it, so long as he fand this cloffe carriage might be advantageous to their caus, bot now of late matters had come to such a chocke, that he fand he behoved to adjoyne himfelfe openlie to ther societie, except he wold have proven a knave, (this was his expreffion, which how hard so evir, did much endear him to his audiorie ;) then his Lo. went on, and exhorted them al to vnitie, wishing al, bot especially the reuling elders and ministers, to keip a good harmonie; entreated al of the ministerie to consider what had broght the Bishops to ruine, viz. pryde and avarice, and therfor willed them to shun these rockes as they wold eschew shipwracke : Lykwys both he and the Moderator, in their speaches, preffid much al to speake favourable of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his autoritie. At last the summe of the whole Acts wes red over be the Clerke, and al particularlie did voyce to them *in cumulo*; wherin ther was ane particular remarkeable, when the Articles of Perth wer voyced some dayes before the clofe, the whole Assamble had given voyce in these termes, Abjured and removed, except onlie one minister Mr. Robert Baylie, minister of Kilvining, whois conscience straiter in this particular dyted him to voyce, Removed bot not abjured, to the grit scandal of his stronger breither, so that the Act was drawn vp, Abjured and removed, be the voyces of all except one. This one knowing that they wer al to be particularlie red and voyced againe, had drawn vp a supplication to the Assamble, in the

name of conforme men, to mitigate that Act, at least that it might have farder hearing and be disputed; wherof they haveing gottin intelligence, my Lord Loudon went to the Clerke, when he was reiding the catalogue, and caused him to suppress that man's name, so he not being cited, and therat a little astonishd, did not kyth, effrayed to be made *publici odij victima*. Vpon the day after, they went al to Ed<sup>r</sup> almost, wher no doubt you know better what they have bein doeing then we; the report went they met ther to draw vp a Supplication to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to be hard plead the æquitie of ther proceaddings; also to draw the strength of their voits together in that center to anwser your reasons in the Commiffioner's Manifesto concerning the not abjuration of Episcopacie by the Covenant, a peace, which, however they slight, calling it (those of them who speak most favourable) a prettie courtelie pamphlet; yit al that ar indifferent and frie of præjudice, æsteimes these reasons prægnant and persuaive. I have send you inclosed the minut of the Acts which was givin vnder the Clerk's hand to al the Commiffioners. Ther be many thinges of grit importance not mentioned heir which they did, as ther chooseing agents for the Church to the Parliament some young noblemen, Montgomerie, Fleming, &c. with fundrie of the ministers, who must attend the Parliament in name of the Church, to represent matters that concernes hir good, bot must not voyce nor ryde in Parliament; as you may sie in the Acts: So the Church hes excommunicat itself fra the whole politick bodie, and so pure and spiritual it wold be, that it hes comunicat its wholle policie to the reuling laitie. I find be those that knowes the grounds of the Nobilities proceidings, that the pryme reason of the removeal of Bishops is the power they had in Parliament; 8 of them being Lords of the Articles, who had the power to choyse vther 8 of the Nobilitie whom they knew most addicte to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and these 16 the rest; so that al depended vpon them, and they onlie vpon his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Amongst ther Acts heir omitted in the Index, there was ane Act of reference of divers matters to the Parliament; as how the Bishops rents should be disposed vpon; item of restoreing Mr. David Catherwoode to his libertie, &c. Al the tyme of the Affemblic ther was grit outcrying against the Colledge daylie by some of the Nobilitie, accompting it a high contempt to any incorporation, in the place wher they fate, to have withdrawen their Commiffioner, and disallowed their proceidings: The Moderator, Mr. David Dicke, and vthers, wold not suffer summonds to be givin out, bot choysed rather to labour in a freindlie maner; in which privat conferences they wer so shifted fra day to day, til it being come to the last day, wherin they had no tyme, a Committee was appoynted with ful power to visite the Colledge, and to take order with everie thing they thinke amiffe; especiallie to establish Mr. Rutherford a Professor of Theologie ther, to lay the grounds of Divinitie, more ancient then antiquitie, and yet laiter then Luther: what shal be the event of this visitation you shal afterwards heir; ther is good hopes to get it shifted and delayed, but come when it wil the visitors will get no content, come of it what will. The nixt Lord's day is appoynted, in the most part of Churches heir, to be a day of thankesgiving for the



Assemble; a terrible day of tryal for many Ministers, who is directed to professe joy, when ther is nothing within bot fear and sorrow. To al the preachers I wold assigne, for that day, this text, Psal. 2. "Rejoice in trembling;" for have of the first what they wil, I am sure they, and the most part of the countrey that hes any vnderstanding, wants not the latter.

I will not wearie you any more, expecting the favour of some few lynes for a answer, which you may direct to Orbeifton; and praying God to blisse you in all your wayes, I rest,

Hammiltone, 26 Decemb. [1638,]  
wher I chanced to be.

Your W. in al dewtiful obfervance.

If Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, wer also myndeful of you as [some words delete] heir is, you wer sure of a grit freind at the Court of Heavin, and you neidit not be effrayed of any thing in earth, yea evin though Mr. Kers, that infallible Judge Mar-prælat, and his company, wer to give sentence vpon you for your superstitious titles of Dean, &c., and though you wer to dispute the quæstion concerning reuling Elders with Mr. Ramfay ther champion, lifted vp on a stoole in the midft of them lyke a cocke, by his croweing to chafe away the lyon. Both paper and vther things bids me leave of to play.

To the right worshipful Dr. Walter Balcanqual Dean of  
Rochefer and Master of Savoy, thes.

[Indorfed by Balcanqual.] Mr. Wil: his letter concerning the breaking up of the Assembly, and my L. Argyle his speech.

No. 5.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I RECEAVID yours yesterday, to which I resolvid, without delay, to returne this answer, although since my last I have not had the occasion to meit with him fra whom I vse to get best intelligence of particulars. How the guyse goes in general these tuo papers enclosed, ordained to be spred throw all the shyres, at ther Tables, will soone shew you; the first wherof I doubt not bot long er now the Treasurer and vthers hes brought, the latter possiblie you have not sein becaus its bot just now divulged. If ther former information to England, so smoothlie (as they conceive) contrived to conciliat favour, hes had such bad acceptance at the good subjects hands ther, as to irritate, and furnished such ample matter to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, in his short præcurforie Declaration, to give them such a last and such gollie titles and styles as they doe litle glorie of, what a world of good stufte I pray you shall be fund in these for that larger promiseid Declaration. For my owne part, I was astonished to hear Mr. Dicke preach al those grounds, not having

then sein this paper, which after came to our hands, as you sie, directing these to be pressid vpon the people by the preachers. Weimen, simple ones, and mad desperat fellows, listens; bot the gritter number, partlie out of conscience, pairtlie of fear, groanes and grummils at such poynts, not so Jefuited by ther Covenant as to swallow such pillons, (however incrufted, with the hazard of the preacher's falvation for their treuth, and crusted over with the scrufe of the good caus,) without a whryning squeamishnes, the sure præfage of a sudden randring, voyde of operation. I ame stil of the former mynd, that his Ma<sup>ties</sup> præfence, with any tollerable forces, shall produce a present victorie, and you may consider my reason, and judge whither I be mistaken. I find that which holds the countrie on, in ther hazardous hardines, is prymelie ther blindnes; they ar pitifullie blindfoldet by false enformations and fained letters, disperfid of purpose fra Ed<sup>r</sup> vnto al quarters, aud borne in vpon the people as vnquestionable treuths. The King's lake of concurrence fra England, their assurance, although he get assistance, that they wil onlie accompany him to the Bound Rod, but no farder, til they sie a better quarrel; that the trained bands of England, the sinews of his power, ar become to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> foure ploomes, (this is the expreffion of one of those supposed letters,) yea, some does not stand to averre, that our nobles receaves letters of encouragement from some councelers of England, moe then one or tuo of that number. If those, and such lyke grounds, being pressid by men powerful and popular, might not deceive a poore people for the tyme, and may not, in a short tyme, proveing false, deceive themselves, through ther being deserted by these they have deceived, judge you: Bot now, since his Ma<sup>ties</sup> last declaration, wherin he speaks as a King haveing both power and a mynd to vindicat his honor, (to which they ar in al haift printing ane answair, and wil yit hazard some men in sending them to England,) you wold wonder to sie how they flyde from these former false reports, and takes vther grounds of retaineing the people in ther wonted ignorance and humours, by declairing now that al is in hazard, liberties, religion, and what not; that now they have to expect to be a province, the Liturgie, Canons, &c. They wer foole hardie, as you may sie by these papers, enclosed before his Ma<sup>ties</sup> enformation to England came downe; but now, since they seam more desperatlie mad, so that some who wer become cold in the caus, shinking and reddie to retein, ar now forced, being destitut of leaders and shelters, to keip vp and goe on in fair generals with the currant, til they meit with a contrarie tyde, or some bush in the brae to grip to, fearing not to make ther partie good in this chocke, and so to be made the first sacrifice of ther furie. The Towne of Glasgou (as I lerned of those who seamid to know it weil) was of this number, and therfor had givin such a limited commiffion to these that came fra them to the meiting at Ed<sup>r</sup>. that it did gritlie displeafe the rest of the burrowes, and gritlie wer they vpbraided as being Aberdein's sifter, and of a Laodicean temper; ther commiffion rejected, and this (the copie wherof I have enclosed which was the ordinarie of al the rest) givin to be sent to be signed by ther coun-

cel; this they shifted whole eight dayes, til at last a peremptorie direction in grit haift was sent them, by one who was ther weil wisher, and saw how matters wold goe, if they shrank. So at a extraordinarie tyme, after day light wes gone, ther counsell was convocat; for that divers came not, vthers diffafented, bot the gritter part ther præsent, agreed to give warrand to the towne-clerke to signe it, although they had promised tuo dayes before not to give it til they had hard the judgment of ther ministers and colledge; and yat if evir they should be necessitat to grant it, they should put in that clause, "What may concerne the King's honour"; bot what wil not fear doe. The Noblemen keip their resolution verie cloffe; they met al of them that was in towne, after his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> declaration or enformation to England came, and sate fra 2 houres at afternoone till neir 8 at night; yit we can not lerne what they did. They professè a oath of secrete was taken; they looke and speake alse big as evir. *Spem vultu simulant premunt altum corde dolorem.* Grit courage in show, and yit it was told me that it made fundrie of them shed tears. Ther was a meiting appoynted (I know not if it had [holds] now) at Perth to be the 15th of this month, whither Argyle and fundrie vtheris should goe to speak with divers of the North. The reason prætendit is to take order for secureing the North fra John Dowgair's robberies; bot I hear fundrie whispering (I know not if they have grund for it) that the thing intendit, is to take some sudder course for Aberdein. Its givin out also that Argyle should goe imediatlie fra Perth to Glasgow, ther to remaine a space, and by his power to keip them right; for they are verie jealous of them, both of ther towne and presbiterie, the ministers wherof can not be induced to presse the takeing of armes. If he goe ther, fundrie wil be in daunger, who hithertil hes spoken boldlie against thir vncouth courses and Table-directions. Its thought the gritest part ther and therabout wold be more glaid to hear of the Duke or Marquis his coming in his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> name to shelter them. Howevir, both Cassils and Eglintoun wer drawin in to the last meiting at Ed<sup>r</sup>.; yit none of them wold condiscend to subscrive the band for the 200,000 merks which W<sup>am</sup>. Dicke, the proveist, furnishes. They said they should pay what fel them to pay by just proportion, but wold not be bund conjunctlie and severallie. God knowes what difficulties they wil meit with, or all be clipped that they have chalked. Eglintoun at that meiting had a speach to the nobilitie, whollie for peaceable courses, and represented al the hazards they ran by takeing armes. It was verie weil spoken, if he spake it alse weil to them as he did resume it to ws; bot withal he told it was repellid, and he behoved to be partaker of ther bad or good fortune; though for any thing I could lerne by his speach, its much to be hoped he will shrink. Thus farr I have hazarded to acquaint you with what I know, and yit I wil not be so foole hardie as to name him who is your servand, bot lives you to your conjecture.

11th March [1639.]

If your W. shal doe me the favour as to answair me, and acknowledg the receipt of

this, I intreat you onlie mention this of myn in general, for fear of intercepting, except you be assured of one who wil delyver it to the gentleman the last was sent to, fra whom I ame sure to have it faife. My freinds ther with you, it seams, hes forgot me, and I dare scairfelie remember them, at least by nameing them in this letter.

For the Right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual,  
Dean of Durehame and Master of Savoy. Thes.

[Indorfed by Balcanquall.] A letter from Mr. W. W.

No. 6.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL S<sup>r</sup>,

I AM loth that the wryte which ye sent to me be published, and I hope ye wil not doe it, vntil ye be better advyfed, and at least have revyfed and corrected it carefullie: yet I have resolved to satisfie your desyre, and to send it after the maner ye requyre to Patrick Hammilton, my Lord's baillie, duelling in Hammilton, vpon Mononday nixt, inclosed in a paper directed to yow. He wil delyver it to any beirar whom ye pleis to direct to him to receive it, (for this I think the safest way, and ye wil not want occasion to send to Hammilton to him for it, miskenning my name.) I can not be answerable for the correct wryting in al points, speciallie concerning the spelling, which ye wil easilie get helped I wil not be content that my name be any way hard in the matter. I lippen to go w more, and fal alwayes remane,

Yo<sup>rs</sup> at command to power,

Reid & ryve.

A. C.

To the Right Worshipfull D<sup>r</sup> Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester.

[Indorfed by Balcanquall] A letter from the Principall of Glasgow.

No. 7.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Being heir occasionallie, at the Abby-gate, and sieing James Hammilton reddie to take horse, I have præsumed, in bais paper, such as I could get, and in a tumultuarie way, to præsent my dew respects. For Scots occurrence I doubt not bot yow have them by better hands; and this day I had trysted your brother, that at grit length we might enforme you of al hes passed. Alwayes for the præsent receive this breif fume of what passed in the Affemblie the first 10 dayes, it being in my pocket, givin me by one who fate ther. Since that tyme, on Tuesday and Wedinfday last, nothing was done, bot the transportation of some Ministers was with grit contest and solistation on al hands agitat, and

the Towne of Ed<sup>r</sup> croffid in their defyres for M. Rutherford, and on M. W<sup>am</sup>. Bennet of Fyfe, by Rothes and Lindsay, to the grit offence of the Towne. Much jangling and chydeing was on both fydes for these and vthers. On Thursday, Fryday, and Sattirday, ther was comittees for all the parts of the Kingdome, to revife processis of depofed Ministers who supplicat, (for vthers they ar neglected and ther deposition holden as good;) in which this courfe was taken and yeildit be the Commiffioner, that men depofed for vitious lyfe or erroneous doctrine should be depofed, or rather their deposition ratified, vthers whois gritest blemifhes wer not fufcryving, and declyneing Glasgou Affembly, vpon supplication and repentance be receaved. Bot yit when it came to the poynt I fand that Mr. Fletcher of Ed<sup>r</sup>., notwithstanding of a most humble supplication and offer of al fort of fatiffaction imaginable, be them to whom and whois censure he whollie submitted himself, could not be reponed in his place, bot onlie declaired capable of one vther; and now this holds good as a general. Let a man nevir be fo blameles, if he have not fufcrybed, if his whole parishioners doe not petition for him, for al his repentance, he is onlie declaired capable of the Ministerie. Lastlie, on Sattirday morning ther was a committee appointed, in præfence of the Commiffioner and whole Affembly, for revifeing the King's Declaration, to gather out the escaips and manifest falhoodes (as they terme them,) of that book, to remonstrat to his Ma<sup>tye</sup>; and yit when I hear indifferent men speak of that, the fardest they can say is, some escaip in circumstances, bot in the substance of the relation, al trew. Arme yourself with patience and providence; and the God of mercie give you courage and resolution against al ther spyte. Til farther, Sir, I humblie thanke you for your last kyndnes at Berwick; except it be renewid in the countrey way, directid to the Presbiterie, its of no vse. My Father hes his humble service remembrid to yow, and sayes, he can doe no more bot pray for you for your kyndnes to his best beloved sonne, Mr. James, whom he wold wys to come home (because of the chairges he is to him ther) if he could condiscend to matters heir; bot of this I despair, and therfor renews my sute for him. Noght els bot craves pardon.

For the right Worshipful Doctor Walter Balcanqual Dean of Durehame.

[Indorfed by Balcanqual,] Mr. Wilkie his Letter.

## XLII.

### COMMISSION FOR VISITING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXII., No. 50. A Commission was also appointed for visitation of the University of Glasgou: See Index of the unprinted Acts.]

A<sup>c</sup> Sess. 25, December [18th] 1638.

THE Generall Affembly haueing confidered, y<sup>t</sup> it wes the continuall practife of this Kirk, as is evident by the Books of Affembly, and y<sup>t</sup> it is now most necessar, to give

commiffion to fome able and wyfe men of the minifters and elders to vifit the Colledges & Vniverfities of this Kingdome; and now being prefentlie convened in the citie of Glasgow, by God's providence, and vnabill to goe themfelffs for the vifitatioun of the Vniverfitie of Old Aberdein, Thairfoir nominats & apoints John Earle of Sutherland, the Mafter of Berridaill, my Lord Frafer, Alex<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> of Forbes, the Laird of Leyis, Robert Innes of y<sup>t</sup> Ilk, Walter Barclay of Towy, M<sup>r</sup> David Lindfay at Bellhelvies, Doctour W<sup>m</sup> Guild at Aberdean, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Mitchell at Turreff, M<sup>r</sup> James Martein at Peterheid, M<sup>r</sup> John Paterfoun at Foveraine, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Forbes at Fraferburgh, Sir Gilbert Ramfay of Balmaine, M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Douglefs, and anie aucht of thame, being foor Minifters & foor Elders, a fufficient quorum, giveand & grantand vnto thame the full power & commiffioun of the Affembly, To meitt at Aberdein betwixt & the firft Mononday or Tuesday of Apryll nixt to cum, to conftitute y<sup>r</sup> Clerk & wy<sup>r</sup> neceffer members to vifit the Vniverfities of Old Aberdein, To fummond & conveine befoir thame all the members y<sup>r</sup>of, To try & examine the qualities of the members y<sup>r</sup>of giff they be correfpondant to the order of y<sup>r</sup> errectionis, To confider how the doctrine is vfit be y<sup>r</sup> Mafters & Regents, & if the fame be correfpondant to the Confeflion of Faith, & Acts of this Kirk, & how the order is keiped amongft ftudents, how y<sup>r</sup> rents and liveings ar beftowit, and all wy<sup>r</sup> things, to try & examine whilk anie Commiffioners from the Affembly had power to try, or whilk the Generall Affembly itfelf might have tryed in her Vifitatioun, and efter due tryell of the members and orders theirin, if they be agriable to y<sup>r</sup> Erreftioun, and the Acts of this Church; To remoue all members fuperflouous, vnqualifiet, or corrupt, & to plant y<sup>r</sup> roumes w<sup>t</sup> moir fufficient & found mafters; To remeid all difforders, rectifie all abufes, and to doe all wy<sup>r</sup> things neceffarie for the prefervatioun of Religion & learning, whilk the Generall Affembly themfelffs might haue done, or anie Commiffioners from thame in y<sup>r</sup> Vifitatiounes haiff done: Lykas the Affembly grants vnto the Commiffioners foirfaids, the power of fumounding befoir them all Minifters & Profefors w<sup>in</sup> the province of Aberdein for to acknowledge the laitt Affembly and the conftitutions y<sup>r</sup>of, & vpon their Refuifall, to cite them to compeir befoir the next Generall Affembly, to be holden at Edinburgh the third Wedniday of Julij, to be cenfoured for y<sup>r</sup> contempt & diffobedience; And this Commiffion to indure till the laft day of May nixt to cum, & the Commiffioners report y<sup>r</sup> dilligence to the next Generall Affembly, & be anfwerable for y<sup>r</sup> proceidings.

Extracted out of the Books of Affembly by Mr. Archibald Jhonfton clerk to the Affembly.

*A. Jhonston* Cl<sup>r</sup> of the  

